

The morning of the 16th June.

The French left wing.

During the early morning of the 16th of June, Ney was at Gosselies. It was here that he received Soult's letter of 4.30 - 5 a.m. ¹ This letter caused him to write a report to Soult at 7 a.m. ² Shortly after, Reille came to Ney to ask him for orders, as his troops were ready to march. However, Ney was awaiting his orders of the emperor. ³ Ney was about to leave for Frasnes and instructed Reille to carry out any imperial orders which would arrive and to transmit these orders to general d'Erlon at Jumet. ⁴ Shortly after 7 a.m. Ney left for Frasnes. ⁵

As has been stated before, Soult and Napoleon sent their orders to Ney at 8 a.m. and between 8 and 9 a.m. Yet, Napoleon's reached Ney somewhat earlier as the one of Soult. ⁶ Count Flahaut was the messenger of Napoleons orders. He passed the headquarters of Reille at Gosselies around 10 a.m. ⁷ This hour can be derived from the following letter which Reille wrote to Ney:

*Gosselies, 16th June 1815
10.15 a.m.*

Marshal,

I have the honour to inform Your Excellency of a report given to me verbally from general Girard through one of his officers.

The enemy continues to occupy Fleurus with light cavalry, having vedettes in front; two enemy masses can be distinguished coming along the Namur-road and of which the front is off Saint-Amand. They have gradually been built up and they have gained ground as they grew: because of the distance it is hard to judge their strength; still, the general thinks that each one of them could count six battalions in column per battalion. One observed movements of troops in rear of them.

Lieutenant general Flahaut has shared with me the orders he carried for Your Excellency; I have informed count d'Erlon about them, so that he can follow my movement. I would have commenced mine on Frasnes as soon as my divisions would have been under arms, but according to the report of general Girard [⁸], awaiting the orders of Your Excellency, I will keep my troops ready to leave, and as they can arrive soon, there will be very little time lost.

I have sent the officer who has made me the report of general Girard to the emperor.

I repeat to Your Excellency the assurances of my respectful devotion.

*The general in command of the 2nd corps
Counte Reille ⁹*

Ney received Reille's letter around 11 a.m. ¹⁰ It was towards 11 a.m., and some time earlier, possibly around 10.30 a.m. that Ney received the orders written by Soult and Napoleon respectively. ¹¹ Shortly after, it was about 11 a.m., Ney issued his orders for the 2nd corps. ¹² They read:

*Ordre de mouvement à Mr. le Comte Reille, commandant le 2e corps d'armée.
Frasnes, le 16 Juin 1815*

Conformément aux instructions de l'empereur, le 2e corps se mettra en marche de suite pour aller prendre position, la 5e division en arrière de Genappes sur les hauteurs qui dominent cette ville, la gauche appuyée à la grande route. Un bataillon ou deux couvriront tous les débouchés en avant sur la route de Bruxelles.

Le parc de réserve et les équipages de cette division resteront avec la seconde ligne.

La 9e division suivra le mouvement de la 5e et viendra prendre position en seconde ligne sur les hauteurs à droite et à gauche du village de Banterlet.

Les 6e et 7e divisions à l'embranchement des Quatre Bras où sera votre quartier général.

Les trois premières divisions du comte d'Erlon viendront prendre position à Frasnes; la division de droite s'établira à Marbais avec la 2e division de cavalerie légère du général Piré; la 1er couvrira votre marche et vous éclairera sur Bruxelles et sur vos deux flancs. Mon quartier à Frasnes. Deux divisions du comte de Valmy s'établiront à Frasnes et à Liberchies.

Les divisions de la garde des généraux Lefebvre Desnouettes et Colbert resteront dans leur position actuelle de Frasnes.

*Pour le maréchal prince de la Moskowa,
Le colonel, premier aide de camp,
Heymès¹³*

Reille got Ney's orders around 11.45 a.m. and he started to move his troops at noon.¹⁴
At 11 a.m. Ney wrote his report for Soult:

Frasne, le 16 Juin 1815 à 11 heures du matin.

