

NOTES

INTRODUCTION

1. Low, E.S., *With Napoleon at Waterloo and Other Unpublished Documents of the Waterloo and Peninsula Campaigns*, ed. Mackenzie Macbride (London: Francis Griffiths, 1911), p. 123.

THE BATTLES OF LIGNY AND QUATRE BRAS

1. *Correspondance de Napoleon 1er* (Paris, 1859).
2. Marshal Berthier was Napoleon's chief of staff from 1797 until 1815. His administrative genius to turn the emperor's expressed wishes into clear concise orders was a major factor in the successes of those years. He remained loyal to his new Bourbon masters in 1815 and died in mysterious circumstances on 1 June.
3. *Commentaires de Napoleon 1er*, Vol.V (1867).
4. *Correspondance de Napoleon 1er*.
5. *Journal du Capitaine Francois: 1793–1830* (Paris, 1903–04).
6. Pertz and Delbruck, *Gneisenau* (Berlin, 1864–65).
7. Heymes, *Documents Inedites du Duc d'Elchingen* (Paris, 1833).
8. *Ibid.*
9. *Notes of Conversations with the Duke of Wellington 1831–51* (London, 1888). See also H. Houssaye, *1815: Waterloo* (London, 1900).
10. Ropes, J., *The Campaign of Waterloo* (1910), *Commentaires*, Vol.V.
11. Mercer, Gen A. C., *Journal of the Waterloo Campaign*, two volumes (London, 1870).
12. *Ibid.*
13. *Ibid.*
14. *Ibid.*
15. *Commentaires de Napoleon 1er*, Vol.V.

THE COMMANDERS

1. The date of Wellington's birth is disputed but he regarded 1 May as his birthday; see, for example, Guedalla, P., *The Duke* (London, 1937) (first published 1931), pp. 479–80.
2. Seeley, Sir John, *A Short History of Napoleon the First* (London, 1895), p. 30.
3. Stanhope, Philip Henry, 5th Earl, *Notes of Conversations with the Duke of Wellington, 1831–51* (London, 1888), p. 182.
4. Maxwell, Sir Herbert, *The Life of Wellington* (London, 1899), Vol. II, pp. 138–39.

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5. Las Cases, E. A. D. M. J., Comte de, *Memoirs of the Life, Exile and Conversations of the Emperor Napoleon* (London, 1836), Vol. IV, p. 176.
6. *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 299.
7. This statement has been translated variously, for example 'like eating lunch'; 'like a picnic' might best convey the meaning. Houssaye, H., *1815*, trans. E. A. Mann (London, 1900), Vol. III, p. 178.
8. Segur, P. de, *History of the Expedition to Russia Undertaken by the Emperor Napoleon in the Year 1812* (London, 1825), Vol. I, p. 320.
9. Caulaincourt, A. L. L., *Memoirs of General Caulaincourt, Duke of Vicenza*, ed. J. Hanoteau, trans. H. Miles & G. Libaire (London 1935–38), Vol. I, p. 93.
10. Las Cases, Vol. IV, pp. 160–61.
11. Stanhope, p. 9.
12. Ellesmere, Francis, 1st Earl, *Personal Reminiscences of the Duke of Wellington*, ed. Alice, Countess of Strafford (London, 1904), p. 100.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 179.
14. From Gonesse, 2 July 1815; Wellington, Arthur, 1st Duke, *The Dispatches of Field Marshal the Duke of Wellington during his Various Campaigns*, ed. Lt Col J. Gurwood (London 1834–38), Vol. XII p. 569 (quoted as 'WD' hereafter).
15. These following quotations are from the early English translation of de Coster's account, in Sir Walter Scott's *Paul's Letters to his Kinsfolk* (Edinburgh, 1816).
16. 'Buonaparte' was the original spelling of the family name and continued to be used in English sources; this is from an early translation.
17. To Henry Torrens, 22 January 1813; *WD* Vol. X, pp. 33–34.
18. Griffiths, A. J., *The Wellington Memorial* (London, 1897), p. 308.
19. To Lord Liverpool, 25 July 1813; *WD* Vol. X, p. 569.
20. Fraser, Sir William, Bt, *Words on Wellington: The Duke; Waterloo; the Ball* (London, 1899), p. 37.
21. Longford, Elizabeth Countess of, *Wellington: The Years of the Sword* (London, 1969), p. 421.
22. To Lord Stewart, 8 May 1815; *WD* Vol. XII, p. 358.
23. Wellington, Arthur, 1st Duke, *Supplementary Despatches and Memoranda of Field Marshal Arthur Duke of Wellington KG*, ed. 2nd Duke of Wellington (London 1858–72), Vol. X, p. 219.
24. William Fraser, p. 3.
25. Mackinnon, D., *Origin and Services of the Coldstream Guards* (London, 1833), Vol. II, p. 215.
26. Frazer, Sir Augustus, *Letters of Colonel Sir Augustus Simon Frazer KCB*, ed. Maj Gen E. Sabine (London, 1859), p. 550.
27. Stanhope, p. 18.
28. Pattison, F. H., *Personal Recollections of the Waterloo Campaign* (Glasgow, 1873), p. 26.
29. Wheeler, W., *The Letters of Private Wheeler 1809–1828*, ed. B. H. Liddell Hart (London, 1951), p. 161.
30. Kincaid, Sir John, *Adventures in the Rifle Brigade* (London, 1830), and *Random Shots from a Rifleman* (London, 1835; repr. in Maclaren's combined edition, London 1908), pp. 36–37, 245–46.
31. Ross-Lewin, H., *With the Thirty-Second in the Peninsular and other Campaigns*, ed. J. Wardell (Dublin & London, 1904), pp. 280–81.
32. Kennedy, Gen Sir James Shaw, *Notes on the Battle of Waterloo* (London, 1865), pp. 128–29.
33. Augustus Frazer, pp. 559–60.
34. William Fraser, pp. 276–77.

