

## **The meeting of Wellington and Blücher on the evening of the 18<sup>th</sup> of June.**

It has been Jacques Logie who has meticulously researched the time, the exact circumstances and the spot where the duke of Wellington and marshal Blücher met on the evening of the 18<sup>th</sup> of June. This study has been carried out to such a degree that large parts have been integrated into this chapter. <sup>1</sup> For the study, three types of documents have been used: the official reports written by the parties involved, eye-witness accounts and descriptions of travelers who visited the battlefield shortly after the battle.

The official reports of the campaign have in common that they have all been published shortly after the battle. The British report is known as the "Waterloo despatch" written by the duke of Wellington to lord Bathurst on the 19<sup>th</sup> of June 1815. Accordingly, it was published in the Times on the 22<sup>nd</sup> of the same month. In this report, Wellington is very brief about the meeting. He writes: "I continued the pursuit till long after dark, and then discontinued it only on account of the fatigue of the troops, who have been engaged during twelve hours, and because I found myself on the same road with Marshal Blücher, who assured me of his intention to follow the enemy throughout the night." <sup>2</sup>

The Prussian report was written by Gneisenau on the 20<sup>th</sup> of June, and he states:

"Im Mittelpunkte der französischen Stellung, ganz auf der Höhe liegt eine Meierei, la Belle Alliance genannt, wie ein Fanal rings umher sichtbar war der Marsch aller preussischen Colonnen dorthin gerichtet. Auf dieser Stelle befand sich Napoleon während der Schlacht; von hier aus gab er seine Befehle, von hieraus wollte er den Sieg erringen, und hier entschied sich seine Niederlage; hier endlich trafen in der Dunkelheit durch eine aumuthige Gunst des Zufalls der Feldmarschall und Lord Wellington zusammen, und begrüßten sich gegenseitig als Sieger." <sup>3</sup>

Additionally, there are the reports of the representatives of the other allies in Wellington's staff. General Pozzo di Borgo, Russian representative, writes in his report to king Wolkonsky: "On the advance the two fieldmarshals met each other about half past eight in the evening." <sup>4</sup> In all probability, Pozzo di Borgo was no eye-witness himself as he had got wounded earlier that day. <sup>5</sup> The Spanish representative, general Miguel Alava, plenipotentiary of the Spanish king in the Netherlands, says about the meeting in his report to secretary of state, don Pedro Cevallos, and which was published on 13<sup>th</sup> July 1815 in the supplement of the Gazette of Madrid: "The Duke followed the enemy as far as Gemappe [sic], where he found the illustrious Blücher and both embraced in the most cordial manner, on the principal road to Charleroi.." <sup>6</sup>

General Knesebeck wrote in his report at Heidelberg on the 21<sup>st</sup> of June: " Er [Blücher] übernahm daher die Verfolgung des Feindes, als beyde Feldherrn bey Belle Alliance gegen 9 Abends zusammentrafen [sic]." <sup>7</sup> The Hanoverian, Dutch and the French reports remain silent about the meeting.

Of the eyewitnesses, Wellington is of course one of the most obvious ones. Apart from his Waterloo despatch, Wellington has given three versions of the event, either direct or indirect.

It was in spring 1816 that Wellington was approached by William Mudford. Mudford was writing a book on the campaign which he wanted to dedicate to the Duke.

In a letter dated 2<sup>nd</sup> May 1816 Wellington wrote to Mudford: "...and those who have written them [books about the campaign] have thought they possessed all necessary information for the purpose when they have conversed with a peasant of the country or with an officer or soldier engaged in the battle." <sup>8</sup> What followed was a warning to the address of Mudford not to involve any of such accounts into his book.

