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THE BATTLE OF WATERLOO  
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CONTAINING 1 TO 9. 6 ARTICLES  
INCLUDING 1/6 SHOWING CONGREVE  
ROCKETS IN USE.



# THE BATTLE OF WATERLOO

Compiled by John Langdon-Davies

Jackdaw No. 18



## The Battle of Waterloo

The Battle of Waterloo opened with a furious cannonade early on the morning of June 18th, 1815. Napoleon Bonaparte was leading a vast and confident French army against the allied forces of Britain and Prussia commanded by Wellington and Blücher.

By daybreak on June 19th Napoleon was on his way back to Paris, his last reckless bid for power over Europe had ended. Behind him lay the devastated fields of Belgium where for years afterwards ploughs were to unearth the weapons and bodies of the many thousands of men who had died in the battle. The French retreat had turned into a rout beyond recovery, and by this glorious defeat of Napoleon, Wellington's crowning victory had been won. This Jackdaw reconstructs the battle from the known facts, making use of first-hand accounts and contemporary comment. It explodes some of the myths that have grown up and puts Wellington's great victory into true perspective.

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4 The Men Who Fought  
5 History and Legend  
6 The Results

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## THE BATTLE OF WATERLOO

Compiled by John Langdon-Davies

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This picture by Lady Butler of the charge of the Scots Greys is a good illustration of how the battle of Waterloo was romanticized.

Contents

- 1 Sergeant Major Cotton’s plan of the Battle of Waterloo.
- 2 Arthur Wellesley, Duke of Wellington, portrait by Sir Thomas Lawrence painted in 1814. Photographed at Apsley House  
By courtesy of the Victoria and Albert Museum
- 3 The Times, Thursday, June 22nd, 1815
- 4 (a and b) Orders written by Wellington during the Battle of Waterloo. These orders, sent by Wellington to his commanders during the battle, were written on prepared skin; the message could be erased and the skin re-used. They are now in Apsley House, London.

Transcription of 4a:

I see that the fire has communicated from the Hay stack to the roof of the Chateau. You must however still keep your Men in those parts to which the fire does not reach. Take care that no Men are lost by the falling in of the Roof or floors— After they both have fallen in occupy the Ruined walls inside of the Garden; particularly if it should be possible for the Enemy to pass through the Embers in the inside of the House.

Transcription of 4b:

We ought to have more of the Cavalry between the two high roads. That is to say three Brigades at least besides the Brigade in observation on the Right; & besides the Belgian Cavalry & the D. of Cumberland’s Hussars. One heavy & one light Brigade might remain on the left.  
By courtesy of the Victoria and Albert Museum

- 5 The soldier’s life, as seen in contemporary material.
- 6 The Battle of Waterloo-a coloured engraving.  
By courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum
- 7 Letter from Private William Wheeler dated June 23rd, 1815, describing part of the battle.  
By courtesy of the owner, Mrs. Ruth Ellis. A printed edition of Private Wheeler’s letters has been published by Michael Joseph
- 8 Appeal to the Prince Regent of England.  
After the battle Napoleon returned to Paris where he was pressed to abdicate. He did so on June 22nd, naming his son Napoleon II. He left Paris and then, learning that a safe-conduct to America had been refused, he decided that rather than face the revengeful royalists he would appeal to England. He dictated the following five-line letter to his adjutant, General Gourgaud, whose draft is this exhibit.



Napoleon at Waterloo.

Your Royal Highness,  
In view of the factions which divide my country and the enmity of the greatest powers in Europe, I have ended my political career and come, like Themistocles, to appeal to the hospitality of the British people. I put myself under the protection of her laws, and address this entreaty to Your Royal Highness as the most powerful, the most steadfast and the most generous of my enemies.  
The following day he went aboard the British ship *Bellerophon* and set sail for Plymouth. From the collection of Baron Gourgaud. Photo: Flammarion

- 9 Six Broadsheets: 1 The Waterloo Campaign  
2 How Important was Waterloo?  
3 Wellington, Blücher and Napoleon  
4 The Men Who Fought  
5 History and Legend  
6 The Results

Think for yourself

- 1 Napoleon landed in France on March 1st. Why do you think Wellington and Blücher did not expect hostilities to start as soon as they did?
- 2 Can you think of a British defeat which has since been thought of as ‘a triumph of true glory going down before hopeless odds’?
- 3 Why did people in Britain in 1815 think Waterloo such a joyful victory, despite the heavy losses?
- 4 How many things and places can you think of which have been named after Wellington or Waterloo?
- 5 Do you think their reputations would be very different if Wellington had not gone into politics or Churchill had remained Prime Minister in 1945?
- 6 If you had been alive in 1815 would you have accepted the bounty offered by the recruiting sergeant or would you have preferred the hardships of civilian life?

Books to read

- Marquess of Anglesey, *One-Leg* (Jonathan Cape, U.K., 1961; Morrow, U.S.A., 1961)
- James Finn, *Sabres of France: The Napoleonic Wars* (Walker, U.S.A., 1961)
- Pieter Geyl, *Napoleon: For and Against* (Jonathan Cape, U.K., 1964; Yale, U.S.A., 1949)
- John Naylor, *Waterloo* (Batsford, U.K., 1960; Dufour, U.S.A., 1966)
- C. W. C. Oman, *Wellington’s Army* (Edward Arnold, U.K. 1912)

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ent for a term of years, after the rate of  $4\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. on the amount of the purchase money.







he justified his lamentation by considerations very similar to those urged in defence of military tortures. He said there was something in the nature of Frenchmen which required (to laugh) the bon, barrot, after a variety of further observations, concluded by remarking, that hope and fear were the grand instruments of human actions. If we were to treat our soldiers and seamen better, we should give them a motive very superior to the instigation of fear. He congratulated himself, however, on the progress the question had already made, and he trusted that in the next session it would be again introduced, and that the fullest information connected with it would be no longer withheld.

Mr. BABINGTON opposed the motion as unnecessary at present.

Lord PALMERSTON and Mr. M. STURTON explained.

Mr. BENNETT then replied, after which the question was negatived without a division.

Mr. MELLISH moved for several papers respecting the pub deposits and undivided dividends in the hands of the Bank.

The Lords' amendments to the East India Shipping Bill were read and agreed to.—Adjourned.



**THEATRE ROYAL, DRURY-LANE.**  
THIS EVENING, RULE A WIFE AND HAVE A WIFE.  
Leon, Mr. Keen.  
To which will be added, CHARLES THE BOLD.  
**THEATRE ROYAL, COVENT-GARDEN.**  
THIS EVENING, ISABELLA.  
Isabella Miss O'Neill.  
To which will be added, COMUS.

For the Benefit of Mr. BRANDON, Box-Book and House-keeper.  
**THEATRE ROYAL, COVENT-GARDEN.**  
On FRIDAY, June 20, THE DUENNA.  
Corbo, Mr. Sinclair, who will introduce 'Just like Love';  
Clara, Miss Stacey.  
In the course of the evening, Black Eyed Susan, and 'The Storm,' by Mr. Ingleton.  
With a FARCE and other ENTERTAINMENTS.  
Tickets and places to be taken of Mr. Brandon, at the Box-office.

**ROYAL AMPHITHEATRE, (ASTLEY'S).**  
THIS EVENING, at half past six precisely, HORSEMANSHIP by Mr. Avery, and a comic Act, by the Clown, Mr. Brown. A new splendid Semi-Comic Equestrian Performance, with extraordinary preparations, called 'THE LIFE, DEATH, and RESURRECTION OF THE FIGHTING RACER,' or, Harlequin on Horseback. In the course of twenty-one interesting scenes will be introduced a REAL HORSE RACE, and a REAL FOX CHASE. A favourite comic Song by Mr. Herring. Equestrian Exercises, by Mr. W. Davis. After which, a Comic Musical Piece, called KING HENRY VIII. and THE COBBLER. To conclude with (16th time) 'THE SAILOR'S LOVE,' or, Constancy Rewarded. Second Price at half past eight.

The last Week of the present Arrangements.—The Public are respectfully informed, that in consequence of the extraordinary expensive Preparations making for a Ship Launch on real Water, no Aquatic Scene can be exhibited this week.

**SADLER'S WELLS.**  
THIS and 3 following EVENINGS only, a new Dance, called 'THE PLOUGH BOY,' a Comic Song, by Mr. Sloman; a favourite pantomime, called 'THE MERMAID,' Clown, Mr. Grimaldi. The Entertainments to conclude with a new Melo-Drama, called 'THE RED HANDED,' or, Welsh Chieftain. Box, 4s. 6d.; Gal., 1s. Doors opened at half past 6, and begin at half past 6. Places kept till half past 7. On Monday, June 26, will be produced a new Pantomime, which has been a long time preparing, called Harlequin Brilliant; or, Clowns Caprice; to conclude with a Ship Launch on real Water.

**VAUXHALL.**  
Under the Patronage of his Royal Highness the PRINCE REGENT. TO-MORROW FRIDAY, June 23, will be a GRAND GALA, and brilliant EXHIBITION OF FIRE-WORKS by Signor Bologna. Admission 4s.—Doors open at half-past seven, and the Concert begins at half-past 8.

**LONDON, THURSDAY, JUNE 22, 1815.**  
**OFFICIAL BULLETIN.**

"Downing-street, June 22, 1815.  
"The Duke of WELLINGTON's Dispatch, dated Waterloo, the 19th of June, states, that on the preceding day BUONAPARTE attacked, with his whole force, the British line, supported by a corps of Prussians; which attack, after a long and sanguinary conflict, terminated in the complete overthrow of the Enemy's Army, with the loss of ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTY PIECES OF CANNON and TWO EAGLES. During the night, the Prussians under Marshal BLUCHER, who joined in the pursuit of the enemy, captured SIXTY GUNS, and a large part of BUONAPARTE'S BAGGAGE. The Allied Armies continued to pursue the enemy. Two French Generals were taken."

Such is the great and glorious result of those masterly movements by which the Hero of Britain met and frustrated the audacious attempt of the Rebel Chief, GLORY TO WELLINGTON, to our gallant Soldiers, and to our brave Allies! BUONAPARTE'S reputation has been wrecked, and his last grand stake has been lost in this tremendous conflict. TWO HUNDRED AND TEN PIECES OF CANNON captured in a single battle, put to the blush the boasting column of the Place de Vendome. Long and sanguinary, indeed, we fear, the conflict must have been; but the boldness of the Rebel Frenchmen was the boldness of despair, and conscience sat heavy on those arms which were raised against their Sovereign, against their oaths, and against the peace and happiness of their country. We confidently anticipate a great and immediate defection from the Rebel cause. We are aware that a great part of the French nation looked to the opening of this campaign with a superstitious expectation of success to a man, whom, though many of them hated, and many feared, all had been taught to look on as the first captain of the age. He himself went forth boasting in his strength, and still more in his talents. He had for many years ridiculed CARNOT'S plan of a Northern Campaign, and had openly avowed at Paris his intention to break through the centre of the Allied Armies, instead of moving round both their flanks. With as little reserve had he declared that he would open the campaign on the Meuse and Sambre. In short, by a refinement in finesse, he had exposed his true plan, imagining that nobody would believe that such was his real intention. We do not deny that his plan might have been one of considerable ability; but he did not take into the account that he was to be opposed by abilities superior to his own. That unpalatable truth his vanity would not allow him to believe, nor would it easily find credit with his admirers; but the 18th of June, we trust, will satisfy the most incredulous. Two hundred and ten pieces of cannon! When, where, or how is this loss to be repaired? Besides, what has become of his invincible guard, of his admired and dreaded cuirassiers? Again, we do not deny that these were good troops; but they were encountered by better. We shall be curious to learn with what degree of coolness, of personal courage, and self-possession, BUONAPARTE played this stake, on which he must have been well aware that his pretensions to Empire hung. It is clear that he retreated; nor are we prepared to hear that he fled with haste or cowardice; but we greatly suspect that he did not court an honourable death. We think his valour is of the calculating kind, and we do not attribute his surviving the abdication at Fontainebleau entirely to magnanimity.

