

## Grouchy's movements.

### Grouchy's orders.

Being given the command over the right wing of the army, Grouchy started issuing orders to both his infantry corps to move to Point du Jour right away. Grouchy sent colonel De Bloqueville to Vandamme at Saint Amand to hand him the order to head for Point du Jour.<sup>1</sup> For the orders to Gérard, Grouchy decided to meet general Gérard in person.<sup>2</sup> While on his way to Ligny, Grouchy briefly met marshal Soult who was on his way from Fleurus to Napoleon. Towards noon Grouchy found Gérard in a bad temper and not open for his orders. It was not only that he now had great difficulty to act under Grouchy, but his mood had already been corrupted because of the fact that he wasn't granted the rank of marshal after the battle.<sup>3</sup> It was shortly after his arrival at Ligny that Grouchy received Napoleon's order through Bertrand. Grouchy now instructed Gérard to follow the corps of Vandamme towards Gembloux. Obviously, Vandamme was also to proceed to Gembloux. Grouchy had by now been informed that he would not have the cavalry of Domon and Milhaud at his disposal. While he was at Ligny, Grouchy also received the report which Pajol had written at noon.<sup>4</sup> Grouchy was with Gérard for about two and a half hours and then left for Point du Jour, where he arrived around 3 p.m., the moment the advance guard of Vandamme started to arrive there.<sup>5</sup> It was at Point du Jour that Grouchy met his aide de camp Bella, who had just returned from Gembloux. He had been there for about one and a half hours, to leave around 2.15 p.m. Bella informed Grouchy about the departure of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Prussian corps and about Exelmans moving in its rear.<sup>6</sup>



Point du Jour, with the Namur road in front and the old road to Gembloux on the left.

The 3<sup>rd</sup> corps.

It was towards 12.30 o'clock that Vandamme started to move his corps towards Point du Jour, and from there towards Gembloux.<sup>7</sup> Having a position north of Saint Amand La Haye and Saint Amand, the corps most probably moved from there along Brye to the Namur road.<sup>8</sup> Its vanguard reached Point du Jour towards 3 p.m. As Grouchy arrived at Point du Jour shortly before the vanguard of the 3rd corps did, he led the corps into the small road leading to Gembloux.

While Vandamme covered the distance in one single column, rain had started to fall.<sup>9</sup> Halts were frequent, especially there where the road was very bad. Additionally, the march suffered from a lack of discipline.<sup>10</sup> It was about 5.30 p.m. that the first units of Vandamme's corps entered Gembloux.<sup>11</sup> The population of Gembloux received the French with enthusiasm: bells were rung and people cried "Vive l'empereur !" Despite all this, the troops of Vandamme plundered Gembloux. Vandamme, however, ordered these men to be relentlessly punished.

The 3rd corps in all probability took up its bivouacs north and north-east of Gembloux.<sup>12</sup> After his arrival at Gembloux, Vandamme wrote the following report to Grouchy:

*Gembloux, 17 Juin 1815*

*Monsieur le maréchal, j'ai l'honneur d'informer V.E. que les généraux Thilmann [sic] et Borstell faisaient partie de l'armée que nous avons eue en tête. Ils sont arrivés ici ce matin vers 6 heures et en sont partis vers dix heures. Ils ont avoué à mes hôtes que la journée d'hier avait mis hors de combat 20.000 hommes de l'armée prussienne. Ils ont demandé les distances de Wavre, Perwès et Hannut.*

*J'ai l'honneur d'être, Monsieur le maréchal, de Votre Excellence le très humble et très obéissant serviteur,*

*Lieutenant-général Vandamme*<sup>13</sup>

Vandamme also issued a general order for the 18<sup>th</sup> of June, which reads:

*Il sera fait demain 18 une distribution d'eau de vie et de pain aux troupes du 3e corps. Cette distribution aura lieu à 5 heures du matin par les soins de Mr. l'ordonnateur en chef.*

*Au quartier général à gembloux, le 17 Juin 1815*

*Le chef de bataillon, chef de l'état major du 3e corps, Guyardin*<sup>14</sup>

The 4<sup>th</sup> corps.

In Grouchy's presence, Gérard would have lingered in getting his corps starting to break up and march off.<sup>15</sup> The 4th corps had its bivouac north of Ligny, to the left of the 6th corps. At 12.30

o'clock it had received the order to follow the 3rd corps towards Gembloux. <sup>16</sup> Accordingly, it was towards 1 p.m. that the divisions received the order to be in readiness to leave. <sup>17</sup> Resulting, it was between 1 and 2 p.m. that the units could leave.