35. Scott, Sir Walter, *Paul's Letters to his Kinsfolk* (Edinburgh, 1816; published anonymously), pp. 171–72.
36. Moore Smith, G. C., *The Life of John Colborne, Field-Marshal Lord Seaton* (London, 1903), p. 213.
37. Stanhope, pp. 118–20.
38. Müffling, P. F. C. F., *Passages from My Life, Together with Memoirs of the Campaign of 1813*, ed. P. J. Yorke (London, 1853), p. 225.
39. Ibid. pp. 212–13.
40. Ibid., pp. 215–17.
41. General Carl Wilhelm Georg von Grolmann, Blücher's quartermaster general.
42. Stanhope, p. 110.
43. Ibid.
44. *WD* Vol. X, p. 484.
45. Simpson, J., *Paris after Waterloo* (Edinburgh & London, 1853), p. 230.
46. William Fraser, p. 274.
47. Gleig, Rev. G. R., *The Life of Arthur, Duke of Wellington* (London, 1865), p. 496.

THE BATTLE

1. Report of Captain F Weiz, 1st/1st Nassau, *The Waterloo Archive*, Vol. II, p. 183 (Barnsley: Frontline Books).
2. Ibid., p. 109.
3. Ibid., p. 64.
4. Captain Cleves, Hanoverian Horse Artillery, *ibid.*, p. 56.
5. Beamish, N. L., *History of the King's German Legion* quoted in Glover (ed.), *The Waterloo Archive*, Vol. II, p. 43 (London: Buckland and Brown, 1993).

WATERLOO EYEWITNESSES

1. Lemonnier-Delafosse quotes taken from Lemonnier-Delafosse, J.-B., *Souvenirs militaires du capitaine Jean-Baptiste Lemonnier-Delafosse* (Paris: Le Livre chez Vous, 2002).
2. Lagneau quotes taken from Lagneau, L.-V., *Journal d'un chirurgien de la Grande Armée* (Paris: Le Livre chez Vous, 2003).
3. Petiet quotes taken from Petiet, Gen A., *Mémoires du général Auguste Petiet, hussard de l'Empire* (Paris, 1996).
4. Field, A., *Waterloo, The French Perspective* (Barnsley: Pen & Sword, 2012), p. 6.
5. Mercer quotes taken from Mercer, Gen A. C., *Journal of the Waterloo Campaign*, two volumes (London, 1870), Vol. 1.
6. Kellermann quotes taken from Kellermann, Lt Gen, *Observations sur la bataille de Waterloo*, SHD 1M 719.
7. Larreguy de Civrieux quotes taken from Larreguy de Civrieux, Sgt Maj L.-M.-S.-P., *Souvenirs d'un cadet* (Paris, 1912).
8. Martin, Lt J.-E., *Souvenirs de guerre du lieutenant Martin, 1812–1815* (Paris: Tallandier, 2007).
9. Tomkinson quotes taken from Tomkinson, W., *With Wellington's Light Cavalry* (Leonaur, 2006).
10. Wylly, Col H. C., *The Military Memoirs of Lieutenant-General Sir Joseph Thackwell* (London, 1908).
11. Wheeler quotes taken from Wheeler, W., *The Letters of Private Wheeler, 1809–1828* (The Windrush Press, 1994).