To the official Bulletin we have as yet little to add. The dispatches, we understand, were brought

by Major PERCY, Aide-de-Camp to the Duke of WELLINGTON; and we have heard, but we hope the statement is premature, that among the British slain was that gallant and estimable officer Sir THOMAS PICTON. But whoever fell on this glorious day cannot have fallen in vain. The fabric of rebellion is shaken to its base. Already, we hear, numerous desertions have taken place from the Rebel Standard; and soon, it is to be hoped, the perjured wretches NEY, and DESMOUETTES, and EXCELMANS, and LALLEMAND, and LABEDOYERE, and their accomplices in baseness and treason, will be left alone, as marks for the indignation of Europe, and just sacrifices to insulted French honour.

Those who attended minutely to the operations of the Stock Exchange yesterday, were persuaded that the news of the day before would be followed up by something still more brilliant and decisive. Omnium rose in the course of the day to 6 per cent. premium, and some houses generally supposed to possess the best information were among the purchasers. For our own parts, though looking forward with that confidence which we yesterday expressed, we frankly own this fall tide of success was more than we had anticipated. We were very well satisfied that Mr. SUTTON'S account, so far as it went, was correct,—that BUONAPARTE'S grand plan had been frustrated, and that he had not only been prevented from penetrating between the English and Prussian armies, but forced to fall back again behind the Sambre. How far the Duke of WELLINGTON and Prince BLUCHER might have thought it prudent to pursue him, was a point on which we did not conceive ourselves warranted to form any decisive opinion from the evidence before us. We had no doubt that he would be harassed in his retreat, and perhaps ultimately be driven into his entrenched camp, or under the guns of his fortresses; but without some distinct official information, we repeat, that we could not have ventured to anticipate such a triumphant result as that on which we have now to congratulate our country and the world.

Among the rumours which obtained some credit in the city yesterday, was one of an insurrection in Paris. We are not much inclined to give credit to this, conceiving that the Parisians will not move until the tyrant's force in the field is broken. We know, however, that a spirit of hostility to his usurpation is very generally and very boldly expressed in the French capital. We have received from thence a paper which has obtained extensive circulation there, and which will be found in another of our columns. It contains an address to the inhabitants of the Fauxbourg St. Antoine and St. Marceau, and a Declaration in the name of the Duke of ORLEANS. Both these documents are plainly and ably drawn up. The one successfully opposes the ferocious doctrines of the Jacobins, the other the more insidious views of those who seek to cover their criminality with the respect justly due to a brave and honourable Member of the House of Bourbon. Whether his Serene Highness has authorised this avowal of his sentiments, we know not; but it is one, which appears perfectly congenial with that fair and manly conduct which he has always observed. The Duke of ORLEANS has never at any time given the least countenance to those criminal projects, which, under the specious pretence of attachment to himself, would as completely break down the principle of legal succession, as if BUONAPARTE or ROBESPIERRE were the object of election. That principle once violated, the faction assuming to-day the right of choosing any given Sovereign, might to-morrow, with equal authority, assume the right of cashiering him. Nothing would be permanent or secure. Neither King, nor Dynasty, nor form of Government, would be certain of lasting a twelvemonth; the intolerable perpetuity of change would necessitate the ultimate submission to despotism; and none would be more miserably the sufferers than those unfortunate personages who might be mocked with the capricious grant of a delusive sovereignty by the paramount authority of faction.

Yesterday his Royal Highness the PRINCE REGENT held a Council at Carlton-house, which was unexpectedly summoned. It was attended by the Lord President, the Lord Privy Seal, the First Lord of the Treasury, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the First Lord of the Admiralty, the Master General of the Ordnance, the three Secretaries of State, the President of the Board of Control, the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, the Master of the Mint, the Commander in Chief, &c. Among other important proceedings, an Order in Council for reprisals and letters of marque against the French was agreed upon, and signed by all the members of the Council present, in consequence of hostilities having commenced.

His Royal Highness gave audiences to the Earls of LIVERPOOL, HARROWBY, VISCOUNT SIDMOUTH, and Mr. BATHURST. The Rev. Dr. LUXMORE, the late Bishop of Hereford, did homage before the PRINCE, upon his being translated from the Bishopric of Hereford to the Bishopric of St. Asaph.

We have seen a gentleman who left Brussels on Sunday evening, at which time the people were manifesting the greatest joy for a decisive victory gained by the Duke of WELLINGTON on that day. The wounded were beginning to be brought in, in waggons, as this gentleman quitted Brussels.

Many of the British Officers present in the affair of the 18th, declared that they never witnessed more severe fighting in the Peninsula than that which took place on the plains of Fleurus and its vicinity. What made the fate of the 79th and 42d regiments so severe was their having been taken by surprise by a strong force of cuirassiers, who lay in ambush for them in the road, the sight of which was completely intercepted by fields of corn immensely high. With such fury was the 79th regiment attacked, that most of them were cut to pieces, and the whole were in danger of being destroyed, but for the coming up of the brave 42d. This latter regiment formed itself into a square, and five times they were broken. On the sixth attack they formed the plan of opening a passage to the enemy; and the moment he effected it, they changed their position, and so hemmed in the cuirassiers, that not a single man was suffered to escape: thus was the destruction of one of BUONAPARTE'S finest regiments completed. Col. CAMERON, says our informant, was killed at the head of the gallant 42d. Next day, Saturday, when the 79th was mustered, the men amounted to no more than 54, and two officers. A few more were, however, expected to be brought in. General PICTON'S division did wonders; and the gallant General himself fought at the head of it in a manner to astonish the greatest veterans. The Duke of WELLINGTON exposed himself as usual to imminent danger: the bullets, says our informant, were whizzing about him in every direction.

## PRIVATE CORRESPONDENCE.

**HAMBURG, June 13.**  
Yesterday the first column of our contingent of troops, consisting of a battalion of infantry and a squadron of cavalry, set out for the Netherlands, to join the army under the Duke of Wellington.

The Lubec contingent, destined also for the army of Wellington, arrived to-day at Hamburg, where it was received with Hanseatic fraternity.

The following letter from Bremen of the 8th instant communicates farther information as to the march of the Hanseatic troops.

"On the 14th inst. our contingent will break up from hence for the army. On the 15th the first division of the Hamburgers will enter on the 19th the Lubbeckers, and on the 19th the second division of the Hamburg contingent. Their route is by Wildeshausen, Lingen, &c. for Antwerp."

Field Marshal Barclay de Tolly, with some thousands of Russian troops, attended the funeral of Marshal Berthier at Bamberg.

The public are anxious here lest too much time be given to the common enemy.

The following documents have been published at Paris:—

TO THE INHABITANTS OF THE FAUXBOURG ST. ANTOINE AND ST. MARCEAU.

Good inhabitants of the Fauxbourg, peaceful and laborious people! They deceive you: traitors mislead you, and endeavour to render you the imprudent victims of perfidy.

For whom do they exert you to revolt and carnage? For a single man, become the terror as he is the hatred of France and the whole world: for a barbarian, who, in his rage to destroy, thinks with delight of the new torrents of blood which he is again about to shed; who smiles at the idea of the frightful calamities which an impotent and criminal resistance will inevitably bring on your city, your families, and yourselves; for a man who is no longer your Sovereign, who has no longer any right to you, not even that of interesting you in his fate.

Against whom do they excite your courage, and wish to arm you? Against your King, your father; against a King whom you love, because he is virtuous and good, and because you, like all true Frenchmen, are generous and feeling; against a father who made the care of your welfare his dearest study, and who never speaks without pleasure and emotion of his good people of Paris. Inhabitants of the fauxbourg St. Antoine, you in particular have seen that good king, that tender father, come to deposit among you, with expressions of his affection for you, the treasures of his mild beneficence. From that moment you gave him your hearts, and promised to him eternal affection. Will you now break your oaths? Consider that the more he is unfortunate and afflicted, the more you owe him consolation and fidelity; consider that he has given his royal word to employ the first moments of his return, in distinguishing and rewarding the virtuous citizens who shall devote themselves to the good cause; consider also that it will be so much the more honourable to be rewarded by him, inasmuch he will doubtless never have either the wish or the courage to punish you.

If, then, you must be armed, let it be for him and not against him; but let it be in a manner worthy of you and of him; let it be not to shed the blood of his servants, nor even that of his enemies and yours, but in order to watch with the brave and faithful national guards over the maintenance of order and respect to persons and property, to preserve to your fellow-citizens their goods and repose, and to your King his subjects and capital.

Thus will you show yourselves worthy of the French name; thus will you acquire an eternal claim to the esteem and gratitude of the nation, as well as to the good will of your legitimate Sovereign.

S. M.

**DECLARATION OF THE DUKE OF ORLEANS, FIRST PRINCE OF THE**

Frenchmen,—I am under the necessity of breaking the silence I had imposed on myself, and since some have had the audacity to connect my name with gully wishes and perfidious insinuations, my honour dictates to me, in the face of all Europe, a solemn protest which my duties prescribe to me.

Frenchmen, they deceive, they mislead you; but those among you especially deceive themselves, who arrogate the right of choosing another master, and who outrage by seditious hopes, a Prince, the most faithful subject of the King of France, Louis XVIII.

The irrevocable principle of legitimacy now the sole guarantee of peace in France and in Europe. Revolutions have only made this force and importance more strongly felt: consecrated by a warlike league and by a pacific congress of all the princes, this principle will become the inviolable rule of reigns and successions.

Yes, Frenchmen, I should be proud to govern you, but solely in the event of my being unfortunate enough to have my seat on the throne opened to me by the extinction of an illustrious branch. It would be then only that I should also make known intentions far different perhaps from those which some ascribe to me, or which they choose to suggest to me.

Frenchmen, I address myself to none but a few misled men. Become yourselves again, and proclaim yourselves faithful subjects of Louis XVIII. and of his natural heir, with one of your princes and fellow-citizens.

LOUIS PHILIP, Duke of ORLEANS.

## LAW REPORT.

**COURT OF KING'S BENCH, WEDNESDAY, JUNE 21.**

**SAMPSON V. CHAMBERLAIN.**  
This was an action by a widow, late residing in Harley-street, against some of the inhabitants of the Hundred of Ossulton, on the 1st part of G. 1. c. 2. c. 5. s. 6. to recover damages on account of the partial demolition of her house by the rioters, on account of the corn bill. There being no doubt that this riot was a felony within the act, it being proved that the damage amounted to a beginning to demolish or pull down the house within the 4th section (Sec 5 T. R. 14 T. 496). The jury found their verdict for the plaintiff—Damages 55s. 5d.

**LEIGHTON, BART. V. KINSEY.**

This was a similar action against two or more of the inhabitants of the hundred in which Curzon-street is situated, on account of damage to Mr. Ponsbury's house, of which the plaintiff is entitled to the reversion. The Attorney-General said, the public were indebted to the learned counsel for the plaintiff for the manner in which he had taken this beneficial recourse to make the whole hundred pay for the damage of a lawless mob. Verdict for plaintiff—Damages 56l. 10s. 10d.