Mudford sent his reaction on the 21<sup>st</sup> of May and then Wellington wrote him again on 8<sup>th</sup> June

1816 by sending him a copy of the Waterloo despatch in return, as well as the report of general Alava, onto which the Duke noted: "[his report] is the nearest to the truth of the other official reports published, but even that report contains some statements not exactly correct." And Wellington added: "Of these a remarkable instance is to be found in the report of a meeting between marshal Blücher and me at La Belle Alliance; and some have gone so far as to have seen the chair on which I sat down in that farmhouse. It happens that the meeting took place after ten at night, at the village of Genappe; and anybody who attempts to describe with truth the operations of the different armies will see that it could not be otherwise." <sup>9</sup> On the 6<sup>th</sup> of August William Mudford wrote to Wellington:

"The Duke has already informed Mr. Mudford that he had no intention on publishing anything upon the battle of Waterloo, or of giving authority for any publication. He has warned Mr. Mudford that mistakes and incorrect statements have been published, but there is a wide difference between giving him the warning and correcting these statements, and thus giving authority to others which Mr. Mudford should publish." <sup>10</sup>

Wellington's attitude in this affair is far from elegant and objective: the only thing he did was sending Mudford his own report, as well as Alava's. Wellington denies the tradition that he and Blücher met near La Belle Alliance.

With this information, Wellington led Mudford astray and Mudford believed him, though reluctantly. <sup>11</sup>

Wellington's reasoning is based on the fact that his army advanced as far as Genappe. However, this is not correct. The most advanced posts of his army were on the line of the farms of Passe Avant - Hilaincourt.

Additionally, in his Waterloo Despatch Wellington implicitly excludes the possibility of a meeting at Genappe by stating: "He [Blücher] has sent me word this morning that he had taken 60 pieces of cannon belonging to the Imperial Guard and several carriages, baggage etc. belonging to Buonaparte in Genappe."

It is evident that if both commanders would have met at Genappe, Blücher wouldn't have felt the necessity of informing Wellington about something he would have seen as well. It is also confirmed by Von Müffling that the Duke did not advance as far as Genappe, as he would have reported to the Duke that he had joined the pursuit up to that village. In conclusion, Genappe could not have been the place where the commanders met on the evening of the 18<sup>th</sup>.

It was in 1835 that general Von Clausewitz published his work titled "Feldzug von 1815 in Frankreich". Wellington's unpublished memorandum of 1842 was a reaction to this book. <sup>12</sup> About the meeting he writes: "When the two field marshals met on the same road, it is well known that they embraced in the presence of their troops, and were cordial friends up to the day of the death of Prince Blücher. Surely the details of the battle might have been left in the original official reports." <sup>13</sup>

In knowing the Prussian account of the battle, stating this, Wellington implicitly confirms the theory as if both commanders would have met near La Belle Alliance, in knowing the Prussian account of the battle.

In addition, it was on the 4<sup>th</sup> of November 1850 that Wellington referred to the meeting during a dinner. He would have said: "Blücher and I met near La Belle Alliance; we were both on horse back, but he embraced and kissed me, exclaiming "Mein Lieber Kamerad!" and then "Quelle affaire!" which was pretty all he knew of french." <sup>14</sup>

Blücher himself, as far as we know, apart from the official report, didn't make any written reference to the meeting at all. His son, captain count Von Blücher, however, writes: "Père Blücher embrasse Wellington de si bon coeur que toutes les personnes qui en furent témoins, avouèrent que c'était une des scènes les plus émouvantes que l'on peut imaginer." <sup>15</sup>

Lieutenant general baron Von Müffling was present at the meeting and he has written several versions of what happened.

In 1816, under the pseudonym of C.von W., Von Müffling wrote about the meeting: "Bey dem Zusammentreffen der beyden Feldmarschälle bey dem Vorwerk belle Alliance am Abend 9 Uhr zeigte es sich, dass die Verfolgung des Feindes nicht von beyden Armeen auf der einen Strasse Statt finden könne, ohne das Unordnungen daraus entstehen würden. Der Fürst Blücher erbot sich zur Verfolgung, und es wurde ausgemacht, dass die Englische, Hanovrisch-Batavische Armee über Nivelles und Binch in Frankreich eindringen würde, während die Preussische Armee dem Feind auf dem Fuss folgen werde." <sup>16</sup>

