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WHO OWNED WATERLOO? WELLINGTON'S VETERANS AND THE BATTLE FOR RELEVANCE

by

Luke Alexander Lewis Reynolds

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in History in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, The City University of New York

2019

Who Owned Waterloo? Wellington's Veterans and the Battle for Relevance

By

Luke Reynolds

This Manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in History
in satisfaction of the dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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ABSTRACT

Who Owned Waterloo? Wellington's Veterans and the Battle for Relevance

By

Luke Reynolds

Advisor: Timothy Alborn

This dissertation examines the afterlife of the battle of Waterloo in the collective memory of Great Britain as well as the post-war lives of officers who fought there. Using a variety of techniques associated with cultural, social, and military history, it explores the concept of cultural ownership of a military event and contextualizes the relationship between Britain and her army in the nineteenth century, both at home and abroad. It argues that, almost immediately after the dust settled on the field of Waterloo, a variety of groups laid claim to different aspects of the ownership of the memory of the battle within Great Britain, resulting in a nationalization of the victory that was often complex and marked by overlapping claims. Over the thirty-seven years between the battle in 1815 and the Duke of Wellington's funeral in 1852, those groups employed histories, memoirs, patronage, tourism, relic collecting, annual commemorations, performances, social interactions, and a variety of art and literature to celebrate Britain's victory, further craft and delineate their own identities, and incorporate the battle into the wider creation myth of Great Britain.

To best explore Britain's relationship with its army and with the victory at Waterloo, this dissertation is divided into two sections, the first comprising four chapters and the second three. The first section charts the cultural history of the British officer corps and the collective memory of the Battle of Waterloo, allowing for a detailed exploration of the question of ownership of a military victory, both within Britain and internationally. The first chapter contrasts military memoirs with civilian

histories. The second examines Waterloo itself as a pilgrimage destination, while widening the question of ownership to include physical items and monuments. The third discusses military and civilian commemorations and celebrations of the Battle of Waterloo, from 1815 until the 1850s. The concluding chapter explores depictions of officers in the popular culture and media of the day. The second section begins with a chapter on the army at home (including Ireland), which discusses the change from wartime to peacetime service. The second chapter examines the involvement of officers in politics, focusing on veterans who followed Wellington's lead and entered parliament. The third chapter covers veterans appointed by London to positions in the imperial service. The dissertation concludes with an epilogue on Wellington's state funeral in 1852, arguing that this event served as the culmination of many of the cultural and social trends discussed throughout the work.

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Timeline

The chapter listed in parentheses after each event is where they are discussed in the dissertation

June 18, 1815 – The Battle of Waterloo

June 21, 1815 – News of the victory reaches London (Chapter III)

August 1815 – Charlotte Waldie's *The Battle of Waterloo* published (Chapter I)

October 1815 – Walter Scott's "The Field of Waterloo" published (Chapter II)

November 20, 1815 – Treaty of Paris signed, ending the Napoleonic Wars (Chapter V)

1816 – Walter Scott's *Paul's Letters to his Kinsfolk* published (Chapter II)

1816 – Canto III of Lord Byron's *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage* published (Chapter II)

April 10, 1816 – The Waterloo Medal established (Chapter III)

1817 – William Mudford's *An Historical Account of the Campaign in the Netherlands in 1815* published (Chapter I)

June 1818 - Joseph Mallord William Turner's *The Field of Waterloo* and Sir Thomas Lawrence's *Portrait of the Duke of Wellington, in the dress that he wore, and on the horse he rode at the battle of Waterloo* first exhibited at the Royal Academy Exhibition (Chapter IV)

August 1818 – Sir Peregrine Maitland arrives in York to take up his duties as Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada (Chapter VII)

November 30, 1818 – The International Army of Occupation evacuates France (Chapter V)

August 16, 1819 – St. Peter's Field (Peterloo) Massacre (Chapter V)

January 29, 1820 – George III dies, George IV becomes king

May 5, 1821 – Napoleon Bonaparte dies

June 1822 – David Wilkie's *The Chelsea Pensioners reading the Waterloo Dispatch* first exhibited at the Royal Academy Exhibition (Chapter I)

June 18, 1822 – First Waterloo Banquet held at Apsley House (Chapter III)

June 1824 – *The Battle of Waterloo* first performed at Astley's Royal Amphitheatre (Chapter IV)

1826 – The Lion's Mound is completed on the battlefield of Waterloo (Chapter II)

January 22, 1828 – The Duke of Wellington becomes Prime Minister (Chapters VI & VII)

November 1828 – Sir Peregrine Maitland replaced as Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada by Sir John Colborne (Chapters VI & VII)

April 13, 1829 – Catholic Emancipation becomes law (Chapter VI)

1830 – Captain John Kincaid's *Adventures in the Rifle Brigade in the Peninsula, France, and the Netherlands from 1809-1815* published (Chapter I)

June 26, 1830 – George IV dies, William IV becomes king

November 16, 1830 – The Duke of Wellington replaced as Prime Minister by Charles, Earl Grey (Chapters VI & VII)

1831 – Lieutenant Colonel Jonathan Leach's *Rough Sketches of the Life of an Old Soldier* published (Chapter I)

June 7, 1832 – Great Reform Act becomes law (Chapter VI)

1834 – James White's *Sir Frizzle Pumpkin, K.C.B.* published (Chapter IV)

November 17, 1834 – The Duke of Wellington becomes Prime Minister (Chapters VI & VII)

December 9, 1834 – The Duke of Wellington steps down as Prime Minister, replaced by Sir Robert Peel (Chapters VI & VII)

1835 – Lieutenant Colonel Charles Cadell's *Narrative of the Campaigns of the Twenty-Eighth Regiment Since Their Return from Egypt in 1802* published (Chapter I)

1835 – Leigh Hunt's *Captain Sword and Captain Pen* published (Chapter IV)

1836 – John Murray III begins publishing *A Hand-Book for Travellers on the Continent* (Chapter II)

1836 – James White's *Nights at Mess* published (Chapter IV)

March 1836 – Sir John Colborne replaced as Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada by Sir Francis Bond Head (Chapters VI & VII)

June 20, 1837 – William IV dies, Victoria I becomes queen

1837-1838 – The Canadian Rebellions of 1837 (Chapter VII)

November 1837 – Sir Francis Bond Head's resignation as Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada accepted (Chapter VII)

1838 – William Siborne's Waterloo Model first put on display (Chapter III)

1838 – Charles Dickens' *Sketches of Young Gentlemen* published (Chapter IV)

1841 – William Salter's *The Waterloo Banquet, 1836* exhibited (Chapter IV)

1846 – Sir Richard Henegan's *Seven Years Campaigning in the Peninsula and the Netherlands; from 1808 to 1815* published (Chapter I)

June 1, 1847 – The Military General Service Medal established (Chapter III)

1848 – William Makepeace Thackeray's *The Book of Snobs* published (Chapter IV)

September 14, 1852 – The Duke of Wellington dies (Epilogue)

November 18, 1852 – The funeral of the Duke of Wellington (Epilogue)

May 1869 – Final recorded revival of Astley's *The Battle of Waterloo* (Chapter IV)

Introduction: “The Ever-Memorable Battle of Waterloo”¹

In the 1838 novel, *Guards, Hussars, and Infantry*, the fictional officer Harry Austin opens his account of the Battle of Waterloo not by emphasizing the military or political significance of the battle, but instead its cultural ubiquity.² “There exists not in the United Kingdom, man, woman, or child,” Austin insists, “who has not either seen pictures or panoramas of Waterloo, heard songs on Waterloo, read books on Waterloo, talked for weeks about Waterloo, and full two-thirds of the adult population could not rest until they journeyed forth to have a look at Waterloo.”³

The cultural ubiquity of Waterloo in the first half of the nineteenth century that Austin highlights was the result of a number of factors. It ended a quarter century of nearly constant warfare with a remarkably short and neat campaign. Waterloo provided the undeniable spectacle of Europe’s greatest generals clashing three times in just three days and bought a prolonged European peace that, rather than being immediately replaced by subsequent battles as passing obsessions, allowed it to be enshrined into the cultural identities of the countries involved. Its significance has proved so lasting that even today, after over two centuries and two world wars, new histories of the battle are written and

¹ The phrase “ever-memorable” became a popular addition to the name of the battle in several British newspapers, see, for example, *Liverpool Mercury*, June 21, 1816; *Battle of Waterloo*, *The Bury and Norwich Post*, June 26, 1816; *Glorious Achievements*, *The Morning Post*, January 28, 1817; *Caledonian Mercury*, June 19, 1824; *Glorious Waterloo*, *The Morning Post*, June 19, 1826; Stockport Wellington Club, *The Standard*, June 22, 1827, p. 1; Edinburgh, *The Aberdeen Journal*, June 27, 1827.

² Although the novel takes the form of a memoir, there is no record of a Harry Austin having served at Waterloo and the regiment names are blanked out in the style of a novel. *The Athenæum* review noted “this novel assumes the form of an autobiography; and its author has not been wholly unsuccessful in imparting to it that life-like and truthful air which belongs to the real struggles and confessions of those who have wrestled with fortune.” *The Athenæum*, June 2, 1838, 390.

³ An Officer, *Guards Hussars and Infantry*, *Adventures of Harry Austin* (London: Saunders and Otley, 1838), III: 311.

well-received on a regular basis, the battlefield is still a popular tourist destination, and its commemoration still occasionally causes friction between the now-allied nations that clashed there.⁴

Prussia, the Netherlands, Hanover, and Belgium incorporated various commemorations of the battle into their annual calendars, and even France found ways to memorialize the men and the dream of the Hundred Days that they lost there. It was Great Britain, however, that took the commemoration further and actively enshrined the victory into their national identity. Several scholars have demonstrated the role of eighteenth-century warfare in general, and the Napoleonic Wars in particular, in the creation of both the British state and the British nation.⁵ Waterloo served as a perfect microcosm of, and capstone to, the wider Napoleonic Wars and war-torn long eighteenth century. The victory, in short, became a crucial part of modern Great Britain’s creation myth. Waterloo was also presented as justification for Britain’s imperial expansion and position as a global hegemon. Waterloo was the final campaign before nearly a century of British ascendancy, and was thus seen as one of the origins, in both definitions of the term, for what became known as the “Pax Britannica.”⁶ Britain had defeated Napoleon, freeing Europe, and had paid for that freedom with the lives of her own sons. She had, therefore, claimed many, bought with blood the right to expand her empire and act as the world’s policeman.⁷ “England has been prodigal of her blood and treasure to sustain... the ‘balance of power’ in

⁴ In 1815 France blocked a Belgian attempt to issue a commemorative €2 coin celebrating the battle. “Belgium defies France as it mints €2.50 coin to mark Battle of Waterloo,” *The Guardian*, June 8, 2015.

<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/jun/08/belgium-france-coin-battle-waterloo-euro-napoleon>

⁵ Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707-1837* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009); Alan Forrest, *Waterloo* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015); John Brewer, *The Sinews of Power: War, Money and the English State, 1688-1783* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1988). Britain was at war for 85 of the 127 years that comprise the long eighteenth century. Jeremy Black, *Britain as a Military Power: 1688-1815* (London: University College London Press, 1999), 6.

⁶ Andrew Porter, *The Oxford History of the British Empire, Volume III: The Nineteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999); Ronald Hyam, *Britain’s Imperial Century, 1815-1914* (London: B. T. Batsford, 1976); John Darwin, *Unfinished Empire: The Global Expansion of Britain* (London: Allen Lane, 2012); Douglas M. Johnston, *The Historical Foundations of World Order: The Tower and the Arena* (Leiden: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 2008), chapter 8; Jan Morris, *Pax Britannica: The Climax of Empire* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1968); Jan Morris, *Heaven’s Command: An Imperial Progress* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1973).

⁷ Lord John Russell’s speech on the evacuation of Spain by the French Army, House of Commons, March 18, 1824, T. C. Hansard, ed., *The Parliamentary Debates, New Series* (London: T. C. Hansard, 1824), X: 1233-1234. See also

Europe,” declared one American visitor to Waterloo with approval.⁸ Finally, there was the allure of national glory. Britain had long been used to ruling the waves, but now it had a land victory to match the glory of Trafalgar, and in Arthur Wellesley, Duke of Wellington, a land-based counterpart to Horatio, Viscount Nelson.

The importance of Waterloo in the nineteenth century British psyche guaranteed that the victory would be nationalized: as Britain grew in prominence and power, Waterloo was celebrated not just as a military victory by the British army, but as a British victory in the widest definition of the term. It would be celebrated by countless more civilians than soldiers, it would pervade every aspect of civilian culture, and, crucially, much of those celebrations would be curated by civilians, including artists, writers, composers, playwrights, and entrepreneurs. This nationalization took many forms, and various groups and identities within Britain participated in the commemoration of Waterloo in different ways. It is this variety of priorities, remembrances, and celebration that is at the heart of this dissertation, and which prompts its primary question: Who owned Waterloo?

To answer this, we must first define what we mean by ownership in this context. This dissertation defines ownership as control of the battle’s narrative and commemoration, and through that, the curation of Waterloo and the men who fought there in the nation’s collective memory. This is, deliberately, a domestic definition of ownership set entirely within the context of Great Britain. The traditional definition of Waterloo ownership - ownership of the valley of Waterloo itself and the international debate over whether the British, Prussia, Dutch, or other allied nations deserve the lion’s

Colley, *Britons*, 1-9; Holger Hoock, *Empires of the Imagination: Politics, War, and the Arts in the British World, 1750-1850* (London: Profile Books, 2010)13, 361-367.

⁸ Zachariah Allen, *Sketches of the State of the Useful Arts and of Society, scenery, in Great-Britain, France and Holland. Or, The Practical Tourist* (Boston: Carter, Hendee & Co. 1833), 2: 186.

share of the credit for the defeat of Napoleon – is of interest, but is largely discussed through the lens of ownership in the British context.⁹

On the evening of June 18th, 1815, the British military owned Waterloo. The defeated French had fled the field and were being pursued by the Prussian army, and the British and the allies under their direct control were left, literally, masters of the field. Within days, they began to cede some of that control. The first British visitors to the battlefield arrived on the morning of the 19th and were soon sharing their own experiences with friends in Brussels, Antwerp, and London.¹⁰ The news of the victory arrived in London on the 21st, prompting spontaneous celebrations across the capital and generating, within a week, private fundraising campaigns and interpretations of the battle in the form of new formation dances with only one Waterloo veteran on hand to witness the nation’s delight.¹¹ Within two months, while almost all of the British army was still on the continent, the first history/narrative of the battle was published in London, compiled by Charlotte Waldie, a Roxborough woman who happened to be visiting Brussels with her family when the battle occurred, and whose 44-page narrative forms the centerpiece of the work.¹²

Over the next four decades, British ownership of Waterloo was comprehensively nationalized. Within that nationalization, however, various groups established their own claims to certain aspects of

⁹ For a few examples of modern contributions to that debate, see Paul L. Dawson, *Waterloo: The Truth at Last, Why Napoleon Lost the Great Battle* (Barnsley: Frontline Books, 2018); Brendan Simms, *The Longest Afternoon: The 400 Men Who Decided the Battle of Waterloo* (New York: Basic Books, 2015); Stephen Clarke, *How the French Won Waterloo (or think they did)* (London: Cornerstone Publishing, 2015); Peter Hofschroer, *1815: The Waterloo Campaign – The German Victory* (Barnsley: Greenhill Books, 1999); Peter Hofschroer, *1815 The Waterloo Campaign: Wellington, His German Allies and the Battles of Ligny and Quatre Bras* (London: Greenhill Books, 1998).

¹⁰ Alexander Cavalie Mercer, *Journal of the Waterloo Campaign, Kept Throughout the Campaign of 1815* (Edinburgh & London: William Blackwood and Sons, 1870), 1:345-346.

¹¹ “Patriotic Meeting,” *The Morning Post*, June 29, 1815; “Waterloo Subscription,” *The Morning Chronicle*, June 30, 1815; “For This Week Only. Sadler’s Wells,” *The Morning Chronicle*, June 27, 1815.

¹² *The Battle of Waterloo, Containing the Series of Accounts Published by Authority, British and Foreign, with Circumstantial Details, previous, during, and after the Battle, from a Variety of Authentic and Original Sources, with Relative Official Documents, Forming an Historical Record of the Operations in the Campaign of the Netherlands, 1815. By a Near Observer*, 7th ed. (London: J. Booth and T. Egerton, 1815); Gareth Glover, *Waterloo in 100 Objects* (Stroud: The History Press, 2015), 184-185.

the battle and its remembrance. Authors across all strata of British society worked together to ensure that Waterloo was seen as a British victory. Waterloo tourism and relic collecting became a central part of the travel experience of the middle class, as they forged their own version of the 18th century aristocratic grand tour on the newly reopened continent. The annual celebrations that surrounded June 18th anchored the identities of both the upper echelons of the army’s officer corps (via Wellington’s annual Waterloo banquet) and Tory civilian circles, who interpreted the battle as the triumph of conservatism over radicalism and Wellington as the avatar of the Tory Party. For radicals, Waterloo also served as a conservative touchstone, but with the opposite purpose: it was as a reminder of how much reform was still necessary, and often served as a rhetorical tool for a variety of progressive causes.

Several groups achieved impressive claims to ownership in surprising areas. The officer corps proved adept at employing memoirs and artistic patronage to shape public perceptions of themselves and the battle, while, outside of the Waterloo banquet and various conservative meetings, celebrations centered around the June 18th anniversary of the battle came to be dominated by local interests. There are also areas where it is surprising how insignificant Waterloo ownership proved. While officers employed eyewitness perspectives and the active voice to emphasize their presence at Waterloo in their memoirs, the battle typically only represented a small portion of the military service they sought to record. Similarly, veterans who entered politics did not rely on their service at Waterloo, but instead campaigned and voted based on party and local issues, only forming a military “bloc” when it concerned certain explicitly military questions. Officers’ service formed a crucial part of their place in and relationship to British society, but here again Waterloo was seen as part of a larger whole, and, in addition, the British officer corps never achieved the power or cohesion that became characteristic of continental officer corps and general staffs.

It should be noted that while this dissertation employs the British officer corps as its primary representatives of the British military, enlisted men played active parts in several of the forms of

ownership discussed here. They published memoirs, acted as tour guides on the battlefield, participated in almost every form of annual commemoration, attended and performed in reenactments and hippodramas, suffered from the reductions in the army’s budget, and engaged in politics.¹³ Their efforts and contributions are well worth examining in detail, but are outside of the scope of this dissertation.