The most efficient way to reach Point du Jour was to advance towards the Namur-road (about half a kilometre west of Sombreffe) and to follow this road to the east. However, as this road was used by the 3rd corps, the 4th corps had to wait for it to clear its front (the area towards the Namur road), which was formed by the division of Hulot. <sup>18</sup> This took place about 3 p.m. <sup>19</sup>

The result was that Hulot reached Point du Jour around 4.30 p.m. As he closely followed Vandamme's rearguard, he reached Gembloux towards 7 p.m. <sup>20</sup> In taking the same average speed as Vandamme's to cover the distance between Point du Jour and Gembloux (which is about 2.5 kilometres per hour), the last units of Gérard's corps reached their positions towards 9.30 p.m. <sup>21</sup> These positions were south and south-east of Gembloux. <sup>22</sup>

That night troops started looting the small town and the old monastery in particular. Those who had started this were executed, a general order was issued in which these actions were condemned in the strongest manner. <sup>23</sup>

On the night of the 16<sup>th</sup> of June, Gérard's cavalry (Maurin's division), was in the vicinity of the mill of Potriaux, to the left of Exelmans' dragoons. On the 17<sup>th</sup> of June it moved – probably the moment the 4<sup>th</sup> corps moved off - towards Bothey (about two kilometres east of Point du Jour), thereby covering the right flank of the 4<sup>th</sup> corps. It was there that it spent the night. <sup>24</sup>



An old farm at the village of Bothey.

Pajol's corps and Teste's division.

After 12 o'clock Pajol and Teste continued their march towards Saint Denis. Both units took the road leading from Les Isnes to Saint Denis, which leads south of the farm of Malmaison, along

the Bois de Suarion and the Bois de Saint Denis. Pajol also sent out patrols as far as the other side of Meux (one kilometre north of Saint Denis and seven and a half kilometres east of Gembloux) and Temploux. Soon he found out that the enemy fell back towards the road Louvain - Namur. Apart from that, he also understood from local people that about 29.000 to 30.000 men were massed near Gembloux. In this situation, Pajol decided to return to Mazy. Accordingly, Pajol and Teste went back from Saint Denis through Bossières and from there to Mazy.<sup>25</sup> This may have meant that this march also went through Golzinne and possibly Beuzet or further south along the Bois de Suarion. That night, both Pajol and Teste troops were at Mazy. Teste had three battalions east of the village and two, plus the artillery, in rear of it.<sup>26</sup> It was from Mazy that Pajol reported back to Grouchy that he had pushed as far as beyond Temploux and Meux and that he had found out that Namur was evacuated by the enemy. As he also found out that some 25.000 to 30.000 men [the 3<sup>rd</sup> corps] were massed around Gembloux, he had decided to head back for Mazy. This report reached Grouchy at Gembloux before 10 p.m.

Exelmans' corps.

It was between 4 and 5 p.m. that Thielmann's last units left their positions in and near Gembloux. One hour later, the French dragoons entered Gembloux, Chastel's brigade in front.<sup>27</sup> Exelmans decided to take up positions towards Sauvenière, north and north-east of Gembloux.<sup>28</sup> It was also here that he took more as 400 cows, convoys and baggages which had been abandoned by Thielmann.<sup>29</sup>

It was by 7.30 p.m. that Exelmans – as ordered by Grouchy – decided to send the brigade of Bonnemains (composed of the 4<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> regiment dragoons, 700 men) to Walhain.<sup>30</sup> Bonnemains crossed Walhain and north of it, he sent patrols towards Nils-Saint-Vincent and Tourinnes.<sup>31</sup> In Tourinnes, Bonnemains found some Prussian units which were observed by the French for about one hour (these were units of Hiller's brigade, 4<sup>th</sup> corps). Some skirmishing took place. Then, Bonnemains decided to go back and take up a position at Ernage.<sup>32</sup>

It was towards 10 p.m. that Bonnemains was informed by a local peasant that Prussian troops had evacuated Tourinnes. This information was confirmed at 1 a.m. by a patrol which Bonnemains had sent out.<sup>33</sup> On the instruction of Grouchy, Exelmans had also sent out a colonel Chaillot with the 15<sup>th</sup> regiment of dragoons (Brigade Vincent, 415 men) to Perwez-lez-Marchez.<sup>34</sup> After his return to Sauvenière, Chaillot informed Exelmans that the Prussians were retreating towards Wavre.<sup>35</sup> At Ernage, at 10.15 p.m., Bonnemains wrote the following report to general Exelmans:

*Ernage, le 17 Juin 1815 à 10 heures 1/4 du soir*

*Mon général,*

*L'ennemi a occupé jusqu'au soir le village de Tourinnes. Il y avait, selon le dire des paysans, beaucoup d'infanterie et quelque cavalerie qui couvraient la marche d'un convoi. Je les ai*

*observés jusqu'à la nuit, et ai retrogradé sur Baudeset ou j'avais laissé un régiment dans l'intention d'y loger avec ma brigade, mais j'y ai trouvé le 5e dragons établi. Je me suis alors déterminé à venir ici et j'y attendrai vos ordres. Un paysan que j'ai envoyé de Sart-à-Walhain à Tourines m'assure à l'instant que l'ennemi est parti de ce dernier endroit à 8 heures 1/2 du soir.*

*Je vous prie, mon général, d'agréer l'assurance de mon respect,*

*Le général baron Bonnemains*

*P.S. Ne sachant où se trouve Mr. le général Chastel, je ne lui écris point.*

In the margin is written by Grouchy:

*J'ai lu ce rapport, qui me paraît devoir accélérer encore notre marche.*

*Signé, le maréchal Grouchy*<sup>36</sup>

Grouchy at Gembloux.