In his "Esquisse de la bataille de Waterloo", Von Müffling writes: "Près de la Belle Alliance, sur l'arrière de la position française, se trouve une ferme où Wellington et Blücher se rencontrent fortuitement et s'embrassent l'un et l'autre avec transport." <sup>17</sup>

In his later recollections, Von Müffling writes: "When the two leaders afterwards met, it could be arranged with good grace that the Prussian army should undertake the pursuit." <sup>18</sup> In yet another account Von Müffling confirms the place as near La Belle Alliance, at 9 p.m. <sup>19</sup>

As a member of the Prussian general staff, it was also prince Thurn und Taxis who wrote about the meeting. His version of the event is: "Kurz nachdem der alte Herr selbst die grosse Strasse erreicht, stiess er in der Dunkelheit und wirklich ganz von ungefähr [sic] auf den Herzog von Wellington. Sie begrüsst sich wedereitig als Sieger und umarmten sich. Ein schöner, erhebener Moment, den ich nicht vergessen werde. Der Herzog erklärte, dass seine Truppen, die den ganzen Tag im heftigen Gefecht gestanden, so erschöpft wären, dass er ihnen einige Ruhe gönnen musste. Der Fürst wiederholte seine Erklärung, die Verfolgung zu übernehmen. Hierauf ritt ersterer nach Waterloo zurück, wir gegen Genappe vor." <sup>20</sup>

Another witness of the meeting is lieutenant Basil Jackson, staff-officer of Wellington. He joined the Duke near Rossomme just at the moment that he had instructed the 52<sup>nd</sup> to take up a bivouac. Lieutenant Basil Jackson then continues:

"He [Wellington] then turned his horse towards Waterloo, followed by five persons only.

On nearing the farm of La Belle Alliance, a group of horsemen were seen crossing the fields on our right: on seeing them, the Duke left the road to meet them. They proved to be marshal Blücher and his suite. The two great chiefs cordially shook hands and were together about ten minutes; it was then so dark that I could not distinguish Blücher's features, and had to ask a Prussian officer whom the Duke was conversing with, although I was quite close to him at the time, but of course not near enough to hear what was said. On leaving Blücher, the Duke rode at a walk towards Waterloo." [...] "I may, just in allusion to the place of meeting of Wellington and Blücher, observe that much discrepancy exists among its chroniclers; and, indeed, the Duke himself has said it was at Genappe. Now, of course, the statement of so insignificant an individual as the present writer cannot be supposed to carry any weight against such high authority in a manner of opinion; but this is one of fact, and most assuredly, when the Duke called "halt" that night, our most advanced were not within two miles of Genappe." <sup>21</sup>

As a staff officer, one is supposed to believe that Basil Jackson knew the region pretty well. It was already in 1844 that he had published some of his impressions in the "United Service Magazine", in a series of articles called "The Waterloo campaign and its historians." In one of them he writes:

"The Duke was riding along the chaussée, followed by a very slender staff, when perceiving a group of mounted officers on the point of gaining it, from the direction of Fischermont, he turned off the road, and found it to be Blücher and his staff. The writer of this paper had the honour and great fortune to be one of the individuals who accompanied the Duke on that memorable occasion and was very close to His Grace during the conferences that ensued, which may have lasted about ten minutes." <sup>22</sup>

In its general outlines this version confirms the former one. Comparison between his version of the events and the one of Wellington (and Mudford) had already been done by Basil Jackson himself in 1877 and he already pointed out that these versions were conflicting.<sup>23</sup>

Another witness of the meeting would have been captain Gronow of the 1st Foot Guards. Gronow was in the brigade of Maitland, and this brigade advanced towards La Belle Alliance and took a bivouac in its immediate vicinity. Gronow writes:

"After our final charge, and the retreat of the French army, we arrived and bivouacked about nine o'clock in the orchard of the farm of La Belle Alliance, about a hundred yards from the farmhouse where Napoleon had remained for some hours. We were presently disturbed by the sound of trumpets; I immediately hurried off, in company with several other officers, and found that the sound proceeded from a Prussian cavalry regiment with Blücher at its head. The Duke of Wellington, who had given rendez-vous to Blücher at this spot, then rode up, and the two victorious generals shook hands in the most cordial and hearty manner. After a short conversation, our chief rode off to Brussels, while Blücher and the Prussians joined their own army ..."<sup>24</sup>

Though writing 48 years after the events, his details are striking, but on the other hand there are some obvious errors. For instance, he mentions the orchard of La Belle Alliance, while this building had no orchard of its own.

Gronow also mixes up the arrival of Blücher with the passage of the Prussian cavalry which passed along La Belle Alliance just at the moment that the British infantry entered the French position.

There was no agreement to meet neither, as Gronow believes: the meeting was purely by coincidence.<sup>25</sup>

Taking into consideration the accounts of the Duke of Wellington (except the first one), Von Müffling, Basil Jackson and Gronow, it can be assumed that the meeting took place in the immediate vicinity of La Belle Alliance.

However, there is another account which conflicts with those mentioned above and that is the one written by general baron Constant Rebecque. He writes in his journal: "Je rejoins le duc qui presse la poursuite et nous devançons l'ennemi pour arriver avant son aile gauche, sur la chaussée au delà de la Belle Alliance. En passant sur la gauche de la chaussée, nous voyons la ferme de la Papelotte en flammes, ainsi que le village de Plancenot qui a été pris par les Prussiens. [...] A Rossomme, nous vinmes sur la chaussée et nous la trouvâmes encombrée de canons de l'ennemi. Nous eumes de la peine à traverser le hameau de la Maison du Roi à cause des pièces qui s'y trouvaient; nous primes ensuite à droite dans les champs et comme il était dix heures du soir et nuit close, le duc ordonna aux troupes de faire halte et je portai cet ordre à la brigade du colonel Detmers, qui bivouaqua entre La Maison du Roi et le bois de Caillois.

Nous revinmes avec le duc sur la chaussée entre la ferme du Caillou et la Maison du Roy et c'est là que nous rencontrâmes le Feld-Maréchal Blücher, le général de Bülow et leurs états-majors.

On se félicita réciproquement. On convint que les Prussiens continueraient la poursuite. Le hasard m'a fait reconnaître dans la suite de Blücher mon ami Lützow (<sup>26</sup>). Je lui rappelai la nuit bien différente qui suivit Iéna. Nous nous sommes bien vengés. Le duc, après une conversation d'un quart d'heure, à cheval sur la chaussée, avec le prince Blücher, prend congé de lui et continue sa route pour aller à Waterloo.

Nous rencontrons les troupes Prussiennes qui font retentir l'air de leurs hurras en reconnaissant le duc, et qui chantent les hymnes de la victoire. Nous repassons sur le champ de bataille dont les ombres de la nuit nous cachent les horreurs et après onze heures du soir, nous arrivons à Waterloo, où je retrouve mes chevaux de selle. Je monte chez le duc pour demander ses ordres; je le trouve avec le comte de Lobau, qui a été fait prisonnier."<sup>27</sup>

Constant Rebecque makes a clear distinction between the specific locations within the French

centre and in this sense his account sounds convincing as far as the location is concerned; this would mean that Wellington and Blücher would have met somewhere between Maison du Roy and Le Caillou.

Wellington himself, in the advance of his army, was in rear of the 52<sup>nd</sup> regiment and this regiment crossed the Brussels road just north of La Belle Alliance and advanced on its east side as far as Rossomme, where it halted. It must have been in this advance that Constant Rebecque must have joined in, as he mentions his advance east of the road. At Rossomme the group did indeed reach the road again and it is a fact that the French centre, especially the former site of the large battery near La Belle Alliance and the hamlet of Maison du Roy were crowded with deserted guns.