As this dissertation draws on cultural, social, and military histories, along with others, it must engage with several historiographies. It makes sense to start, as the central question of this dissertation does, at Waterloo itself. The first histories of the battle and campaign of Waterloo were produced, as noted above, the same year it was fought, and it has been a popular subject ever since. Most of the popular and scholarly histories of the Waterloo Campaign can be described as traditionally military: detailed studies of individual battles, narratives that follow individual regiments or focus on one aspect of the battle, or biographies of significant figures that often prioritize command style, tactics, and strategy.¹⁴ In more recent years, however, and especially for the battle’s bicentenary in 2015, works

¹³ James Anton, *Retrospect of a Military Life, During the Most Eventful Periods of the Last War* (Edinburgh: W. H. Lizars, 1841); *Jottings from my Sabretasch by a Chelsea Pensioner* (London: Richard Bentley, 1847); Edward Costello, *Adventures of a Soldier; Written by Himself* (London: Colburn and Co., 1852); Sergeant-Major Edward Cotton moved to Waterloo after the battle and became the most famous tour-guide of the field. See also Edward Cotton, *A Voice from Waterloo: A History of the Battle Fought on the 18th June 1815* (Mont-St.-Jean: Printed for the Author, 1854). For worries over the participation of enlisted men in politics, see Colonel Sir J. Woodford to Arthur Wellesley, first Duke of Wellington, 8 January 1833, Wellington Papers, University of Southampton, WP2/1/36-38.

¹⁴ As Waterloo remains one of the most written-about battles in history, this list will, perforce, provide a few examples of each type of study rather than an exhaustive list. Gordon Corrigan, *Waterloo: Wellington, Napoleon, and the Battle that Saved Europe* (New York: Pegasus Books, 2014); Bernard Cornwell, *Waterloo: The History of Four Days, Three Armies, and Three Battles* (London: Harper Collins, 2015); Tim Clayton *Waterloo: Four Days that Changed Europe’s Destiny* (London: Little Brown, 2014); Jeremy Black, *The Battle of Waterloo* (New York: Random House, 2010); Alessandro Barbero, *The Battle: A New History of Waterloo*, trans. John Cullen (New York: Walker & Company, 2005); Dan Harvey, *A Bloody Day: The Irish at Waterloo* (Newbridge: Merrion Press, 2017); Philip J. Haythornthwaite, *Picton’s Division at Waterloo* (Barnsley: Pen & Sword, 2016); Gareth Glover, *Waterloo: The Defeat of Napoleon’s Imperial Guard: Henry Clinton, the 2nd Division and the end of a 200-Year-Old Controversy* (London: Frontline Books, 2015); Iain Gale, *Scotland Forever!: the Scots Greys at Waterloo* (Edinburgh: Birlinn, 2015); Nigel Sale, *The Lie at the Heart of Waterloo: The Battle’s Hidden Last Half Hour* (Staplehurst: Spellmount, 2014); Huw Davies, *Wellington’s Wars: The Making of a Military Genius* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012); Rory Muir, *Wellington: Waterloo and the Fortunes of Peace 1814-1852* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015); Jac Weller, *Wellington at Waterloo* (Barnsley: Greenhill Books, 1992); Michael V. Leggiere, *Blucher: Scourge of Napoleon* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2014).

have appeared that draw on more modern trends in scholarship such as social and object histories and explore other aspects of the battle.¹⁵ Of particular interest are the handful of works that, like this dissertation, take Waterloo as the starting point to examine its immediate aftermath and wider legacy.¹⁶ Of these, three are worth discussing briefly: Alan Forrest’s *Waterloo*, Malcolm Balen’s *A Model Victory: Waterloo and the Battle for History*, and R. E. Foster’s *Wellington and Waterloo: The Duke and the Battle for Posterity*. All three are concerned with the cultural legacy of Waterloo to one extent or another. None of them, however, fully addresses the question of ownership in the British context or sufficiently complicates the military/civilian dynamic. Forrest is interested in how Waterloo shaped British (and European) identity as a whole, while Balen uses William Siborn’s model of Waterloo to address the international question of ownership between Britain and Prussia. Foster comes the closest, but he is exclusively concerned with Wellington, rather than the entire cadre of veteran officers.

There is also a growing corpus of “new” military history, produced by scholars trained as social and cultural historians who have brought their more civilian-focused analytical vectors to bear on Britain’s Army. They have been joined by more traditional military historians who have been influenced by the social and cultural turns in the wider academy. The result are works that look both inside and outside the army, examining the military’s impact on civilians and expanding the focus on ordinary

¹⁵ Nick Foulkes, *Dancing into Battle: A Social History of the Battle of Waterloo* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 2006); Gareth Glover, *Waterloo in 100 Objects*; David Crane, *Went the Day Well?: Witnessing Waterloo* (London: William Collins, 2015).

¹⁶ Forrest, *Waterloo*; Paul O’Keeffe, *Waterloo: The Aftermath* (New York: Vintage Books, 2015); Brian Cathcart, *The News from Waterloo: The Race to Tell Britain of Wellington’s Victory* (London: Faber & Faber, 2015); Colin Brown, *The Scum of the Earth: What Happened to the Real British Heroes of Waterloo?* (Staplehurst: Spellmount, 2015); Barney White-Spunner, *Of Living Valour: The Story of the Soldiers of Waterloo* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2015); R. E. Foster, *Wellington and Waterloo: The Duke, the Battle and Posterity 1815-2015* (Staplehurst: Spellmount, 2014); Christine Wright, *Wellington’s Men in Australia: Peninsular Veterans and the Making of the British Empire* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011); Neville Thompson, *Wellington after Waterloo* (Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1986); Edward Spiers, *Army and Society, 1815-1914* (London: Longman, 1980); Peter Hofschroer, *Wellington’s Smallest Victory: The Duke, the Model Maker, and the Secret of Waterloo* (London: Faber & Faber, 2004); Malcolm Balen, *A Model Victory: Waterloo and the Battle for History* (London: Harper Perennial, 2006).

soldiers.¹⁷ The very decisiveness that makes Waterloo appealing, however, has created a problem in both the new and old military historiography. Waterloo ended a quarter century of conflict that was itself the last stage of over a century of nearly constant warfare. The battle, therefore, makes a very convenient end point, and almost all histories of the period with a military focus end in 1815. The period from Waterloo to the Crimean War, then, is neglected in military historiography. There is a small subset of books that examine that period, but those works tend to be either too focused or overly broad, and none of them are overly concerned with the cultural or social sides of the story.¹⁸

All the works discussed above, be they traditional military history, influenced by the social and cultural turns, or even revisionist, are based on the relatively large number of primary sources, both published and private, that were produced by the soldiers and witnesses of the Napoleonic Wars. These sources are routinely consulted by historians of the Napoleonic Wars, but in almost all cases, they are analyzed strictly as accounts of what happened, rather than subjecting them to historical analysis. This

¹⁷ H. V. Bowen, *War and British Society, 1688-1815* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998); Alan Forrest, Karen Hagemann, & Jane Randall, eds., *Soldiers, Citizens and Civilians: Experiences & Perceptions of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009); Gavin Daly, *The British Soldier in the Peninsular War: Encounters with Spain and Portugal, 1808-1814* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009); Tim Fulford, "Sighing for a Soldier: Jane Austen and Military Pride and Prejudice," *Nineteenth Century Literature* 57:2 (2002): 153-178; Jennine Hurl-Eamon, *Marriage & the British Army in the Long Eighteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014); Catriona Kennedy & Matthew McCormac, eds., *Soldiering in Britain and Ireland, 1750-1850: Men of Arms* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012); Kevin Linch, *Britain and Wellington's Army: Recruitment, Society, and Tradition, 1807-1815* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011); Kevin Linch & Matthew McCormack, eds., *Britain's Soldiers: Rethinking War and Society, 1715-1815* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2014); Roger Knight, *Britain against Napoleon: The Organization of Victory, 1793-1815* (London: Penguin, 2014); Jenny Uglow, *In These Times: Living Through Napoleon's Wars, 1793-1815* (London: Faber & Faber, 2015); Clive Emsley, *British Society and the French Wars, 1793-1815* (London: Macmillan, 1979); David Bell, *The First Total War: Napoleon's Europe and the Birth of Warfare as we Know it* (New York: Mariner, 2007); John Keegan, *The Face of Battle: A Study of Agincourt, Waterloo, and the Somme* (London: Penguin, 1976); Edward J. Coss, *All for the King's Shilling: The British Soldier under Wellington, 1808-1814* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2010); Correlli Barnett, *Britain and her Army 1509-1970: A Military, Political and Social History* (London: Allen Lane, 1970); Richard Holmes, *Redcoat: The British Soldier in the Age of Horse and Musket* (London: Harper Collins, 2001).

¹⁸ Hew Strachan, *From Waterloo to Balaclava: Tactics, Technology, and the British Army, 1815-1854* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985); Hew Strachan, *Wellington's Legacy: The Reform of the British Army, 1830-54* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984); John Strawson, *Beggars in Red: The British Army, 1789-1889* (Barnslet: Pen & Sword Military Classics, 2003); Jay Luvaas, *The Education of an Army: British Military Thought, 1815-1940* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964).

dissertation, instead, seeks to connect them with the post-Waterloo history and goals of those who wrote them. In this, it joins the recent scholarship that attempts to expand how historians scrutinize and engage with primary sources, drawing on the linguistic turn to focus on the memoirs themselves and to connect these memoirs with travel writing and wider literary culture in the post Waterloo-world.¹⁹

Side by side with memoir studies is the growing historiography on military commemoration and historical memory. The commemoration of war has long been of interest to twentieth century historians, most notably in the aftermath of the two world wars.²⁰ In recent years, however, scholars have started to examine cultural and historical memory in the nineteenth century, often with the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars as their starting point.²¹ This dissertation seeks to build on that

¹⁹ Neil Ramsey, *The Military Memoir and Romantic Literary Culture, 1780-1835* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011); Neil Ramsey, “‘A Real English Soldier’: Suffering, Manliness and Class in the Mid-Nineteenth-Century Soldiers’ Tale,” in *Soldiering in Britain and Ireland*: 136-155; David Amigoni, ed., *Life Writing and Victorian Culture* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2006); Yuval Noah Harari, “Military Memoirs: A Historical Overview of the Genre from the Middle Ages to the Late Modern Era,” *War in History* 14:3 (2007); Alex Vernon, ed., *Arms and the Self: War, the Military, and Autobiographical Writing* (Kent: Kent State University Press, 2005); Leighton James, “Travel Writing and Encounters with National ‘Others’ in the Napoleonic Wars,” *History Compass* 7:4 (2009); Ben Yagoda, *Memoir: A History* (New York: Riverhead Books, 2009); James Buzzard, *The Beaten Path: European Tourism, Literature, and the Ways to ‘Culture,’ 1800-1918* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993); Richard Cronin, *Paper Pellets: British Literary Culture after Waterloo* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).

²⁰ George L. Mosse, *Fallen Soldiers: Reshaping the Memory of the World Wars* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990); Jay Winter, *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European Cultural History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995); Paul Fussell, *The Great War and Modern Memory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1975); Paul Fussell, *Wartime: Understanding and Behavior in the Second World War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989); Glen O’Hara, *Britain and the Sea Since 1600* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010); Samuel Lynn Hynes, *A War Imagined: The First World War and English Culture* (London: Bodley Head, 1990); Timothy G. Ashplant, Graham Dawson, and Michael Roper, eds., *Commemorating War: The Politics of Memory* (London: Routledge, 2000); Tony Judt, “From the House of the Dead: An Essay on Modern European Memory,” in *Postwar: A History of Europe Since 1945* (New York: Penguin, 2005); Suzanne Evans, *Mothers of Heroes, Mothers of Martyrs: World War I and the Politics of Grief* (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2007), chapter 4.

²¹ Alan Forrest, Étienne François, and Karen Hagemann, eds., *War Memories: The Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars in Modern European Culture* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012); Alan Forrest, Karen Hagemann and Michael Rowe, eds., *War, Demobilization and Memory: The Legacy of War in the Era of Atlantic Revolutions* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016); Holger Hoock, ed., *History, Commemoration and National Preoccupation: Trafalgar 1805-2005* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005); Jasper Heinzen, “Transnational Affinities and Invented Traditions: The Napoleonic Wars in British and Hanoverian Memory, 1815-1915,” *The English Historical Review* 127, no. 529 (December 2012): 1404-1434; International Research Project, Working Group and Network on Nations Borders Identities: The Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars in European Experiences and Memories, <https://nbi.sites.oasis.unc.edu/>; for a synthesis of nineteenth century work on cultural and historical memory in relation to the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars, see Alan Forrest, Étienne François, and Karen Hagemann,

historiography, along with the wider scholarship of memory studies in general.²² Indeed, the question of ownership as discussed here is reminiscent of the friction between “communicative” and “cultural” memory explored by Aleida Assmann, as well as tension surrounding the “politics of memory” discussed by Alon Confino.²³

There is also, crucially, the scholarship that examines cultural history in a broader sense, most notably in how it intersects with national identity and the military. Some of these, such as Scott Hughes Myerly’s *British Military Spectacle from the Napoleonic Wars through the Crimea*, J. W. M. Hichberger’s *Images of the Army: The Military in British Art, 1815-1914*, and Trevor Herbert and Helen Barlow’s *Music & The British Military in the Long Nineteenth Century*, are entirely military in focus, and interrogate how the British military interacted with and was represented by various cultural spheres.²⁴ Others, most notably Holger Hoock’s *Empires of the Imagination: Politics, War, and Arts in the British World, 1750-1850* and, of course, Linda Colley’s *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707-1837* cast a wider net.²⁵ For Hoock

“Introduction: Memories of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars in Modern European Culture,” in *War Memories*, 1-37.

²² Astrid Erll and Ansgar Nünning, eds., *Cultural Memory Studies: An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2008); Frances Yates, *The Art of Memory* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1996); Maurice Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*, ed. and trans. Lewis A. Cosner (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992); Jan Assmann and John Czaplicka, “Collective Memory and Cultural Identity,” *New German Critique* 65 (Spring-Summer, 1995): 125-133.

²³ Aleida Assmann, “Transformations between History and Memory,” *Social Research* 72, no. 1 (Spring 2008): 49-72; Alon Confino, “Collective Memory and Cultural History: Problems of Method,” *American Historical Review* 102, no. 5 (December 1997): 1386-1403.

²⁴ Scott Hughes Myerly, *British Military Spectacle from the Napoleonic Wars through the Crimea* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1996); J. W. M. Hichberger, *Images of the Army: The Military in British Art, 1815-1914* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988); Trevor Herbert and Helen Barlow, *Music & The British Military in the Long Nineteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013); Neil Ramsay and Gillian Russell, eds., *Tracing War in British Enlightenment and Romantic Culture* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015); Jenny Spencer-Smith, *Portraits for a King: The British Military Paintings of A. J. Dubois Drahonet 1791-1834* (London: National Army Museum, 1990); Michael Paris, *Warrior Nation: Images of War in British Popular Culture, 1850-2000* (London: Reaktion, 2000).

²⁵ Colley, *Britons*; Hoock, *Empires of the Imagination*; John Mackenzie, *Orientalism: History, Theory and the Arts* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995); Stefan Berger, Linas Eriksonas, and Andrew Mycock, eds., *Narrating the Nation: Representations in History, Media, and the Arts* (New York: Berghahn, 2008); Stefan Berger, Mark Donovan, and Kevin Passmore, *Writing National Histories: Western Europe since 1800* (London: Routledge, 1999).

and Colley, the military and the wars Britain engaged in are only one part of a grander effort to forge Britain into a single modern nation and shape its trajectory. In addition, the cultural histories that address this period in Britain tend to emphasize the radical sides.²⁶ By reincorporating the conservative nature of a large amount of the culture surrounding military victories this dissertation seeks to readdress that balance.

Examination of the attempts by veteran officers to leverage what ownership of Waterloo they retained into positions in British society, Parliament, and the empire requires engagement with several other historiographies. The first of these is the scholarship that addresses professionalization. The nineteenth century saw the rise and consolidation of professionalism and the professional classes in Britain. Doctors, lawyers, professors, bankers, and the clergy all professionalized to one extent or another, forming their own formal, independent power structures within Britain. The historiography of this rise is extensive, covering the wider trend as well as independent professions and the results of this professionalization, both at home and abroad.²⁷ The British army’s officer corps barely features in this scholarship, and by its definitions, failed to professionalize. Despite that failure, however, its attempts to professionalize in the first half of the nineteenth century, largely through the codification of elite social status, closely resemble the efforts of the other professions. By incorporating the officer corps into the discussion, this dissertation clarifies the formation of the professions by demonstrating where that professionalization failed. The historiography of the British aristocracy is also of interest. There is a

²⁶ Marcus Wood, *Radical Satire and Print Culture, 1790-1822* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994); John Gardener, *Poetry and Popular Protest: Peterloo, Cato Street and the Queen Caroline Controversy* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011).

²⁷ Penelope Corfield, *Power and the Professions in Britain, 1700-1850* (London: Routledge, 1995); Andrew Abbot, *The System of Professions: An Essay on the Division of Labor* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988); Richard L. Abel, *The Legal Profession in England and Wales* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1988); M. Jeanne Digby, *The Medical Profession in Mid-Victorian London* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978); Anne Digby, *Making a Medical Living: Doctors and Patients in the English Market for Medicine, 1720-1911* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); Sheldon Rothblatt, *The Revolution of the Dons: Cambridge and Society in Victorian England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981); Harold Perkin, *The Rise of Professional Society: England Since 1880* (London: Routledge, 1989)..

permanent association between the British officer corps and the aristocracy. This is, however, due to similarities of behavior rather than birth. An examination of the limited scholarship dedicated exclusively to officers or the army lists of the period demonstrates that the majority of the officers were untitled gentry, and often not first sons.²⁸ The way the officer corps negotiated its way into and through British society and across the empire, however, resembled and sometimes even preempted the behavior of the British aristocracy.²⁹

The division of ownership of Waterloo within British culture and society took a variety of forms, which will be considered in this dissertation in seven chapters and an epilogue, divided into two sections. The first section, “Representations,” which comprises Chapters I-IV, examines various cultural representations of Waterloo and the British officer corps, demonstrating how various military and civilian groups sought to shape those representations and the nation’s collective memory. Chapters V-VII make up the second section, “Careers,” which explores how some of the themes found in British culture in the first section impacted British society. It also provides context for what the officer corps was doing when they were not establishing their ownership of certain parts of Waterloo, and, in those

²⁸ P. E. Razzell, “Social Origins of Officers in the Indian and British Home Army: 1758-1962.” *The British Journal of Sociology* 14:3 (September 1963); Anthony Clayton, *The British Officer: Leading the Army from 1660 to the Present* (London: Pearson Longman, 2007); Pradeep Barua, *Gentlemen of the Raj: The Indian Army Officer Corps, 1817-1949* (Westport: Praeger, 2003); Richard Holmes, *Redcoat*, chapter 3; Charles Oman, *Wellington’s Army, 1809-1814* (London: Greenhill Books, 1986), chapter 11.