à Son Excellence le Maréchal Duc de Dalmatie, major Général,

Je recois à l'instant vos instructions sur le mouvement des 1er et 2e corps d'infanterie, de la division de cavalerie légère du général Piré et des 2 divisions de cavalerie du 3e corps.

Celles de l'Empereur m'étaient déjà parvenues. Voici les dispositions que je viens d'expédier:

Le 2e corps, général Reille, aura une division en arrière de Genappe, une autre à Banterlet, les 2 autres à l'embranchement des Quatre Bras.

Une division de cavalerie légère du général Piré couvrira la marche du 2e corps.

Le 1er corps s'établira savoir: une division à Marbais, les 2 autres à Frasne, une division de cavalerie légère à Marbais, les 2 divisions du Comte de Valmy à Frasne et Liberchies.

Les 2 divisions de cavalerie légère de la garde resteront à Frasne où j'établis mon quartier général.

Tous les renseignements portent qu'il y a environ 3000 hommes d'infanterie ennemie aux Quatre Bras et fort peu de cavalerie. Je pense que les dispositions de l'Empereur pour la marche ultérieure sur Bruxelles s'exécuteront sans grands obstacles.

Le maréchal Prince de la Moskowa,

Ney¹⁵

The movements of the 2nd corps (Reille), the 3rd cavalry-corps (Kellermann) and the light cavalry of the imperial guard.

On the night of the 15th June, the divisions of the 2nd corps had the following positions: Bachelu and Piré in front of Mellet, Jérôme east of the Bois de Lombuc, Girard at Wangenies and Foy in and around Gosselies.

As he had received his orders, Piré left with his division and to arrive in front of Frasnes around 1 p.m. Sometime later, possibly around 1.30 p.m. Bachelu's 5th division got there, while Foy's division arrived some 15 minutes later.¹⁶ Jérôme Bonaparte's had to cover a distance of 10.5 kilometres, following Foy in his track.¹⁷

Kellermann's bivouac on the night of the 15th of June was near Charleroi, on the south bank of the Sambre. It was around 4.30 a.m. that Soult sent the order to Kellermann to assemble his corps and to move it to Gosselies. At what time Kellermann received this order is not known.

Additionally, Soult wrote to Ney at 10 a.m.: "réunissez les corps des comtes Reille et d'Erlon, et celui du comte de Valmy, qui se met à l'instant en route pour vous rejoindre." So, at 10 a.m. Soult, somehow, knew about the delay Kellermann faced. Having been delayed, for whatever reason, Kellermann received Ney's later order to place one division at Liberchies and one at Frasnes. In realizing how important it was to reach Frasnes, Kellermann sent forward his foremost brigade, the one of Guiton; this explains the high speed with which the cuirassiers arrived near Frasnes.¹⁸ Then, it was probably between 2 and 3 p.m.¹⁹ The remaining units of the corps did not reach the field of action that day.

Throughout the night of the 15th and the whole 16th of June the light cavalry of imperial guard was kept by Ney in position near Frasnes, observing the road.²⁰ Reille himself reached Frasnes around 1.15 p.m. and at that moment his divisions of Bachelu and Piré were in front of the village, near the main road. Here he was joined by Ney and both men observed the enemy's position.

Sometime later Reille was ordered by Ney "de laisser ce bois [the Bois de Bossu] à gauche et de s'emparer de la position des Trois Bras".²¹ By that time, the division of Foy was arriving, but before he actually attacked, Reille waited until he was sure this division was near enough to support the ones of Bachelu and Piré, just in case. Reille clearly felt uneasy about the situation and this was probably due to his former experiences with Wellington in Spain.²² By now, Ney had about 9700 men of infantry, 1760 men of cavalry and 22 guns.²³

The movements of d'Erlon's 1st corps.