Yet, it is just in this detail in which the account fails in relation to the subject of this note. Having no means to cross Maison du Roi due to the presence of guns, the party went into the fields to the west from where it would have gained the road again somewhere between Le Caillou and Maison du Roy and where it would have met the Prussian general staff. After that, however, Constant Rebecque makes no more allusion to the blocked road at Maison du Roi in the return to Waterloo and therefore it is highly unlikely that Wellington ever went beyond Maison du Roy.

In his account, of which we possess just a small part, colonel Nepveu, aide de camp of Constant Rebecque, writes: "Je me trouvais le soir à 11 heures par hasard justement à coté du duc de Wellington et du maréchal Blücher au moment où ils se rencontrèrent... Blücher ne parlant pas français et Wellington pas allemand, ils furent obligés de se faire traduire les félicitations qu'ils se firent sur le gain de la bataille." <sup>28</sup> Except for the fact that it confirms that Blücher was barely able to speak french, Nepveu's account is not very informative.

Sergeant-major Cotton's book "A voice from Waterloo" is partly based upon his own recollections, existing historical studies as well as accounts of British officers.

Cotton gives two versions of the event: a general one published in 1846 and a more detailed one published in 1849. Cotton himself, not being an eyewitness, did use details he had procured from Sir Colin Campbell, who was there when Wellington and Blücher met, being a member of the group which accompanied the Duke. <sup>29</sup> In using his information, Cotton gives the following description of the meeting: "The Duke of Wellington on returning towards Waterloo, saw near la Belle Alliance a group of mounted officers, making towards the high road, from the direction of Frischermont; the Duke turned off to meet them: it proved to be Blücher and his staff; they congratulated each other on the glorious result of the contest, in which they had been so intensely engaged. The conference lasted about ten minutes; Blücher proceeded to Genappe and the Duke returned over the field towards Waterloo." <sup>30</sup>

This statement is in some respects highly similar to the one of Sir Basil Jackson: the group of officers coming from Fichermont, the Duke who rode towards them and the duration of the meeting.

It may be possible that Cotton knew the account of Basil Jackson from the United Service Magazine of 1844.

For his edition of 1849 Cotton must have known the book of Sir Basil Jackson. Apparently, Cotton didn't have any problems in connecting both versions of Sir Basil Jackson and Sir Colin Campbell. This may be an indication that both these versions didn't basically differ.

One of Wellingtons aide de camps, lieutenant colonel Freemantle claims both commanders met "in the village of Belle Alliance", but Freemantle doesn't give the impression having been there.

<sup>31</sup> Lieutenant Slayter Smith of the 10<sup>th</sup> regiment of hussars does, however. After having written about the advance of his regiment on the south side of La Belle Alliance, he states: "Between 9 & 10 o'clock the Duke of Wellington & Marshall Blücher met at La Belle Alliance, when the

latter took upon himself the further pursuit of the French army." And in the margin Slayter Smith writes: "I saw them meet and shake hands. S.S." At the time of the meeting, however, the hussars were in all probability further south in bivouac, near the Bois de Callois. For this reason, Slayter Smith's account has to be dealt with with care.<sup>32</sup>

In the years after the battle, travelers have written down their impressions of their visits to the field of battle. Some of them also gave - though second-hand - details about the meeting of Wellington and Blücher.

In 1817 captain Arthur Gore published "An historical account of the battle of Waterloo". In fact it consists of two parts of which one is the account of Craan, translated into English and the other the account of Gore himself. According to Gore the meeting took place at Genappe around 10.30 p.m.<sup>33</sup> Genappe, as has been shown, however couldn't have been the place where they met.