²⁹ David Cannadine, “The Context, Performance and Meaning of Ritual: The British Monarchy and the ‘Invention of Tradition’, c. 1820-1977,” in *The Invention of Tradition*, eds. Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 101-164; Dominic Lieven, *The Aristocracy in Europe, 1815-1914* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993). David Cannadine, *Aspects of Aristocracy* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994); David Cannadine, *The Decline and Fall of the British Aristocracy* (New York: Vintage Books, 1990); David Cannadine, *The Rise and Fall of Class in Britain* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999); J. M. Bourne, *Patronage and Society in Nineteenth Century* (Baltimore: Edward Arnold, 1986); Philip Harling, *The Waning of Old Corruption: The Politics of Economical Reform in Britain, 1779-1846* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996); H. J. Habakkuk, *Marriage, Debt and the Estates System: English Land Ownership, 1650-1950* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994); Peter Mandler, *The Fall and Rise of the Stately Home* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999); M. L. Bush, *The English Aristocracy: A Comparative Synthesis* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984).

career choices, provides an explanation for why they were not more aggressive in pursuing overall ownership. The dissertation concludes with an epilogue, which details how the themes and questions discussed in the previous seven chapters all came together in 1852 for Wellington’s funeral.

In non-fiction print media such as the histories and memoirs discussed in Chapter I, the question of ownership is addressed largely on an international level, with authors of both histories and memoirs striving to emphasize the British, rather than Allied, nature of the victory. Beyond that, an interesting dichotomy developed, with civilian authors dominating the histories with birds-eye-view accounts of the battle and campaign, and veterans choosing instead to pen memoirs that eschewed overarching descriptions in favor of personal narratives that, by the very nature of their limited eye-witness scope, emphasized their presence on the battlefield and personal contribution to the victory. The memoirs discussed also demonstrate that, while the decisiveness of Waterloo appealed to many, for these officers Waterloo was just one incident in a much longer and more significant period of war and service.

The battlefield tourism and relic collecting covered in Chapter II was crucial to the British rediscovery of the continent following 1815. Although the field saw visitors from every social level that had disposable income, it was of particular significance to Britain’s newly modernizing middle-class, for whom a trip to the Kingdom of the Netherlands/Belgium and Waterloo was the equivalent of the 18th century’s aristocratic grand tour. Battlefield tourism also played a notable part in the battle over international ownership. Waterloo saw a continued four-way international skirmish over its ownership between Britain, Prussia, the Kingdom of the Netherlands/Belgium, and France. Thus, Waterloo became a site of British national pilgrimage, which was shaped by poetry, guidebooks, and tourists who were aware that it was just as important to be seen to visit Waterloo as it was to actually visit.

The annual commemorations and various other forms of remembrance that comprise Chapter III provide the best example of general and local nationalization of the battle. What started as dinners,

parades, and medals exclusively for veterans was slowly expanded into civilian society. A variety of civilian clubs and venues across the country started hosting their own celebrations on June 18th, often without the involvement of a single individual who had fought at Waterloo, while Wellington’s Waterloo banquet, which was by design an elitist military gathering, was claimed as a national celebration by the press and the crowds gathered at Hyde Park Corner. Even those commemorations organized by officers, such as William Siborn’s model of the battle, relied on civilian patronage to have any chance of success. By the time of Wellington’s funeral, June 18th was used as a general day of festivity, often hosting fairs, meetings, and celebrations that had no connection to Waterloo.

The representations of Waterloo and officers in popular culture discussed in Chapter IV demonstrate some of the most interesting cases of shared custody of Waterloo’s memory. By cooperating with artists like Sir Thomas Lawrence and William Salter, and by making their approval of productions such as Astley’s Royal Amphitheatre’s hippodrama, *The Battle of Waterloo*, public, Wellington and his veterans successfully influenced how the public saw the battle, the men who fought in it, and their commemorations of it. The paintings, performances, and productions, however, required the veterans to work closely with Britain’s artistic community, while their success depended on the support of the general public. Nor were all of the works produced in favor of the battle or flattering of those who fought there, as demonstrated by the works of Charles Dickens, William Makepeace Thackeray, and Joseph Mallord William Turner.

Britain’s social sphere allowed veterans to shape their own interactions with civilians via their post-Waterloo careers. Chapter V explores the army’s role in a (mostly) peaceful Britain. It shows that, after an initial heady welcome, the army struggled to find its role. When used as a police force, they were criticized and satirized, and the very victory upon which they pinned their reputation was deliberately tarnished by association with a peacekeeping action that went horribly wrong. The public were more than willing to accept them in a ceremonial role, especially when associated with the

monarchy, but even there, poor behavior was censured and leaning too far towards extremes would land an officer not in society’s good graces, but in a popular (and ruthless) caricature.

Chapter VI’s examination of officers who entered politics emphasizes the lack of the kind of coordinated military lobby that became the norm in certain continental states. Indeed, there is little evidence that military service proved an advantage at the hustings, or that the veterans who entered either house of Parliament consistently voted together on any important issue. The only place where we do find unity is where one would expect: on explicitly military issues that are not overly important in the wider scheme of British politics.

While there is no evidence that the wider British public or their fellow civilian politicians objected to officers entering Parliament, there are indications that (with the exception of Wellington) they were not appointed to ministerial positions. Instead, veteran officers were granted imperial appointments. Chapter VII demonstrates not only that Waterloo veterans were no more effective at curating their interactions with civilians across the empire than they were in Britain, but also that years of European military training and experience were not always an advantage in colonial situations. That the governments of Great Britain also realized this is illustrated by the striking drop in military appointments after 1850, which left Waterloo veterans once again searching for relevance.

The epilogue discusses the funeral of the Duke of Wellington in 1852. In the national outpouring of grief that marked Wellington’s death, his funeral, and the two months in between, we see the culmination of the themes examined in this dissertation, and irrefutable evidence of the shared ownership and nationalization of Waterloo. Wellington’s funeral was a national spectacle in every sense of the word, and one that highlights just how firmly entrenched Waterloo was in Britain’s national – and civic – identity.

In order to properly examine the question of ownership across its seven chapters and epilogue, this dissertation relies on a variety of sources and methodologies. Extensive primary source research was undertaken in libraries and archives in Great Britain and Canada, most notably at the National Archives and the British Library in London, at the University of Southampton’s Hartley Library, the University of Oxford’s Bodleian Library, McGill University’s Special Collections & Archives, and the Library and Archives Canada. As many of the officers who fought at Waterloo left their own archival trail, it became necessary to narrow down the 1,770 officers who survived Waterloo into manageable cohorts. This required the compilation of a database of officers and their achievements in order to identify potential subjects.³⁰ In addition to archival sources, extensive use has been made of the newspapers and magazines of the time. On the cultural side, it has been necessary to examine a variety of non-fiction, literature, performances, paintings, and cartoons, not only as potential primary sources, but as cultural artifacts.

Despite military circles maintaining almost exclusive ownership over many victories, the wider, shared national ownership of Waterloo was inevitable. The presence of Waterloo in Britain’s creation myth and justification for global hegemony, the variety of the social and cultural spaces where the battle was celebrated and remembered, and the onward march of time made it a foregone conclusion. This shared ownership, however, helped keep Waterloo in a position of prominence in British culture until the nature of commemoration, remembrance, and the ownership of military victories changed in the second half of the nineteenth century.

³⁰ That database can be found as a supplemental file to this dissertation, and at <https://www.lukealreynolds.com/who-owned-waterloo>. The cohorts of Waterloo veterans who served in Parliament or as colonial governors and lieutenant-governors can be found in Appendices C & D. It is largely based on the work of Charles Dalton. Charles Dalton, *The Waterloo Roll Call with Biographical Notes and Anecdotes* (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1904).

Chapter I: “The history of a battle is not unlike the history of a ball:” Histories and Memoirs¹

It took a remarkably short time after the end of the battle on the evening of June 18th for the wider population to realize that Waterloo had been a watershed moment. While in the immediate aftermath the Prussians continued their pursuit of the French army and the allied army under Wellington scrambled to obtain fresh supplies from their depots in Brussels in case of a reversal, within four days Napoleon had abdicated, within fifteen days the Convention of St. Cloud had ended hostilities and surrendered Paris, and within a month Napoleon had thrown himself upon the mercy of the British government in the person of Captain Frederick Maitland of *HMS Bellerophon*.² As the significance of Waterloo became clearer, the British public became increasingly eager to learn all they could about the battle, and authors and publishers sensed an opportunity. This chapter examines two periods of significant Waterloo publications: the civilian-authored “historical accounts” of the battle produced in the months and years immediately following June 18, 1815, and the emergence in the 1830s of a series of memoirs by men who had been at Waterloo.

Wrapped up within these publication booms are two aspects of the question of ownership explored throughout this dissertation. In the immediate aftermath of Waterloo, the civilian historians and the soldiers who had fought there worked together to ensure British ownership of the battle. To this end, both the histories and the original letters and reports they quote are, to one extent or another, dismissive of the Prussian army and both the Dutch and Belgian soldiers under Wellington’s command. With the contributions of the other participants dismissed, the role of the British forces is both implicitly

¹ Letter from Arthur Wellesley, 1st Duke of Wellington, 8th August 1815 in *The Dispatches of Field Marshal the Duke of Wellington, During his Various Campaigns in India, Denmark, Portugal, Spain, the Low Countries, and France from 1799 to 1815*, ed. John Gurwood (London: John Murray, 1838), XII:590.

² For efforts to resupply the allied army after Waterloo, see Richard D. Henegan, *Seven Years’ Campaigning in the Peninsula and the Netherlands; from 1808 to 1815* (London: Henry Colburn, 1846), II: 330-337.

and explicitly increased, further justifying British claims of ownership of the victory. By the time of the second publishing phase – the memoir boom of the 1830s – the questions of ownership had changed. British ownership of the battle had been sufficiently established as to not be in question within the British Isles, but over the preceding fifteen years, those who had fought at Waterloo had seen a diffusion of credit for the victory, diminishing their particular claim on it in favor of a wider ownership not limited to the military sphere. The memoirs that were published in the 1830s can be read, therefore, as an attempt to push back against that diffusion and reinforce the writers’ privileged position as the liberators of Europe. They continue the trend of diminishing the efforts of the other allies, while also employing an eye-witness narrative style and the active voice to emphasize the writers’ presence on the battlefield and using their lack of a birds-eye-view historical narrative to prove their bona fides.

It should be noted that while the focus on Waterloo was new, publications of military histories and memoirs were not. The military memoir emerged as a newly rediscovered genre in the seventeenth century, inspired by classical texts such as Julius Caesar’s *Commentaries on the Gallic War*. These early examples tended to be closer in style to histories than memoirs – they were top-down accounts of entire campaigns, with very little personal detail. As the fiscal-military state and the nature of international conflict evolved throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, however, so too did the style of military memoir. The top-down work focusing on the grand movements of armies across campaigns became the purview of histories, while more memoirs began to appear from lower ranks, often more focused on eye-witness accounts or the minutiae of day-to-day military life.³ Several

³ For the history of military memoirs, see Yuval Noah Harari, “Military Memoirs: A Historical Overview of the Genre from the Middle Ages to the Late Modern Era,” *War in History* 14:3 (2007): 289-309; Alex Vernon, ed., *Arms and the Self: War, the Military, and Autobiographical Writing* (Kent: Kent State University Press, 2005); Neil Ramsey, *The Military Memoir and Romantic Literary Culture, 1780-1835* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011); Neil Ramsey, “‘A Real English Soldier’: Suffering, Manliness and Class in the Mid-Nineteenth-Century Soldiers’ Tale,” in *Soldiering in Britain and Ireland, 1750-1850: Men of Arms*, Catriona Kennedy & Matthew McCormac, eds (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012): 136-155. For the captivity narrative, a similar genre which influenced the military memoir, see Linda Colley, *Captives: Britain, Empire, and the World, 1600-1850* (London: Pimlico, 2003).

memoirs that could be identified as such were printed during the American War of Independence and Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars, most notably Samuel Ancell’s *Circumstantial Journal of the Long and Tedious Blockade and Siege of Gibraltar* (1784) and Robert Ker Porter’s *Letters from Portugal and Spain* (1809).⁴ The one exception to this is Captain John Kincaid’s *Adventures in the Rifle Brigade in the Peninsula, France, and the Netherlands from 1809-1815* (1830), which Neil Ramsey has argued, thanks to its easy and readable style, marks the beginning of the transition from sentimental memoirs in the Romantic Literary tradition to the “boy’s own” adventure genre that came to dominate popular Victorian and Edwardian military writing.⁵

Much of the historiography on military memoir, like that on remembrance and military memory, has been focused on the twentieth century, and especially on the two world wars.⁶ Of particular note here is Paul Fussell’s *The Great War and Modern Memory* along with, to a lesser extent, his follow up, *Wartime: Understanding and Behavior in the Second World War*.⁷ In their attempts to claim ownership and shape memories and perceptions of the battle, the Waterloo veterans who wrote memoirs of the battle deliberately tried to realize what Fussell credits the veterans of the First World War with attaining via a combination of direct action and the sheer totality of the conflict. In addition, the memoirs

⁴ Samuel Ancell, *A Circumstantial Journal of the Long and Tedious Blockade and Siege of Gibraltar: from the 12th of September, 1779 (the Day the Garrison Opened Their Batteries against the Spaniards) to the 23rd Day of February, 1783: Containing an Authentic Account of the Most Remarkable Transactions, in Which the Enemy’s Motions, Works, Approaches, Firings, &c. Are Particularly Described* (Liverpool: Charles Wosencroft, 1784); Robert Ker Porter, *Letters from Portugal and Spain, Written during the March of British Troops Under Sir John Moore with a map of the Route, and Appropriate Engravings* (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, and Orme, 1809).

⁵ Ramsey, *The Military Memoir and Romantic Literary Culture*, chapter 6.

⁶ See, for example, George L. Mosse, *Fallen Soldiers: Reshaping the Memory of the World Wars* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990); Jay Winter, *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European Cultural History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995); Glen O’Hara, *Britain and the Sea Since 1600* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010); Samuel Lynn Hynes, *A War Imagined: The First World War and English Culture* (London: Bodley Head, 1990); Timothy G. Ashplant, Graham Dawson, and Michael Roper, eds., *Commemorating War: The Politics of Memory* (London: Routledge, 2000); Tony Judt, “From the House of the Dead: An Essay on Modern European Memory,” in *Postwar: A History of Europe Since 1945* (New York: Penguin, 2005); Suzanne Evans, *Mothers of Heroes, Mothers of Martyrs: World War I and the Politics of Grief* (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2007), chapter 4.

⁷ Paul Fussell, *The Great War and Modern Memory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1975); Paul Fussell, *Wartime: Understanding and Behavior in the Second World War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989).

discussed below, most notably Kincaid’s *Adventures in the Rifle Brigade in the Peninsula, France, and the Netherlands from 1809-1815* and Lieutenant Colonel Jonathan Leach’s *Rough Sketches of the Life of an Old Soldier*, employ the active voice as an explicit claim to action, ownership, and presence in a reversal of the way Fussell argues veterans of the Western Front used the passive voice to distance themselves from both their actions and the overarching horror of war.⁸ As useful as Fussell is, however, one should be cautious of imposing too many similarities. Despite the military’s increased place in Britain during the Napoleonic Wars, the memoirs discussed here had nowhere near the same cultural impact that Fussell attributes to the writings of British veterans of the First World War (and the war itself). In addition, while Waterloo was unquestionably bloody, it provided concrete results overnight in a way that four years of trench warfare never did. These results alone, especially when combined with how Waterloo was celebrated and remembered, mean that the memoirs of Waterloo can in no way be classified in the ironic literary mode that Northrop Frye posited and that forms the central point of Fussell’s argument.⁹

Within the historiography of the nineteenth century, the histories and memoirs discussed here occupy a strange position. They have been used extensively as primary sources, especially the memoirs. Scholars have studied them to gain insight into battles and daily campaign life, and one will find them listed in the bibliography of almost every history of the Peninsular War. For all of this attention, however, there has been relatively little scholarship that considers these works as cultural artifacts rather than sources.¹⁰ Ramsey presents the most notable exception to this, demonstrating that it was in

⁸ Fussell, *The Great War and Modern Memory*, 177-178. See also Fussell’s argument concerning General Eisenhower’s use of the active voice. Fussell, *Wartime*, 296-297.

⁹ Northrop Frye, *Anatomy of Criticism: Four Essays* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1957). See also Leonard V. Smith, “Paul Fussell’s *The Great War and Modern Memory*: Twenty-Five Years Later,” *History and Theory* 40, no. 2 (May 2001): 241-260.

¹⁰ In addition to those works listed above, see David Amigoni, ed., *Life Writing and Victorian Culture* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2006), introduction and chapters 1-4; Ben Yagoda, *Memoir: A History* (New York: Riverhead Books, 2009), chapter 6; Geoffrey Best, *War and Society in Revolutionary Europe, 1770-1870* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1982), chapter 14; Scott Hughes Myerly, *British Military Spectacle: From the Napoleonic Wars Through the Crimea* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1996), chapter 8.

this period that the military memoir, influenced by literary romanticism, first developed a sentimental and personal style that would become one of the genre’s hallmarks. The most telling evidence of this, he argues, is the emergence of accounts that privilege individual experience, allowing the reader to share the author’s sentiments and feel sympathy for them. This chapter seeks to build on that scholarship by exchanging the development of sentimentality for that of ownership. The two are, in fact, closely linked: the style of personal narratives that inspire sympathy also serve as the key factor in the authors’ claims of ownership, providing the necessary proof of their deeds. At the same time, however, the efforts of the military authors to push back against the diffusion of credit for Waterloo goes directly against the sentimental goal of having your reader identify with you and share your trials and accomplishments.