Grouchy himself went ahead of his troops and arrived at Gembloux towards 7 p.m. Inhabitants informed him of the former Prussian presence but couldn't tell him where they had gone.<sup>37</sup> As a result, Grouchy sent captain de la Fontaine (one of his aides) out to gain intelligence about their whereabouts.<sup>38</sup>

Grouchy established his headquarters in the premises of a man called Philibert Delrue (1783 – 1848). He was since 1812 the tenant of the farm which belonged to the abbey of Gembloux. Both buildings, as well as other properties in the area, were owned by Jean-Baptiste Paulée (1754-1832), a wealthy French businessman.<sup>39</sup> Having arrived at Gembloux, Grouchy wrote to Exelmans (who was at Sauvenières) right away:

*Gembloux, le 17 Juin 1815, à 7 heures du soir,*

*Mon cher général,*

*J'arrive ici avec les corps de Vandamme et de Gérard. Donnez-moi de vos nouvelles en toute hâte, afin que je règle mes mouvements d'après votre rapport et la marche de l'ennemi, qui se retire par divers chemins, et a pris, m'assure-t-on, la route de Perwez-le-Marché et Leuze. Il est poursuivi dans cette direction par le général Pajol, qui espère arriver ce soir à Leuze. Il faut demain que nous le talonnions de très près. Je mettrai donc Vandamme en marche à la petite point du jour et me lierai à vous. Vos misères pour vous garder vont finir, puisque je commande l'aile droite de l'armée et disposerai d'infanterie et de cavalerie légère à mon gré. Répondez-moi promptement et donnez moi le plus de détails que vous pourrez quant au mouvements de Prussiens, afin que je les transmette à S.M., qui attaque aujourd'hui Wellington s'il est encore aux Quatre Bras. Pajol a pris ce matin huit pièces, beaucoup de bagages et bon nombre de*

*prisonniers.*

*Le Maréchal Grouchy*<sup>40</sup>



Panorama of Gembloux at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

It is strange that this cannot be traced from the order as given here, but in relation to Grouchy's report to Napoleon of 10 p.m. (see below) and in the time-table of the mission of Bonnemains (see above) there is no doubt that Grouchy ordered Exelmans to send out patrols towards Perwez and Sart-à-Walhain.

After that, it was probably between 7 and 8 p.m., Grouchy wrote Gérard the following order:

*Gemblousse [sic], le 17 Juin 1815*

*Veillez, mon cher général, envoyer l'ordre à votre cavalerie qui est restée à Roty [Bothey] d'en partir demain à la petite pointe du jour pour se porter à Grand Lez. Elle ne devra pas passer par Gembloux, que dans son mouvement elle laissera sur sa gauche; l'ennemi se retirant sur Perwez-le-Marché. Votre cavalerie se ralliera à nous dans notre mouvement de demain matin qui sera dans cette direction, mais il est nécessaire que cette cavalerie parte demain de très bonne heure, afin d'arriver à temps pour que nous la rallions quand nous serons à hauteur de Grand Lez.*

*Faites-moi le plaisir de m'envoyer un officier de votre état-major, qui vous reportera l'ordre de mouvement pour demain; je l'expédierai aussitôt que j'aurai reçu le rapport d'Exelmans.*

Mille amitiés,

*Le maréchal Grouchy* <sup>41</sup>

The report of Exelmans as referred to by Grouchy here in this order for Gérard is not available, but it arrived somewhere between 8 and 10 p.m. and this triggered Grouchy to issue his *ordre de mouvement* for Pajol, Vandamme and Gérard at 10 p.m. The order for Pajol read:

*Gembloux, le 17 Juin, 10 h. du soir*

*Le marchal Grouchy au général Pajol, à Mazy.*

*Veillez, mon cher général, partir demain 18 du courant, à la pointe du jour, de Mazy, et vous porter avec votre corps d'armée et la division Teste à Grand-Lez, où je vous transmettrai de nouveaux ordres. Je marche à la suite de l'ennemi, qui avait encore une trentaine de mille hommes ici à midi. Je me dirige sur Sart-à-Valhain mais suivant les renseignements que je recueillerai dans la nuit et les votres, peut-être rabattrai-je sur Perwez-le-Marché.*