Under the pseudonym of Couquébau, G.Boucqueau, son of the owner of the farm of Le Caillou, published in Brussels in 1816 an ode which was dedicated to the prince of Orange, entitled "La Belle Alliance." In one of his footnotes the author writes:

"Un aide de camp du Duc de Wellington que j'accostai, l'anniversaire de la bataille, m'assura que ce ne fut pas à la Belle Alliance, comme on l'avait toujours cru, que nos deux libérateurs se rencontrèrent après la victoire, mais près du pont qui se trouve sur la grande route entre les jardins de la ferme du Caillou et la première auberge allant vers Bruxelles. C'était, me dit-il, vers neuf heures et demie du soir."<sup>34</sup> The identity of this aide de camp is not revealed. At least, Wellington must have been accompanied by five persons, four of whom we know the name: general Constant Rebecque, his aide colonel Nepveu, Sir Basil Jackson and Sir Colin Campbell. It may have been well that Boucqueau involved his farm into this anecdote, thereby enlarging the importance of Le Caillou.

An Englishman, Henry Smithers, traveled through Belgium in 1816 and 1817 and he wrote down his impressions in a series of letters. On 7<sup>th</sup> August 1817 he wrote:

"I am authorized by the highest authority to assert that the interview took place between the Duke of Wellington and marshal Blücher in the darkness of the night succeeding the battle, was near the small bridge called "le pont de Genappe" near la Maison du Roi, about a mile distant from La Belle Alliance, and not at the latter place, as has been generally stated."<sup>35</sup> And he adds a citation of another anonymous informant: "After parting with Blücher, we took up the pursuit of the enemy.."

All in all, Smithers' account is much to be desired for as he mixes up the versions of Genappe and of Maison du Roi. Apart from that, Maison du Roi is not a mile of La Belle Alliance, but 2,5 kilometres. Last but not least the pursuit wasn't carried out by Wellington's army, but by the Prussians.

In his "Relation anglaise de la bataille de Waterloo ou du Mont Saint Jean", Ambroise Tardieu writes: "Cette tache [the pursuit] fut abandonnée à nos braves alliés les Prussiens dont le chef, le maréchal Blücher, avait promis à notre Feld Maréchal (lorsqu'ils se rencontrèrent heureusement après la nuit close, à la ferme de la Belle Alliance) qu'il poursuivrait l'ennemi toute la nuit sans interruption."<sup>36</sup>

This statement adds nothing to what we already know and is inspired by the official Prussian report.

Of much more interest is the account of a lawyer called James Simpson. Simpson tells how he had been accompanied by a British officer as he visited the battlefield. Simpson writes: "Our officer assured us, that Wellington and Blücher did not meet in this house, as generally believed, but some hundred yards further on in the pursuit. He has himself seen the meeting and the parting of these two great men on that never to be forgotten occasion.

The officer who was with us belonged to the 23<sup>rd</sup>. His regiment passed close to Belle Alliance

on the opposite side of the road; by which means he was witness to what Wellington even said to Blücher. He saw them meet on the road, and walk their horses for some hundred yards, in earnest conversation; when Lord Wellington wished the veteran good night and success in the pursuit; and turned his horse back again to Waterloo." <sup>37</sup>

The 23<sup>rd</sup> regiment took part in the general advance of the army of the Duke. Lieutenant Holmes says:

"...when we again advanced some short distance in square, then deployed and advanced in line; but finding nothing to oppose us, we wheeled by companies to the right and moved in column on the right of the Charleroi road to about \* where we bivouacked for the night [...]" <sup>38</sup>

It is Logie who attributes a certain value to this account, but its value should not be overestimated as the regiment didn't get that far as La Belle Alliance, and if Wellington would have gone with Blücher in a southward direction, then he would have gone ahead of his troops, which is not plausible. <sup>39</sup>

In the rejection of the possibilities that the meeting took place at Genappe or between Maison du Roy and Caillou, and of those who do not contribute anything in this sense, the overall conclusion is that the meeting most probably took place just south of La Belle Alliance, almost opposite of the farm of Trimition, on or direct to the east of the road. <sup>40</sup>

Taking into account that Wellington reached Rossomme by 9.30 p.m., the distances involved and the moment he got back at Waterloo (after 11 p.m.), the meeting most probably took place not long before 10 p.m. <sup>41</sup>