Given the Europe-wide fascination with the battle of Waterloo, it should come as no surprise that non-memoir narratives of the battle of Waterloo, largely written by civilians, began appearing almost immediately after the dust settled. These works, usually described by their authors as “historical accounts,” attempted to narrate the battle in a way that would be accessible to civilian readers. For sources, they relied on official publications, correspondence, and informal interviews with officers who had been present on the field. These accounts proved extremely popular, and a notable number of them were produced. The two considered here, Charlotte Waldie’s *The Battle of Waterloo* published under the pseudonym “a near observer” in 1815, and William Mudford’s 1817 *An Historical Account of the Campaign in the Netherlands in 1815*, can be regarded as representative of the genre.¹¹

¹¹ For the establishing of Charlotte Waldie’s identity, see Gareth Glover, *Waterloo in 100 Objects* (Stroud: The History Press, 2015), 184-185. For other examples, see Letter from a private soldier of the 42nd Regiment to his father in this city, *Caledonian Mercury*, July 3, 1815; Nelson Bain, *A Detailed Account of the Battles of Quatre Bras, Ligny, and Waterloo: Preceded by a short relation of events, attending the temporary revolution of 1815, in France: and concluding with the immediate political consequences of these decisive victories* (Edinburgh: John Thompson and Co., 1816); Christopher Kelly, *A Full and Circumstantial Account of the Memorable Battle of Waterloo: The Second Restoration of Louis XVII; and the Deportation of Napoleon Buonaparte to the Island of St. Helena, and every recent particular relative to his conduct and mode of life in his exile. Together with an interesting account of*

The first account of the battle to reach British shores was the Duke of Wellington’s official dispatch, penned on June 19th from a room in the inn in the village of Waterloo (and the reason the battle is known as Waterloo across the English-speaking world).¹² It is a remarkably short document, comprising only four pages when printed as an extraordinary edition of *The London Gazette*.¹³ Wellington covers a lot of ground in those four pages. He starts his narrative with Napoleon’s invasion on the 15th and closes it in the early hours of the 19th. Because of this, the description of the battle itself is limited to five paragraphs, with an additional half a page dedicated to naming those officers and regiments that particularly distinguished themselves in the eyes of their general. Wellington centers his narrative on the repeated French infantry attacks on the Chateau of Hougoumont and La Haye Sainte, and the French cavalry attacks on the allied infantry squares, but does not go into much detail, simply stating “these attacks were repeated till about seven in the evening.” For all its brevity, the Waterloo Dispatch is not stinting in its praise. Several British regiments and divisions are named, and Wellington is also complimentary of some of the allies under his command. He notes that the troops of “the Brunswick corps... conducted themselves with the utmost gallantry,” and makes sure to also mention the Hanoverians. Towards the end of the dispatch, when he is singling out commanders, he also pays tribute to “General Kruse, of the Nassau service, likewise conducted himself much to my satisfaction, as did... General Vanhope, commanding a brigade of infantry of the King of the Netherlands.” Wellington

the affairs of France, and biographical sketches of the most distinguished Waterloo heroes (London: Thomas Kelly, 1818). There were several non-memoir accounts by military men as well. See W. A. Scott, *Battle of Waterloo; or, Correct Narrative of the Late Sanguinary Conflict on the Plains of Waterloo: Exhibiting a Minute Detail of all the Military Operations of the Heroes who Signalized themselves on that Memorable Occasion, opposed to Napoleon Buonaparte, in person: with an authentic memoir of that most extraordinary person; from the beginning, to the end, of his political career* (London: E. Cox and Son, 1815); Robert Batty, *A Sketch of the Late Campaign in the Netherlands, Illustrated by Plans of the Battles of Quatre-Bras, and Waterloo* (London: William Clarke, 1815).

¹² For the race to deliver the news across the English Channel, see Brian Cathcart, *The News From Waterloo: The Race to Tell Britain of Wellington’s Victory* (London: Faber & Faber, 2015). For the dispatch’s part in naming the battle, see R. E. Foster, *Wellington and Waterloo: The Duke, the Battle, and Posterity 1815-2015* (Stroud: Spellmount, 2014), 78-79.

¹³ One page of which is entirely composed of a list of killed and wounded officers. *The London Gazette Extraordinary*, June 22, 1815, number 17028.

also heaps praise on the Prussians, who “maintained their position with their usual gallantry and perseverance.” Wellington’s reluctance to share credit for his victory with the Prussians will be discussed in future chapters. In the Waterloo dispatch, however, perhaps because the diplomat in him knew it would be read all over Europe or perhaps because he was still shaken from the previous day, Wellington is more generous. “I should not do justice to my feelings or to Marshal Blücher and the Prussian army,” he writes in the conclusion of the dispatch, “if I did not attribute the successful result of this arduous day, to the cordial and timely assistance I received from them.”¹⁴

Wellington’s Waterloo dispatch functioned as the bedrock for the histories published immediately after the battle. Like all copies of the Gazette it was publicly available, although because of its short length and extraordinary nature, it cost just sixpence, as opposed to the standard price of between two and three shillings.¹⁵ It was reprinted extensively and was included in full in both 1815’s *The Battle of Waterloo* and Mudford’s *An Historical Account of the Campaign in the Netherlands in 1815*. In addition to its justifiable fame as the first official news from Waterloo, it is also well known as the centerpiece of David Wilkie’s *The Chelsea Pensioners reading the Waterloo Dispatch*, which was commissioned by Wellington and first debuted at the Royal Academy’s summer exhibition of 1822, where it proved such a hit that, for the first time, a railing had to be installed to protect the painting from the crowds.¹⁶

¹⁴ *The London Gazette Extraordinary*, June 22, 1815, number 17028, pp. 1213-1215.

¹⁵ *The London Gazette Extraordinary*, June 22, 1815, number 17028, p. 1216; *The London Gazette*, July 25, 1815, number 17044, p. 1532; *The London Gazette*, December 26, 1815, number 17094, p. 2590.

¹⁶ Foster, *Wellington and Waterloo*, 125. A proof of the subsequent engraving of the painting, which proved to be a huge success, was the centerpiece of Apsley House’s Drawing Room decorations for the 1831 Waterloo Banquet. The Duke of Wellington’s Banquet, *The Standard*, June 20, 1831, p. 4.



Figure 1.1: David Wilkie, *The Chelsea Pensioners reading the Waterloo Dispatch*, 1822, Apsley House, London

First published in the middle of August 1815, less than two months after the battle itself, *The Battle of Waterloo* was a remarkable achievement considering how quickly it was produced.¹⁷ The work is divided into three parts, the composition of which goes some way to explain how it could have been produced in less than two months.¹⁸ The first part comprises personal accounts and descriptions, the longest of which is the 44-page narrative by Charlotte Waldie, who also compiled the entire volume.¹⁹ Waldie was a member of the Scottish gentry born in Roxburghshire who was visiting Brussels with family when the campaign occurred, and took the initiative to record her own narrative and put together the volume. She later went on to publish two further anonymous travelogues (one epistolary) and two

¹⁷ In a few days will be published, *The Times*, August 9, 1815, p. 2.

¹⁸ These descriptions are drawn from the seventh edition, which appears to have been the most common edition to survive.

¹⁹ *The Battle of Waterloo, Containing the Series of Accounts Published by Authority, British and Foreign, with Circumstantial Details, previous, during, and after the Battle, from a Variety of Authentic and Original Sources, with Relative Official Documents, Forming an Historical Record of the Operations in the Campaign of the Netherlands, 1815. By a Near Observer*, 7th ed. (London: J. Booth and T. Egerton, 1815), 1-44.

novels under her married name of Charlotte Eaton between 1817 and 1831.²⁰ Her family seems to have been artistic in nature, as her younger sister, Jane Watts, also published a travelogue in 1820.²¹ Waldie’s narrative is split between a personal account of June 15-18 and a general description of the battlefield with extensive references to the two fold-out views of the field included in the volume. The personal account does an excellent job of illustrating the tension experienced by civilians in Brussels and Antwerp during the climactic days of the campaign, as well as showing just how much confusion was produced by the variety of rumors and reports that trickled back from the battlefield. Waldie retreats to Antwerp on June 17th based on repeated news of French victory, and on the 18th received news in Antwerp that not only had the allied army been defeated, but also that Brussels was already in French possession. It was only on the morning of the 19th, “when fear almost amounted to certainty, when suspense had ended in despair, after a night of misery – that the great, the glorious news burst upon us” of the allied victory.²²

After briefly describing the joy and relief that swept through Antwerp and Brussels, Waldie turns to her description of the battlefield. The fold out views of the field are panoramic in nature, and are designed, if joined together, to present a 360° view of the valley. The illustrations are subtly numbered, and it is the description of the area represented by each number that forms the structure of the narrative. The author includes a variety of anecdotes and descriptions of the significant actions that took place at that location throughout the day so that, if read straight through, one would gain a decent, if not overly chronological, understanding of the battle. Waldie does not entirely abandon her own recollections, and includes in her descriptions of places and events observations from her own visit to

²⁰ *Narrative of a Residence in Belgium During the Campaign of 1815; and of a Visit to the Field of Waterloo by an Englishwoman* (London: John Murray, 1817); Charlotte Anne Eaton, *Rome in the Nineteenth Century* (Edinburgh: Archibald Constable and Co., 1822); Charlotte Anne Eaton, *Continental Adventures. A Novel, Founded on the Real Scenes and Adventures of an Actual Tour* (London: Sherwood, Gilbert, and Piper, 1827); Charlotte Anne Eaton, *At Home and Abroad: Or, Memoirs of Emily de Cardonell* (London: John Murray, 1831). She also became a senior partner of her husband’s bank, Eaton, Cayley & Co., and ran it from his death in 1834 until her death in 1859.

²¹ Jane Waldie, *Sketches Descriptive of Italy in the Years 1816 and 1817 With a Brief Account of Travels in Various Parts of France and Switzerland in the Same Years* (London: John Murray, 1820).

²² *The Battle of Waterloo*, 15-18.

the battlefield to emphasize the intensity of the violence.²³ She makes no attempt at a neutral or unbiased view, and closes with a highly patriotic paean to Wellington and the British army who “wherever the French have appeared as oppressors... have sprung forward as deliverers,” and “broke the spell which bound the kingdoms of Europe in ignominious slavery.”²⁴

There are a few points worth highlighting in Waldie’s account. First, she employs the same style of eyewitness account to establish her bona fides as the military memoirists do later in the chapter. Second, she is extremely complimentary of the Highland regiments, and at one point employs language that makes it sound like they alone faced the might of the French army. This may have contributed, along with letters and newspaper reports, to the belief, mentioned by Jonathan Leach below, that the Highlanders saw the majority of the action at Waterloo. Third, while being openly biased towards the British, Waldie does give credit to the Prussians for their part in the victory, who, according to them, “had come in at the close of the contest, in time to decide the victory and to share its glory.” Finally, she, like many of the chroniclers and officers, discusses the unreliability of portions of the allied army, laying the blame for certain rumors of defeat on “those dastardly Belgians” who fled through Brussels on June 16th.²⁵

The rest of *The Battle of Waterloo* is drawn from a variety of separate sources. The second half of the first part continues the personal narrative theme and comprises a wide variety of accounts from other eyewitnesses and notable officials. These are largely letters, some of which were obtained for Waldie by friends, and some of which were published in newspapers in the aftermath of the battle.²⁶ The second part is a collection of “Official Accounts, published by authority,” such as Wellington’s

²³ See their description of the destruction around Hougomont or the abandoned detritus of war. *The Battle of Waterloo*, 25-26, 41-42.

²⁴ *The Battle of Waterloo*, 43-44.

²⁵ *The Battle of Waterloo*, 6, 11, 38

²⁶ See, for example, *The Battle of Waterloo*, 43, 62.

Waterloo dispatch, Blücher’s address to his troops, a variety of allied proclamations, Parliament’s official thanks to Wellington, and the French army’s account of the battle.²⁷ All of these, published by the various governments, would have been relatively easy to obtain, but still provided further details. In addition, the appeal of having them translated and bound into a single volume would have been strong, especially to a public succumbing to Waterloo mania. The final part detailed the losses of the various allied armies, the composition of the Army of Occupation, officers who were awarded honors for their part in the campaign, biographies of some of the more famous casualties, and a chronology of Wellington’s military career. As with part two, almost all of this information could have been obtained easily from a variety of sources, in this case official gazettes, the Annual and Monthly Army Lists, and Debrett’s Peerage and other social guides. The appeal was again having it collected in one place and focused entirely on those who had been at Waterloo.

The gamble that the British public would like a single volume that collected all available material on Waterloo paid off. *The Battle of Waterloo* was so popular that it went through four editions in two months, and seven editions in 1815 alone.²⁸ Each new edition was “much enlarged and corrected,” with the 5th edition adding the translated official French account of the battle.²⁹ The increasing size and popularity of the volume also drove up the price. The 4th edition was advertised at 7s. 6d. for the boards or 10s. 6d. for the colored, while the 7th, published only a month later, cost 12s. for the boards or 15s. for the colored.³⁰ For those who didn’t fancy buying a new edition, the publishers also released a supplemental pamphlet, priced only 5s. that would bring any previous edition up-to-date with the 5th.³¹ By the 10th edition, published in 1817, the work had been expanded to two volumes, as it contained a

²⁷ *The Battle of Waterloo*, 151.

²⁸ This day is published, *The Times*, October 13, 1815, p. 2; To the army, *The Morning Post*, November 16, 1815, p. 1; Just published, *The Morning Post*, December 19, 1815, p. 1.

²⁹ To the army, *The Times*, November 25, 1815, p. 1.

³⁰ To the army, *The Morning Post*, November 16, 1815, p. 1; Just published, *The Morning Post*, December 19, 1815, p. 1.

³¹ To the army, *The Morning Post*, November 16, 1815, p. 1; To the army, *The Times*, November 25, 1815, p. 1.

larger collection of accounts as well as “portraits of Field-M Marshals Wellington and Blücher, maps and enlarged plans, view of the field of Waterloo, and thirty-four etchings” by George Jones, later of the Royal Academy.³² The 10th edition was the standard thereafter, until 1852 when, to mark the death of Wellington, an “enlarged and corrected” 11th edition was published by the original publisher’s son, which boasted memoirs of Wellington, Blücher, and Napoleon.³³

Published a year after the 8th edition of *The Battle of Waterloo* in 1817, William Mudford’s *An Historical Account of the Campaign in the Netherlands in 1815* spread its narrative net, as the title would imply, far wider. Mudford admits in the work’s preface that his original intent was to produce a work akin to 1815’s *The Battle of Waterloo* (although he does not mention any other books by name): an “account to be derived only from the various details which were already before the public,” written “to accompany the plates by which it was to be illustrated.” While considering this, however, Mudford realized that Napoleon’s escape from Elba, the Hundred Days, his defeat, and subsequent exile to St. Helena contained “a beginning, a middle, and an end,” and was therefore “susceptible of a distinct relation.” The result is a much longer book than 1815’s *The Battle of Waterloo*, with the narrative of Waterloo itself, along with its preliminaries, occupying some 70 pages towards the end of the work’s 320 pages.³⁴

An Historical Account of the Campaign in the Netherlands in 1815 is not unique in centering its action on Napoleon. The British were fascinated by the Emperor and throughout the Revolutionary and

³² *The Battle of Waterloo, also of Ligny, and Quatre Bras, described by the series of accounts published by authority, with circumstantial details. By a near observer*, 10th Ed. (London: John Booth and T. Egerton, 1817).

³³ *The Battle of Waterloo, with those of Ligny and Quatre Bras, described by eye-witnesses and by the series of official accounts published by authority*, 11th Ed. (London: L. Booth, 1852).

³⁴ William Mudford, *An Historical Account of the Campaign in the Netherlands, in 1815, under his grace the Duke of Wellington, and Marshal Prince Blücher, comprising the Battles of Ligny, Quatre Bras, and Waterloo; with a Detailed Narrative of the Political Events Connected with those memorable conflicts, down to the Surrender of Paris, and the Departure of Bonaparte for St. Helena* (London: Henry Colburn, 1817), ix, 234-304. It is further supplemented with 41 pages of appendices and 25 plates, most of which are in full color.

Napoleonic Wars he remained a popular subject for every form of media.³⁵ This fascination increased after Waterloo, driven not only by a desire to increase the glory of Waterloo by emphasizing the skill and power of the enemy defeated there, but also to further cement British ownership of the victory by emphasizing their ownership of Napoleon himself, now safely relegated to St. Helena.³⁶

Born in 1782, Mudford trained for a political career. He served as an assistant secretary to the Duke of Kent for a few years, accompanying the Duke on a visit to Gibraltar in 1802. Shortly after the visit, however, he decided his skills lay more in writing about politics than engaging directly in them, and he resigned his secretaryship to become a journalist. He cut his teeth as a parliamentary reporter for the *Morning Chronicle*, then one of the leading Whig-identified papers in London, before joining *The Courier* as an assistant editor. In 1817, the same year as he published *An Historical Account of the Campaign in the Netherlands in 1815*, he rose to the editorship of *The Courier*, a post he would hold for over a decade.³⁷ *The Courier* was an evening paper, and its Tory political alignment more closely matched Mudford's own opinions than the Whiggish *Morning Chronicle*. Those opinions are clearly on display in *An Historical Account of the Campaign in the Netherlands in 1815*. The work is dedicated to Wellington, for “to whom can a History of the Battle of Waterloo be so appropriately inscribed, as to the illustrious hero who won it?”³⁸ Mudford compares Wellington to the Duke of Marlborough, and while he admits

³⁵ See, for example, William Hazlitt, *The Life of Napoleon Buonaparte* (London: Illustrated London Library, 1803); Lieutenant Sarratt, Royal York Mary-le-bone Volunteers, *Life of Buonaparte* (London: Tegg and Castleman, 1803); W. Burdon, *The Life and Character of Bonaparte, from his Birth to the 15th of August, 1804* (Newcastle Upon Tyne: K. Anderson, 1804); Willem Lodewyk Van-Ess, *The Life of Napoleon Buonaparte* (London: M. Jones, 1809); George Moir Bussey, *History of Napoleon* (London: Joseph Thomas, 1811); Pierre Lanfrey, *The History of Napoleon the First* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1886).

³⁶ For the relationship between the British and Napoleon, both during and after the wars, see Stuart Semmel, *Napoleon and the British* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004). See also Appendix B.

³⁷ For more biographical details, see David Finkelstein, “Mudford, William,” *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn Jan 2008, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/19482>, accessed 14 December 2018.

³⁸ Mudford, *An Historical Account of the Campaign in the Netherlands*, v. Wellington refused permission for the dedication, but either relented or was ignored. Foster, *Wellington and Waterloo*, 92-93.

that the credit for Napoleon’s defeat belongs to more than one individual, he does insist that Wellington laid the groundwork.³⁹

You first taught the world that the legions of France were not invincible. It was your great example that infused hope and confidence, where despair and doubt prevailed before. You dissolved the magic spell which held prostrate thrones in vassalage; and every blow you struck for freedom, kindled a patriotic fire in hearts that only dared to wish for liberty. You were the beacon, in that tempestuous night, by whose effulgence, other nations steered their course. At your warning voice they awoke, and armed again for independence.⁴⁰

Beyond idolizing Wellington, Mudford’s conservatism is most clearly felt in his nationalism.