*Aussitôt que vous serez arrivé à Grand-Lez, liez vous avec moi par des partis, et me donnez de vos nouvelles. L'empereur me prescrivant d'éclairer la route de Namur et de savoir ce qui s'est retiré sur cette ville, poussez-y une très forte reconnaissance bien commandé, qu'elle tache d'aller jusques à Temploux, s'il est possible; qu'elle sache ce qui y a passé en infanterie, cavalerie et artillerie et si Namur est évacué. De Temploux elle pourra vous rejoindre à Grand-Lez par le chemin le plus court, et sans revenir à Mazy. Je désire aussi que vous vous portiez sur Grand-Lez sans revenir passer à Gembloux, que vous trouveriez encombré. Allez donc par la route directe qui sera toujours aussi bonne que celle que nous avons suivie. Vandamme a donné ordre à Subervie de vous rejoindre; ne l'a-t-il donc pas fait? Renvoyez-moi deux officiers et de vos nouvelles, en m'accusant réception de la présente.*

Mille amitiés,

*Le maréchal Grouchy* <sup>42</sup>

The order for Gérard read:

*Gembloux, le 17 Juin 1815 à dix heures du soir*

*Je désire, mon cher général, que vous vous mettiez en marche demain 18 du courant à 8 heures du matin. Vous suivrez le corps du général Vandamme et nous nous porterons d'abord sur Sart-à-Valhain. Les renseignements ultérieurs que je recueillerai et les rapports de mes reconnaissances sur Perwez et Sart-à-Valhain, régleront notre marche ultérieure. Voulez-vous bien faire donner, à raison du mauvais temps, double ration d'eau de vie aux troupes sous vos ordres.*

*Le maréchal Grouchy*<sup>43</sup>

Vandamme was also given orders. They read:

*Gembloux, le 17 Juin*

*Ainsi que nous en sommes convenus, mon cher général, je désire que vous vous mettiez en marche demain à six heures et que vous vous portiez sur Sart-à-Valhain [sic]. Vous serez précédé de la cavalerie du général Exelmans, et suivi du corps du général en chef Gérard.*

*Le général Pajol a ordre de marcher de Mazy, route de Namur, où il est en ce moment sur Grand-Léz [sic] où il recevra une nouvelle direction d'après celle que nous suivrons nous-mêmes.*

*Agrérez, mon cher Général, les assurances de ma haute considération et de mon sincère attachement,*

*Le maréchal Grouchy*<sup>44</sup>

Shortly after he had written this order, Grouchy realized that he had forgotten an important element and therefore he wrote Vandamme:

*Gembloux, le 17 Juin, 1815*

*J'avais oublié de vous prier, mon cher général, de dépasser Sart-à-Valhain [sic] avec votre corps d'armée, afin que le général Gérard puisse prendre position en arrière. Je pense que nous nous porterons plus loin que Sart-à-Valhain [sic]: ce sera donc plutôt une halte qu'une position définitive.*

*Mille amitiés,*

*Le maréchal Grouchy*<sup>45</sup>

Having issued these orders, Grouchy eventually wrote his report for Napoleon. It reads:

*Gembloux, 17th June 10p.m.*

*Marshal Grouchy to the emperor,*

*I have the honour to inform you that I occupy Gembloux and that my cavalry is in Sauvenière. The enemy, about 30.000 men strong, continues his retreat. We have seized a park of 400 cattle, supplies and baggages.*

*It seems, according to all reports, that the Prussians, after having arrived at Sauvenières, have split in two columns: one would have taken the road of Wavre, passing through Sart-à-Valhain, the other column seems to have directed itself towards Perwez.*

*One may perhaps infer that a part is going to join Wellington, and that the remainder, which is*



*the army of Blücher, falls back to Liège; another column, with artillery, having carried out its retreat to Namur.*

*General Exelmans has the order to push tonight six squadrons to Sart-à-Valhain and three squadrons to Perwez. In case the main Prussian force pulls back to Wavre according to my reports, I will pursue them in that direction, to prevent them from reaching Brussels and to separate them from Wellington.*

*Yet, in case my intelligence proves that the main Prussian force has marched upon Perwez, I will head for that place in pursuit of the enemy.*

*The generals Thielmann and Borstell were part of the army which Your Majesty has beaten yesterday; they were still here this morning at 10 o'clock and have admitted that they have lost 20.000 men. While leaving, they have asked for the distances to Wavres, Perwez and Hannut.*

*Blücher is slightly wounded at the arm, which has not prevented him from commanding, after having been taken care of. He has not passed through Gembloux.*

*I am with respect of Your Majesty, the obedient servant,  
Marshal count de Grouchy <sup>46</sup>*

This report to the emperor was based on information which Grouchy had gathered and which he formulated thus:

*L'ennemi, fort d'environ une trentaine de mille hommes, continue sa retraite assez en désordre. Le général Exelmans leur a saisi un parc de plus de 400 bêtes à cornes.*

*L'ennemi se retire dans la direction de Wavres, ce qui semble devoir indiquer qu'il veut reprendre la route de Bruxelles, pour se réunir, s'il le peut, à Wellington, par Sart-à-Walhain, Tourines etc. Ils ont fait aussi filer beaucoup de monde par Haute-Baudes, suivant la direction de Sart-à-Walhain.*