**ROBERTSON, Esq. v. HUTTON.**

This was an action brought by Robert Robertson against an upholsterer in Mortimer-street, Cavendish-square, of whom he agreed to take furnished lodgings for himself and his lady, upon the terms of being waited upon by the defendant's servant. The servant deposed that the agreement was made, and he was to wait upon the plaintiff; but this servant was, during the occupation, dismissed by the defendant, who did not procure another to supply her place. The plaintiff accordingly engaged one himself, and now brought this action for breach of agreement, and the defendant (who appeared for the purpose of the marriage of the plaintiff and his lady) set up a defence, claiming that the defendant had procured a new servant of his own. This did seem to constitute some damage; but Lord ELLENBOROUGH left it to the jury whether the agreement being that the *waitress* was to wait upon the plaintiff, when she was discharged the defendant was bound to provide another servant. As for the taking away the table, it appeared to have been afterwards replaced by another; the passage appeared to have been blocked up, in fulfilment of a threat on the part of the defendant that he would do so; but it did not appear that the defendant entered the plaintiff's bedroom to serve the notice. The jury after retiring found their verdict for the defendant.

A weekly paper, entitled *The Sunday Monitor*, has, we learn, published, or does still publish, some letters with the signature of VETUS, intimating to its readers that they are the production of our valued correspondent, who used that signature. We do not know what kind of readers they are that may be imposed upon by such a fraudulent insinuation,—enlightened ones no doubt!—but we assert, with the utmost confidence, that the person whose designation is thus surreptitiously adopted, has never since written or suggested a line of politics to any other journal whatsoever than *The Times*.

The Proprietors of Covent-garden have, as a tribute of gratitude to Miss O'NEILL for her successful exertions, offered to her acceptance the profits of the revived tragedy of *Jane Shore*.

[Advertisement.]—New GALLERY, PAUL-MALL.—We are desired to state, that this Gallery will be re-opened to the Public this day, on the 21st of June, at 10 o'clock, and will be formed at a liberal expense, from many of the finest collections of Europe, and which contains many celebrated pictures by the most esteemed masters of the Italian schools, as Raffaele, Correggio, Sebastian del Piombo, Tern, Bartolomeo, Titian, the Caracci, &c. From the many capital pictures of the works of the great masters, which are to be seen, it may be considered as a most interesting and valuable addition to the present exhibition at the British Gallery, to which it adjoins; that Gallery being for this year limited to the exhibition of the works of the Flemish and Dutch schools.

## TIMES OFFICE, Thursday Morning, 8 o'clock.

We stop the press to insert the following letter, received this morning by the LORD MAYOR:—

(COPY.)

DOWNING STREET, JUNE 22, 1815, 1 A. M.

MY LORD,—I have the greatest satisfaction in informing your Lordship, that the Hon. Major H. PERCY, is just arrived with dispatches from the Duke of WELLINGTON, dated Waterloo, the 19th instant, containing the account of a most decisive and glorious victory having been obtained over the whole of the French Army, by the Allied Forces, on the 18th instant, the result of which has been the overthrow of the French army, with the loss of more than 200 pieces of artillery, an immense quantity of ammunition, and a part of the baggage belonging to BUONAPARTE.

The loss of the British Army upon this occasion has unfortunately been most severe. It had not been possible to make out a return of the killed and wounded when Major PERCY left head-quarters, the names of the Officers killed and wounded, as far as they can be collected, are annexed.

I have the honour to be,  
Your Lordship's most obedient humble servant,  
BATHURST.

To the Right Hon. the LORD MAYOR.

## BRITISH KILLED AND WOUNDED.

**KILLED.**

Duke of Brunswick Oels.

Lieutenant-General Sir Thomas Picton.

Lieutenant-General Sir H. Ponsonby.

Colonel du Plat, K. G. L.

Colonel Omphelt, ditto.

Colonel Morrison, 69th Regiment.

Colonel Sir W. Stewart, 105th.

Lieutenant-Colonel Macrae, 42d Regiment.

Lieutenant-Colonel Gordon, 93d Regiment.

Lt.-Col. Sir Alex. Cameron, K. C. B. A. D. C. to the Duke of Wellington.

Lieutenant-Colonel Caning.

Lieutenant-Colonel Harris, Lord Hills Staff.

Major the Hon. Lord Howard, 10th Hussars.

Major George Bain, Royal Artillery.

Major Norman Ramsay, ditto.

Major Cairnes, ditto.

Major-General Sir Charles Alten, K. C. B. severely.

Brigade Major Crofton, 5th Division.

Brigade Major Roswell, 2d Light Regiment.

Captain Bolton, Royal Artillery.

Captain Crauford, Guards, D. C. to His R. H. the Prince of Orange.

Captain the Hon. Lord D. C. to Lieut. Gen. Picton.

Captain Charles Ellis, 93d Regiment.

Captain Robertson, 73d Regiment.

Captain Kemmer, 73d Regiment.

Captain Shannon, 2d Lt. Col. K. G. L.

Captain Halgemon, 1st Ditto.

Captain Henry Marshall, 1st Ditto.

Captain Groen, Ditto.

Captain Guimond, 10th Hussars.

Captain Grove, 1st Guards.

Lieutenant C. Manners, Royal Artillery.

Lieutenant Lister, 93d Regiment.

Ensign Lord Hay, Aide-de-Camp to General Maitland.

Ensign Brown, 1st Guards.

**WOUNDED.**

General Sir Royal Highness the Prince of Orange, K. C. B. severely.

Lieut.-General the Earl of Uxbridge, K. C. B. right leg amputated.

Lieut.-General Sir Charles Alten, K. C. B. severely.

Lieut.-General Cook, right arm amputated.

Lieut.-General Sir E. Barnes, K. C. B. Adjut.-Gen. severely.

Lieut.-General Sir J. Kempt, K. C. B. slightly.

Lieut.-General Sir Colin Halkitt, K. C. B. severely.

Lieut.-General Adam, severely.

Lieut.-General Sir W. Dornby, K. C. B. severely.

Colonel Sir J. Elley, K. C. B. slightly.

Colonel Harris, 73d Regiment.

Colonel the Hon. Frederick Panbury, severely.

Colonel Sir William De Lacy, severely.

Lieutenant-Colonel Lord Fitzroy Somerset, right arm amputated.

Lieutenant-Colonel Hay, 16th Light Dragoons, severely.

Lieutenant-Colonel Vigoureux, 5th.

Lieutenant-Colonel Abercrombie, A. Q. M. G. slightly.

Lieutenant-Colonel Hamilton, 30th Regiment.

Lieutenant-Colonel Cameron, 93d, severely.

Lieutenant-Colonel Wyndham, 1st Foot Guards, severely.

Lieutenant-Colonel Mackinnon, Coldstream, slightly.

Lieutenant-Colonel Dashedwood, 3d Guards, slightly.

Lieutenant-Colonel Sir R. Hill, Royal Horse Guards Blue, severely.

Lieutenant-Colonel Hill.

Lieutenant-Colonel Schneider, 8th Line Battalion.

Lieutenant-Colonel Adam, 1st Guards, severely.

Lieutenant-Colonel Miller, 1st Guards, dangerously.

Lieutenant-Colonel Sir George Henry Berkeley, A. A. G.

Major Macleod.

Major Beckwith, 95th severely.

Major Jessop, Assistant Quarter Master General.

Major Burch, 1st Light Bat. K. G. L., right arm amputated.

Major Parkinson, 73d, severely.

## WANT PLACES.—All Letters to be post paid.

**A S HOUSEKEEPER, or Cook and Housekeeper,** who can have an undoubted character from her last place. Direct to 5, Little Rider-street, St. James's.

**A S HOUSEKEEPER** to a single Gentleman, or as Upper Servant in a genteel family, or to attend upon 3 young Ladies, a middle-aged Person, who flatters herself she will be able to give satisfaction in either capacity. Direct to C. D. at Mr. Williams's, cheesemonger, 18, Great Winchester-street, Broad-street.

**A S LADY'S-MAID, or to wait on two young Ladies,** a young Woman, who can have an unexceptionable character from her last place, where she has lived seven years; no objection to go abroad. Direct to G. N. at Miss Kenan's, dress-maker, 28, Chapel-street, Grosvenor-square.

**A S LADY'S-MAID, or to wait on two or three young Ladies,** a respectable young Woman; has no objection to take an Upper Housemaid's place, she perfectly understands hair-dressing, can work well at her needle, and get up fine linen; can have a good character from the Lady whom she has just left. Direct to C. C. at Mr. Robert-street, Bedford-row.

**A S NURSE, a young Woman,** aged 27; first recommended. Direct to J. at 21, Faraday-row, Back road, Islington.

**A S NURSE, a Person,** about 22 years of age, without any imbricance, with a good breast of milk, having lost her first child; and can have a good recommendation; would have no objection to have one at home; but would prefer the former. Direct to C. W. 2, Mark street, Paul-street, Shoreditch.

**A YOUNG PERSON,** aged 23, to attend on one or two young Ladies, or as Upper Housemaid in a small family; can work well at her needle, and get up fine linen; no objection to travel. Direct to J. G. at 251, High Holborn.

**A YOUNG WOMAN,** of respectable connections, to attend upon an elderly Lady, or young Ladies; understands plain dress-making, getting up finelinen, and can have a good character from the Lady she has just left; no objection to travel. Direct to A. B. 35, Trinity-square.

**A S COOK AND HOUSEKEEPER,** a Person, who perfectly understands her business in both branches, and can have an unexceptionable character from her last place, where she lived 21 years. Direct to A. H. 14, Great Chesterfield-street Marylebone.

**A S COOK AND HOUSEKEEPER** to a single Gentleman, or in a regular genteel family, where the Lady is her own housekeeper, a sober, steady Person, who understands her business in both branches, and can have a good character from the kitchen; character undoubted from the family she has just left. Direct to A. B. 23, New Broad-street, City.

**A S COOK,** a steady Woman; has no objection to town or country, where no dairy is kept. Direct to S. S. 3, Collingwood-place, near Mile-end turnpike.

**A S good PLAIN COOK,** where a Footman is kept, a steady active Woman, or to a single Gentleman in town or country; understands a dairy; can have a good recommendation from the place she has left. Direct to S. R. 22, Marshall-street, Golden-square.

**A PLACE-OF-ALL-WORK,** a young Woman, in a small genteel family, where the children; can have a good character. Direct to E. B. 71, Fetter-lane.

**A S HOUSEMAID** in a genteel family, a young Woman; she has lived 13 years in her last place. Direct to S. D. 76, Little Britain Aldersgate-street.

**A S NURSEY or HOUSEMAID,** a young Woman, initiated in the dress-making, in a respectable family. Direct to C. P. at 61, Old Broad-street, City.

**A S HOUSEMAID, or Upper Nurse** in a genteel family, a steady Woman, who can make herself useful in making up small linen, and work well at her needle, and whose character can bear the strictest enquiry. Direct to A. W. 4, Charles-street, Long-acre.