Throughout his narrative of the battle, he uses possessive and inclusive terms for British forces, referring to “our regiments” or “our columns” and describing the army as a whole as “us.” There is no indication that Mudford is trying to imply, via his choice of words, that he was present at the battle. Rather, his language serves to remind his largely British readership of their relationship to the army, and thus further cement the Britishness of the victory. To this end, he is also dismissive of the Dutch and Belgian troops.⁴¹ On several occasions, he mentions actions taken by allied troops, only to immediately note their failure and defeat. He is particularly dismissive of “some Belgian infantry, who were placed a little in advance of the 5th division, [who] soon gave way, as the enemy’s columns... approached, without presuming to dispute their progress,” and of the Cumberland Hussars, “a foreign regiment, who deemed it quite superfluous that they should engage in the battle.” Mudford even goes so far as to erase the allied portions of the army from the picture at one point, decrying Napoleon’s hubris for presuming victory when “the Duke of Wellington and a British army lay between him and Brussels.” He is, however,

³⁹ John Churchill, first Duke of Marlborough, was Britain’s most famous general before Wellington. The de-facto leader of the allied armies during the War of the Spanish Succession (1701-1714), he is best known for his victory at the battle of Blenheim (1704). See Richard Holmes, *Marlborough: England’s Fragile Genius* (London: HarperPress, 2008).

⁴⁰ Mudford, *An Historical Account of the Campaign in the Netherlands*, vi.

⁴¹ He does, however, sing the praises of the Belgian civilians and their kindness and generosity. Mudford, *An Historical Account of the Campaign in the Netherlands*, 247.

largely complimentary of the troops of the King’s German Legion and Brunswick, who “behaved with great gallantry, and steadily maintained their position.”⁴²

Considering his view of some of the allied troops under Wellington’s command, Mudford is surprisingly generous when it comes to the role played by the Prussians. He gives several examples of the good feeling and cooperation between the forces under Wellington and those under Blücher, including Prussian forces cheering British forces and greeting them with renditions of “God save the King.” Mudford gives full credit to General von Zieten’s I Corps’ actions against Papelotte, “which prevented the enemy’s right from making any serious efforts against us,” and, most definitively, declares that the Prussian capture of Plancenoit broke the enemy’s right wing and “decided the day.” In this view, Mudford differs from his sources. He quotes, in a footnote, “an officer, who held a high command during the battle,” who insisted the Prussians “suffered us to bear the whole brunt of the battle, and came up just time enough to share the advantage.” In that same footnote, Mudford posits that it may be Prussian guilt that prompted certain behavior after the battle: “can it be that any unworthy resentment was felt against us, because a more effectual support was not given that day, to the Prussians? Painful as this supposition is, it derives some support when we remember the reiterated aspersions cast upon the Duke of Wellington by the *Rhenish Mercury*, which professed to speak the sentiments of the Prussian army.”⁴³

In keeping with his conservative political views, Mudford reserved his most vociferous criticisms for the French. His scorn was not directed at their martial prowess, for what glory could Britain gain from defeating an unworthy foe? Indeed, he states that “never did a finer army take the field,” than Napoleon’s forces at Waterloo, “for it consisted almost entirely of veteran and highly-disciplined troops,

⁴² Mudford, *An Historical Account of the Campaign in the Netherlands*, 241, 249-250, 272, 274-275, 278, 281, 290n1, 293

⁴³ Mudford, *An Historical Account of the Campaign in the Netherlands*, 276n3, 291-295.

animated too with a spirit of enthusiasm, which may be said to have increased its physical energy.”

Mudford’s contempt, instead, was for what they were fighting for, which he summed up as “ambition, perfidy, and despotism,” all wrapped up in the person of Napoleon himself. As he notes when discussing the actions of Marshal Ney, the French soldiers, for all their “thirst for rapine,” “displayed a degree of heroism worthy [of] a better cause.”⁴⁴

Napoleon, for all that he is the center of Mudford’s narrative, is very much the villain of the piece, with Wellington situated as the emperor’s opposite in every way. Mudford compares Napoleon to Wellington multiple times, positioning both men as the avatars of their armies. He praises Wellington’s “simple but touching” rhetoric when encouraging his forces to stand, comparing it to “the turgid stuff with which Bonaparte and his Generals would have striven to animate their men.” Mudford also compares the bravery of these two generals, insisting that Napoleon “was the first to quit the field of battle, and... ran the fastest,” while “never did ambition, or glory, or duty, inspire a more thorough determination to set life upon every hazard that might win victory, than what animated the Duke of Wellington that day.” *An Historical Account of the Campaign in the Netherlands in 1815* closes with a damning summation of Napoleon’s abilities, further emphasizing both his threat and Britain’s achievement:

With the power to do good, [Napoleon] had the will only to inflict evil... his dominion, like a pestilence, blighted the energies of nature, and his footsteps were tracked by desolation, silence and despair.... None dared to speak, who did not dare to encounter dungeons, exile, or death. The blandishments of social intercourse were destroyed, and innocence was no longer the shield of private life. Such was the man, such was the system, such were the calamities, which found their grave on their field of Waterloo; and while we exult in the victory, as a proud addition to our national glory, let us also rejoice for mankind, who that day received their deliverance from our hands.⁴⁵

⁴⁴ Mudford, *An Historical Account of the Campaign in the Netherlands*, 239, 294-296.

⁴⁵ Mudford, *An Historical Account of the Campaign in the Netherlands*, 285, 298-299, 319-320.

The advertising for *An Historical Account of the Campaign in the Netherlands in 1815* continued the trends found within it. It was described as an “important undertaking” and a “truly NATIONAL WORK.”⁴⁶ It did not receive much attention from the popular or literary press, despite being advertised reasonably well.⁴⁷ It did, however, gain some traction as the source of extractions for Waterloo anecdotes, most notably a detailed account of the Hon. Colonel Ponsonby that was printed in *The Lancaster Gazette and General Advertiser*.⁴⁸ Despite the lack of reviews, it was cited in later works, and was a popular success.⁴⁹

Both works discussed in detail here hint at aspects of Waterloo commemoration that would continue to inform the public’s perception of the battle for years to come. The panoramic illustrations of the battlefield in 1815’s *The Battle of Waterloo* provided a preview of the grand panoramas of the battlefield that would soon become a popular attraction in London’s Leicester Square and other cities around Britain.⁵⁰ Waldie’s visit to the field in the aftermath of the battle also serves as one of the first examples of Waterloo as a venue for battlefield tourism, which, as demonstrated in chapter II, became an expected part of British trips to the continent. The style of her recollections from the battlefield and explanation of the various significant locations highlighted in the panoramic images can also be seen as an early attempt at the language later employed by the successful travel guides. Mudford’s *An Historical Account of the Campaign in the Netherlands in 1815* provides no details of a battlefield visit or

⁴⁶ Emphasis in original. New Works preparing for publication, or lately published, by Henry Colburn, Conduit Street, *The Quarterly Review* Vol. XIV (London: John Murray, 1816).

⁴⁷ *The London Literary Gazette, and Journal of Belles Lettres, Arts, Sciences, etc.*, June 12, 1819, no. 125, p. 384; *The London Literary Gazette, and Journal of Belles Lettres, Arts, Sciences, etc.*, June 19, 1819, no. 126, p. 400.

⁴⁸ The Hon. Colonel Ponsonby, *The Lancaster Gazette and General Advertiser, for Lancashire, Westmoreland, &c.*, August 23, 1817.

⁴⁹ Barclay Mounteney, *An Historical Inquiry into the Principle Circumstances and Events Relative to the Late Emperor Napoleon; in which are investigated the charges brought against the government and conduct of that eminent individual* (London: Effingham Wilson, 1824), 144; Foster, *Wellington and Waterloo*, 239n213.

⁵⁰ The panorama in Leicester Square proved so popular that the proprietor, Mr. H. A. Barker, was forced to construct a viewing platform in the center, “by which means every object can be seen without inconvenience, as the spectators in the back are raised so as to look over the heads of those in front.” Battle of Waterloo, *The Times*, May 13, 1816, p. 1.

panorama, its 30 illustrative plates notwithstanding. Its decision to center the narrative on Napoleon (after the introduction, Wellington is not mentioned for nearly 100 pages), as discussed above, however, is a prime example of the Napoleonic mania that swept Britain in the aftermath of the Emperor’s surrender and second exile. In several places, Mudford mentions Napoleon’s carriage, which was captured by the Prussians during Napoleon’s retreat and eventually, after passing through the hands of the Prince Regent, became the centerpiece first of Bullock’s London Museum (one of three museums displaying Napoleon ephemera in 1816) and later Madame Tussaud’s “The Shrine of Napoleon, or Golden Chamber.”⁵¹ Mudford is an early example of the new British view summed up by the Madame Tussaud’s exhibition catalogue for Napoleon’s carriage: “It is almost needless to state, that everything connected with the late Emperor Napoleon belongs to British history.”⁵²

Despite the claims of Madame Tussauds and other museums, Britain held no monopoly on accounts of the battle of Waterloo or the wider campaign that surrounded it. In 1816 Willem Benjamin Craan, a Brussels-based surveyor and cartographer, published his *Plan du champ de bataille de Waterloo, avec notice historique*. Craan, who was based in Brussels, had consulted soldiers who had fought on both sides while preparing his plan, and the resulting map and account was so accurate it earned the approval of both the Prince of Orange, who had commanded the I Corps of the allied army at Waterloo, and his father, William I, while Tsar Alexander I was so taken with it that he presented Craan with a ring as a mark of his respect.⁵³ The entire thing was translated into English in 1817 by Captain Arthur Gore of the 30th (Cambridgeshire) Regiment of Foot who had fought and been wounded at

⁵¹ Mudford, *An Historical Account of the Campaign in the Netherlands*, 265n1, 298, plate XXI. The carriage proved so popular that it attracted 10,000 visitors a day on its first appearance in London, and the crush of Londoners around it was caricatured by both George Cruikshank and Thomas Rowlandson. Richard D. Altick, *The Shows of London* (Cambridge: The Belknap Press, 1978), 238-243.

⁵² 1843 Exhibition Catalogue, quoted in Semmel, *Napoleon and the British*, 1.

⁵³ Xavier Heuschling, “Notice biographique sur Guillaume-Benjamin Craan, auteur du plan de la bataille de Waterloo, etc.,” *Bulletin du Bibliophile Belge*, ed. M. Ch. de Chênedolle (Brussels: J. -M. Heberlé, 1850), VII: 78-82.

Waterloo, but does not seem to have received much attention in Britain.⁵⁴ Nor were French pens silent. In 1817, Alphonse de Beauchamp, a former French bureaucrat-turned-historian, famous for his three-volume *Histoire de la Vendée et des Chouans* (1806), which resulted in his banishment by Napoleon, published his two-volume *Histoire des campagnes de 1814 et de 1815*, which dedicated nearly 100 pages to the Waterloo campaign.⁵⁵ De Beauchamp’s work was known in Britain, and this new opus was advertised there as a “desirable companion to [Eugène] Labaume’s Campaign in Russia.”⁵⁶ A year later, London saw the publication of *The Campaign of 1815*, a narrative of the French side of the campaign, written in English by General Baron Gaspard Gourgaud, who had served as Napoleon’s principal orderly officer, and who had followed his exiled emperor to St. Helena to serve as his secretary.⁵⁷ Prussian authors produced accounts just as quickly as their British, Dutch and Belgian, or French counterparts.⁵⁸ The most famous Prussian work on the battle, however, would have to wait until 1835, when Carl von Clausewitz’s widow, fresh from the success of her husband’s *Vom Kriege* or *On War*, published *The Campaign of 1815*.⁵⁹ *The Campaign of 1815* is both a history of the overall campaign and a critique of Wellington’s actions. When it was published in Britain, it created quite a stir in military circles, and

⁵⁴ Battle of Waterloo, *The Times*, January 9, 1817, p. 4; *An Historical Account of the Battle of Waterloo, Fought on the 18th June, 1815. Between the Anglo-Allied Army, under the command of Field Marshal his grace the Duke of Wellington, supported by a part of the Prussian Army commanded by Field Marshal Prince Blücher, of Wahlstadt, and the French Army under the command of Napoleon Bonaparte, intended to explain and elucidate the topographical plan, executed by W. B. Craan, J.U.D. Examining Engineer of the Government Surveys of South Brabant*, trans. Arthur Gore (Brussels: T. Parkin, 1817).

⁵⁵ Alphonse de Beauchamp, *Histoire des campagnes de 1814 et de 1815* (Paris: Le Normant, 1817), II: 251-343.

⁵⁶ Campaigns of 1814 and 1815, *The Morning Chronicle*, July 1, 1816; Eugène Labaume, *Relation Circonstanciée de la Campagne de Russie en 1812* (Paris: C. L. F. Panckoucke, 1814).

⁵⁷ Gaspard Gourgaud, *The Campaign of MDCCCXV; or, A Narrative of the Military Operations Which Took Place in France and Belgium During the Hundred Days* (London: James Ridgway, 1818); Books published this day, *The Times*, January 16, 1819, p.4.

⁵⁸ For an example of earlier Prussian works, see *Versuch einer militärish-historischen Darstellung des grossen Befreiungs-Krieges oder Uebersicht der Feldzüge in den Jahren 1813 bis 1815. Dritter Theil, den Feldzug vom Jahre 1815 enthaltend. Mit Pläanen und Charten* (Weimar: im Verlage des Geographischen Instituts, 1816).

⁵⁹ See Vanya Eftimova Bellinger, *Marie von Clausewitz: The Woman Behind the Making of On War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016).

prompted Wellington to write a detailed response in 1842 – the only lengthy work he ever produced on the battle.⁶⁰

Having worked with their civilian allies to firmly establish British ownership of Waterloo, at least within the British Isles, the veterans of Waterloo watched as their efforts became too effective. Credit for the victory was no longer just the preserve of the military, but became national in scope. The country celebrated the victory, but not, in the eyes of the veterans, the army that won it. June 18th was marked in military circles, most notably by Wellington’s annual banquet, but a series of celebrations in theatres, pleasure gardens, and private clubs diffused the glory. The battlefield itself was a popular tourist destination, but what Britons found there, and in the relics they brought back, was a national pride, not specifically a military one. In addition, the popular culture of the day saw military officers as more deserving of satire than of reverence. All these factors, combined with the reduction in Britain’s military establishment, and the public relations disasters of events such as Peterloo discussed in chapter V, drove several officers to intervene directly in this conflict of ownership by writing and publishing memoirs.

These authors used their own experiences to challenge the armchair generals and civilian historians, providing a more intimate history of the battle that was, perforce, centered on the soldiers themselves. While the quarter century of the Napoleonic Wars produced a remarkable collection of individual primary sources, the memoirs considered here form only a small percentage of the whole. Partially this is due to constraints of time and space, but the paramount consideration is intent. The

⁶⁰ See Christopher Bassford, Daniel Moran, and Gregory W. Pedlow, trans & eds., *On Waterloo: Clausewitz, Wellington, and the Campaign of 1815* (CreateSpace Independent Publishing Platform & Clausewitz.com, 2015); Christopher Bassford, *Clausewitz in English: The Reception of Clausewitz in Britain and America 1815-1945* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994).

great majority of individual primary sources now available through the work of scholars was never meant to be published. They comprise personal journals and letters to family and friends. While crucial to our understanding of the battle of Waterloo and daily military life in the early nineteenth century, they provide little to no insight into the author’s feelings on the ownership of Waterloo’s memory.⁶¹ Added to this are works published but either limited to private runs for friends and family or published posthumously. Here again we find sources that are valuable from a military history point of view but that provide little insight into the cultural conflict that emerged after the military victory.⁶² Finally, we have accounts focused on the Peninsular War that don’t include Waterloo, and which, for obvious reasons, cannot shine light on the issue at hand.⁶³

Once these considerations are taken into account, the plethora of memoirs becomes a much more limited pool. Within this selection, this chapter will consider four memoirs that fit the requirements: Captain John Kincaid’s *Adventures in the Rifle Brigade in the Peninsula, France, and the Netherlands from 1809-1815* (1830), Lieutenant Colonel Jonathan Leach’s *Rough Sketches of the Life of an Old Soldier* (1831), Lieutenant Colonel Charles Cadell’s *Narrative of the Campaigns of the Twenty-Eighth Regiment Since Their Return from Egypt in 1802* (1835), and Sir Richard Henegan’s *Seven Years Campaigning in the Peninsula and the Netherlands; from 1808 to 1815* (1846). Of these, Kincaid’s work is the most readable today, as he writes with an easy style and humor; Leach’s work is the most pointed in terms of the conflict between military and civilian; Cadell’s straddles the line between personal memoir and regimental history; and Henegan, as a civilian employed in the army, presents an interesting view

⁶¹ See, for example the six volumes of *The Waterloo Archive*, in which Gareth Glover has gathered previously unpublished or exceedingly rare sources on the battle. Four of the six volumes are devoted to the British. Gareth Glover, *The Waterloo Archive, Volumes 1-6* (Barnsley: Frontline Books, 2010-2014).

⁶² See Alexander Cavalie Mercer, *Journal of the Waterloo Campaign, Kept Throughout the Campaign of 1815* (Edinburgh & London: William Blackwood and Sons, 1870); *The Military Adventures of Charles O’Neil* (Worcester: Published for the Author by Edward Livermore, 1851).

⁶³ See George Wood, *The Subaltern Officer* (London: Septimus Prowett, 1825); George Robert Gleig, *The Subaltern* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood, 1826).

that doesn't prioritize recollections of battles. It is also worth pointing out at this stage that Kincaid and Leach served together in the 1st battalion of the 95th Rifles, providing us with two versions of the same events during the battle.

It may seem strange that it took between fifteen and twenty years for these memoirs to be produced, but there are multiple reasons for the delay beyond the growing belief in the 1830s that the military ownership of Waterloo needed to be defended. The first and most obvious explanation is that the 1830s was when many officers who had served in the Peninsula and at Waterloo were retiring, and writing a memoir seemed an excellent way not only to fill suddenly empty days but also to supplement income. Beyond that, the authors were likely inspired by the success of a number of Peninsular War memoirs that appeared in the 1820s, such as Moyle Sherer's *Recollections of the Peninsula* (1823) or George Gleig's *The Subaltern* (1825).⁶⁴ The 1830s also saw the publication of numerous works that brought the Napoleonic Wars back to the forefront of popular culture and may have prompted these memoirs. The first volume of William Napier's *History of the War in the Peninsula and the South of France from the Year 1807 to the Year 1814* appeared in 1828, with subsequent volumes being published through 1840. The thirteen volumes of *The Dispatches of Field Marshal the Duke of Wellington*, edited by Lieutenant Colonel John Gurwood, were also published between 1834 and 1839. In addition to reinforcing popular interest in the Napoleonic Wars, all of these works provided further resources for the would-be authors of memoirs, who were trying to recall and narrate events that were up to three decades in the past.⁶⁵ Finally, these officers may have sought to respond to criticisms such as those found in Clausewitz's *The Campaign of 1815*. They may have also taken their inspiration from

⁶⁴ Neither Sherer nor Gleig fought at Waterloo.