*A Sauvenière, ils se sont séparés en deux parties. La plus forte colonne a pris sur Pervez [sic], ce qui indique peut-être qu'une portion des prussiens va joindre Wellington, et l'autre est à l'armée de Blücher.*

*Tous demandent le chemin de Bruxelles. Cette nuit, Exelmans a du détacher 6 escadrons avec le général Bonnemains sur Sart-à-Walhain, 3 autres sur Pervez [sic]. Les prussiens qui ont occupé Sauvenière, Haut-Baudes, se sont dirigés sur Ouray [Orbais] passant par Grand-Lez. Ils ont suivi la chaussée des Romains pour aller du côté de Maëstricht. <sup>47</sup>*

It was running towards midnight that Grouchy received Bonnemains' report. <sup>48</sup>

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1. Colonel De Bloqueville. In: Mémoires etc. Vol.IV p.146  
Aide de camp Bella. In: Relation succincte etc. 4me série p.39  
Grouchy. In: Relation succincte etc.p.23

<sup>2</sup> Grouchy. In: Relation succincte etc. p.22  
Aide de camp Bella. In: Relation succincte etc. 4me série p.39

3. Baron Le Sénécal, Bayeux 2<sup>nd</sup> June 1830. In: SHD  
Le Sénécal. In: Grouchy. In: Mémoires du maréchal de Grouchy. Vol.IV p.125

<sup>4</sup> Grouchy may have got it by 1.30 p.m.

5. Grouchy claims he was at Point du Jour around 3.30 p.m.  
Also in: Relation succincte etc. p.23  
Le Sénécal. In: Grouchy. In: Mémoires du maréchal de Grouchy. Vol.IV p.125

<sup>6</sup> Grouchy himself says about Bella's mission: "[...] Je venais d'y être joint par mon aide-de-camp Bella que j'avais envoyé, il y avait quelques heures, au général Exelmans à Gembloux, et qui de toute la matinée n'avait fait parvenir aucunes nouvelles sur la marche des Prussiens. J'appris que le général Exelmans avait en face de lui de la cavalerie Prussienne, que plusieurs colonnes ennemies avaient traversé Gembloux pendant la nuit du 16 au 17, rallié dans cette ville un corps de leur armée, celui du général Bullow [sic]. Mon aide-de-camp ajouta que, jusqu'alors, le général Exelmans n'avait pu rien apprendre de positif sur les directions ultérieurs dans lesquelles auraient marché les colonnes Prussiennes.[...]"

In: Relation succincte etc. 4me série p.23

In another publication he writes:"[...] Comme j'y [Point du Jour] arrivais, je fus informé que les colonnes Prussiennes qui avaient pris d'abord la route de Namur, l'avaient quittés pour suivre un chemin parallèle à celui qui conduit à Gembloux, et qu'il n'y avait guère que des parcs d'artillerie qui eussent filé de ce côté [...]" In: Observations etc. In: Mémoires du maréchal de Grouchy Vol.V p.118

Bella himself says: "M'ayant envoyé en mission près du général Exelmans, je ne vous rejoignis qu'à Sombreff [sic]. [...] Je ne sache pas que le général Exelmans vous ait écrit d'autre lettre qu'une réponse à la dépêche que je lui portai dans l'après-midi du 17.[...]" In: Relation succincte p.4<sup>e</sup> série p.40, 47

Though Bella speaks from a letter which he would have carried, in the sequence of the events it is simply most improbable that he carried one at that time of day. Other than that, Grouchy doesn't mention any written report from Exelmans as handed over by Bella.

<sup>7</sup> Ph.Gerbet (37<sup>th</sup> regiment of line, division Lefol) believes it was between noon and 1 p.m. In: Souvenirs p.13

General Berthézène states it was noon. In: Souvenirs militaires p.390

Houssaye uses a report of Von Groeben, dated noon, to state that the 3rd corps left before noon but the report in question doesn't mention any specific hour and, above all, is not contemporary,

but of a later date. In: 1815. Waterloo p.249

Aerts sees the same problem, but isn't aware of the existence of the account Houssaye (erroneously) refers to. In: Etudes etc. Livre IV (manuscript) p.20

While Lachouque thinks it was at 1 p.m. that Vandamme left, 2 p.m. is for instance given by Charras. Cf. Lachouque, H. - Waterloo p.119

Charras - La campagne de 1815 Vol.I p.242

<sup>8</sup> Houssaye gives the corps an excentric march through Saint Amand, Fleurus, Ligny and Tongrinelle (9 kilometres), which is incorrect: Vandamme didn't go through Fleurus. In: 1815. Waterloo p.249

<sup>9</sup> Colonel De Bloqueville. In: Les mémoires du maréchal Grouchy Vol.IV p.147

He confirms he and Grouchy had left Ligny for Point du Jour.