**A S HOUSEMAID,** a steady young Woman, where a footman is kept; no objection to the country; can have a good character from her last place. Direct to M. P. 12, Gresse



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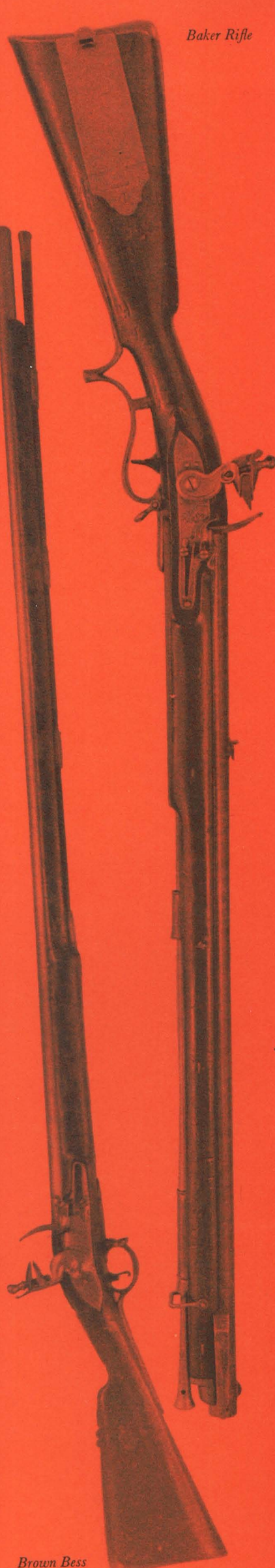
4b

We ought I have  
 more of the cavalry  
 between the two  
 high roads. But in  
 May three Brigades  
 at least besides the  
 King's in strength  
 on the right & behind  
 the Belgian Cavalry  
 & the D. of Cumberland  
 Cuirassiers -  
 One heavy & one light  
 Brigade ought remain  
 on the left -

4a

See that the fire is  
 communicated from the  
 Regt. stand to the roof  
 of the Chateau -  
 You must however not  
 keep your Men in there  
 past to & which the fire  
 does not reach -  
 Take care that no Men  
 are lost by the falling  
 in of the roof or floors -  
 After they will have fallen  
 are occupy the numerous  
 inside of the garden; haste  
 carefully if it should be  
 proper for the hunting  
 to pass through the  
 bushes in the woods  
 of the house -





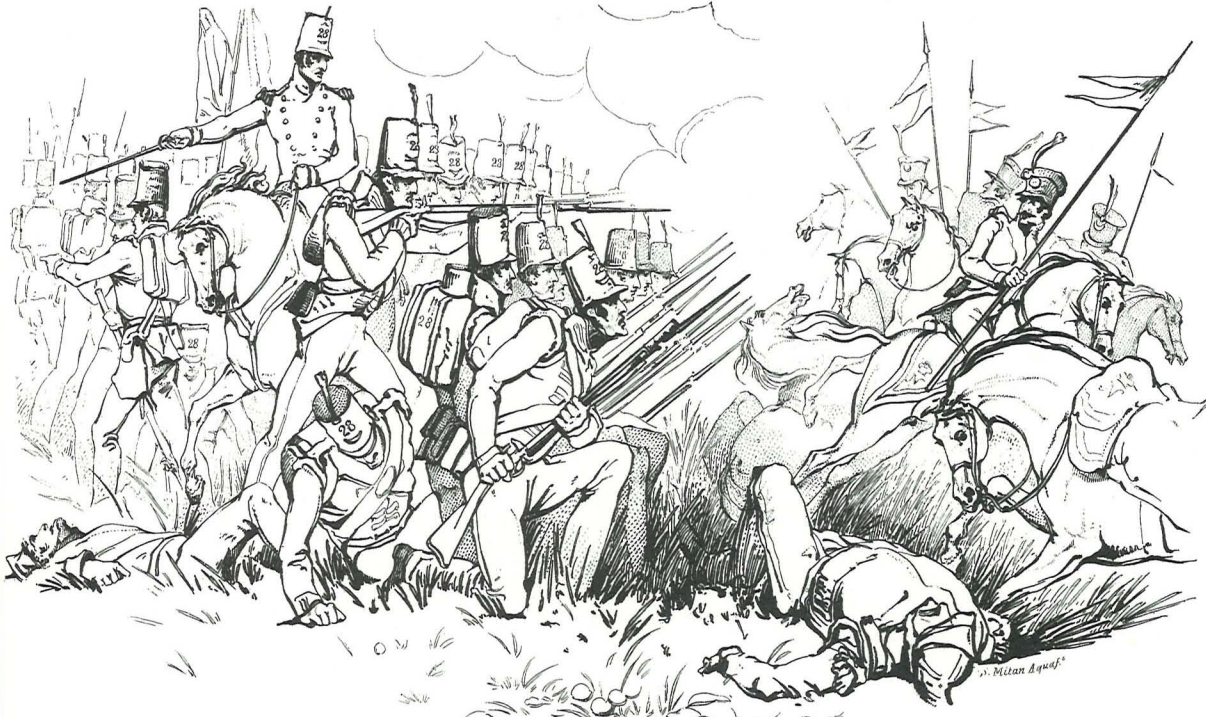
Baker Rifle

Brown Bess

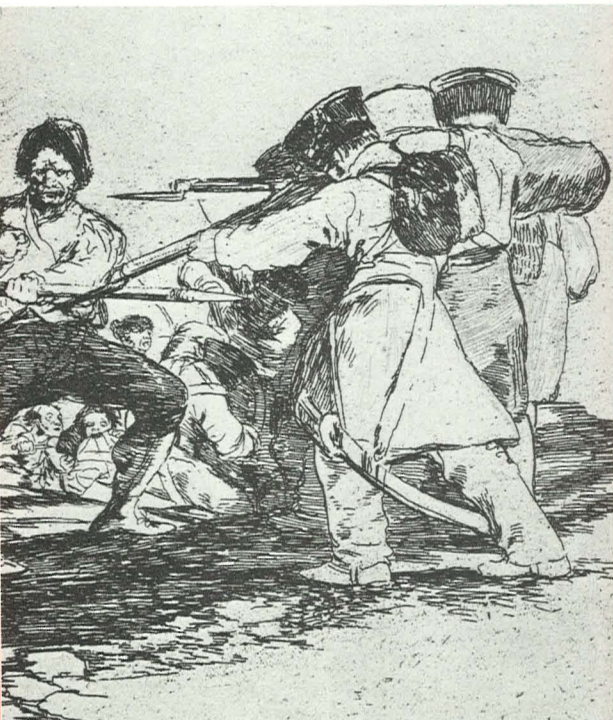
The Brown Bess, the English musket, was a smooth-bored, muzzle-loading flintlock. Skilled troops could fire twice a minute for short periods but the flint which ignited the powder had to be changed every thirty shots. Cartridges were made of strong paper (hence 'cartridge-paper') waxed against damp. The soldier had to tear them open with his teeth or a knife, pour a little gunpowder in the firing pan, and the rest down the muzzle, followed by the ball shot and a piece of wadding, then ram all tight with a ramrod. This operation could only be carried out standing up and the gun was fired from the shoulder from an exposed standing position. The flint spark set off the powder in the firing pan which in turn set off the explosive in the barrel. A musket could kill at 500 yards but a hit at that distance was sheer luck. The black powder fouled the barrel, which had to be washed out every hundred shots, and made such a dense smoke that it was hard to see what was happening. The French version was less efficient, fired lighter shot and used coarser powder which made it necessary to clean out the barrel after fifty shots.

The Baker Rifle, carried by the Rifle Brigade at Waterloo. This was still muzzle- not breech-loaded and ramming the charge down the rifle barrel took longer than with a musket, but it was more accurate and had a longer range. A piece of flint can be seen in the lock. Ramrods were carried in rings beneath the stocks of both weapons.

Wellington preferred to draw up his troops in a line two or three men deep, meeting the enemy with thick fire at close range. A French soldier described the effect: "The English generally occupied well chosen defensive positions and showed only a portion of their forces. The usual artillery action first took place. Soon, in great haste, without studying the position, we marched straight on. About 1,000 yards from the English line the men became excited, and hurried their march; the column began to be a little confused. The English remained quite silent with ordered arms, and from their steadiness appeared to be a long red wall. This steadiness invariably produced an effect on the young soldiers. Very soon we got nearer, shouting Vive l'Empereur! en avant! à la baionnette! Shakspeare were raised on the muzzles of the muskets; the column began to double, the ranks got into confusion, the agitation produced a tumult; shots were fired as we advanced. The English line remained silent, still and immovable, with ordered arms, even when we were only 300 yards distant. The contrast was striking; in our inmost thoughts each felt that the enemy was a long time in firing, and this fire reserved for so long, would be very unpleasant when it did come. At this moment of intense excitement, the English wall shouldered arms – and steady concentrated volleys swept our ranks; decimated, we turned round seeking to recover our equilibrium; then three deafening cheers broke the silence of our opponents; at the third they were on us, pushing our disorganised flight."

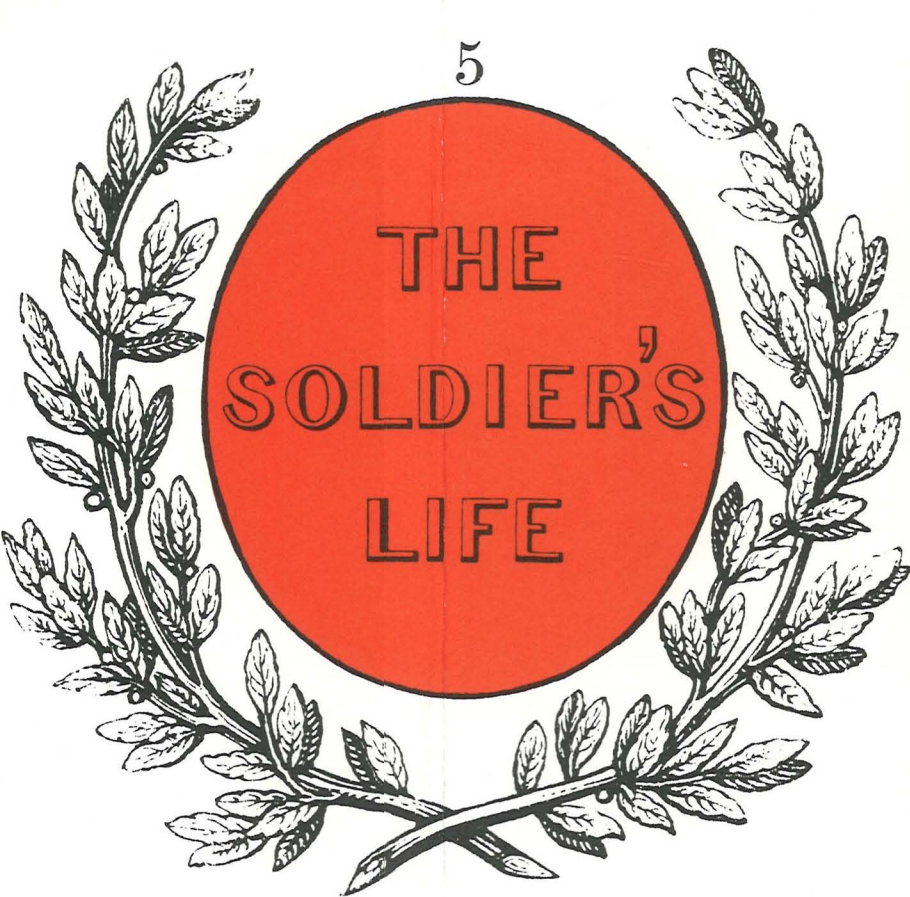


Sir C.P. Belson 8.28<sup>th</sup> Regiment. Battle of Quatre Bras. "The Square remained steady."