12. Playford, T., *The Memoirs of Sergeant-Major Thomas Playford, 2nd Lifeguards, 1810–1830* (Ken Trotman Publishing, 2006).
13. Hope, J., *The Iberian and Waterloo Campaigns: The Letters of Lt James Hope* (N&M Press, 2000), pp. 240–41.
14. Vallance quotes taken from *At Waterloo with the Cameron Highlanders*, Napoleonic Archive.
15. Gavin quotes taken from Gavin, W., *The Diary of William Gavin, Ensign and Quarter-Master of the 71st Highland Regiment, 1806–1815* (Ken Trotman Publishing, 2013).
16. Trefcon quotes taken from Trefcon, Col, *Carnet de campagne (1793–1815)* (Paris: Librairie des Deux Empires, 2003).
17. Canler quotes taken from Canler, L., *Mémoires de Canler, ancien chef du service de Sûreté*, tome 1 (Paris, 1882).
18. Simmons quotes taken from Simmons, Lt, *Lieutenant Simmons of the 95th (Rifles): Recollections of the Peninsula, South of France & Waterloo Campaigns of the Napoleonic Wars* (Leonaur, 2007).
19. Douglas quotes taken from Douglas, J., *Douglas's Tale of the Peninsula & Waterloo, 1808–1815* (London, 1997).
20. Pontécoulant, P.-G. le D., de, *Napoléon à Waterloo, 1815* (repr. Paris: Librairie des Deux Empires, 2004).
21. Sperling quotes taken from Sperling, J., *The Letters of First Lieutenant John Sperling, Royal Engineers* (Ken Trotman Publishing, 2012).
22. Martin, Lt J.-F., *Waterloo: lettre d'un officier genevois du 45e*, in *Carnet de La Sabretache* (1895).
23. Kincaid quotes taken from Kincaid, Capt J., *Adventures in the Rifle Brigade in the Peninsula, France and the Netherlands from 1809 to 1815* (London, 1830).
24. Martin, *Souvenirs de guerre*, op. cit.
25. Duthilt quotes taken from Duthilt, P.-C., *Mes campagnes et mes souvenirs* (Paris: Le Livre chez Vous, 2008).
26. Cotton, E., *A Voice from Waterloo* (London, 1849).
27. Anton quotes taken from Anton, J., *Royal Highlander* (Leonaur, 2007).
28. Fleuret quotes taken from Fleuret, *Description des passages de Dominique Fleuret* (Firmin-Didot & Cie, 1929).
29. Martin, *Souvenirs de guerre*, op. cit.
30. Hibbert quotes taken from Hibbert, J., *Waterloo Letters: The 1815 Letters of Lieutenant John Hibbert, 1st King's Dragoon Guards* (Ken Trotman Publishing, 2007).
31. Siborne, Maj Gen H. T. (ed.), *Waterloo Letters* (Greenhill Books: London, 1993).
32. Uxbridge quotes taken from Anglesey, Marquess of, *One-Leg, The Life and Letters of Henry William Paget, First Marquess of Anglesey* (London, 1962).
33. Ibid., p. 141.
34. Bro, Gen, *Mémoires du général Bro, 1796–1844* (Paris: Librairie des Deux Empires, 2001).
35. Naylor, Capt J., *The Waterloo Diary of Captain James Naylor, 1st (King's) Dragoon Guards, 1815–1816* (Ken Trotman Publishing, 2008).
36. Dupuy, V., *Souvenirs militaires, 1794–1816* (Paris: Librairie des Deux Empires, 2001).
37. Levassieur quotes taken from Levassieur, O., *Souvenirs militaires, 1800–1815* (Paris: Librairie des Deux Empires, 2001).
38. Chevalier quotes taken from Chevalier, Lt J.-M., *Souvenirs des Guerres Napoléoniennes* (Hachette, 1970).
39. Wheatley (ed. Hibbert, C.), *The Wheatley Diary* (London, 1964).
40. Siborne (ed.), *Waterloo Letters*, op. cit.