Baron Le Sénécal mentions the thunder as the 3<sup>rd</sup> corps was moving. In: Mémoires du maréchal de Grouchy Vol.IV p.129

As the storm had reached Quatre Bras by 2 p.m. it pulled further south-east, to unleash its rains towards Point du Jour probably by 2.30 p.m.

Grouchy, however, states the thunder came the moment the 3<sup>rd</sup> corps had passed the defile of Gembloux (possibly by 6 p.m.). In: Relation succincte p.24

<sup>10</sup> Cf. general order as cited below.

<sup>11</sup> This time of arrival at 5.30 p.m. meant an average speed of the corps of slightly more than two and a half kilometres per hour.

Ph.Gerbet (37<sup>th</sup> regiment of the linie, division Lefol) states it was 7 p.m. that the 3<sup>rd</sup> corps reached Gembloux. In: Souvenirs p.13

Grouchy says it was towards dusk. Cf. Réfutations du livre Gourgaud etc. In: Grouchy, G.de Mémoires du maréchal de Grouchy. Vol.V p.119

Also see: Camon. La guerre Napoleonienne.Paris.1925.II.p.185.

The 33<sup>rd</sup> regiment, escorting a convoi of supplies would have reached Gembloux by night. Cf. Lieutenant Putigny (33<sup>rd</sup> regiment, division Berthézène). In: Le grognard etc. p.171

12. Cf. Fantin des Odoards - Journal du général Fantin des Odoards p.433

Grouchy. In: Observations sur la relation etc. In: Mémoires du maréchal Grouchy Vol.V p.119

Grouchy. In: Fragments historiques etc. In: Mémoires du maréchal Grouchy Vol.V p.280

In another account Grouchy speaks of a bivouac at about 1 ½ lieue [about 6.75 km] in rear of Gembloux. In: Relation succincte etc. p.24

Ph.Gerbet (member 37<sup>th</sup> regiment of the line. Lefol's division), Souvenirs p.13

Le Sénécal. In: Mémoires du maréchal de Grouchy. Vol.IV p.129

Gérard speaks of a position at about 4.5 to 6 kilometres away from Gembloux. Cf. his letter dated 10<sup>th</sup> August 1819 to colonel Simon Lorière. In: SHD, nr.C15/5

According to the adc Bella, the corps stood at about 3300 metres from Gembloux. In: Relation succincte 4<sup>e</sup> série p.39, 42

It seems as if the 2<sup>nd</sup> regiment of Swiss infantry marched independent of its division, only to retrieve it as it was already moving or at Gembloux. Cf. Colonel Stoffel in his journal. In: “Waterloo” , manuscript file of colonel Eugène Stoffel. In: Collection D.Lérault, France.

13. Cf. copy in SHD, nr.C15, nr.5

Grouchy In: Mémoires du maréchal de Grouchy. Vol.IV p.56-57

In: Le maréchal de Grouchy du 16 au 19 Juin 1815 etc. p.34

14. Original in SHD, nr.C15 nr.5

15. Colonel De Bloqueville. In: Mémoires du maréchal de Grouchy Vol.IV p.147

Grouchy himself. In: Relation succincte p.23

16. Cf. Gérard, E. - Quelques documents sur la bataille de Waterloo p.34

Réfutations du livre Gourgaud etc. In: Grouchy, G.de - Mémoires du maréchal de Grouchy Vol.V p.256

Grouchy In: Fragments historiques etc. p.7

Colonel Simon Lorière believes it was at 2 p.m. Cf.his letter to general Hulot, dated 16<sup>th</sup> August 1819. In: SHD, nr.C15 nr.5

<sup>17</sup> Cf. Hulot. Documents inédits p.26

<sup>18</sup> Hulot. Documents inédits p.26

The fact that Hulot’s division formed the vanguard is being confirmed by general Gérard himself. Cf.his letter dated 12<sup>th</sup> February 1820 to colonel Simon Lorière. In: SHD

19. Hulot - Documents inédits p.27

Gérard - Quelques documents etc. p.34

The march of the 4<sup>th</sup> corps has been a subject of discussion between Gérard and Grouchy. It is inconceivable that Grouchy somewhere states that the corps left Ligny by 7 p.m. (see below, observations) In: Relation succincte p.25

20. In: Documents inédits p.41

Also see: Houssaye, H. - 1815. Waterloo p.251

Captain Francois (30<sup>th</sup> regiment of the line, division of Pécheux) claims his division got near Gembloux at 6 p.m. In: Journal du capitaine Francois etc. p.886

Hulot claims his division arrived in its position (to the right of Gembloux) around 7 p.m. but this was somewhat later (towards 7.30 p.m.)

Having arrived there, Hulot got the order of Gérard to protect his flank towards the Orneau. For that reason he detached a battalion of the 9th regiment light infantry into its low ground, east of Gembloux. There it took up a position on the other side of the stream.