Ensign Leeke, of the 52nd Regiment described being under enemy fire: "I distinctly saw the French artilleryman go through the whole process of spunging out one of the guns and reloading it; I could see that it was pointed at our square, and when it was discharged I caught sight of the ball, which appeared to be in a direct line for me; I thought, Shall I move? No! I gathered myself up, and stood firm, with the colour in my right hand. I do not exactly know the rapidity with which cannon balls fly, but I think that two seconds elapsed from the time I saw this shot leave the gun until it struck the front face of the square."

Lieutenant Hope wrote in a letter home: "Seated on a few small twigs, or a little straw, in a newly ploughed field, well soaked with six hours heavy rain – your feet six or eight inches deep in the mud; – a thin blanket your only shelter . . . cold, wet, and hungry, without a fire, without meat, and without drink. – Imagine yourself placed in such a situation and you will have a faint idea of what we suffered on the night of the 17th and the morning of the memorable 18th of June."



The English army was made up of professional soldiers and officers who were trained and drilled rigorously. Some of the rank and file were uncouth or even criminal types, attracted by the large cash bounty and plentiful drink offered by the recruiting officers (the 'bounty' was then subtracted from the soldiers' meagre pay, week by week); but to many men life in the army was considerably less harsh and brutal than in the new industrial towns or poverty-stricken country areas. The officers usually bought their commissions, though often outstanding men rose by merit alone. While skill in drill and handling weapons was vital to the success of the tactics and strategy of the generals, details of uniform were considered relatively unimportant. During the battle of Waterloo Wellington even had to rebuke a group of officers who were facing the enemy fire and heavy rain under the cover of large umbrellas! The print of the Battle (left, from George Jones's The Battle of Waterloo, 1816) shows soldiers of extreme elegance but the recruiting scene (right, from a print of 1814) and the detail from a drawing by Goya of French soldiers in Spain (below left, from Disasters of War, 1810) are more true to life.

Eight-pound gun of a kind used at Waterloo.



PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN  
JACKDAW NO. 18 THE BATTLE OF WATERLOO

"Among the list of the killed, on the 18th, was poor Jack Parsons, one of the best hearted, good-humoured, generous fellows that I ever met with. He was a native of Staffordshire, and invariably carried with him, in his knapsack, the last gift of his poor old mother, consisting of a piece of bacon, which he preserved with as much care as if it had been the most valuable relic. "When any of the men were to be deprived of their grog, it was generally spilt in the front of the company; and on one occasion, as the Officer was in the act of turning out Jack's allowance from a canteen, the poor fellow cast an anxious glance at the precious liquid, as it trickled on the ground, and adopted the following expedient to save, at least, a portion of it. Turning his eyes in a direction behind the officer, he said, 'Here's the general coming, Sir'; the officer turned sharply round to see where, and in the meantime Jack had both hands under the canteen, receiving as much as they would contain, and conveying to his mouth. The officer could not help laughing at the ingenuity of the trick, and generously returned him the canteen, with a portion of the spirit remaining in it." Sgt Thomas Morris, Recollections of Military Service in 1813, 1814 and 1815, 1845.



1st Life Guards Trooper's coatee.

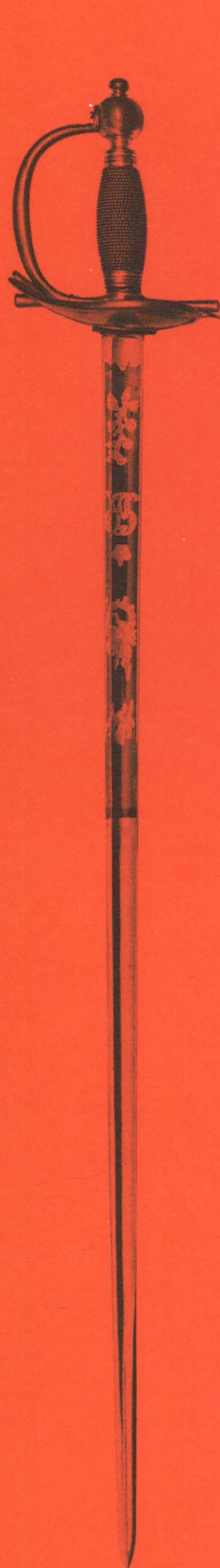


Sergeant Ewart of the Greys captured the eagle and standard of the 45th Regiment of the Line. "It was in the charge I took the eagle from the enemy: he and I had a hard contest for it; he made a thrust at my groin, I parried it off and cut him down through the head. After this a lancer came at me; I threw the lance off by my right side, and cut him through the chin and upwards through the teeth. Next, a foot-soldier fired at me, and then charged me with his bayonet, which I also had the good luck to parry, and then I cut him down through the head; thus ended the contest."

Photographs of weapons from the Armouries of H.M. Tower of London are reproduced by courtesy of the Ministry of Public Building and Works (Crown copyright reserved). Photographs of the coatee and shako and the recruiting print are reproduced by courtesy of the National Army Museum, Sandhurst. Jones's drawing of the Battle at Quatre Bras is reproduced by courtesy of the Mansell Collection.



Howard's Shako (a bullet has passed through the crown).



Officer's sword, pattern of 1813, which belonged to the Duke of Wellington.





Drawn & Engr'd by W. Howd.

Aquainted by R. Revs.

# THE BATTLE OF WATERLOO JUNE 18<sup>TH</sup> 1815.

*Dedicated with permission to Lieut. General the Most Noble Henry William Paget Marquis of Anglesey & Earl of Uxbridge G.C.B. K.M.T. & K.P.G.*

Proof

London Published Jan. 3<sup>rd</sup> 1837

By Lieut. R.P. Read



7  
Camp Cato Plains. 23<sup>rd</sup> June 1815.

The half days halt at Nivelles enabled me to send you a letter; now, that we are going to halt here for some time, I shall embrace the opportunity and continue my account of the great battle. The morning of the 18<sup>th</sup> June broke upon us, and found us drenched with rain, benumbed and shaking with the cold; we stood to our arms, and moved to a fresh spot, to get out of the mud; you often blamed me for smoking when I was at home last year, but I must tell you, if I had not had a good stock of tobacco this night I must have given up the ghost. - Near the place we moved to, were some houses, these we soon gutted and what by the help of doors, windows, shutters, and furniture, we soon made some good fires; about 8 o'clock, our brigade went into position on the right of the line, on high ground that commanded the farm of Hougomont. The Regiment was commanded by Lt Col Rice; Colonel Mitchell having the command of the brigade; Major Kept commanded the light troops, in advance, consisting of Cap<sup>t</sup>. Phelps' Company 51<sup>st</sup>. The light Company of the 23<sup>rd</sup> & 14<sup>th</sup> Reg<sup>t</sup>; About 9 o'clock. Three field pieces were discharged from our position; and Capt. In<sup>o</sup> Rops' Company was ordered down to reinforce the advance

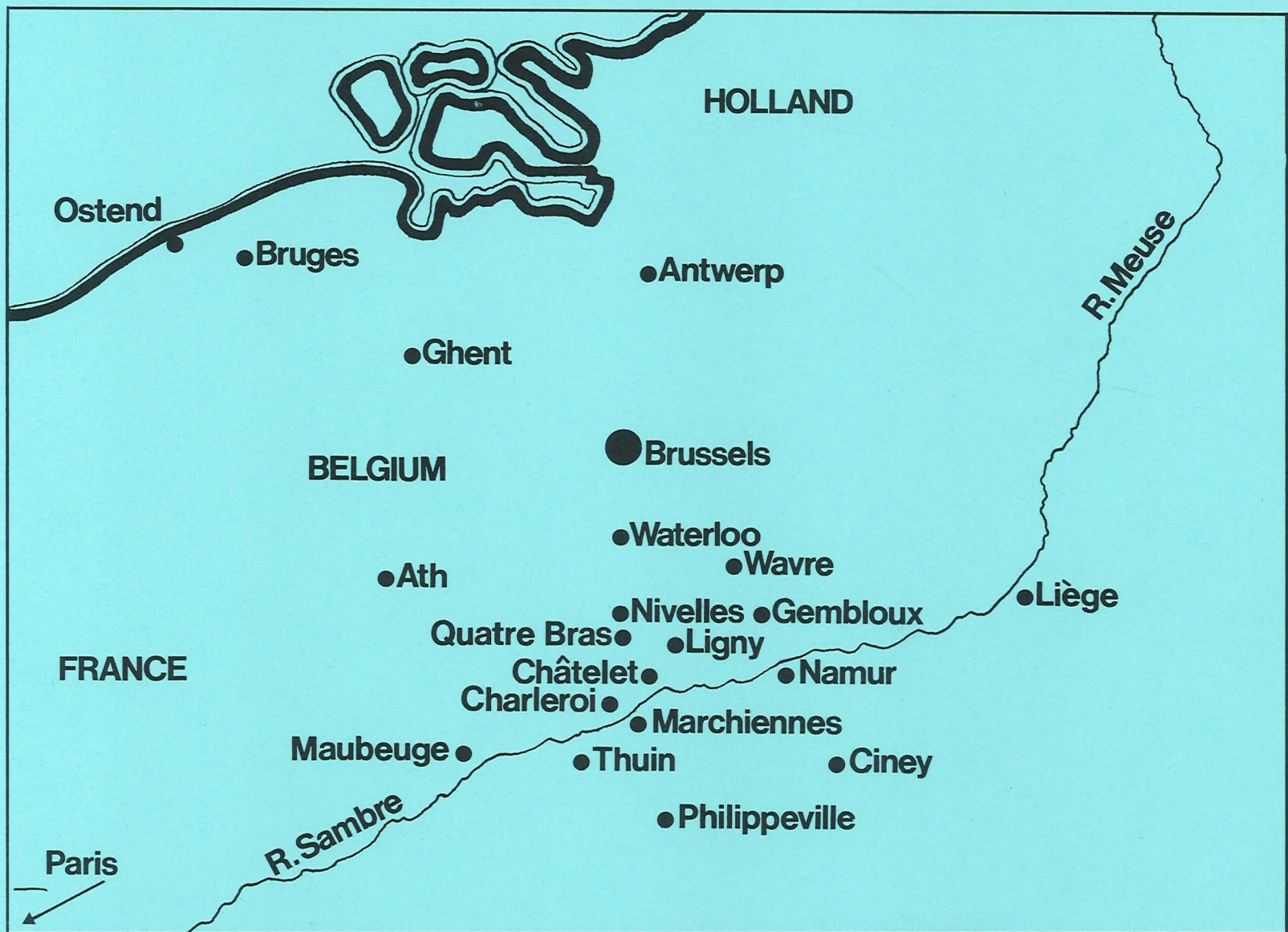
or large stone, well shaded with brambles, this was somewhat to our right and in advance; about an hour after we were posted, we saw an officer of Hurzars, sneaking down to get a peep at our position; one of my men was, what we term, a dead shot, when he was within point blank distance; I asked him if he could make sure of him, his reply was, "to be sure I can, but let him come nearer if he will, at all events his death warrant is signed, and in my hands, if he should turn back; by this time he had, without perceiving us, come up near to us, when Chipping fired; down he fell & in a minute we had his body with the horse in our possession, behind the rock.

P.S. I omitted to say that Captain John Rops' company, had a very narrow escape of being made prisoners, at the commencement.