⁶⁵ Kincaid's *Adventures in the Rifle Brigade* is particularly prized by Peninsular scholars, as its publication date of 1830 means that it is largely untarnished by Napier's *History of the War in the Peninsula*, which became so popular that it effectively homogenized the accounts of many memoirs published after its release. Ian Fletcher, "Introduction," in *Adventures in the Rifle Brigade in the Peninsula, France, and the Netherlands from 1809-1815*, John Kincaid (Staplehurst: Spellmount, 1998), vii.

Wellington himself, whose attitude, especially in regard to the Prussian contribution to the battle, had shifted in the intervening years. Gone was the generous general who attributed “the successful result of this arduous day, to the cordial and timely assistance I received from” Blücher and the Prussian Army.⁶⁶ In his place stood the avatar of British military glory, who claimed that the major Prussian achievement had been to arrive in time to “profit by [the British] victory,” and when asked about the French army, simply replied, “I beat them.”⁶⁷

Despite the difficulties in recollection and the temptation to rely heavily on sources like Wellington’s dispatches, there is one characteristic that almost all of these memoirs share in relation to the battle of Waterloo: they are focused almost exclusively on the action they witnessed. This means that Kincaid’s and Leach’s narratives are focused on the 95th and, to a certain extent, the wider 5th Division, while Cadell’s brief selection of anecdotes entirely concerns the 28th Regiment of Foot. While this is laudable from the point of view of accuracy, all three officers had the ability to provide a historically accurate overview of the entire action. All had at their disposal several historical accounts of the full battle, not to mention Wellington’s official dispatch. This was, then, a conscious choice on their part. By limiting themselves to their eyewitness accounts, they are separating themselves from the wider civilian histories of the conflict. Their limited views and their use of the active voice are, in fact, their bona fides, proving that they were there, laying claims to their actions, and granting their subsequent opinions the weight of military expertise in the face of a growing civilian Waterloo mania fed on more general and artistic depictions of the battle.

⁶⁶ *The London Gazette Extraordinary*, June 22, 1815, number 17028, 1215.

⁶⁷ Richard Edgcumbe, ed., *The Diary of Frances Lady Shelley, 1818-1873* (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1913), II: 33; Harriet Arbutnot, *The Journal of Mrs. Arbutnot, 1820-1832*, Francis Bamford and the Duke of Wellington, eds. (London: Macmillan & Co., 1950), I: 234-235.

Captain John Kincaid was the second son of a minor Scottish laird with holdings near Falkirk in Stirlingshire.⁶⁸ His military experience began with a lieutenant’s commission in the North York Militia before transferring to the 95th Rifles in 1809. He first saw active service in the ill-fated Walcheren expedition that same year before sailing with the 95th’s first battalion to the Iberian Peninsula in 1810. He served in Wellington’s army from that point until the end of the Peninsular War in 1814, seeing action at several of the more notorious battles and sieges, and rising to the position of battalion adjutant. When news reached Britain of Napoleon’s escape and the commencement of what would become the Hundred Days, he was shooting in Scotland, but he joined his regiment in Brussels in time to play an active role in the battles of Quatre Bras and Waterloo. He was promoted to captain in 1826, and sold his commission in 1831, but was made exon of the Yeomen of the Guard in 1844 and was knighted in 1852 upon succeeding to the rank of senior exon.⁶⁹ He was appointed inspector of prisons for Scotland in 1847 and inspector of factories for Scotland and the north of England in 1850. He died in 1862.⁷⁰

Kincaid’s first book, *Adventures in the Rifle Brigade in the Peninsula, France, and the Netherlands from 1809-1815* was published in 1830 while he was still serving as a captain in the Rifle Brigade.⁷¹ *Adventures in the Rifle Brigade* is a chronological account of Kincaid’s service from 1809 to 1815, beginning with the Walcheren expedition and ending on the morning after the battle of Waterloo. It is organized by both chapters and date entries but occasionally drops into general anecdote before returning to the main narrative. Kincaid’s style lends itself to the occasional anecdote: he writes in a very easy and enjoyable manner and manages to inject moments of humor into an otherwise serious subject.

⁶⁸ John Kincaid, *Random Shots from a Rifleman* (London: T. and W. Boone, 1847), 3.

⁶⁹ Exon is the lowest officer rank in the Yeomen.

⁷⁰ For more biographical details, see H. M. Chichester, “Kincaid, Sir John (1787-1862),” rev. Roger T. Stearn, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn Jan 2008, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/15550>, accessed 22 June 2016.

⁷¹ The 95th Rifles became the Rifle Brigade in 1816. Kincaid published a follow-up volume, *Random Shots from a Rifleman* in 1835.

He even manages to find some levity in the bloody Waterloo campaign, to which he dedicates the last 50 pages of his 351-page memoir.⁷² The work contains sufficient detail to indicate that Kincaid probably had some rough recollections or notes to draw on (perhaps the records he kept as battalion adjutant), but the only mention Kincaid makes to his sources is in the opening advertisement, when he states that “in tracing the following scenes, I have chiefly drawn on the reminiscences of my military life... should any errors, as to dates or trifling circumstances, have inadvertently crept into my narrative, I hope they will be ascribed to want of memory, rather than to any willful intention to mislead.”⁷³

Kincaid’s recollections are well worth reading, but as the outcomes of the battles of Quatre Bras and Waterloo are well known, there is no need to go through his account in detail. Two points are worth discussing, however. The first, as discussed in the introduction, is that Kincaid is scrupulous in only relating what he himself saw that day. His description of his position on the morning of the battle of Waterloo is an excellent example of this: “Our battalion stood on what was considered the left centre of the position. We had our right resting on the Namur-road, about a hundred yards in the rear of the farm-house of La Haye Sainte, and our left extending behind a broken hedge, which run along the ridge to the left. Immediately in our front, and divided from La Haye Sainte only by the great road, stood a small knoll, with a sand-hole in its farthest side, which we occupied, as an advanced post, with three companies.” He then discusses, in slightly less but still authoritative detail, the deployment of the rest of the 5th Division, which “was formed in two lines; the first, consisting chiefly of light troops, behind the hedge, in continuation from the left of our battalion reserve; and the second, about a hundred yards in its rear. The guns were placed in the intervals between the brigades, two pieces were in the road-way on our right, and a rocket-brigade in the centre.” Finally, Kincaid mentions the 5th Division’s neighbors:

⁷² The moment he discovers that his sword has been rusted into its scabbard as a regiment of cuirassiers charges him is written to highlight the madcap lunacy of war, and he describes a column of French infantry headed for his position as “destined as *our particular friends*.” John Kincaid, *Adventures in the Rifle Brigade in the Peninsula, France, and the Netherlands from 1809-1815* (London: T. and W. Boone, 1830), 333, 335-336.

⁷³ Kincaid, *Adventures in the Rifle Brigade*, vii-viii.

“The division, I believe, under General Alten occupied the ground next to us, on the right. He had a light battalion of the German legion, posted inside La Haye Sainte, and the household brigade of cavalry stood under cover of the rising ground behind him. On our left there were some Hanoverians and Belgians, together with a brigade of British heavy dragoons, the royals, and the Scotch greys.”⁷⁴

Despite having multiple histories of the battle and Wellington’s official dispatch at his disposal to fill in the gaps in his knowledge, Kincaid refused to expand further, simply stating “these were all the observations on the disposition of our army that my situation enabled me to make.” He continues this approach as he describes the day; during lulls in the fight around them, he will mention what he can observe of the rest of the field, noting that “columns, from the enemy’s left, were seen in motion towards Hugamont, and were soon warmly engaged with the right of our army” or “on our right, the roar of cannon and musketry had been incessant from the time of its commencement; but the higher ground, near us, prevented our seeing anything of what was going on.” Beyond these mentions, however, Kincaid’s narrative is limited to the area around the Namur road, La Haye Sainte, and what has become known as the sandpit. The fighting there was intense, and Kincaid highlights several reasons why he was not and could not pay attention to the rest of the battle. “For the two or three succeeding hours there was no variety with us, but one continued blaze of musketry. The smoke hung so thick about that, although not more than eighty yards asunder, we could only distinguish each other by the flashes of the pieces.”⁷⁵

Kincaid’s determination to stick to his own eye-witnessed recollections pays off in the climactic moments of the battle, where both the horror of war and the elation of victory seem much more real for the intimacy of the narration. “I felt weary and worn out,” Kincaid recalls,

less from fatigue than anxiety. Our division, which had stood upwards of five thousand men at the commencement of the battle, had gradually dwindled down into a solitary line of

⁷⁴ Kincaid, *Adventures in the Rifle Brigade*, 330-331.

⁷⁵ Kincaid, *Adventures in the Rifle Brigade*, 331, 338, 341.

skirmishers. The twenty-seventh regiment were lying literally dead, in square, a few yards behind us.... The smoke still hung so thick about us that we could see nothing. I walked a little way to each flank to endeavor to get a glimpse of what was going on; but nothing met my eye except the mangled remains of men and horses... I had never yet heard of a battle in which every body was killed; but this seemed likely to be an exception.

Then, less than a page after that apocalyptic thought, comes the moment of glory as,

presently a cheer, which we knew to be British, commenced far to the right, and made every one prick up his ears;- it was Lord Wellington’s long wished-for orders to advance; it gradually approached, growing louder as it grew near;- we took it up by instinct, charged through the hedge down upon the old knoll, sending our adversaries flying at the point of the bayonet.... This movement had carried us clear of the smoke; and, to people who had been for so many hours enveloped in darkness, in the midst of destruction, and naturally anxious about the result of the day, the scene which now met the eye conveyed a feeling of more exquisite gratification than can be conceived. It was a fine summer’s evening, just before sunset. The French were flying in one confused mass. British lines were seen in close pursuit, and in admirable order, as far as the eye could reach to the right, while the plain to the left was filled with Prussians.

Kincaid goes on to briefly describe the pursuit of the French, the capture of their baggage train, and the halt of the British advance at dusk, as the Prussians took over the pursuit. He then closes his detailed narrative of the battle by summing it up as “the last, the greatest, and the most uncomfortable heap of glory that I ever had a hand in.”⁷⁶

Besides providing a singular eyewitness perspective on the battle, Kincaid’s treatment of the Prussians also warrants mention. The Prussians feature relatively heavily in Kincaid’s account of the Waterloo campaign, considering its eyewitness nature. During the battle for Quatre Bras, he mentions Wellington riding to “an interview with Blücher, in which they concerted measures for their mutual co-operation.” Later on the same day, the 95th are visited by a patrol of Prussian dragoons “to inquire how it fared with us.” During the battle of Waterloo itself, Kincaid notes that “an occasional gun, beyond the plain, far to our left, marked the approach of the Prussians,” and he mentions, as quoted above, that the Prussians were pouring onto the eastern part of the battlefield as the final charge took place and were instrumental in the ongoing pursuit of the retreating French army. Despite this, however, Kincaid is

⁷⁶ Kincaid, *Adventures in the Rifle Brigade*, 342-345.

unshakable in his insistence that it was the British who won Waterloo. His comment during the battle that they could occasionally hear a gun marking the Prussian advance concludes with the statement “but their progress was too slow to afford a hope of their arriving in time to take any share in the battle.”⁷⁷

Kincaid’s full thoughts on the nationality of the victory can be found immediately after his narration of the battle, when he allows himself a few pages for rumination on the larger questions presented by June 18th. Chief among these is the “matter of dispute what the result of that day would have been without the arrival of the Prussians.” He openly acknowledges that “Lord Wellington would not have fought at Waterloo unless Blücher had promised to aid him with 30,000 men, as he required that number to put him on a numerical footing with his adversary,” but insists that “the promised aid did not come in time to take any share whatever in the battle.” In preemptive response, it seems, to those who would point out that the Prussians arrived in time for the general advance, Kincaid continues, insisting that “it is equally certain that the enemy had, long before, been beaten into a mass of ruin, in condition for nothing but running, and wanting but an apology to do it.” “I will ever maintain,” he concludes, “that Lord Wellington’s last advance would have made it the same victory had a Prussian never been seen there.”⁷⁸

Kincaid is equally dismissive of the Dutch and Belgian troops under Wellington’s command. After the first French attack, he relates being “told, it was very ridiculous, at that moment, to see the number of vacant spots that were left nearly along the whole of the line, where a great part of the dark dressed foreign troops had stood, intermixed with the British when the action began.” He continues this thread in his summary. “Our foreign auxiliaries, who constituted more than half our numerical strength, with some exceptions, were little better than raw militia – a body without a soul, or like an inflated pillow,

⁷⁷ Kincaid, *Adventures in the Rifle Brigade*, 314, 319, 338, 344.

⁷⁸ Kincaid, *Adventures in the Rifle Brigade*, 346-347.

that gives to the touch, and reassumes its shape again when the pressure ceases – not to mention the many who went clear out of the field, and were only seen while plundering our baggage in their retreat.” In fact, the only foreign troops Kincaid unreservedly praises are the King’s German Legion, who were formally part of the British army, and who had also served in Wellington’s Peninsular army.⁷⁹

For Kincaid, Waterloo was a British victory, unalloyed by allied aid, and in fact made more difficult by allied delays and incompetence. Even within that British victory, however, Kincaid feels the need to apportion out the glory. He acknowledges the important contribution the British heavy cavalry made at the start of the day but, like many infantrymen before him, criticizes their tendency to overextend themselves until they are “dispersed or destroyed.”⁸⁰ The Royal Artillery served admirably, but were handicapped by their relatively low numbers, the disabling fire of their French counterparts, and the proximity of the conflict to their positions. For Kincaid, victory at Waterloo comes down to two things: the infantry and Wellington. “The British infantry and the King’s German Legion,” he eulogizes, “continued the inflexible supporters of their country’s honour throughout, and their unshaken constancy under the most desperate circumstances showed that, though they might be destroyed, they were not to be beaten.” Kincaid saves his highest praise, however, for Wellington himself, who, in his view, won the victory with, and despite of, “all in all, a very bad army.” “If Lord Wellington had been at the head of his old Peninsula army,” Kincaid insists, “I am confident that he would have swept his opponents off the face of the earth immediately after their first attack; but with such a heterogeneous mixture under his command, he was obliged to submit to a longer day.”⁸¹

⁷⁹ Kincaid is just as critical of Britain’s allies during the Peninsular War. He dismisses the Portuguese as “creatures of a former age, [who] showed the indolence and want of enterprise which marked them born for slaves.” As for their army, “as a nation, they owe their character for bravery almost entirely to the activity and gallantry of the British officers who organized and led them.” Kincaid, *Adventures in the Rifle Brigade*, 197, 337, 345-346.

⁸⁰ Kincaid, *Adventures in the Rifle Brigade*, 345. For a summary of the criticisms leveled by the infantry arm against the British cavalry, and a rehabilitation of the mounted arm, see Ian Fletcher, *Gallop at Everything: The British Cavalry in the Peninsular War and at Waterloo, 1808-15* (Gloucestershire: Spellmount, 2008).

⁸¹ Kincaid, *Adventures in the Rifle Brigade*, 345-346.

Adventures in the Rifle Brigade was immediately well-received. *The United Service Journal*, Britain’s premier military magazine, was equally delighted with both Kincaid and his memoir. The author they praised as “a capital soldier, a pithy and graphic narrator, and a fellow of infinite jest... the *beau-ideal* of a thorough-going soldier of service.”⁸² When it came to the work itself, the *Journal* paid it the compliment of comparing it to Kincaid’s old corps, who were arguably the finest skirmishers in the British army.

The book itself looks part and parcel a Rifleman. Trimly bound in a green jacket, its fire is brisk, desultory, and effective as that of the buoyant corps it fitly represents, every sentence sounding as sharp and searching as the crack of a rifle. Each discharge is a point blank and unerring sketch... there is nothing extant in the shape of a soldier’s journal which, with so little pretension, paints with such truth and raciness the ‘domestic economy’ of campaigning and the downright business of handling the enemy.⁸³

In the civilian press, *The Athenæum* lauded it as “one of the most lively histories of a soldier’s adventures which have yet appeared,” and had no hesitation in saying that Kincaid’s work would “afford a few hours very agreeable reading; their entire freedom from affectation, will sufficiently recommend them to an extensive class of readers.”⁸⁴ *The Edinburgh Literary Journal* declared it an “excellent and amusing book” which they “heartily recommended” and took particular delight in Kincaid’s glowing opinion of Wellington.⁸⁵ *The Cheltenham Chronicle* “gladly direct[ed] the attention of [their] readers” to *Adventures in the Rifle Brigade*, which they found “replete with incident and amusing anecdote.”⁸⁶ *The Age*’s praise was slightly barbed, noting that “Kincaid’s *Adventures* is written with all the frankness and freedom from study, which bespeaks the gallant soldier.”⁸⁷ *The Monthly Magazine*

⁸² *Adventures in the Rifle Brigade*, *The United Service Journal and Naval and Military Magazine 1830* (London: Henry Colburn and Richard Bentley, 1830), I:478.

⁸³ *Adventures in the Rifle Brigade*, *The United Service Journal*, I:478.

⁸⁴ *The Athenæum Weekly Review* no. 123, March 6, 1830, 130-132.

⁸⁵ Literary Criticism, *The Edinburgh Literary Journal* no. 70, March 13, 1830, 158-159.

⁸⁶ Literary and Scientific Intelligence, *The Cheltenham Chronicle and Gloucestershire Advertiser*, March 11, 1830, p. 4.