By 7 p.m. Grouchy wrote to Exelmans: "J'arrive ici avec les corps de Vandamme et de Gérard." So, by that time Vandamme was moving to his positions on the other side of Gembloux, while Gérard's vanguard had just reached it.

The fact that Hulot followed closely upon Vandamme's rearguard is confirmed by Gérard. In: *Quelques documents etc.* p.14, 34

21. Grouchy, general Gérard and colonel Simon Lorière claim the whole corps had taken up its positions by 10 p.m.

Grouchy in *Réfutations de livre Gourgaud etc.* In: Grouchy, G.de - *Mémoires du maréchal de Grouchy*. Vol.IV p.52 and Vol.V p.119

Gérard's letter dated 10<sup>th</sup> August 1819 to colonel Simon Lorière. In: SHD, nr.C15/5

Colonel Simon Lorière. Cf. his letter to general Hulot, dated 16<sup>th</sup> August 1819. In: SHD, nr.C15/5

Yet, Grouchy also states that the last units of the 4<sup>th</sup> corps reached Gembloux by 11 p.m. In: *Fragments historiques etc.* In: Grouchy, G.de - *Mémoires du maréchal de Grouchy*. Vol.V p.279

Cf. Le Gouest (account dated 20<sup>th</sup> March 1841). In: *Mémoires du maréchal de Grouchy*. Vol.IV p.141

According to Le Sénécal it was only after 11 p.m. that the 4<sup>th</sup> corps was fully assembled. In: *Mémoires du maréchal de Grouchy*. Vol.IV p.129

This is also stated by Grouchy.

Cf. *Relation succincte etc.* p.24

And: *Fragments historiques (1829)* In: *Mémoires du maréchal de Grouchy*. Vol.V p.279

Also see the account of aide de camp Bella. In: *Relation succincte 4<sup>e</sup> série* p.42

<sup>22</sup> Gérard claims a position "en deça de Gembloux", in a hilly surrounding about 2 kilometres away from Gembloux. Cf. his letter dated 10<sup>th</sup> August 1819 to colonel Simon Lorière. In: SHD, C15/5

According to Grouchy, Gérard had his headquarters in a building next to his own. In: *Relation succincte* p.28

<sup>23</sup> Cf. *Rumigny - Souvenirs du général comte de Rumigny* p.104

24. Cf. Grouchy's order to Gérard written at Gembloux.

According to captain Francois (30<sup>th</sup> regiment of the line, division of Pécheux) the division was at Gembloux, even before his own division got there. In: *Journal du capitaine Francois etc.*

p.886

Maurin himself, commander of the division, had got mortally wounded during the battle of Ligny and brigade general Vallin replaced him. From here on, the division will be referred to as the one of Vallin.

<sup>25</sup> Berton, J.B. - Précis historique, militaire et critique des batailles de Fleurus et de Waterloo p.49

26. Berton, J.B. - Précis historique, militaire et critique des batailles de Fleurus et de Waterloo p.54

Souvenirs du général baron Teste p.241

Teste mentions a march back to Mazy through a place called Beauvaine. This should be Bossières. Cf. Berton, J.B., Précis historique, militaire et critique des batailles de Fleurus et de Waterloo p.49

27. Berton, J.B. - Précis historique, militaire etc. p.48-49 He mentions the presence of a windmill there where the division of Chastel spent the night. This may have been the windmill south west of Basse Baudeset (map of Vandermaelen, 1859).

28. Berton, J.B. - Précis historique, militaire etc. p.49

The cavalry could pass to Sauvenière north of Gembloux by the farm of Ainij (now farm of d'Enée) or south of the abbey of Gembloux through the mill of l'Escaille and the farm of Wérissart.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. Grouchy's report to the emperor, dated 11 a.m. 18<sup>th</sup> of June.

30. Houssaye, H. - 1815.Waterloo p.253

Berton claims it was at dusk. In: Précis historique, militaire etc. p.49

31. Account of Bonnemains. In: SHD, nr.C15.5

32. Account of Bonnemains. In: SHD, nr.C15.5

33. Account of Bonnemains. In: SHD, nr.C15.5

34. Berton, J.B. Précis historique et militaire etc. p. 49

Chaillot passed along the farms of Métard (at Sauvenière), de Longpont, de Bady and the crossing called Les 5 Etoiles.

Chaillot would have followed the Roman road for about 1200 metres and then turned left for Perwez-le-Marchez.

35. Berton, J.B. - Précis historique et militaire etc. p.49

36. Original at SHD, nr.C15 nr.5

Also see:

Grouchy, G.de Mémoires du maréchal de Grouchy. Vol.IV p.60-61.

In: Le maréchal de Grouchy du 16 au 19 Juin 1815 etc. p.40

Grouchy leaves out the post scriptum.