[illegible]





## THE WATERLOO CAMPAIGN

In the early days of June 1815, all Europe was alarmed by the knowledge that Napoleon had escaped from Elba and that France was rallying to him again. An allied army waited to meet him in Belgium. A third of it British, under the command of the Duke of Wellington, was spread through the towns and villages of west Belgium to protect its lines of communication from the North Sea to its headquarters in Brussels. Eastward, chiefly at Namur, Charleroi, Ligny, and Liège the armies of Prussia waited under the command of Blücher. Their lines of communication were eastward and away from Wellington's. They did not expect active fighting for at least a month.

Napoleon brought his army north in a remarkably short time and he concentrated his forces along the line between Philippeville and Maubeuge. The three armies were approximately the same size – between 60,000 and 70,000 men in each.

On Thursday, June 15th, the French were ready to advance and they made their first error. The plan was to cross the Sambre and Meuse at four points, Thuin, Marchiennes, Charleroi and Chatelet but Soult bunched his troops, trying to get them all across at Charleroi.

Meanwhile Wellington assumed that Napoleon was going for his communications, mistakenly, for Napoleon's tactics would never have been to push the two armies closer together. His one hope of success was to destroy either Wellington or Blücher first, and then to turn on the other.

Wellington sent units south to Quatre Bras to slow up the French advance as much as possible. Napoleon despatched Ney to oppose them, and with his main forces turned east against Blücher. The armies met at Ligny and Napoleon was the victor; but Blücher's army extricated itself, and retreated in good order.

This was the decisive moment, two days before the battle of Waterloo itself, for Napoleon not only failed to destroy the Prussians, but also made the fatal mistake of not finding out which way Blücher had re-

treated. He assumed the Prussians had gone east along their lines of communication. They had in fact gone north to Wavre so that they would later be able to make contact with Wellington's army. Meanwhile the French made another fatal error; at the decisive moment contradictory orders kept the French general d'Erlon marching uselessly between Ney and Napoleon, both of whom needed the help of his 20,000 troops. Ney needed them at Quatre Bras, Napoleon at Ligny; without them neither was able to eliminate their foe. All Saturday the Allied troops retreated in good order towards Brussels, pursued by Ney, who had now been joined by Napoleon. On Sunday, Wellington, having reached his chosen defensive position, turned to fight.

We call it the Battle of Waterloo, the French the Battle of Mont St Jean. To them it is a glorious defeat, to us a famous victory. Napoleon was in no hurry, in fact he delayed action as long as possible so that the ground might dry after a night of driving rain. He did not know that Wellington was counting on the arrival of the Prussians.

The Allied forces were drawn up behind a slight ridge, a favourite device of Wellington. In front they had two heavily defended outposts, Hougomont and La Haye Sainte.

Everyone was soaked to the skin, the physical conditions were horrible, yet such was the magnetism of the leaders that everyone on both sides was ready to fight when the guns opened fire.

Napoleon first launched an attack on the outposts, but he failed and could not advance to annihilate the whole of Wellington's army as he had hoped. He spent too much time and lost too many men in these futile attacks on Hougomont, but on the other flank his artillery severely mauled the Dutch troops. His infantry were swinging the whole front round.

Then the British cavalry attacked; they nearly destroyed the French infantry before they too were driven back. After two hours Mont St Jean was still not captured. Wellington held his position and the stale-

mate continued. Napoleon now knew that the Prussians were coming up and his only hope lay in breaking Wellington before they could engage. The French cavalry charged again and again, but they could not break the British squares. They succeeded in capturing La Haye Sainte, Wellington's other outpost. But it was too late; the Prussians were arriving in great numbers, ready to fall on the French flank.

Napoleon made his Old Guard charge; but, fresh troops as they were, they could do nothing. It was the end of Napoleon's brief return to glory. All his loyal Guards could do was to help their defeated hero from the field.

In the last stages of the battle, as the Prussians came up, one of the bravest and most hazardous of the British manoeuvres took place. Colonel Sir John Colborne took his 52nd regiment out of the line and wheeled them against the flanks of the attacking French Guards. This left the right of the British lines vulnerable to attack—but the attack never came. The 52nd finally destroyed the chances of the French Guard but, had it failed, Colborne would have been regarded as the man who lost Waterloo. As it was he shares with the Prussians and his own commander-in-chief, the honour of giving the final blow to Napoleon. In war there is very little between the victor and the vanquished—only a little bit of luck!

Wellington did not mention Colborne's charge in his Waterloo despatch. This was not an exceptional omission. Wellington had many virtues but giving honour where honour was due was not one of them. Sir John Colborne was not popular with the aristocrats and Wellington wrote his despatches with them in mind. That is one of the reasons why the greatest general of the age was respected but not loved by his men or staff.

After the battle the whole countryside was a shambles and for many years ploughmen were to bring up corpses and bones and military equipment. Thousands had been killed and many lay dying of their wounds. No wonder Wellington wept.



# How important was Waterloo?

Marshal Blücher—this portrait is made up of various weapons  
(Mansell Collection)



Napoleon Bonaparte

Only a century and a half have passed since Waterloo, but, although it is perhaps the best known historic event since 1066, many people have a false idea of its nature. The war between France and the Allies had begun with France protecting her revolution, but it changed into a war of conquest in which Napoleon hoped to subjugate most of Europe: and to do this he had to conquer England.

In the year before the battle all Europe had breathed again. Napoleon had abdicated and been exiled to Elba, an island off the coast of Italy. Suddenly he escaped and there followed his famous 'Hundred Days', during which many of his old veterans, officers and men, deserted the new Bourbon king of France and rejoined his standard.

In France the old spirit stirred. With Napoleon at her head she could dominate the world. A huge parade on the Champs de Mars in Paris proclaimed the return to the idea of military glory. The Emperor's army felt as he had when he said to Marmont in 1814, "We are still 100,000". "No", replied Marmont, "only 60,000". "Exactly", said Napoleon, "60,000 and myself, that is 100,000". Waterloo only dimmed this spirit temporarily. Instead of living in present glory France now had to live in past glory but, as the years went by, more and more Frenchmen failed to see the difference.

It is true that it was Napoleon's final battle and defeat, but it is not so true as we sometimes think that it saved England from threat of invasion until the days of Hitler a hundred years or so later; for England had already been saved and Napoleon defeated two or three years earlier. After the disaster of his retreat from Moscow in 1812, and his subsequent defeat at the battle of Leipzig, Napoleon was so crippled that he had no real chance of success and Europe in general was saved from French domination. Invasion of England had ceased to be part of Napoleon's plan by Trafalgar in 1805 or even earlier.

Napoleon has to bear the blame for the thousands killed in the four days of this battle. It was useless from the start for, even if he had won, he could not have kept his power. Wellington's and Blücher's armies were only the vanguard of the forces which would have been brought against him, had they been defeated.

Today, looking back, we can see this clearly, but those who read Wellington's despatch in *The Times* of 1815 (Exhibit 3) felt rather differently. To them Napoleon was a real menace who would bring to Britain all the worst features of the dreaded French revolution. Simple people believed him the devil in human form; the rich trembled for their necks when they thought of the guillotine. William Cowper, the poet, called him "chief monster that has plagued the nations yet"; but then Cowper lived before the times of Hitler or Stalin.

It is easy to imagine Napoleon as a nineteenth-century Hitler – but the comparison is false. Hitler was the enemy of everything progressive in European civilisation and left behind him nothing but destruction. Napoleon was a constructive thinker and left behind many good things such as the Code Napoleon, an improvement on most older legal codes. During the Peninsular War even Wellington realised that the revived Spanish government would be more disastrous for Spain than Napoleon's. The defeat of Hitler left Europe free to continue a progressive path, but the defeat of Napoleon, though it may have been necessary for Europe's immediate freedom, certainly helped reaction to triumph everywhere for many years. Although he was a despot, his egoism still retained some of the progressive ideas of the French revolution. In most countries his defeat meant a renewal of power for the reactionary *anciens régimes* which revolution had swept away in France. No more reactionary statesmen than Wellington himself can

be imagined. Thus the defeat of Napoleon was not only the defeat of fears, but of hopes too.

To the French Napoleon is more of a hero today than ever. It was he who gave them their 'finest hour'. He was the chief architect of 'la Gloire' for France. It was not long before Waterloo became, for the French, a triumph for true glory going down before hopeless odds.

Napoleon said that he only wished to rule France in peace, but none of his old enemies could believe him. Wellington, based on Brussels, with Blücher coming up from the east, opposed him. Neither of them expected an immediate battle and both were taken by surprise when Napoleon crossed the rivers Sambre and Meuse and invaded Belgium. For him everything depended on speed, for both the Allied and the Prussian armies equalled him in strength. He resolved to crush one and then turn on the other.

It is wrong to think of Waterloo as a great British victory. Out of every hundred men who fought against the French, only eighteen were British, and many of them Irish, 'bonnie fighters', but scarcely imbued with any spirit from the playing fields of Eton: indeed, if Wellington ever made the famous remark it shows that in his view victory was won by the few officers rather than the common soldier. He may not have dismissed these as cannon fodder as Napoleon did, but they were 'scum of the earth', and not old Etonians. Wellington of course was an old Etonian, but it seems he avoided the playing fields there as often as he could in favour of long solitary walks.

It is true that Wellington fought a brilliant defensive action, and the heroism of his British, Hanoverian, Dutch and other troops was magnificent, but as he himself was the first to admit, he was only able to hang on until Blücher and the Prussians could arrive and defeat the French, who might otherwise have destroyed him.

Maréchal Ney  
(Mansell Collection)



Maréchal Grouchy  
(Mansell Collection)





# WELLINGTON BLÜCHER AND NAPOLEON

"The more we look at his actions and his writings in detail," said Lord Roberts, "the more do we respect and admire him as a general; and the less do we like him as a man."

Wellington was certainly respected by his men. "The sight of his long nose among us," said one, "was worth ten thousand men any day of the week." But he was not loved. Even after years of being led by him to victory all that one man could say was "we rather liked him than otherwise". The reason was that though he was scrupulously fair and even humane, he was very sparing in praise, easily angered and apt to be woundingly sarcastic. Of his men he said that they were "the scum of the earth, they have *all* enlisted for drink," and "I have no idea of any great effect being produced on British soldiers by anything but the fear of immediate corporal punishment".

This was an unpardonable exaggeration. Roughs, criminals, drunkards, though many might have been, there were others loyal, idealistic, even religious. We should compare his words with those of another officer of the Napoleonic Wars, Sir William Napier. Describing a battle in the Peninsular War he said, "Then was seen with what a strength and majesty the British soldier fights".

As a young officer in India Wellington had risen partly thanks to political pull, but later he repaid this by having to bear the politicians' contemptuous attitude to him as a mere 'Sepoy general'. Indeed, as late as the Crimean War, there was great prejudice in official quarters against Indian Army Officers. At Waterloo he was still only forty-six years of age. He expected obedience from his officers, whereas Napoleon sought co-operation; he was dictatorial whereas Blücher allowed great latitude in argument, and he excelled as a defensive general, as a result of his experience, rather than an offensive general. In his long life after Waterloo he was bitterly opposed to all sorts of reform and when he saw the first Reform Parliament he said, "I never saw so many shocking bad hats in my life". In consequence he was hated by most people, even though they admired him as a leader in war. Hostile crowds followed him on his solitary London walks and he met their hostility with imperturbable contempt. When they threw stones, he doffed his hat and bowed. Yet at his funeral a whole nation mourned and a legend was soon formed of him as the great elder statesman.