41. Chateaubriand, F.-R. de, *Memoires d'outré-tombe*, Ille partie, 1re époque, livre VI, ch. 16.
42. Lindau quotes taken from Lindau, F., *A Waterloo Hero – the Reminiscences of Friedrich Lindau* (Pen & Sword, 2009).
43. Anglesey, Marquess of, p. 143.
44. Gronow, Capt, *Reminiscences of Captain Gronow* (London, 1862).
45. Morris, T., *The Napoleonic Wars* (Longmans, 1967).
46. Stanhope quotes taken from Stanhope, J., *Eyewitness to the Peninsular War and the Battle of Waterloo: The Letters and Journals of Lieutenant Colonel the Honourable James Stanhope, 1803 to 1825* (Pen & Sword, 2010).
47. Lawrence, W., *A Dorset Soldier: The Autobiography of Sgt William Lawrence, 1790–1869* (Spellmount, 1993).
48. Guyot, Gen Comte, *Carnets de campagnes, 1792–1815* (Paris: Teissèdre, 1998).
49. SHD 1M 719: *Note sur la charge de la division L'héritier, épisode de la bataille de Waterloo, sans nom d'auteur*. In the *Carnets de la Campagne*, this text is attributed to *Chef d'escadron L'Étang*, but the original document in the Vincennes archives is not signed and only classified as 'from General L'Étang's succession'.
50. Robinaux, Capt P., *Journal de route du capitaine Robinaux* (Paris: Librairie des Deux Empires, 2009).
51. Jolyet, J.-B., *Souvenirs de 1815*, in *La Revue de Paris*, September–October 1903.
52. Gibney quotes taken from Gibney, *Eighty Years Ago or the Recollections of an Old Army Doctor, by the Late Dr. Gibney* (London: Bellairs & Company, 1896).
53. Marbot quotes taken from Marbot, Baron, *The Memoirs of Baron de Marbot*, translated from the French by Arthur John Butler, Vol. II (Longmans, Green & Co, 1913).
54. Gomm, Field Marshal Sir W., *Letters and Journals of Field-Marshal Sir William Maynard Gomm: From 1799 to Waterloo 1815* (London, 1881).
55. Fraser, Alexander, Lt Col, *Waterloo Campaign Letters Written by Lieutenant-Colonel Alexander Fraser, Lord Saltoun, 1st Foot Guards, 1815* (Ken Trotman Publishing, 2010).
56. Jeremiah, T., *A Short Account of the Life and Adventures of Private Thomas Jeremiah, 23rd or Royal Welch Fusiliers, 1812–1837* (Ken Trotman Publishing, 2008).
57. Place of Carrousel in Paris, where the Guard paraded during the First Empire.
58. Mauduit, H. de, *Histoire des derniers jours de la Grande Armée* (Paris: Le Livre chez Vous, 2006). 'Perhaps the most compelling of French accounts' (Andrew W. Field).

HOUGOUMONT AND LA HAYE SAINTE

1. Adkin, M., *The Waterloo Companion* (London, 2001), p. 118 and Barbero, A., *The Battle: A New History of the Battle of Waterloo – English version translated by J. Cullen* (London, 2006), p. 16, the former providing Fitzroy Somerset's notes written a year after the battle as the foundation.
2. Fortescue, J., *A History of the British Army 1645–1870*, 20 volumes (London, 1899–1930), vol. X, p. 348, states that the position at Mont Saint Jean had been studied by the Royal Engineers and that they had drawn up plans prior to the start of the campaign; while Elizabeth Longford's extensive research supports that Wellington's thumbnail was quite precise in tracing the line immediately behind La Haye Sainte and Hougomont.
3. Cotton, E., *A Voice from Waterloo (Mont Saint Jean, 1900)*, p. 37.
4. Moore Smith, G. C., *The Life of John Colborne, Field Marshal Lord Seaton* (London, 1903), p. 218.
5. Field, A., *Waterloo, The French Perspective* (Barnsley, 2012), p. 33, citing Lemonnier-