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1. Cf. Logie, J. - La rencontre de Wellington et de Blücher au soir de Waterloo. In: Revue Belge d'Histoire Militaire XVIII pp.161-184
2. Bas, F.de & T'Serclaes de Wommerson - La campagne de 1815 Vol.III p.478
3. Bas, F.de & T'Serclaes de Wommerson - La campagne de 1815 Vol.III p.492
4. Cf. The battle of Waterloo etc. London.1817 p.182-183. The French version can be found in: Pflugk Harttung, J.von - Belle Alliance p.286-288
5. Cf. Wellington's report. In: Bas, F.de & T'Serclaes de Wommerson - La campagne de 1815 Vol.III p.478
6. Kelly, Chr. - A full and circumstantial account of the memorable battle of Waterloo p.66 The battle of Waterloo etc.London.1817.p.193
7. Pflugk Harttung, J.von - Belle Alliance p.289-294  
While Logie believes the text is from Vincent, Von Pflugk Harttung thinks it should be attributed to general Von Knessebeck as it closely resembles another document, written by Von Knessebeck and which is kept at the archives at Vienna, entitled "Abschrift von einer Relazion des Generals Knessebeck über die Schlacht bei Waterloo, 18.Juni 1815".
8. In: WSD, Vol.X p.508
9. In: WSD, Vol.X p.509
10. Cf. Bas, F.de - Prins Frederik der Nederlanden en zijn tijd. Vol.III p.1224-1225
11. An historical account of the battle of Waterloo. London. 1816 p.297  
In a footnote, however, Mudford writes:  
"With the exception of general Alava's despatch, every account, official and unofficial, that I have had occasion to consult, in mentioning this interview, fixes its occurrence at La Belle Alliance. General Gneisenau even says that Blücher wished the battle to be called by the name, as if to render a commemorative of their meeting. Against this host of testimony, it might appear presumption in me to oppose myself, had I not an authority for so doing which admits of no question. The fact is, the two illustrious commanders, as stated above, met at Genappe between ten and eleven o'clock. It is the most surprising indeed that this error should have prevailed so generally for it only requires the inspection of an accurate plan of the battle, to perceive, from the operations of the Prussians that the two armies could not have met at La Belle Alliance. Yet some travellers boast of having actually seen the chair in which the Duke of Wellington sat in that farm-house. With what patience will they suffer themselves to be told, that the Duke never quitted his horse, till he returned to Waterloo between eleven and twelve at night?"  
Maxwell follows Mudford's version. In: The life of Wellington. Vol.II p.87
12. In: WSD, Vol. X p.530
- <sup>13</sup> In: WSD, Vol.X p.530
14. Notes of conversations with the Duke of Wellington, published by Philipp Henry, 5th Earl

Stanhope p.245

15. In: Von Müffling. Esquisse de la bataille de Waterloo p.52

It is a postscript written by the colonel under a letter of his father to his mother, written immediately after the battle.

16. Geschichte des Feldzugs der englisch-hanovrisch-niederländisch-braunschweigischen Armee unter Herzog Wellington, und der preussischen Armee unter den Fürsten Blücher von Wahlstadt im Jahre 1815 p.39

17. Müffling, G.von - Esquisse de la bataille de Waterloo p.52

<sup>18</sup> In: The recollections of baron Von Müffling p.250

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Von Müffling in a report annexed to a letter of count Rechberg to fieldmarshal Wrede. In: Bayerisches Kriegsarchiv München. Published by: Pflugk Harttung, J.von - Archivalische Beiträge etc. Jahrbücher für die Deutsche Armee und Marine 1906 p.518

<sup>20</sup> In: Aus drei Feldzügen 1812 bis 1815 p.339

21. In: Notes and reminiscences of a staff officer chiefly relating to the Waterloo campaign and to St.Helena matters during the captivity of Napoleon. R.C.Seaton, London, 1903 p.57-58

<sup>22</sup> Jackson, B. "The Waterloo campaign and its historians." In: United Service Magazine (1844), Part II p.1-16,161-173

23. Most probably Basil Jackson was familiar with the content of the Wellington's despatches at some point of time.

24. Gronow, R.H. - Reminiscences and recollections etc. p.199-200

25. Cf. Report of Gneisenau. In: Bas, F.de & T'Serclaes de Wommerson – La campagne de 1815 Vol.III p.492

26. Major Leopold von Lützow, member of the general staff. He was a brother of Adolph von Lützow of the cavalry and who was taken prisoner at Ligny.