He had many sharp contrasts in his varying moods. Those who see him as an inhuman statesman should perhaps look back on the night and morning after Waterloo. He went quietly to a little inn and slept almost at once. In the morning very early his doctor found him reading the casualty list which had been left with him overnight. Eight thousand, four hundred and sixty British casualties out of about twenty-four thousand in the battle! "He was much affected," says his doctor; "I felt the tears dropping fast upon my hand, and, looking towards him, saw them chasing one another in furrows over his dusty cheeks."

During the battle, General Lord Uxbridge thought he was wounded in the side and said, "I've got it at last," and Wellington casually replied, "Have you, by God?" When General Picton was killed all he said was: "I'm sorry Picton's gone." Some have thought these episodes proved his callousness, but it is not clear what they would have had him do or say in the midst of a battle.

Later he told his friend, Lady Shelley, "Next to a battle lost, the greatest misery is a battle gained."

Blücher was quite another type. He had seen more than a half-century of service, being a veteran of the Seven Years War, and he was seventy-two years old. He was too old to carry out all his duties without extra help but he was a very good soldier still. Above all he inspired his army with a dynamic hatred of Napoleon. In contrast to Wellington, he was warmly loved by his men and well served by his staff. Unlike Wellington, he discussed things with his subordinates. Thus after Ligny there was a long argument before his view that they should remain in touch with the Allied Army prevailed over that of his chief-of-staff, who wanted to retreat eastwards. It was after a night of discussion that he decided; Wellington would have made up his own mind and given an order and so would have Napoleon.

This amazing septuagenarian put himself at the head of a body of cavalry at Ligny and charged the victorious French. His horse was killed, he was badly bruised and nearly taken prisoner, and yet he continued directing the defeated army in its retreat. The night after the battle he was carried to a small house full of wounded, and he remained awake nearly all night making plans.

His hatred of Napoleon impelled him to

end the matter with a dramatic last battle. Subsequently, bruised as he was, he put himself at the head of his army at Waterloo. Later he gave orders that the defeated ex-emperor was to be shot at sight as a brigand. When his mental ailment began is anybody's guess, but he died insane, having been plagued in his latter moments with the idea that he was going to give birth to an elephant fathered by a French soldier.

This is not the place to describe Napoleon, except as an exhausted man who had left Paris at 3.30 a.m. on June 12th, and marched and worked and fought unceasingly and without sleep until 11 p.m. on the 16th, after the battle of Ligny. Had he not been so tired he might have marched against the English at Quatre Bras and caught them before Blücher could have helped them. An even worse mistake was not to find out in what direction the Prussians had retreated. Napoleon had every reason to believe that the Prussians had retreated towards Namur, though he admitted to himself that they might be going via Wavre towards Brussels and Wellington. But he left the matter in doubt. "The lesson that this neglect teaches," writes the historian J. C. Ropes, "is a plain one. It is that where there is any chance at all of the occurrence of an event which, if it does happen, will be fatal, it is folly to trust to the probabilities of the case." Later during his captivity on St Helena, Napoleon gave a wholly unbelievable account of Waterloo.

In Wellington's old London home, Apsley House, at the corner of Hyde Park, there is an enormous nude statue of Napoleon who was himself very short; its history reveals the weak side of this very great man. The Italian sculptor Canova made it, but when Napoleon saw it he noticed that it portrayed a winged victory on his hand with its back to him flying away. Napoleon was superstitious and would not accept the statue. It finally found a place in the collection of his great adversary.

Napoleon was not the only man to cause trouble about statuary. Wellington's tomb was to include a representation of him, but it took a great deal of argument before it was agreed that the sculptor need not represent him as an ancient Roman senator in a toga. Moreover, it was suggested that a horse should be included in the group, but it took fifty years for this to be allowed, since a horse was thought unsuitable for a cathedral.



*The Duke of Wellington's dressing case, with toilet articles, medicines, etc., now in Apsley House*

*By courtesy of the Victoria and Albert Museum Photo: Viewpoint Projects*





*A dismounted Life Guardsman fighting a Cuirassier whom he slew and rode off with his horse.*

## THE MEN WHO FOUGHT

Can we visualise the men who fought at Waterloo? The first thing we notice, and most surprising perhaps, was their uniform, or lack of it. We have many pictures, of which some are reproduced here, of beautiful dolls in neat, clean uniforms, but we can be sure that they have never seen a battle.

Look at the picture of a "dismounted Life Guardsman fighting a Cuirassier whom he slew and rode off with his horse". What amazing cleanliness after a terrible thunderstorm at night; what new, well-fitting uniforms, especially the guardsman's trousers and the cuirassier's helmet. Apparently they have laid nice clean straw on the rain sodden ground. Now read the account of someone who really knew the army from within.

"Provided we brought our men into the field well appointed, with their sixty pounds of ammunition each, [Wellington] never looked to see whether their trousers were black, blue or grey; and as to ourselves," wrote one of his officers, "we might be rigged out in any colour of the rainbow if we fancied it. The consequence was that scarcely any two officers were dressed alike! Some wore grey braided coats, others brown: some again like blue; many stuck to the 'old red rag'." True, this was during the long campaigns of the Peninsular War, and at Waterloo the uniforms of officers may have been more respectable; especially as many of them had come direct from the famous Brussels Ball, but there was none of that obsession with perfect dress which years of peace brought at a later date. (Compare the picture and description of Lord Cadogan in Jackdaw No. 11: *The Crimean War*.)

Each soldier carried a knapsack, usually of oilskin, supported by extra straps under the armpits. Besides this he carried a bayonet and ammunition, a brass regimental badge, a canteen and a haversack, the whole weighing 60 lbs. Officers had the leather belt, familiar to this day, to carry their sword, and a red silk sash wound tight several times round their waist. The heavy dragoons at Waterloo had a brass helmet, grey cloth overalls with a broad red stripe and short boots instead of the traditional heavy jack boots which were most clumsy.

The light dragoons wore a blue coat and tight fitting breeches. It will be seen how unlikely it was that anybody should have talked at Waterloo of 'the thin red line' to describe the British soldiers, as many people do. The phrase was invented by a war correspondent of the Crimean War.

The main weapon of the infantry was a

very inefficient firing piece. It was difficult to fire in wet weather because 'to keep your powder dry' was not practical. Then the infantrymen could only resist cavalry by forming in square and defending with the bayonet. Their firearms were always very inaccurate and had a maximum range of 300 yards. Anyone who could hit a target at one hundred yards must have been a very lucky shot. There were a few rifled weapons but these were so hard to load that clumsy mallets had to be used on the ramrods.

Cavalry found that their swords, sabres, cuirasses and other cutting weapons were no match for the heavier continental weapons and many purchased these in preference.

In these days of nuclear rockets it is interesting to know that comparatively primitive rockets were used at Waterloo (Exhibit 6). They were invented in 1805 by a remarkable Englishman, Sir William Congreve. He was an ingenious person in many ways, inventing the first striking match, a gun-recoil mounting, a time fuse, unforgeable banknotes, a method of killing whales with rockets and many more surprising things, including a perpetual motion machine (which of course, did not work).

The Congreve rockets were used at the Battle of Leipzig and were soon copied by other armies. The heaviest weighed 24 lbs. They were found to be too inaccurate and by 1867 the last rocket batteries, in the Austrian armies, were given up.

Wellington had no faith in Congreve's rockets which had a maximum range of 3,500 yards and were not very reliable. Eventually he permitted Captain Whinyates' rocket troop to take part in the action. Captain Mercer wrote in his journal:

"Meanwhile the rocketeers had placed a little iron triangle on the road with a rocket lying on it. The order to fire is given—portfire applied—the fidgety missile begins to sputter out sparks and wriggle its tail for a second or so, and then darts forth straight up the chaussee. A gun stands right in its way, between which the shell in the head of the rocket bursts, the gunners fall left and right, and, those of the other guns taking to their heels, the battery is deserted in an instant. Strange; but so it was, I saw them run, and for some minutes afterwards I saw the guns standing mute and unmanned, whilst our rocketeers kept shooting off rockets, none of which ever followed the course of the first; most of them, on arriving about the middle of the ascent, took a vertical direction, whilst some actually turned back on ourselves—and

one of these, following me like a squib until its shell exploded, actually put me in more danger than all the fire of the enemy throughout that day. Meanwhile, the French artillerymen, seeing how the land lay, returned to their guns and opened a fire of case-shot on us, but without effect, for we retreated to our ridge without the loss of a man, or even any wounded, though the range could not have been above 200 yards."

The food was rough, but Wellington always tried to see that there was enough. Men on the March fell out for ten minutes each hour. On the way to Waterloo they ate biscuit. These rests were not only for eating, however, but to allow stragglers to regain their units.

When they were abroad the French armies lived by plundering the countryside. Wellington insisted on paying for everything that was taken and men who cheated or plundered the peasantry of Spain, for example, received the heaviest punishments. Knowing that all armies march on their stomachs, he saw to the commissariat with care. Biscuit, meat, bread and rum were carefully provided.

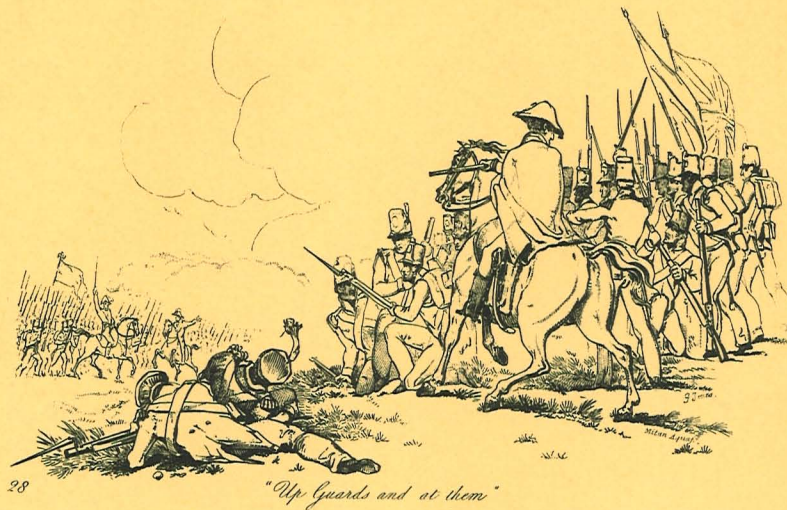
Discipline was kept by the threat of very heavy punishments, but the heaviest were not often given. It was for deserting in front of the enemy, robbing peasantry and striking officers that men were hanged, shot or flogged and this happened on very rare occasions. If we marvel that the men of Wellington's army and the men of Nelson's ships stood the appalling conditions usual in those days we should remember that the alternative was starvation and poverty at home. The factory workers and the agricultural labourers were often as badly off as the soldiers and sailors.

In the preceding wars the British army had suffered less than the other Allies and had a body of experienced officers. It was professional whilst the French and Prussians were conscripts.

Wellington's Peninsular War veterans were scattered across the seas but the magic of the Emperor's name brought Napoleon the support of most of his French veterans. They had stowed away their old uniforms and eagerly brushed them up, while their wives slaved at textile factories all over France to turn out new equipment. Armouries yielded up stores and arsenals made new weapons.

Wellington's army was one of occupation, it was one of mixed nationality and little experience but the French army was all of a piece and unitedly inspired by the idea of a crusade for 'la Gloire'.