- Delafosse, *Souvenirs militaires du Capitaine Jean-Baptiste Lemmonier-Delafosse*.
6. Jomini, A., *The Art of War* (London, 1992 from original published in 1838), pp. 183–84.
7. Wellington has received, from some quarters including Napoleon himself, criticism for leaving such a large force a few hours' march from the main field. I find such criticism entirely unfounded when considering all the factors.
8. Adkin, p. 121.
9. Bassford, C., Moran, D. and Pedlow, G. W., *On Waterloo, Clausewitz, Wellington and the Campaign of 1815* (USA, self published, 2010), p. 139.
10. These two brigades were positioned on the ridge immediately behind (to the north) of Hougomont. The 1st Brigade, commanded by Major General Sir Peregrine Maitland, consisted of the 2nd and 3rd Battalions of the 1st (Grenadier) Guards and the 2nd Brigade, commanded by Major General John Byng, consisted of the 2nd Battalion Coldstream Guards and the 2nd Battalion Third (Scots) Guards.
11. There is not universal agreement that these Hanoverians and Lunebergers arrived any earlier than the 1st/2nd Nassau.
12. Adkin, p. 407.
13. Cotton, p. 32.
14. Siborne, H. J., *The Waterloo Letters* (East Yorkshire, 2009 reprint), p. 389.
15. Ludlow Beamish, N., *History of the King's German Legion*, two volumes (London, 1832–37), vol. II, p. 353.
16. Kincaid, Capt J., *Adventures in the Rifle Brigade in the Peninsula, France and the Netherlands from 1809 to 1815* (London, 1830), p. 164.
17. Frischermont Chateau was demolished in 1857 and should not be confused with the Convent of Frischermont built in 1929.
18. Adkin, p. 144.
19. Consisting of the two battalions of the Orange Nassau Regiment and the remaining two battalions (2nd and 3rd) of the 2nd Nassau Regiment – the 1st Battalion having been detached to Hougomont.
20. Jomini, pp. 182–83.
21. Fortescue, vol. X, p. 378.
22. Black, J., *Waterloo: The Battle that Brought Down Napoleon* (London, 2010), p. 126.
23. Field, p. 89.
24. Wotton, G., *Waterloo 1815* (Oxford, 1992), p. 10, Roberts, A., *Waterloo, Napoleon's Last Gamble* (London, 2005), p. 54.
25. Chandler, D., *The Military Maxims of Napoleon* (London, 2002), p. 57.
26. *Ibid.*, p. 64.
27. *Ibid.*, p. 61.
28. Bassford, Moran, and Pedlow, p. 140.
29. *Ibid.*, p. 171.
30. Field, citing *Napoleon's Memoirs*, p. 51.
31. Keegan, J., *The Face of Battle* (London, 1976), pp. 139–40. Napoleon had disbanded the balloon observation troops in the late 1790s and suggestions that Napoleon had an observation tower on the Rossomme heights are unfounded.
32. Bassford, Moran, and Pedlow, p. 140.
33. Field, citing *Napoleon's Memoirs*, p. 57.
34. Barbero, p. 96.
35. *Ibid.*, p. 84.
36. *Ibid.*, p. 85.

37. Barbero, pp. 96–99 provides a possible explanation.
38. As Keegan points out these phases are an administrative convenience and not perceived or conceived at the time by the combatants. Keegan, p. 128.
39. See Barbero, pp. 98–99 and Field, p. 62.
40. Fortescue, vol. X, p. 357.
41. Roberts, p. 56.
42. Paget, J., and Saunders, D., *Hougoumont, The Key to Victory at Waterloo* (London, 1992), p. 11.
43. Field, pp. 262–63.
44. Thiers, M. A., *Histoire du Consulat et de L'Empire*, 20 volumes (Paris, 1862), vol. XX, pp. 495–96.
45. *Ibid.*, p. 497.
46. Field, p. 67.
47. Shrapnel Papers, Wood to Shrapnel dated 19 June from Waterloo.
48. Siborne, *The Waterloo Letters*, p. 188.
49. Field suggests that the southern gate was also penetrated as well as a small gate on the western wall.
50. Thiers, vol. XX, p. 498.
51. Field, citing Robinaux, p. 70.
52. *Ibid.*, p. 262.
53. *Ibid.*, p. 262.
54. It is unclear exactly which brigade of Quiot's Division surrounded and attacked the farm.
55. Ludlow Beamish, vol. II, p. 354.
56. Field, citing Charras, p. 92.
57. Glover, G. (ed.), *Letters from the Battle of Waterloo – Unpublished Correspondence by Allied Officers from the Siborne Papers* (London, 2004), p. 244.
58. Chandler, *The Campaigns of Napoleon* (London, 1966), p. 1,080.
59. Glover, p. 245.
60. Weller, J., *Wellington at Waterloo* (London, 1967), p. 119 f. 1. The exact time, like so many during the battle, is subject to considerable debate.
61. Keegan, p. 132.
62. Siborne, W., *The Waterloo Campaign*, third edition (London, 1848), p. 476 f. Only one cart of rifle ammunition was allocated for the two light battalions of the KGL and in the confusion of baggage being moved back on the Brussels road had been 'thrown in a ditch'.
63. Glover, p. 246 and Siborne, *The Waterloo Campaign*, p. 475 confirm that French artillery did cause damage to the walls during the third attack.
64. Siborne, *The Waterloo Letters*, pp. 241–42.
65. Siborne, *The Waterloo Campaign*, p. 342.
66. Adkin, p. 374.