On the night of the 15th of June, around 9.30 p.m., Soult wrote at Charleroi an order for d'Erlon to collect his corps on the left bank of the Sambre in order to be able to join the 2nd corps near Gosselies. That night, the divisions of the corps had the following positions: Durutte between Gosselies and Jumet, Donzelot in front of Jumet, Marcognet at Marchienne-au-Pont and Quitot at Thuin. The cavalry of Jacquinot had one brigade at Solre-sur-Sambre and one at Jumet. D'Erlon himself was at Jumet. D'Erlon started to carry out his orders during the early hours of

the 16th of June. ²⁴ In this, there is an order of the chief of staff of the division Marcognet, colonel d'Arsonval, to the 1st brigade of the division, the one of Noguès. It reads:

*Au quartier général à Marcienne-au-Pont
16 Juin 1815 à 3 heures du matin*

D'après l'intention du général en chef, le lieutenant général me charge de vous inviter à faire partir de suite votre brigade avec une 1/2 batterie pour être rendue à six heures du matin, et plus tôt s'il était possible, à Gosselies.

Le commandant d'artillerie a ordre de vous envoyer de suite les 3 pièces qui vous manquent pour compléter votre 1/2 batterie.

*L'adjutant commandant, chef d'état major:
Ch.d'Arsonval*

P.S. La 2e brigade reste ici jusqu'à l'arrivée de la première division quelle suivra pour se rendre ensemble à la même destination. Mettez vous en route par la grande route. ²⁵

In fact Jumet was the destination, as the division of Durutte was at Gosselies, with Donzelot south of Jumet. The distance Jumet - Marchienne-au-Pont (through Roux) is about seven kilometres. If the brigade would have left between 3.30 and 4.00 a.m. it can be assumed that it arrived there between 6.30 and 7.00 a.m.

The cavalry-brigade of Jacquinet at Solre-sur-Sambre advanced together with the division of Quiot and, later, with the brigade of Grenier (of Marcognet) as well. Solre-sur-Sambre is about twelve kilometres from Thuin, the position of Quiot, and the distance between Thuin and Gosselies is about 20 kilometres. There are no details about the movements of these last units, but in relation to the distances involved there can be no doubt that both the one brigade of Jacquinet and the division of Quiot left their positions on the Sambre in the early morning. ²⁶ It is not known at what time the full corps was collected immediately south of Gosselies, but in all probability this was around noon or somewhat later. ²⁷

At 10.15 a.m. Reille wrote to Ney. In this letter Reille wrote that count Flahaut had passed with orders for Ney and that he had informed d'Erlon about these orders so that the 1st corps could follow his. However, as the 2nd corps left at noon, the 1st corps was delayed as well. ²⁸ It was between 9.30 and 10 a.m. that Reille spoke to Flahaut. It could have been around 10 a.m. that Reille passed the information he had got to d'Erlon. In all probability, d'Erlon was informed about this conversation around 10.30 a.m. It was around noon that d'Erlon received Ney's orders. ²⁹ By that time, it might have been that both Jacquinet's and Quiot's divisions had reached Gosselies, and – if not – that they got their connection with the other divisions just after during d'Erlon's halt at Gosselies from about 1 to 2.45 p.m. (see below).

These orders contained the instructions to place the first three divisions at Frasnes and one division at Marbais. ³⁰ Jacquinet would cover and explore the marches to and beyond Quatre Bras. D'Erlon immediately set off his troops. In this connection, general Delcambre, chief of staff of the 1st corps, issued the following order to Donzelot:

Au Quartier Général [Jumet], le 16 Juin 1815

Mon général,

Donnez, je vous prie, ordre à votre division de prendre les armes sur le champ. L'armée va marcher. L'Empereur ne veut pas qu'on lui rende d'honneurs lorsqu'il se trouve aux avant-postes, car c'est faire voir que S.M. s'y trouve et cela peut avoir de l'inconvénient. Donnez, je vous prie, vos ordres en conséquence.

*Le maréchal de camp,
Chef d'état-major du 1er corps, B.on Delcambre*³¹

D'Erlon would have asked Durutte, forming the vanguard, to hurry.³² However, due to the fact that the 2nd corps had not left yet, this was impossible. At 1 p.m. the division of Jérôme was still moving from its bivouac through Gosselies. It was for this reason that Durutte stranded at Gosselies towards 1 p.m.³³

At the same time, as inhabitants would have seen a considerable enemy's force towards Chapelle Herlaymont, d'Erlon decided to halt his forces where they were. Accordingly, d'Erlon sent out a reconnaissance which made it clear that the information proved to be incorrect.³⁴

It was also from Gosselies that d'Erlon wrote to Soult. The reason for doing so in all probability had to do with this delay. Whether d'Erlon also wrote a similar report to Ney is not known.³⁵

The 1st corps resumed its march from Gosselies between 2.30 and 3 p.m.³⁶ It was around 4.30 p.m. that the division Durutte approached the *cabaret à l'Empereur*.³⁷ It was about here – towards 5 p.m. - that the column was diverted to the east (see below).