## HISTORY AND LEGEND

Waterloo was no sooner history than it became legend as well. We must sort out what really happened from what people thought happened or wanted to have happened.

Twenty years later Earl Stanhope reports a conversation with Wellington: "The conversation turned as to how testimonies vary, and how difficult it is to get at a real fact. The Duke gave some instances of it. 'Thus there is one event noted in the world – the battle of Waterloo – and you will not find any two people to agree as to the exact hour when it commenced'."

Quite soon the Waterloo legend grew in a shape which satisfied men's 'wishful thinking' more than historical truth. The battle became Britain's 'finest hour' and everything had to fit into the picture of a glorious victory won by bravery and skill. Of course there was plenty of bravery, and Wellington and many others showed great skill; but mistakes were made and both sides were ignorant of what the other was doing at crucial moments.

Until the last moment Wellington never realised that Napoleon was about to invade Belgium, and he wrote home that he himself expected to attack the French in about a month. In the same way Blücher expected to be inactive in the frontier towns occupied by his troops for as much as a year. But Napoleon's mistakes were more serious than those of the allies and that was why he lost the battle, not because the French were less brave or less able at fighting.

As we saw, his only hope of success was to defeat and destroy one army first and then turn on the other. He defeated but did not destroy Blücher. At the crucial moment he sent for d'Erlon's 20,000 men to reinforce him, but Marshal Ney countermanded these orders because he needed the men to help hold up Wellington's gathering strength near Quatre Bras. The result was that Blücher was not destroyed in Ligny, nor the allied armies at Quatre Bras. Either result might have been fatal to their enemies but the combined errors of Napoleon and Ney kept 20,000 men inactive and neither objective was achieved.

Then Napoleon made his final mistake; he assumed that Blücher was retreating east along his most obvious line of communications, when, in fact, he was retreating north

to enable him to keep in touch with Wellington. This made it possible for the Prussians to arrive at the crucial hour at Waterloo in time to win the battle.

Of course some German historians have exaggerated this into making Waterloo a purely Prussian victory, while a leading English historian, J. Holland Rose, says that the Prussians arrived too late to give any serious support. We must always realise that national feelings make 'objective' history difficult.

Then again history is used by many to support their own social theories; thus, though Eton may be an excellent school, it is certain that Waterloo was not won "on the playing fields of Eton". We have seen that the composition of the army makes any such remark absurd.

In the same way the French have made a legend to support their own brand of 'gloire'. General Pierre-Jacques, Baron de Cambronne, is said to have exclaimed proudly: "The Guards die but never surrender," at the very moment he was surrendering himself to Wellington on the night of Waterloo. The words are remembered, the occasion forgotten. Wellington says the incident never happened.

Again the fine sounding phrase "Up Guards and at 'em", is denied by the Duke: "What I must have said, and possibly did say, was 'Stand up Guards' and then gave the commanding officer the order to attack." However, the Duke really did add three phrases to the English language, they are 'Don't care a tuppenny damn', 'Publish and be damned', and 'small talk'.

Sometimes legends grow by misunderstandings. For instance, there had always been a ship called Duke in the British Navy, and on one occasion a new one of this name was made, of iron instead of wood; hence it was referred to as the Iron Duke, a title which seemed very suitable for Wellington and was therefore transferred to him.

At other times legends are owed to wrong translations. The great French historian Michelet, not above belittling the English hero, says he made an entire regiment drunk and sacrificed them to a man. What Michelet had done was to misread the French word *gris*, which means both grey and drunk, and

therefore gave this gruesome fate to the Scots Greys!

Finally we should note the disastrous effects on history of popular poems. Lord Byron, inspired by the romantic stories of the night before Waterloo, wrote in his long poem *Childe Harold* lines which everyone knew for generations after:

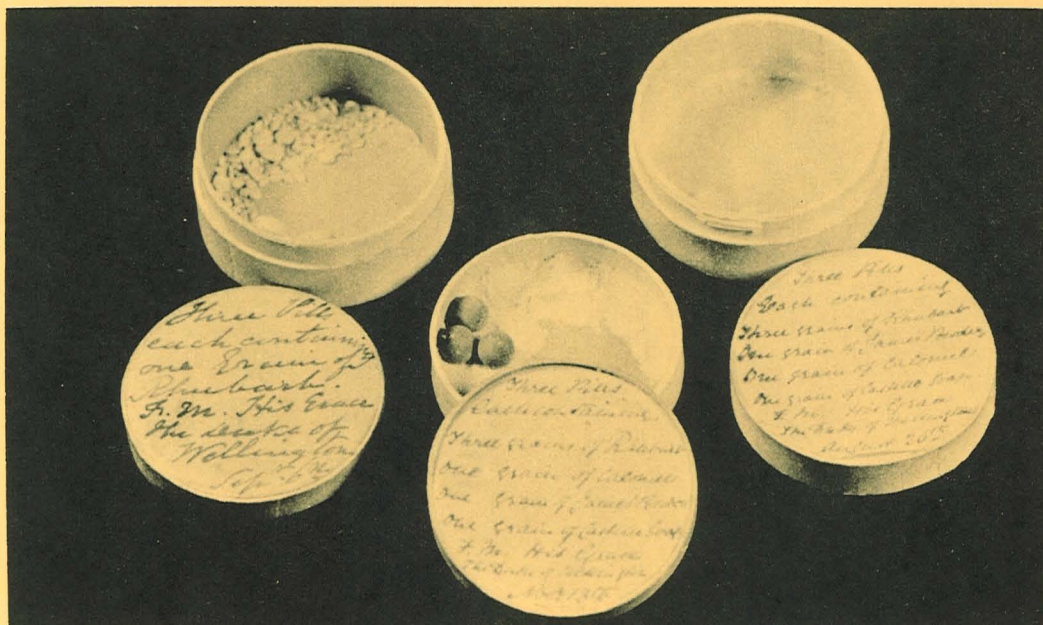
*There was a sound of revelry by night  
And Belgium's capital had gathered there  
Her beauty and her chivalry*

So far so good, the Duchess of Richmond did give a dance in Brussels, indeed balls were held every week to cheer people up. Unscrupulous guides show tourists where Wellington sat in the Town Hall although the ball did not take place there. On that afternoon, Wellington had the first news that Napoleon was attacking the Prussians and he reached the wrong conclusion: that he would try to drive a wedge between him and Blücher at Mons. He should have known better, for this would have meant that Napoleon would push the two armies together, in which case he would have been hopelessly outnumbered.

Wellington issued the wrong orders and went off to the ball in complete ignorance of what was really happening, and yet the Waterloo legend says that he knew the truth and went to the ball to reassure Brussels. But it was midnight before he knew the truth.

We can forgive Byron's "a thousand hearts beat happily," it sounds better than two hundred odd hearts; but we must not believe him when he says a "deep sound strikes like a rising bell" at which the dancers, he says, cried "Arm! arm! it is – it is – the cannon's opening roar," for no artillery was to be heard until 2 p.m. on the following day and then it was too far away to be heard loudly in Brussels.

Far from "mounting in hot haste," Wellington went off to bed and slept six hours from about 2 a.m., and reached Quatre Bras at 10 a.m. next day. It has been observed that Englishmen like stories of their leaders dilly-dallying at the eleventh hour. If the Armada had been successful what should we think of Drake's famous game of bowls? If Waterloo had been lost, what of Wellington's "revelry by night"?



*Pills prescribed for the Duke of Wellington, now in Apsley House*

*By courtesy of the Victoria and Albert Museum Photo: Viewpoint Projects*





### THE EX-EMPEROR IN A BOTTLE.

Ambition's dread career at length is o'er,  
And weeping Europe hopes for peace once more;  
Sovereigns in arms, at length the world have freed,  
And Britain's warlike Sons no more shall bleed:  
The great Napoleon now reigns his away,  
And in a bottle seal'd is borne away.

England's great Prince, whom Europe does confess  
The potent friend of Freedom in distress,  
With ALLIES brave to the world impartial,  
Seal'd up their foe with ACHIEVEMENTS MARTIAL,  
That he no more disturb the tranquil World,  
Nor he again his bloody flag unfurl'd.

'Twas Alexander, great, of generous mind,  
With zealous Frederick, who to peace inclined,  
Resolved, with Francis, in propitious hour,  
To free old Gallia from the Despot's power:  
Her tyrannic Lord from rule is driven,  
And grateful Louis offers thanks to Heaven.

The MARTIAL HEROES next a tribute claim:  
First Wellington, immortal is his fame:  
And Blücher, who, for valour long renown'd,  
Compell'd the Tyrant's legions to give ground:  
The cautious Schwartzberg, of wise delays,  
And the brave Platoff, ask their share of praise.

## THE RESULTS

The final disappearance of Napoleon, leaving a France bled white, meant that until the rise of the German threat in this century, Europe was free from the fear of one-power domination. The France which had begun to be a universal menace in the times of Louis XIV ceased, with Napoleon's failure, to be an imperial force.

Instead a new urge to nationalism grew stronger everywhere. Germany became united, and also Italy. Spain recovered her freedom for which she had paid heavily in the Peninsular War and was to pay more heavily still in the follies of her restored rulers. England became still more a 'nation of shopkeepers' and was peaceful until the madness of the Crimean War (see Jackdaw No. 11). Blücher soon died, but a long life had strange fates in store for the other two leaders, Napoleon left the battlefield lonely and disgraced; and, had not Wellington forbidden it, he might have been executed. His private coach was captured at Waterloo and became an exhibit at funfairs. This was no abdication like the first one when he said proudly: "I abdicate but I concede nothing." When his request to go to America had been refused he was banished to the isolated island of St. Helena, there to tell an ever-increasingly

garbled version of his great days. The remains of his army trickled back to the Bourbon allegiance. A useless, reactionary king sat in the Paris seats of power.

Wellington had another fate. And here it is interesting to compare him with another great war-leader, Sir Winston Churchill. (see Jackdaw No. 31 *Winston Churchill*) Churchill saved his people in war, but in peace his policies were rejected. Though he became Prime Minister for a short while later, his real career was over. He might have echoed Napoleon's farewell speech to his army, that he was now going to spend the rest of life recording the great deeds he and his armies had done. Churchill died beloved and honoured by everyone; Wellington, on the other hand, had a long life as a statesman after Waterloo, and became hated by the common man. He, too, was finally honoured and received a state funeral without parallel in pomp, until Churchill's long after.

It has to be recorded with regret that whereas Napoleon never lost a chance of serving an old soldier when he had still the power, Wellington notoriously never seems to have given a thought to any of his old companions or the thousands of crippled and starving ex-soldiers.

He became the very symbol of reaction. Even his famous victory, Waterloo, suggested a dishonourable name, Peterloo, for the massacre of innocent men and women by yeomanry acting in the interests of a frightened upper class. He said he had never seen so many 'bad hats' as the Reformed Parliament exhibited. He thought the Reform Act would inevitably destroy all law and order.

In spite of everything he died a universal hero, and after his death the world was glad to name after him all sorts of objects, from boots to giant trees in California. Towns and streets and places kept that name alive, and many generation of Englishmen were to enter or leave London by Waterloo. Many, too, when they went down to some final defeat were said to have "met their Waterloo".

There have been three old men in English history who have served their country well until long past eighty; Lord Howard of Effingham, who led us in the struggle with the Armada, the Duke of Wellington, and Sir Winston Churchill. The last two resembled one another in having their great defeats, their great rejections, their great periods of unpopularity, but they both died revered by a grateful nation. Much can be learned by comparing and contrasting them.