THE CAVALRY CHARGES

1. Siborne, H. T., *Waterloo Letters* (London, 1891), p. 216.
2. I borrow this lovely quote from the late Peter Edwards, author of several books on the Peninsular War. Being a farmer, Peter knew all about horses and what they could and couldn't do. He and I had several discussions on the subject whilst in the Peninsula together.

3. See Fletcher, I., *Galloping at Everything: The British Cavalry in the Peninsular War and at Waterloo, 1808–1815* (Staplehurst, 1999).
4. This was a trend that was to continue into the Crimean War when the Scots Greys loomed large in virtually all of the illustrations in *The Illustrated London News* following the Battle of Balaclava of 25 October 1854, until the more accurate reports of the Charge of the Light Brigade began to arrive, whereupon they tended to feature Lord Cardigan's Light Brigade.
5. Siborne, p. 7.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 8.
7. Mann, Rev. Michael, *And They Rode On* (London, 1984), p. 36.
8. Siborne, p. 44.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 38. Waymouth, in Siborne p. 44, quotes Major Kelly, of the Life Guards, as claiming that the Life Guards, 'made great slaughter amongst the flying cuirassiers who had choked the hollow way ... and that this road was quite blocked up by dead.'
10. Siborne, pp. 78, 81 and 198.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 61. De Lacy Evans, who actually gave the signal for the attack to begin by waving his hat in the air, said that the Union Brigade waited for a few minutes at the foot of the reverse slope in order to let the infantry wheel back and pass around the flanks of their squadrons and also to ensure that the French were a little 'deranged' at having to pass both the hedge and the road.
12. Siborne, p. 72.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 383.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 85.
15. *Ibid.*, p. 62.
16. *Ibid.*, p. 9.
17. I do not include the French assaults on Hougoumont as these were, by definition, intended to be only diversionary attacks as a prelude to the great assault on Wellington's left and centre.
18. Anglesey, Marquess of, *One-Leg: Life and Letters of Henry William Paget, First Marquess of Anglesey* (London, 1961), p. 135.
19. Siborne, pp. 9–10.
20. *Ibid.*, p. 72.
21. Anglesey, p. 141.
22. *Ibid.*, p. 142.

THE PRUSSIAN ARMY AT WATERLOO

1. Amongst these last, the most prominent is none other than Napoleon himself. For example, 'The Anglo-Dutch army was saved twice during the day by the Prussians: the first time before three o'clock by the arrival of General Bülow with 30,000 men, and the second time by the arrival of Marshal Blücher with 31,000 men.' Cf. Bonaparte, N. *The Waterloo Campaign*, ed. S. de Chair (London, 1957), p. 158.
2. Howarth, D., *A Near Run Thing: The Day of Waterloo* (London, 1968), pp. 164–65.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 169.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 174.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 193.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 199.
7. For the full story, cf. Mercer, Gen A. C., *Journal of the Waterloo Campaign* (London, 1927), pp. 177–79.