On the morning of the 16th of June, during a reconnaissance, the chief of staff of the division of Durutte, colonel Gordon, as well as an adjudant of Durutte, chef de bataillon Gaugler, deserted the Anglo-Netherlands-German army. They reported to Perponcher's staff about the actions against the Prussians before and revealed that Napoleon, commanding some 150.000 men, was heading for Brussels. After being questioned, they were escorted through Nivelles (where they arrived in the afternoon) towards Ghent.³⁸

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1. Ropes give 6 a.m. In: The Waterloo campaign p.120
2. Houssaye, H. - 1815. Waterloo p.136 (footnote)
Unfortunately, this most important report is unavailable in the papers of baron Gourgaud, as mentioned by Houssaye (now in the Fonds Gourgaud, AN).
The only line quoted by Houssaye from this report is: "*Le premier corps est à Julmet [sic]. Mon rapport d'hier en fait mention.*" Reille refers to Ney writing this report around 7 a.m. In: Reille. Cf. Notice historique etc. In: Documents inédits. p.57
3. The division of Bachelu was ready to march since 5 a.m. In: Trefcon, T.J. - Carnet de campagne etc. p.181
According to Trefcon the division got the order to march to Quatre Bras at 8 a.m.
4. Reille - Notice historique etc. In: Documents inédits. p.57
5. Reille - Notice historique etc. In: Documents inédits. p.57
Piérart would have done a meticulous research on the activities of Ney early that morning, but his sources remain unclear. His horses would have been ready at 7 a.m. and then Ney would have reconnoitred towards Heppignies and then to return to Gosselies. Then he would have gone to his outposts near Frasnes. In: Le drame de Waterloo. p.175
6. Cf. Ney's report of 11 a.m. (see below).
7. So not at 11 a.m., as Reille makes us believe. Cf. Notice historique etc. In: Documents inédits p.57
8. This report reached Reille around 9 a.m. In: Reille. Notice historique etc. In: Documents inédits p.57
9. Original in: AN, Fonds Ney 137 AP18
Copy in SHD. C15, nr.5
Also in:
Duc d'Elchingen - Documents inédits p.37
Pontécoulant, F.G. - Souvenirs militaires etc. p.153-154
Ropes, J.C. - The Waterloo campaign. Annex nr.19
Aerts, W. - Etudes relatives etc. p.353
10. Charras - Histoire de la campagne de 1815 Vol.II p.234

11. Cf. Ney's report of 11 a.m.. In: SHD. C15, nr.5
Count Flahaut in a letter dated 1857 to A.H.Brialmont. In: The first Napoleon etc. p.314
Charras thinks it was 10.30 a.m. In: Histoire de la campagne de 1815 Vol.I p.188
11.00 a.m. is given by Houssaye. In: 1815.Waterloo p.194
Cf. Colonel Heymès. In: Documents inédits etc. p.8

Cf. the account of Flahaut in the Bowood papers, p.117
On top of the text of the order of Soult to Ney there is a note stating: " D'après ce que M.le maréchal Duc de Dalmatie nous a dit, cet ordre aurait été expédié après le déjeuner de l'Empereur vers 11 [or 10] heures du matin. Le Duc d'Elchingen ".
Cf. Copy. In: AN, Fonds Ney nr.137 AP 18
This statement is incorrect, unless Ney based his orders upon the order of Napoleon only.