⁸⁷ Quoted in advertising copy in *The Manchester Times and Gazette*, August 16, 1834.

was more generous in its praise, simply stating “his book has one fault, the rarest fault in books, it is too short.”⁸⁸

Perhaps inspired by the success of Kincaid’s *Adventures*, Lieutenant Colonel Jonathan Leach, also of the Rifle Brigade, published his own *Rough Sketches of the Life of an Old Soldier* in 1831. Leach was the son of George Leach, a solicitor and naturalist, and Jenny Elford, both of whom came from established and wealthy Devon families. Leach was also the older brother of William Elford Leach, the well-known naturalist.⁸⁹ In 1801 Leach obtained a commission in the 70th Regiment of Foot and joined them on the island of Jersey. After nearly a year of garrison duty, the 70th spent a year at Chatham and Shorncliffe under the command of Sir John Moore, who was at that time training Britain’s new Light Division, and who introduced to Leach the notions of skirmishing and light infantry. In 1803, Leach sailed for Antigua with the 70th, where he spent two years before being invalided home in 1805. In 1806, he exchanged into the 95th Rifles, a regiment he had become familiar with at Shorncliffe, and in which he would spend the rest of his military career. In 1807 he saw action in Denmark and at the Second Battle of Copenhagen before returning to Britain. He sailed, in 1808, for Portugal. Between 1808 and 1814 he served with the second and then the first battalion of the 95th in the Peninsular War, seeing action at several significant battles. By the commencement of the Waterloo campaign, he was a brevet major and third in command of the first battalion of the 95th, which he commanded in the latter part of the battle thanks to wounds taken by both his superior officers.⁹⁰ Leach continued his service with the 95th as part

⁸⁸ *Monthly Magazine*, April 1830, quoted in advertising copy in John Kincaid, *Random Shots from a Rifleman* second edition (London: T. and W. Boone, 1847), front advertisement.

⁸⁹ See Pamela Gilbert, “Leach, William Elford (1791-1836),” *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn Jan 2008, <http://www.oxforddnb.com.i.ezproxy.nypl.org/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-16230>, accessed 9 November 2018; Keith Harrison and Eric Smith, *Rifle-Green by Nature: A Regency Naturalist and his Family, William Elford Leach* (London: Ray Society, 2008).

⁹⁰ Charles Dalton, *The Waterloo Roll Call with Biographical Notes and Anecdotes* (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1904), 197-198.

of the Army of Occupation, and later served with them in Ireland. He retired from active service in 1821 as a Lieutenant Colonel.⁹¹

Leach's *Rough Sketches*, like Kincaid's *Adventures*, is chronological in nature, starting with his joining the 70th in Jersey, and ending with his retirement, although the years after Waterloo are given only very limited space. The foundation on which Leach builds his narrative is the daily journal he kept while on campaign, “aided by a tolerably fair memory, and some old notes and memoranda.”⁹² Rather than breaking up his narrative with general anecdotes, as Kincaid did, however, Leach's digressions lean more towards his own opinions on occurrences, some of which can best be described as rants. Given this difference in style, it is unsurprising that Leach's memoir, while both interesting and informative, is less breezy and entertaining than Kincaid's works. In addition, despite its longer overall length (Kincaid's *Adventures* is 351 pages, Leach's *Rough Sketches* is 411), Leach dedicates less space to both the Waterloo campaign (39 pages) and the battle itself (13 pages) than Kincaid does. Leach's explanation for this is simple. As he writes in the beginning of the chapter dedicated to Waterloo, “it would be presumptuous in a regimental officer, who was necessarily tied to one spot with his regiment during the whole of the action, to endeavor to throw a light on a subject already so frequently discussed.”⁹³

As that explanation would imply, Leach's narrative focusses almost entirely on the experiences of the 95th and the 5th Division. His descriptions are less evocative and detailed than Kincaid's, but the thrust of his recollections matches those of the man who was, at that point, serving as his battalion's adjutant. He notes the same action directed at the Chateau of Hougomont, blocked from view by the

⁹¹ It is unclear whether he sold his commission or retired on half pay. All biographical details are from Jonathan Leach, *Rough Sketches of the Life of an Old Soldier: During a Service in the West Indies; at the Siege of Copenhagen in 1807; in the Peninsula and the South of France in the Campaigns from 1808 to 1814, with the Light Division; in the Netherlands in 1815; including the Battles of Quatre Bras and Waterloo: With a Slight Sketch of the Three Years Passed by the Army of Occupation in France, &c. &c. &c.* (London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, and Green, 1831).

⁹² Leach, *Rough Sketches of the Life of an Old Soldier*, vii.

⁹³ Leach, *Rough Sketches of the Life of an Old Soldier*, 383.

same higher ground, and the same attacks endured by the 95th and their comrades in La Haye Sainte. He too remembers the near destruction of the 27th while in square, and is filled with admiration for the King’s German Legion’s defense of La Haye Sainte. Even his report on the progress of the Prussian advance is remarkably similar, recalling that “the arrival of the Prussians had been long expected; but the only intimation we had of their approach was the smoke of a distant cannon occasionally seen far on the left.” Where Leach differs from Kincaid is in his interpretation of the importance of the Prussian attack. Rather than maintaining that the French were already beaten, he argues that while the French were on the back foot, they still had some fight in them, and “that the last and desperate attack was made by Napoleon with his guard, to annihilate us before the Prussians should arrive to our assistance.” Leach also credits Wellington’s decision to order the general advance at least partially to knowledge of the Prussian attack: “the Prussians were now commencing an attack on the extreme right of the French, which the Duke of Wellington being aware of, and witnessing the immense loss which they had suffered in their last attack, as also their indescribable confusion, ordered a general advance of his whole army, to put the finishing stroke to the work of this bloody day.”⁹⁴

While Leach is content to give some credit for the victory to the Prussians, he does take a stand on the point of ownership of Waterloo. His objection is not, however, to allied military claims, but is instead to civilian encroachment, in the form of criticism of Wellington’s actions by “fire-side and feather-bed tacticians.” “I have often been heartily tired of, and out of all patience with, the one engrossing question, ever uppermost, and ready to be let fly at any one who happened to have served with the Waterloo army,” he declares, “pray, sir, was not the Duke of Wellington taken quite by surprise, whilst he was at the Duchess of Richmond’s ball at Brussels, by the sudden irruption of Bonaparte’s army into Flanders?” Leach responds to this in two ways. He first informs these critics that

⁹⁴ Leach, *Rough Sketches of the Life of an Old Soldier*, 386-393.

every officer in the 5th Division knew that the French army was on the move on the 15th of June, and there’s no way they knew and Wellington didn’t. He then asks “these *savans*” if they would have preferred Wellington to gather his army in one place before he knew which route Napoleon was taking, thus risking being bypassed by the French army. “It is doubtless a pleasant and edifying occupation,” he concludes, “while sitting by an English fire-side, to criticise and calumniate that commander, who, in spite of his being ‘taken by surprise,’ contrived to gain the most splendid and decisive victory ever achieved by the British army or any other.” Having summarily dealt with these critics, he leaves them to nurse their cold shins and their “half a dozen of port” and continues with his memoirs.⁹⁵

In addition to the question of civilian vs. military ownership, Leach addresses where credit should fall within the ranks of those who fought. Unlike Kincaid, however, who demarcates glory via service arm, Leach takes the opportunity to redress what he sees as a national imbalance. He laments that the British popular press seized upon the idea that “the Scottish regiments were the only people who pulled a trigger on the left of the British position throughout the whole of that protracted struggle, and that they, unaided, defeated the reiterated attacks of the Imperial Legions at that point.” This conviction was further enforced, in his mind, by “various panoramic exhibitions [that] have also strongly tended to convince the good people of England, that John Bull and Pat were little better than idle spectators on the left of the British position.”⁹⁶ Leach therefore takes the opportunity to correct this belief with reference to the 5th Division, which comprised three Highland regiments, one lowland Scottish regiment, and four English regiments.⁹⁷ Anyone, he insists, who “has seen that part of the position which our division occupied, need not be informed that every regiment which composed it

⁹⁵ Leach, *Rough Sketches of the Life of an Old Soldier*, 379-381.

⁹⁶ The hero of the 1824 hippodrama *The Battle of Waterloo* at Astley’s, discussed in chapter IV, was also a member of a highland regiment. Leach, *Rough Sketches of the Life of an Old Soldier*, 399; J. H. Amherst, *The Battle of Waterloo, A Grand Military Melo-Drama in Three Acts* (London: Duncombe, 1824).

⁹⁷ The 79th (Cameron Highlanders), the 42nd (Black Watch), the 92nd (Gordon Highlanders), the 1st (Royal Scots), the 28th (North Gloucestershire), the 32nd (Cornwall), the 44th (East Essex), and the 95th Rifles.

must necessarily have been exposed in an equal degree to the repeated attacks of the French; and it was therefore utterly impossible that one regiment should have had a smaller or greater degree of pounding than another.”⁹⁸ Leach closes his memoir shortly after addressing this imbalance of glory by expounding at some length on the importance of riflemen and light troops and insisting that light infantry techniques should still be encouraged via organization and training within the British army.

While Leach’s work was not as widely reviewed as Kincaid’s offerings, it did still receive some positive press. *The United Service Journal* praised its “animated and rifleman-like character” and declared itself “indebted to the gallant author for the perusal of one of the most faithful and entertaining volumes which have yet appeared on the fertile subject of the late war.”⁹⁹ *The Cheltenham Chronicle*, though it did not review it directly, did consider an extract on military recreation to be of interest to their readers, and so published that excerpt.¹⁰⁰ Leach’s feelings on slavery, which he had formed during his time in the Caribbean, also met with the approval of Britain’s abolitionists. His thoughts were quoted at length in a letter to the Editor of the *North Devon Journal*, where the military nature of the memoir is used to highlight that it is an unbiased eyewitness account, unconnected to the Anti-Slavery Society.¹⁰¹ A slightly longer version of the same extract was later printed without comment in the *Hereford Journal*.¹⁰²

Leach went on to publish another three works. The first of these, *Recollections and Reflections Relative to the Duties of Troops Composing the Advanced Corps of an Army* (1835), is exactly what it sounds like: an 81-page pamphlet that distills the lessons learned by the Light Division and light cavalry

⁹⁸ Leach, *Rough Sketches of the Life of an Old Soldier*, 398-399.

⁹⁹ *Rough Sketches of the Life of an Old Soldier*, *The United Service Journal and Naval and Military Magazine* 1831 (London: Henry Colburn and Richard Bentley, 1831), III: 535-536

¹⁰⁰ Literature, *The Cheltenham Chronicle and Gloucestershire Advertiser*, December 29, 1831, p. 4.

¹⁰¹ J. Bennett, Letter to the Editor, *The North Devon Journal*, April 26, 1832, p. 1.

¹⁰² Negro Slavery, *Hereford Journal*, June 19, 1833, p. 1.

in the Peninsular War into general knowledge for a new generation of officers.¹⁰³ Three years later, he produced another pamphlet, *Sketch of the Field Services of the Rifle Brigade, From its Formation to the Battle of Waterloo*, which summarizes in 32 pages the very successful first fifteen years of the 95th Rifles.¹⁰⁴ The subtext on both of these pamphlets closely matches the sentiments Leach expressed in the closing pages of *Rough Sketches* – the continued necessity for Britain to train and maintain light troops, and especially the Rifle Brigade. Finally, in 1847, he published *Rambles Along the Styx*, a collection of shorter vignettes, some factual and some exaggerated, that first appeared in the *Naval and Military Gazette*.¹⁰⁵

Four years after Leach’s *Rough Notes* appeared, Lieutenant Colonel Charles Cadell published his *Narrative of the Campaigns of the Twenty-Eight Regiment*. Cadell’s work is, as he puts it in the book’s dedication, “a Soldier’s Narrative of [the 28th’s] services throughout the whole of that eventful and brilliant period.”¹⁰⁶ It is largely written as a history, but the author’s presence within the regiment allows for a deeper insight into daily experiences. It is also not as general or as rich in background details as a history normally would be, as Cadell acknowledges in the preface, for “it is impossible for the regimental officer to do more than glance at the surrounding objects.”¹⁰⁷ Cadell does not state if he is basing the details in his work on anything beyond his memories, but the precise chronological structure and the number of orders, reports, and speeches he quotes from directly indicate he either kept some records during his time in active service or had access to private or official regimental archives.

¹⁰³ Jonathan Leach, *Recollections and Reflections Relative to the Duties of Troops Composing the Advanced Corps of an Army* (London: T. and W. Boone, 1835).

¹⁰⁴ Jonathan Leach, *Sketch of the Field Services of the Rifle Brigade, From its Formation to the Battle of Waterloo* (London: T. and W. Boone, 1838).

¹⁰⁵ Jonathan Leach, *Rambles Along the Styx* (London: T. and W. Boone, 1847). Leach also wrote another set of serialized articles called “Thoughts on Various Military Subjects” which provided advice on subjects such as target practice, great coats, and accoutrements. See Foreign Miscellany, *Army and Navy Chronicle* vol. XI, no. 15, October 8, 1840, 287-288.

¹⁰⁶ Charles Cadell, *Narrative of the Campaigns of the Twenty-Eighth Regiment Since Their Return from Egypt in 1802* (London: Whittaker & Co., 1835), dedication.

¹⁰⁷ Cadell, *Narrative of the Campaigns of the Twenty-Eighth Regiment*, v-vi.

Relatively little is known about Cadell himself. Born in 1786, he was the son of John Cadell, a laird and industrialist with extensive holdings in East Lothian.¹⁰⁸ Based on when he chooses to commence his history, he joined the 28th (North Gloucestershire) Regiment upon their return from Egypt in late 1802 or early 1803. With that regiment, he took part in the battle of Copenhagen, was present for the first expedition to Portugal that ended with the battle of Corunna and was evacuated back to Britain before joining the Walcheren expedition. After that disastrous campaign, the regiment returned to the Peninsula, and remained there through the conclusion of the Peninsular War in 1814. They had just departed Cork for America, destined to be reinforcements in the War of 1812, when they were recalled due to Napoleon’s escape from Elba, and took part in the entirety of the Waterloo campaign. They did not serve as part of the Army of Occupation, but instead were stationed in Malta from 1816 to 1819, in the Ionian Islands until 1828, and then in Ireland until 1832. Cadell chooses to end his narrative with the regiment’s return to England in the summer of 1832, which may well have also been when he retired from active service and started writing his history, which appeared in January of 1835.¹⁰⁹

As with Kincaid and Leach, Cadell’s coverage of Waterloo is limited to the his and his regiment’s experience. He opens his coverage of the battle with a reminder to his readers that his work “is not a general history, but a record of the services of the regiment. I therefore know nothing more than others of the details of the action: I can only speak of our share in it, which was confined principally to repelling the furious charges of the enemy, and maintaining our position till the close of the day.” What does set Cadell apart is the length of Waterloo discussion. His coverage of the battle is even briefer than Leach’s, comprising only four pages. Unsurprisingly, considering the time he devotes to it, Cadell does not provide any form of overarching narrative of the battle, but instead relates a few anecdotes and lists the

¹⁰⁸ Dalton, *Waterloo Roll Call*, 135-137.

¹⁰⁹ Cadell, *Narrative of the Campaigns of the Twenty-Eighth Regiment*; David Scott Daniell, *Cap of Honour: The Story of the Gloucestershire Regiment (the 28th/61st Foot) 1694-1950* (London: George G. Harrap and Co., 1951).

casualties the regiment took in the fight.¹¹⁰ These anecdotes further emphasize the courage and dedication of the 28th, as they all relate to the wounding or death of officers. He relates two tales of wounded officers, one of whom was shot through the thigh while leading skirmishers and had to crawl back to “as he considered... perfect safety, under the bayonets of the kneeling ranks” of the 28th's square. The other wounded officer joined in the cavalry's pursuit of one of the defeated French attacks, and ended up wounded and captured. The French apparently stripped him, as he returned to the regiment on the 19th severely wounded and wearing just his shirt. Cadell also describes the deaths of three officers: a major, who had been born in the regiment (his father had been their paymaster) who was shot through the heart and died on the field, and two lieutenants, one who bled to death when a tourniquet slipped during the night after an amputation, and second who had his abdomen opened by a splinter of shell and died a few nights later when the wound went bad.¹¹¹

In addition to the remarkable brevity of its Waterloo coverage, *Narrative of the Campaigns of the Twenty-Eighth Regiment* lacks any of the argumentative claims or diatribes that mark Kincaid and Leach's coverage of Waterloo and its aftermath. There is, for example, no debate on how important the Prussians were. For Cadell, it seems, Waterloo was not the culminating or defining moment that it was for many officers. Instead, it was simply another battle honor for the 28th. This is best illustrated by the fact that more than half of the Waterloo chapter itself is dedicated to the battle's aftermath and the regiment's experiences in Paris, and that the chapter describing the following sixteen years of relatively

¹¹⁰ Only the officer casualties are listed by name. The enlisted men and non-commissioned officers are merely listed by the number of slain. He notes that “a plain marble slab in the church of Waterloo, erected by their brother officers, records their glorious death.” As several visitors to the field recorded, there were no slabs commemorating the fallen enlisted men. Cadell, *Narrative of the Campaigns of the Twenty-Eighth Regiment*, 236n1.

¹¹¹ There was almost nothing that could be done for abdominal wounds at that time. Cadell, *Narrative of the Campaigns of the Twenty-Eighth Regiment*, 233-236.

uneventful service is nearly twice as long as the Waterloo chapter. In contrast, Leach covers nearly the same amount of time in five pages.¹¹²

Cadell's work received roughly the same amount of press attention as Leach's *Rough Sketches*. Several papers reprinted, with approval, his description of a set military dinner that took place on May 16, 1813, to celebrate the second anniversary of the battle of Albuera.¹¹³ The excerpt is a testimony to military inventiveness, with camp kettles inverted to convert them into ovens for pies, the table and seating (for 100 guests) dug into the ground, and every guest bringing their own plate and silverware.¹¹⁴ In addition to dinners in the field, the *Hereford Journal* was rather taken with a quote attributed by Cadell to Marshal Soult when the Marshal left the Peninsula, advising his successor to leave the British army alone when retreating, or “they will get into their places, and give you such a drubbing as you never had before.”¹¹⁵ Only *The United Service Magazine* gave *Narrative of the Campaigns of the Twenty-Eighth Regiment* a full review, but they were glowing, declaring it to be “one of the most animated and soldierlike personal narratives it has yet been our fortune to peruse. Evidently aiming at fidelity, as to the facts, and dealing even-handed and affectionate justice to his gallant comrades, the chronicler... tells his tale forcibly yet unambitiously.”¹¹⁶ They closed their review by congratulating their “old brother officer on his success; we knew him to be a good soldier, but had yet to learn that he could handle a pen with equal effect as the sword.”¹¹⁷

¹¹² Leach's final chapter is, in fact, 15 pages long, but the majority of it is taken up with the topics discussed above – Scottish vs. English and Irish claims of glory and the importance of light troops.

¹¹³ *The Morning Chronicle*, January 30, 1835; Miscellany, *The Yorkshire Gazette*, February 7, 1835, p. 4; *Reading Mercury, Oxford Gazette and Berkshire County Paper, etc.*, February 9, 1835, p. 1.