8. Cotton, E., *A Voice from Waterloo: A History of the Battle on the 18th June 1815*, third edition (London, 1849), pp. 198–89.
9. For the episode which is seen as the centrepiece of this alleged conspiracy, cf. Hofschröder, P., *Wellington's Smallest Victory: The Duke, the Model-Maker and the Secret of Waterloo* (London, 2004).
10. Alison, A., *History of Europe from the Commencement of the French Revolution to the Restoration of the Bourbons in MDCCCXV* (London, 1860), Vol. XIV, pp. 63–64. What makes this passage particularly interesting is that, despite accusations that British writers have forgotten the substantial non-British contingent in Wellington's forces, the author not only does not claim that the troops commanded by Wellington were all British, but also makes it clear that he equates the quality of many of the German troops concerned to that of their 'red-coat' allies. In fairness, it has to be said that Alison is particularly generous in respect of the Prussians. Written in the same era, the account of the battle produced by Sir Edward Creasy in his ground-breaking anthology, recognises that the Prussians fought hard at Plancenoit, but the reader will find no passage specifically giving them a major share in the responsibility for Allied victory; cf. Creasy, E., *The Fifteen Decisive Battles of the World* (London, 1859), pp. 329–90. Yet, if Creasy is somewhat lukewarm in his tone, the same cannot be said for the equally contemporaneous military commentator, Charles Chesney, the latter's *Waterloo Lectures* being so lavish in their praise of the Prussians that, according to Peter Hofschröder, the author of the official history published in Berlin in 1904 paid it the tribute of describing it as 'the first impartial English account'; cf. Chesney, C., *Waterloo Lectures*, ed. P. Hofschröder (London, 1997), p. x.
11. Chandler, D., *Waterloo: The Hundred Days* (Botley, 1980), pp. 150–51.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 165.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 195. In fairness, Chandler does go on to make a further point. Thus: 'There is no foundation in the belief held in some German circles that Blücher's role was wholly the vital factor. The Prussians could no more have defeated Napoleon on their own than Wellington could have mastered the French with the Allied army alone.' *Ibid.* But this is a fair comment, a further point that is suggestive of the want of partisan spirit with which Chandler writes being the fact that he goes out of the way to point out that Prussian casualties on 18 June included not just the 7,000 men who fell at Waterloo – a figure something less than half the Allied total of 15,000 – but also the 2,500 who were lost at Wavre. *Ibid.*, p. 171.
14. Chalfont, Lord (ed.), *Waterloo: Battle of the Three Armies* (London, 1979), p. 191. It could be argued that the author goes too far here – for example, it seems odd to argue, in effect, that Napoleon displayed indecent haste in his conduct of the day when he notoriously delayed the start of the battle for several hours in order to let the ground dry out after the storm of the night before – but hostility to the Prussians there is none.
15. Cf. Black, J., *The Battle of Waterloo: A New History* (New York, 2010), and Roberts, A., *Napoleon's Last Gamble* (London, 2005).
16. For the exact remarks from which this paraphrase is drawn, cf. Hofschröder, P., *1815: The Waterloo Campaign* (London, 1998–99), Vol. II, p. 338.
17. Chalfont (ed.), p. 65; for a more cautious assessment, cf. Uffindell, A., *The Eagle's Last Triumph: Napoleon's Victory at Ligny, June 1815* (London, 1994), pp. 114–15.
18. Cited in Chalfont (ed.), pp. 69–70.
19. According to the German historian Kaulbach, Gneisenau's doubts were still not quite put to rest: whilst publically approving of the decision, he had Blücher's adjutant, Count von Nostitz, write a private letter to Von Müffling asking for his assurance that Wellington really did intend to stand and fight. To the end, then, a degree of