37. Grouchy. In: Observations sur la relation etc. In: Mémoires etc. Vol.V p.119

Grouchy. Fragments historiques etc. In: Mémoires du maréchal de Grouchy. Vol.V p.279

Major De la Fresnaye. In: Mémoires etc. Vol.V p.135

<sup>38</sup> Cf. Le maréchal Grouchy du 16 au 19 Juin 1815 p.38, 57

39. Information of the *Cercle art et histoire* in Gembloux. The fact that Delrue was the one to receive Grouchy is confirmed by his statements in the Austrian “*Militärische Zeitschrift*”, 7th series, 1819 p.66-67

Cf. Vaudoncourt, G. de – Histoire des campagnes de 1814 et 1815 Vol.IV p.18

40. Copy in SHD, nr. Grouchy, G.de Mémoires du maréchal de Grouchy. Vol. IV p.53-54

Both these versions contain minor differences with the one from Vincennes.

In: Le maréchal de Grouchy du 16 au 19 Juin 1815 etc. p.31-32

41. Copy in SHD, nr. C15 nr.5

Also see: Sonmereyn, A. p.32

Grouchy, G.de - Mémoires du maréchal de Grouchy. Vol.IV p.54-55

Grouchy. In: Ordres donnés par le maréchal Grouchy ou transmis etc. p.5

In: Le maréchal de Grouchy du 16 au 19 Juin 1815 etc. p.32

42. Copy in SHD, nr.C15 nr.5

Cf. Grouchy, G.de Mémoires du maréchal de Grouchy. Vol.IV p.57-58

In: Le maréchal de Grouchy du 16 au 19 Juin 1815 etc. p.35-36

43. Copy in SHD, nr. C15 nr.5

Cf. Grouchy, G.de Mémoires du maréchal de Grouchy. Vol.IV p.55-56

Grouchy. In: Ordres donnés par le maréchal Grouchy ou transmis etc. p.5

In: Le maréchal de Grouchy du 16 au 19 Juin 1815 etc. p.33

The order was carried by colonel Le Sénécal. Yet, he translates the text as that Gérard was supposed to leave his positions before 6 a.m. Cf. his statement dated 3rd March 1818. In: SHD, nr.C15/5

44. Original in SHD, nr.C15 nr.5

Grouchy. In: Ordres donnés par le maréchal Grouchy ou transmis etc. p.8

In: Le maréchal de Grouchy du 16 au 19 Juin 1815 etc. p.33-34  
Grouchy, G.de Mémoires du maréchal de Grouchy. Vol.IV p.56

45. Original in SHD, nr.C15 nr.5

46. SHD, nr.C15 nr.5 (based upon a copy supplied by baron Du Casse in 1865).

The version as given by Grouchy is somewhat different:

*Gembloux, le 17 Juin 1815, à dix heures (du soir)*

*Sire,*

*J'ai l'honneur de vous rendre compte que j'occupe Gembloux, et que ma cavalerie est à Sauvenière.*

*L'ennemi, fort d'environ trente mille hommes, continue son mouvement de retraite. On lui a saisi ici un parc de 400 bêtes à cornes, des magasins, et des bagages. Il paraît, d'après tous les rapports, qu'arrivés à Sauvenière, les prussiens se sont divisés en deux colonnes; l'une a du prendre la route de Wavres, en passant par Sart à Walhain, l'autre colonne paraît s'être dirigée sur Perwez. On peut peut-être en inférer qu'une partie va joindre Wellington, et que le reste, qui est l'armée de Blücher, se retire sur Liège, une autre colonne, avec de l'artillerie, ayant fait son mouvement de retraite par Namur.*

*Le général Exelmans a ordre de pousser ce soir six escadrons sur Sart-à-Walhain, et trois escadrons sur Perwez, je me dirigerai par cette ville à la poursuite de l'ennemi. Les généraux Thielmann et Borstell faisaient partie de l'armée que Votre Majesté a battue hier: ils étaient encore ce matin à 10 heures ici, et ont avoué que vingt mille hommes avaient été mis hors de combat. Ils ont demandé en partant les distances de Wavre, Perwez, et de Hannut.*

*Blücher a été blessé légèrement au bras ce qui ne l'a pas empêché de continuer à commander, après d'être fait panser. Il n'a point passé par Gembloux.*

*Je suis avec respect, de Votre Majesté, Sire, le fidèle sujet,*

*Le maréchal Grouchy*

Napoleon erroneously dates it at 5 p.m. (and arrival at Le Caillou at 11 p.m.). In: Mémoires pour servir etc. p.116

47. Aerts, W. - Etudes etc. Livre IV (manuscript) p.34

It was added by Grouchy to his report dated 11 a.m. and which he wrote at Walhain (cf. below). It is designated as the last of three sets of information, but in fact it was the first one. The first of them was in fact the second and the second the third. These last two are also situated at Sart-à-Walhain.



48. The report traveled from Ernage through Exelmans at Sauvenière to Gembloux. Houssaye says it reached Grouchy “fort dans la nuit.” In: 1815. Waterloo p.253