27. In: NA, 2.21.008.01 nr.25

It could not have been general Lobau he refers to, as he was taken prisoner later at Gosselies.

The fact that Prussians sang hymns right at that moment, but not specifically in connection to the meeting of both commanders, is confirmed by captain Reed (71st regiment). In: BL, Add.mss.34.703 p.250-253

28. Bas, F.de & T'Serclaes de Wommerson - La campagne de 1815 aux Pays Bas Vol.II.p.319. The original was lost during the bombardment of the Krijgsgeschiedkundig archief at The Hague, in March 1945.

29. This is confirmed by Constant Rebecque.

30. In: A voice from Waterloo (edition of 1846) p.116
31. In: BL, Add.mss.34.707 p.462-464
32. In: BL, Add.mss.34.705 p.23-26
33. Gore himself was a captain in the 30th regiment (brigade C.Halkett). This brigade didn't leave the field that evening. Cf. Gore, A. - An historical account of the battle of Waterloo p.74
34. Couquébau, H. - La Belle Alliance etc. p.19, footnote 15  
According to Navez, Couquébau here means the aquaduct under the road between Caillou and Maison du Roi. Cf. Navez, L. La campagne de 1815 Vol.II p.153
35. Smithers, H. - Observations made during a residence in Brussels, and several tours through the Netherlands, comprising Ostend, Bruges, Ghent, Malines, Antwerp and Brussels p.262
36. Tardieu, A. - Relation anglaise de la bataille de Waterloo etc. Paris.1815 p.24
37. Simpson, J. - A visit to Flanders in July 1815 p.100
38. Lieutenant Holmes (23rd regiment). In: BL, Add.mss.34.705 p.209-212  
The location to which he refers on his plan is about 275 meters north of La Belle Alliance, directly west of the Brussels road.
39. Scheltema (in 1815) situates the meeting south of Le Caillou; after that, Wellington and Blücher would have ridden back towards La Belle Alliance, where they would have had a meeting for some time. Cf. Scheltema, J. De laatste veldtocht van Napoleon Bonaparte p.179
40. In his very conclusion, Logie assigns to the farm of Trimotion the name of Bodenghien; this is incorrect. In: La rencontre de Wellington et de Blücher au soir de Waterloo. In: Revue Belge d'Histoire Militaire XVIII p.183

<sup>41</sup> Wellington situates it after 10 p.m. Cf. his letter to Mudford, dated 8<sup>th</sup> June 1816. In: WSD, Vol.X p.509  
Constant Rebecque confirms a time of 10 p.m. Cf. his journal. In: NA, 2.21.008.01 nr.25  
Von Müffling believes it was 9 p.m. In: CvW. Geschichte des Feldzugs der Englisch etc. p.39  
Colonel Nepveu is too late in placing it at 11 p.m. Cf. his account. In: Bas, F.de & T'Serclaes de Wommerson - La campagne de 1815 aux Pays Bas Vol.II p.319  
Gneisenau explicitly indicates that it took place in darkness, which was actually the case. Cf. his report dated 20<sup>th</sup> June 1815. In: Bas, F.de & T'Serclaes de Wommerson - La campagne de 1815 aux Pays Bas Vol.III p.492

According to lieutenant Gawler (52<sup>nd</sup> regiment), Wellington would have claimed that he met Blücher while he was returning to Waterloo, and that was at 10 p.m. or 10.30 p.m. Gawler gives no source for his statement. At 10 p.m. it was fully dark. In: BL, Add.mss.34.706 p.389-399