De Pontécoulant erroneously claims that Soult's letter reached Ney before 9 or 9.30 a.m. In: Souvenirs militaires p.70

12. Cf. report of Ney to Soult. In: SHD. C15, nr.5

13. Original in: AN, Fonds Ney 137 AP18
Cf. Aerts, W. - Etudes relatives etc. p.409
Pontécoulant, F.G.de - Souvenirs militaires etc. p.155-156.
Duc d'Elchingen - Documents inédits p.38
Koolemans Beijnen, G.J.W. - Op welk tijdstip heeft etc. Annex nr. Q
Ropes, J.C. - The Waterloo campaign Annex nr.20.
In comparison to the report of Ney as given below, he switches both cavalry divisions. Striking detail in both documents is the mentioning of Girard's division, while this was at Wangenies.

14. Cf. Houssaye, H. - 1815.Waterloo p.196
Aerts, W. - Etudes relatives etc. p.412
Chef de bataillon Jolyet (1st regiment of light infantry, division Jérôme). In: Souvenirs et correspondance etc. p.75
Bachelu confirms he received his orders to move between 11 a.m. and noon. Cf. his letter to the duc d'Elchingen, dated 12th February 1829. In: Papers E.Stoffel. In private collection.
Charras says it was 11.45 a.m. In: Histoire de la campagne de 1815 Vol.I p.189
Reille erroneously claims the 2nd corps was put in motion after the receiving of the orders of Flahaut. In fact the 2nd corps was delayed for two hours.
Cf. Reille. In: Documents inédits p.57
Colonel Trefcon, chief of staff of division Bachelu, claims his division would have marched after 8.30 a.m. (see above) and yet arrived only in front of Quatre Bras by noon after wrong marches. He simply tries to connect these (false) times through false information. In: Carnet de campagne etc. p.181
D'Erlon believes both army-corps, his as well as the 2nd, left by 11 a.m. Cf. Drouet d'Érlon.

Le maréchal Drouet, comte d'Erlon etc. p.95

Chef d'escadron Lemonnier-Delafosse writes that Ney started to move the 2nd corps by 1 p.m. In: Souvenirs militaires p.205

15. Copy in SHD. C15, nr.5 Original in private collection.

16. Cf. Letter of Bachelu to the duc d'Elchingen, dated 12th of February 1829. He mentions the fact that Piré's units were already formed in the fields, by the time his division began to arrive. In: Papers E.Stoffel. In: private collection.

Charras - Histoire de la campagne de 1815 Vol.I p.193

Siborne believes it was 1 p.m. In: History of the war in France etc. Vol.I p.100

17. By the fact that the 1st corps near Gosselies had to wait for this division it becomes apparent that the division marched through Gosselies.

18. According to H.de Mauduit, Guiton advanced from Charleroi without halting. The other brigade, of Piquet, followed further behind and have arrived later at Frasnes, too late to participate in the battle. In: Les derniers jours de la grande armée Vol.II p.144

Chef de bataillon Rullière (95th regiment, division of Durutte) states the cuirassiers passed his division at 8 a.m. and that they took up a position in rear of a wood [Delhütte]. Cf. his account dated 1856. In: Largeaud, J.M. - Napoleon et Waterloo p.372

19. H.de Mauduit says it was 2.30 p.m. In: Les derniers jours de la grande armée Vol.II p.144

Colonel Heymès mentions a time of 3 p.m., and suggest as if the cuirassiers charged very shortly after, but this is not correct. In: Documents inédits etc. p.9

Reille claims it was near the battlefield towards 2 p.m. In: Duc d'Elchingen. Documents inédits p.58

20. Edouard de Colbert, commander of the lancers of the guard. Cf. his letter dated 15th May 1829. In: AN, AF 137 / Fonds Ney f.21

Flahaut's letter to the duke of Elchingen. In: Duc d'Elchingen. Documents inédits etc. p.63 It was around 11.15 a.m. that Flahaut met general Lefebvre Desnouettes.