- coolness remained in Gneisenau's attitude that the situation simply did not warrant: whilst the Anglo-Dutch army might not have been able to come to the aid of the Prussians at Ligny, this was not in any way the fruit of ill-will. A much fairer question, then, would have been whether Wellington could withstand a French attack, it being very much to Blücher's credit that he never once seems to have considered that this might not be the case. For all this, cf. *Ibid.*, pp. 70–71.
20. For all this, cf. Hofschröder, *1815*, Vol. II, pp. 48–55.
21. Cited in Henderson, E. F., *Blücher and the Uprising of Prussia against Napoleon, 1806–1815* (New York, 1815), p. 301.
22. It has to be said that Bülow does not come out of the afternoon at all well. Thus, whilst it is understandable that he should have felt the need to send out reconnaissance patrols to discover the exact position of the French forces, and in general to have exercised a degree of caution, some of his troops halted for as much as three hours, and it is difficult to see why he did not keep them moving forward, albeit at a rather slower pace than might otherwise have been the case. Cf. Hofschröder, *1815*, Vol. II, p. 97.
23. Already, then, the Prussians were having an effect: had Mouton's men joined the great attack on Wellington's centre that was launched at about this time, it could well have broken through rather than being driven back in disorder.
24. Cited in Field, A., *Waterloo: The French Perspective* (Barnsley, 2012), p. 165.
25. That something of the sort was the case is accepted even by Peter Hofschröder, who not only admits that Bülow's later claims of constant progress were exaggerated, if not downright mendacious, but also speaks of the firefight being so prolonged that some units ran out of ammunition; cf. Hofschröder, *1815*, Vol. II, pp. 118–19; for the caution displayed by Losthin and Hiller, meanwhile, cf. Chalfont (ed.), p. 134.
26. Cited in Field, pp. 168–69.
27. Cited in *ibid.*, p. 166.
28. One can here deal very briefly with the incident made so much of by Howarth in which Ziethen's troops are deemed to have caused consternation by marching off in the wrong direction. In brief, what appears to have happened is that, just as the first troops reached the Anglo-Dutch positions, an urgent message arrived from Blücher's Headquarters to the effect that help was needed at Plancenoit, and that I Corps should therefore abandon its march to join Wellington, and march to support Bülow. This produced some confusion, not least because the leading units of the force had already passed by the turning that represented the quickest route to Plancenoit and therefore turned around and marched back the way they had come. Within a matter of minutes, however, Ziethen had determined on his own initiative to ignore Blücher's orders and continue on his original way. Meanwhile, it cannot be stressed too strongly that talk of the Prussians marching the wrong way is over-blown. Blücher's orders may have been unnecessarily panicky – clearly over-wrought about the situation at Plancenoit, at one point he was heard to mutter, 'If only we had the damned village' – but the caprice or simple error of which Howarth hints is therefore a figment of the latter's imagination. Cf. Chalfont (ed.), pp. 145–46.
29. For all this, cf. Hofschröder, *1815*, II, pp. 122–24; Field, pp. 176–83.
30. Gneisenau, A. Neithardt von, *The Life and Campaigns of Field-Marshal Prince Blücher* (London, 1815), pp. 416–17.
31. French accounts are very clear that the village was evacuated by its surviving defenders rather than being stormed. According to Tromelin, for example, 'Towards eight o'clock in the evening, decimated by the Prussian attacks that were constantly reinforced, outflanked on our right by Blücher's cavalry, whose squadrons our own cavalry were not able to contain, and to our left by the English cavalry launched in

- pursuit of the army, one sensed that our battalions were in danger of falling into disorder, and the order was received to abandon Plancenoit ... and retire towards the main road.' Cited in Field, p. 212.
32. Cited in *ibid.*, p. 206. Compare this account, however, with that given by Bülow in his official report: 'The left flank of Wellington's army ... had gained a considerable amount of ground, but strong masses of the enemy with much artillery were seen around La Belle Alliance. Thus, a general wheel to the [right] was ordered and carried out in a most orderly fashion, with our right flank near La Belle Alliance linking up precisely with the left flank of Wellington's army.' Cited in Hofschröder, *1815*, Vol. II, p. 130. If this means anything, it is surely that Wellington reached the French position before the Prussians launched their final charge.
 33. Gneisenau, p. 413.
 34. Cited in Hofschröder, *1815*, Vol. II, p. 127. This was, perhaps, a somewhat unwise line to take: forcibly incorporated into the Prussian Army in 1814, the troops of the Grand Duchy of Berg, a German principality created for Joachim Murat in 1806, went into battle at Waterloo wearing their old white uniforms, these being at least as French in their style as anything affected by the Nassauers.
 35. For all this, cf. Parkinson, R., *The Hussar General: The Life of Blücher, Man of Waterloo* (London, 1975), pp. 239–40. Parkinson, incidentally, is yet another example of a British historian who has been more partial to the Prussians than is usually allowed; more than that, indeed, he openly accuses Wellington of having given them far too little credit in the official dispatch that he wrote in the wake of the battle.
 36. Cf. *Ibid.*, p. 238.

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