Reille. In: Documents inédits. p.58

Count Flahaut in a letter dated 1857 to A.H.Brialmont. In: The first Napoleon etc. p.314

Also general Foy confirms the presence of chasseurs and lancers of the light cavalry of the guard near Frasnes. In: Girod de l'Ain - Vie militaire etc. p.270

Chef d'escadron Lemonnier-Delafosse, chief of staff of Foy's division, confirms the presence of 2500 men of cavalry in reserve further to the rear [was in fact about 2000 men]. In: Souvenirs militaires p.207

Chef de bataillon Rullière (95th regiment, division of Durutte) states that a division of the cavalry of the guard took up a position near the cuirassiers in rear of a wood [Delhütte]. Cf. his account dated 1856. In: Largeaud, J.M. - Napoleon et Waterloo p.372

21. Copy in: Registre de correspondance du lieutenant général Comte Reille. In: SHD. C15, nr.22 Reille in: Notice historique etc. In: Documents inédits p.58

Foy states his division (plus the one of Bachelu) was ordered “de faire tête de colonne à gauche”. Cf. Notes of Foy. In: Girod de l’Ain. Vie etc. p.271

²² According to Répécaud, chef de bataillon and member of a company of engineers of the 5th division of Bachelu, Ney would have said to Bachelu: “Qu’avez vous besoin de tant de précautions, vous n’avez affaire qu’à cette poignée d’allemands qui, hier, ont été sabré à Gosselies.” Répécaud would have been with Bachelu and Foy at the time these words were uttered. In: Napoleon à Ligny etc. p.17

23. Division Bachelu: 5098 men and 8 guns. Division of Foy 4657 men and 8 guns. Division of Piré 1762 men and 6 guns. In: SHTA. C15, nr.35 – total of about 11.517 men.

This figure excludes the cavalry of Kellermann, Lefebvre Desnouettes and the 1st regiment of hussars (Pajol).

As for the artillery, it’s been taken into account that all three divisions had their guns with them. Cf. Reille’s report. In: SHD. C15, nr.22

²⁴ The fact that the division was the leading one is confirmed by both Durutte himself as well as chef de bataillon Rullière.

Durutte’s account in the Sentinelle de l’armée p.77

Chef de bataillon Rullière’s account dated 1856. In: Largeaud, J.M. - Napoleon et Waterloo p.372

25. Original in: SHD. C15, nr.5 Also in:

Ropes, J.C. - The Waterloo campaign (Annex nr.7)

Pontécoulant, F.G.de - Souvenirs militaires etc. p.144

Their versions are different from the original in details.

26. Captain Duthilt (chief of staff of the brigade Bourgeois) says that his division, the one of Quiot, got the order to march swiftly to Marchienne-au-Pont and from there to Gosselies. In: Les mémoires du capitaine Duthilt p.298

Private Canler, of the 28th regiment (brigade Bourgeois), says that his division left from Thuin at noon, but in relation to the later situation near Frasnes this is impossible; it was much earlier that the division left from Thuin, as the distance between Thuin and Gosselies is about 20 kilometres. In: Canler, L. - Mémoires de Canler p.24

27. The most remote units were at Solre-sur-Sambre (part of Jacquinet) and Thuin (Quiot), 32 and 20 kilometres from Gosselies respectively.

Heymès claims that Ney, from the lack of adjudants, sent members of the cavalry of the guard to the units of the 1st corps in order to speed them up. In: Heymès. In: Relation etc. In:

Documents inédits. p.8

28. Reille had told d'Erlon that he was waiting for orders of Ney as well.

29. Cf. Mauduit, H. de - Les derniers jours de la grande armée etc. Vol.II p.171

Charras - Histoire de la campagne de 1815 Vol.I p.212

D'Erlon says it was at 11.00 a.m. or noon. In: Letter to the duke of Elchingen, dated 1829. In: Documents inédits p.64

30. The 1st corps marched with its divisions like thus: 4th, 3rd, 2nd and 1st. This meant that the division of Quiot would have to take up position at Marbais. D'Erlon waited in detaching the division to Marbais and in the end it never got there due to the events which followed.

31. Brouwet, E. - Mémoires et documents sur la campagne de 1815. In: Revue des études Napoléoniennes 1932. p.361

Strange enough, no destination is mentioned.

32. Mauduit, H.de - Les derniers jours de la grande armée etc. Vol.II p.172

Both divisions of Donzelot and Quiot were pressed as well, and one can assume it was the same for Marcognet. Cf. Duthilt - Les mémoires du capitaine Duthilt p.298

33. Houssaye claims it was between 1.30 and 2 p.m. In: Houssaye, H. - 1815.Waterloo. p.205
Chef de bataillon Rullière (95th regiment, division of Durutte) states that his division left at 10 or 11 a.m. but this is incorrect. Cf. his account dated 1856. In: Largeaud, J.M. - Napoleon et Waterloo p.372

34. Chapelle Herlaymont is about ten kilometres west of Gosselies in a line towards Mons. The order of the night of the 15th of June from Soult instructed d'Erlon to send out patrols towards Mons. This mission could possibly be regarded as such a patrol.

The halt is mentioned by chef de bataillon Rullière. He believes it lasted from 12.30 until 1.30 p.m. but this is incorrect. Cf. account dated 1856. In: Largeaud, J.M. - Napoleon et Waterloo p.372

There is probably a connection here with the emissaries sent out by d'Erlon and who had reported to d'Erlon about a threat formed by (part of) Wellington's army as coming from Mons towards Charleroi on the 16th of June. Cf. Lobau's report to Napoleon of the early afternoon.

35. Houssaye found the report in the papers of colonel Gourgaud, now in the AN, Fonds Gourgaud, but it is unavailable there.

The document would not be have been dated in time, but Houssaye himself dates it between 1 and 3 p.m. In: 1815.Waterloo p.205 (footnote)

36. Houssaye thinks it was at 3 p.m. In: 1815.Waterloo p.205

Cf. Germain, P. - Drouet d'Erlon p.162

37. This means that the column had an average speed of 3 km/hour.

Répécaud believes it was there by 4 p.m. In: Napoleon à Ligny etc. p.22

According to Houssaye half of the column was north of this crossing between 4 and 4.15 p.m. This would have meant that the most advanced troops of Durutte were by that time near the inn called à l'Empereur, which is about 7 kilometres north of Gosselies. Taking into account a departure at 3 p.m. the troops could not have covered this distance in about one hour. In: 1815. Waterloo p.205

38. Cf. Account of colonel Gordon written on the 20th of June written at Ghent. In: Mauduit, H.de - Les derniers jours de la grande armée. Vol.II p.186

Report of colonel Van Zuylen van Nijeveld. He speaks of one man though as a *capitaine adjoint*, dressed in farmer's cloths.

Sometimes it is erroneously asserted that Gordon and Gaugler deserted during the march of the division to Wagnelée, but that they actually deserted that morning is confirmed by general Brue (division Durutte). In: Chapuis, F.C. - Waterloo. Notice sur le 85e de ligne etc. p.53

Cf. Note of the son of general Durutte in the Sentinelle de l'armée of 1838 p.77

Durutte himself in a letter dated 25th January 1820 to the editor of Le Constitutionnel. In: Papers E.Stoffel.

Sir Augustus Frazer reports the desertion in his letter dated 7.30 a.m. 17th of June. He had got this information from the prince of Orange. In: Sabine, E. Letters of colonel Sir Augustus Frazer p.542

Captain Von Gagern met Gordon and Gaugler, in riding from Braine le Comte to Nivelles on the late evening of the 16th of June. In: NL-ZuRAZ, Van Löben Sels, 0302, inv.nr.265

Chef de bataillon Rullière (95th regiment, division Durutte) erroneously claims that Gordon and Gaugler deserted during the night of the 15th of June. Cf. his account dated 1856. In: Largeaud, J.M. - Napoleon et Waterloo p.374

Colonel Van Heerdt, chief of staff of De Ghigny's brigade, claims he met De Bourmont, with an adjudant and a chasseur à cheval, somewhere between Arquennes and Quatre Bras on the afternoon of the 16th of June. As De Bourmont traveled through Namur, Louvain and Brussels to Ghent, there is no doubt that the men they encountered were in fact were Gordon and Gaugler. Cf. his letter in: NL-ZuRAZ, Van Löben Sels, 0302, inv.nr.263

The commissioner inspector of the region between the Lys and the Sambre, Jonkheer Vrijthoff, makes the same mistake by mentioning the presence of general De Bourmont at Nivelles on the 16th of June. He would have been accompanied by cavalry captain Hoyneck van Papendrecht, chief of staff of the division of Collaert. In: Geusau, Von - Eene onuitgegeven etc.