¹¹⁴ Cadell, *Narrative of the Campaigns of the Twenty-Eighth Regiment*, 148-149.

¹¹⁵ *Hereford Journal*, February 11, 1835, p. 2; Cadell, *Narrative of the Campaigns of the Twenty-Eighth Regiment*, 146.

¹¹⁶ Reviews and Critical Notices, *The United Service Journal and Naval and Military Magazine* (London: Henry Colburn, 1835), I:258.

¹¹⁷ Reviews and Critical Notices, *The United Service Journal*, I:258.

The final memoir discussed in this chapter, Sir Richard Henegan’s two-volume *Seven Years’ Campaigning in the Peninsula and the Netherlands; from 1808 to 1815*, was published in 1846, eleven years after *Narrative of the Campaigns of the Twenty-Eighth Regiment*. Henegan’s work differs from the other three memoirs discussed in two significant ways. The first is that its description of Waterloo is an over-arching, top-down description of the entire battle, clearly drawn from multiple historical sources. This doesn’t mean Henegan completely abandons eye-witness narrative when it comes to Waterloo, however. After having included a complete view of the action on June 18th, he returns to his personal account in the aftermath of the battle, providing a very detailed description of Brussels on the night of the 18th and the next day. The second difference may explain the first. While *Seven Years Campaigning* is a military memoir, Henegan himself was a civilian. The official title of his post was Ordnance Commissary, which was one of the roles placed “upon the civil establishment of the Ordnance.”¹¹⁸ Functionally, this means that while Henegan never held military rank and could not give orders to soldiers, his overall experience on campaign would have been nearly identical to that of a staff officer.

Very little is known about Henegan’s early life. He was born in 1789 and joined the Field-Train department of the Royal Artillery in 1803 at the age of 14. He served in England until 1808, when he embarked with Sir John Moore first to Sweden and then to Portugal. He returned to Britain briefly before taking part in the Walcheren expedition, from which he was evacuated on the last day of the campaign. He was reassigned to the Peninsula, this time to Cadiz, where he took an active part in the defense of the city. After briefly returning to Britain to recover from illness, he joined Wellington’s staff as the Ordnance Commissary, in which capacity he served for the rest of the war. After Napoleon’s escape from Elba, Henegan joined the preparations for the new campaign in Britain before embarking

¹¹⁸ The British Army was unusual in this – in most European armies, this department was part of the military. Charles James, *New and Enlarged Military Dictionary, in French and English: In Which Are Explained the Principal Terms, With Appropriate Illustrations, of All the Sciences that are, more or less, Necessary for an Officer and Engineer* (London: T. Egerton, 1810), I: entry for Artillery, sub-entry for Commissary’s Department.

for the Netherlands with Lieutenant Colonel Sir Alexander Dickson, commander of the Battering Train, and General Sir Thomas Picton.¹¹⁹ After Waterloo, he was placed in charge of the Battering Train of Prince Augustus’ Prussian Army, which was responsible for reducing the northern French frontier fortresses of Landrecies, Philippeville, Marienbourg, and Rocroi. During these operations, Henegan gained the dubious distinction of being the last member of the British Army to be captured in the Napoleonic Wars, when he was seized by a French patrol during the siege of Rocroi. Rocroi surrendered the next day, and he was returned to freedom, and the campaign ended shortly after.¹²⁰

While portions of his private life are mysteries, Henegan’s motivations for writing *Seven Years’ Campaigning* are not. In 1832, Henegan had a 26-page narrative of his services privately printed, to which he attached 19 pages of correspondence with the Duke of Wellington and various government officials.¹²¹ Henegan wanted a monetary reward more commensurate with his service than the pension he had been granted of 7s. 6d. a day and had sought the aid of both Wellington and the Master-General of Ordnance in obtaining it. Having been met with nothing but polite refusal, he had the narrative and correspondence published and submitted to Parliament. There is no record of Henegan’s case ever coming before either house of Parliament, however, and it seems *Seven Years’ Campaigning* was an attempt, a decade later, to boost his own finances with a successful memoir. The work is based on notebooks and diaries that the author kept, although as Waterloo was now three decades in the past, he supplemented these personal notes with published histories.

¹¹⁹ Richard D. Henegan, *Seven Years’ Campaigning in the Peninsula and the Netherlands; from 1808 to 1815* (London: Henry Colburn, 1846), II: 276-278.

¹²⁰ Biographical details drawn from Richard D. Henegan, *Narrative of the Services of Sir R. D. Henegan, Knight of the Royal Guelphic Order, Late Head of the Field-Train Department with the Armies Commanded by the Duke of Wellington in the Peninsula; and the Correspondence Thereon with the Government* (Paris: Pihan Delaforest, 1832); Henegan, *Seven Years’ Campaigning*, 339-352.

¹²¹ Henegan, *Narrative of the Services of Sir R. D. Henegan*.

The influence of those published histories is especially evident throughout Henegan’s 21-page summary of the battle of Waterloo. For this chapter, Henegan abandons all attempts at a personal narrative and instead just provides an overview of the battle. He discusses the relative positions and strengths of the opposing armies, various instances of conspicuous gallantry, and the battle for La Haye Sainte, which he describes in greater detail than either Kincaid or Leach. Despite the nature of his account, however, there are still a few points that are worth noting. The first is that he agrees with Kincaid that the allied army was, overall, quite poor thanks to the number of foreign troops, “some of which were nobly brave – others were rendered useful auxiliaries by the power of good example; while others again were to be trusted so cautiously, that their absence from the field would only have been felt as a security against treachery.” He also, like Leach, defends Wellington’s actions. Addressing those critics that criticized Wellington’s lack of maneuvering and relatively passive tactics, Henegan states that Waterloo “was no field for the display of skillful generalship, and tactical knowledge. The one great essential to a Commander so placed, was firmness, and fortunately for the allies, Wellington possessed that attribute in no small degree.”¹²²

Beyond these two stands, however, Henegan tries to avoid controversy. He opens his Waterloo chapter by explaining that it will be based on the generally accepted history of events and will leave “such points as admit of dispute to those who have already met on the hostile ground of controversy concerning them.” He reminds his readers that these controversies are common, because “information on the details of battle must necessarily be gleaned from individuals, whose individual feelings are interested, and consequently are to be gratified.” Despite his efforts to rise above such matters, Henegan does engage in one correction to gratify his own interested feelings. When discussing the fall of La Haye Sainte, which was at least partially caused by its German defenders running out of

¹²² Henegan, *Seven Years’ Campaigning*, 310, 313.

ammunition, he takes issue with the common assumption that more ammunition could not get to them because of the battle raging around them, an assumption propagated by Wellington’s dispatch, Waldie, and Mudford among others.¹²³ As the responsibility for ensuring that allied troops were kept supplied with ammunition fell to Henegan and his subordinates in the Field-Train, he clearly takes this assumption as a criticism of either their competence, courage, or both. In response, he includes in his narrative of final battle around La Haye Sainte a page-long footnote in which he explains that it was not their bravery that failed the Field-Train, but their supplies of ammunition. The rifle ammunition used by the 95th Rifles and the King’s German Legion was in such high demand that “towards the close of the day, the last round of this species of ammunition had been issued.” The vindication of him and his subordinates on this point is so important to him that he criticizes the tactical decisions of the allied generals, arguing that “there can be no doubt, however, but that La Haye Sainte required for its defence a reinforcement of men far more than of ammunition... had a battalion of men, and a couple of howitzers been posted within its enclosures, La Haye Sainte would have maintained itself against any assault, as Hougoumont maintained itself, to the close of the day.”¹²⁴

Having at least partially redeemed the honor of the Field-Train in his own eyes, Henegan returns to a personal narrative shortly after the end of the battle, as he rides back to Brussels to arrange for the resupply of the allied army. What follows is an evocative description of the conditions between the allied ridge and Brussels. Between the battlefield and the village of Waterloo, “carts and wagons, filled with dead and dying, stood wedged so tightly together, that many minutes would elapse before they could be disengaged, while the groans of the sufferers within them, [and] the oaths of the drivers” filled the air. The village of Waterloo itself had been turned into an elongated field hospital. “Every house,

¹²³ *The London Gazette Extraordinary*, June 22, 1815, number 17028, p. 1214; *The Battle of Waterloo*, 33; Mudford, *An Historical Account of the Campaign in the Netherlands*, 280.

¹²⁴ Henegan, *Seven Years’ Campaigning*, 308, 321n1-322n1.

even to the most lowly, was a blaze of illumination... in those rooms where the wounded lay, might have been seen suffering, in all its sad hues of gloomy colouring.” After passing through the village, Henegan followed the road into the forest of Soignes, where he encounters the corpse of a friend of his who, after having his leg amputated, was being transported to Brussels when “hemorrhage came on, and his young life ebbed away in the dark, cheerless vehicle, as it jolted over the rough *chaussée* that traverses the gloomy forest.” Further into the forest, “the confusion seemed, if possible, to increase.” Abandoned or hijacked commissariat wagons filled with alcohol led to “groups of intoxicated soldiers... congregated on the sides of the roads, adding to the general dismay and alarm, by recklessly firing off their pieces upon every passing object.” As Henegan approached Brussels, he was greeted by a throngs of the city’s inhabitants, desperate for “tidings that might be depended on; for so varied and contradictory had been the reports throughout the day, that it was impossible to extract a rational conclusion from so many conflicting falsehoods.” He did his best to provide that reliable news, most notably to Admiral Sir Pulteney Malcolm, who was in command of the British North Sea Squadron then anchored off Ostend, which would have been the allied army’s escape route in case of disaster. Finally entering Brussels, Henegan was faced with even more chaos, highlighting the cost of the victory the allies had just earned.

At that late hour, women of the highest rank were hastening to the hospitals, with lint and necessaries for the sufferers. Some even took upon themselves to assist the surgeons in their painful duties, and watched with gentle assiduity by the pallets of the wounded soldiers, throughout that long night of agony to so many. Each hour added to the noise and confusion of the town. The arrival of vehicles of every description, bringing in the wounded from the scene of the day’s battle, appeared endless; and the cheers of the mob, as our soldiers came galloping in, with some proud trophy of the victory, mingled in strange discordance with the laments of women seeking among the wounded, their relatives and friends.¹²⁵

Against the background of these scenes, Henegan gave orders to the Field-Train, and retired to his quarters to try and sleep, closing this chapter.

¹²⁵ Henegan, *Seven Years’ Campaigning*, 330-337.

For Henegan, who was present at Waterloo but did not engage directly in combat (although he no doubt shared some of the danger), it is this narrative of the battle’s aftermath that provides his bonafides in the same way that descriptions of the heat of the action do for Kincaid and Leach, and the relation of a few anecdotes do for Cadell. With the exception of his clarifying footnotes, anyone with access to the published histories and Wellington’s dispatch could have written a narrative of Waterloo akin to Henegan’s. As the majority of the army stayed on the field of victory and then pursued Napoleon’s defeated army back into France, however, there are relatively few accounts of the road through Soignes and Brussels on the night of the battle.

Although Henegan’s work received a decent amount of attention, the reception was mixed. The periodical *Britannia* declared that it would “take its place among the best works on the Peninsular war, while the *Naval and Military Gazette* informed its readers that “these volumes combine a world of diversified amusement, excitement, and interest.”¹²⁶ *Messenger* praised it as “one of the best, by which we mean the most interesting, descriptive accounts of the wild adventures and alternate scenes of active enjoyment and severe suffering which necessarily make up the mingled web of the soldier’s life on service.”¹²⁷ *The United Service Magazine* found it “very light” and “exceedingly amusing,” although “not in the best possible taste at all points.”¹²⁸ They allowed that Henegan “tells a story well” and “has a talent for pathos as well as for humour; but he sometimes makes us regret finding them in juxtaposition.”¹²⁹ *The Athenæum*, however, took issue with Henegan’s over reliance on histories, and informed its readers that his “volumes may be very briefly dismissed: there is nothing new in them; not a detail, we believe, which has not been given elsewhere; not a trait which does not belong to the

¹²⁶ *Britannia* and *Naval and Military Gazette* reviews quoted in advertising copy, *The Standard*, April 22, 1846, p. 1

¹²⁷ *Britannia* review quoted in advertising copy, *The Standard*, April 22, 1846, p. 1; *Messenger* review reprinted in *The Morning Post*, March 5, 1846, p. 5.

¹²⁸ Reviews and Critical Notices, *Colburn’s United Service Magazine and Naval and Military Journal* (London: H. Hurst, 1846), I: 607.

¹²⁹ Reviews and Critical Notices, *Colburn’s United Service Magazine*, I: 607.

gentleman-at-arms as he has figured from the days of De Scuderi down to those of Mr. G. P. R.

James.”¹³⁰ “In brief,” they concluded their review, “this record, though many pages of it can hardly be read without a smile, is very far from being the best of a bad series.”¹³¹

The Athenæum was somewhat justified in that criticism, as the very success of Peninsular War memoirs that inspired Kincaid, Leach, Cadell, and Henegan also meant they were entering a crowded field. Despite their praise of Kincaid’s *Adventures in the Rifle Brigade*, *The Athenæum* opened its review by heralding it as “additional variations on that eternal thema, the Peninsular Campaign,” although one, admittedly, that distinguished itself from “the host of publications which have appeared on the subject of the war in Spain.”¹³² In their review of Leach’s *Rough Sketches* a year later, *The United Service Journal* also remarked upon this publishing boom, noting that “since the peace, the Members of the Light Division, forced to sheath the sword, have applied themselves rather to the pen than the ploughshare... they have extended, as it were, in skirmishing order, advancing to the front and reconnoitering the flanks of the Peninsular War. Not a thicket has been left unexplored, not a post nor a shot unmarked by these lynx-eyed and light-hearted Tirailleurs.”¹³³ By the time Henegan’s *Seven Years’ Campaigning in the Peninsula and the Netherlands* was published in 1846 as we have seen, *The Athenæum*, at least, was losing its patience with Peninsular memoirs.

¹³⁰ Georges de Scudéry was a seventeenth century French soldier and novelist who cultivated a reputation for swashbuckling and gasconading. George Payne Rainsford James was a nineteenth century British novelist who made his name writing historical fiction, often with military heroes or settings. He served as William IV’s Historiographer Royal and was a frequent guest of Wellington’s at Walmer Castle. Reviews, *The Athenæum Journal of Literature, Science, and the Fine Arts. For the Year 1846* (London: J. Francis, 1846), 193.

¹³¹ Reviews, *The Athenæum*, 193.

¹³² *The Athenæum Weekly Review* no. 123, March 6, 1830, 130.

¹³³ *Rough Sketches of the Life of an Old Soldier, The United Service Journal and Naval and Military Magazine 1831* (London: Henry Colburn and Richard Bentley, 1831), III: 535.

Despite these criticisms, Kincaid, Leach, Cadell, and Henegan succeeded in reminding the British public that there were individuals behind the victory at Waterloo, although it is unclear whether this reminder impacted the balance of ownership claims within the nationalized victory. What is clear is that the various histories and memoirs, along with the other forms of celebration and commemoration discussed in chapters III and IV, did convince the British public that Waterloo was more of a British victory than an allied one, and should be celebrated as such. Many of these works were also commercial successes, most notably 1815's *The Battle of Waterloo* and Kincaid's *Adventures in the Rifle Brigade*, which may have gone some way towards creating a new Victorian style of military memoir and novel.¹³⁴ As important as money may have been to retired officers, however, the memoirs served another purpose as well: they were a link to their military pasts, not only in the sense of celebrating past glories, but also as a way to ease into their new civilian lives after sometimes decades in uniform while keeping some ties to their previous careers and institutions.

¹³⁴ See Ramsey, *The Military Memoir and Romantic Literary Culture*, chapter 6.

Chapter II: “The Great English Pilgrimage:” Battlefield Tourism, Relics, and International Ownership¹

The first tourists arrived at the battlefield of Waterloo before word reached Britain of the victory. Alexander Cavalie Mercer, a British artillery officer, recorded that he and his troop had not yet finished breakfast on the morning after the battle when a carriage arrived from Brussels with civilians determined to “examine the field.” One of the tourists, “a smartly-dressed middle-aged man, in a high cocked-hat” approached Mercer and his troop “stepping carefully to avoid... polluting the glossy silken hose that clothed his nether limbs,” and asked for details about the end of the battle. Holding a “delicately white perfumed handkerchief to his nose” against the overwhelming odors of battle, and looking around in horror at the bodies, the tourist learned what he could from Mercer before following his companions towards the Chateau Hougomont. Mercer deliberately highlights the contrast between the “frightful figures” of himself and his men, “begrimed and blackened with blood and smoke,” sitting on discarded cuirasses and eating their first meal in three days, and the tourists, one of whom he likens to a Shakespearean fop, picking their way carefully across the battlefield. For all his sardonic humor, there is no indication that Mercer was aware that he had witnessed the start of a tradition that would become an integral part of nineteenth-century British continental tourism.²

Waterloo became a touristic phenomenon thanks to a number of factors. Waterloo’s status as a household name and its position within the modern creation myth of Imperial Great Britain guaranteed some interest, but it was its proximity to Britain, and thus the relative cheapness of getting there, that ensured that a sizable number of those who wanted to visit, could. The end of the Napoleonic Wars saw

¹ George Augustus Sala, *Waterloo to the Peninsula: Four Months’ Hard Labour in Belgium, Holland, Germany, and Spain* (London: Tinsley Brothers, 1867), I:4

² Alexander Cavalie Mercer, *Journal of the Waterloo Campaign, Kept Throughout the Campaign of 1815* (Edinburgh & London: William Blackwood and Sons, 1870), I:345-346.

the reopening of the continent to British travelers, and the Channel ports suddenly witnessed a large increase in traffic. Some of these travelers were upper-class, taking the opportunity to reinvigorate the eighteenth-century notion of the “Grand Tour,” but they were joined by a new stratum of middle-class tourists, indulging in opportunities not only for travel itself, but also for the sense of social advancement that came with it.³ The proximity of the new Kingdom of the Netherlands (and Belgium itself, independent after 1839) meant that it was an ideal choice for a continental sojourn, and historians estimate that by the 1830s, between 50,000 and 100,000 Britons were making the ferry crossings to Ostend and Antwerp.⁴ The fashionableness of Brussels, the prevalence of a British-esque industrial revolution, and the liberal nature of the constitution Belgium adopted in the 1830s gave the trip even more allure, as many Britons saw Belgium as a “Little Britain.”⁵ For those visiting Brussels or planning to, there was immense pressure to visit Waterloo, and it soon became a near-mandatory daytrip from the Belgian capital.

This chapter will examine several aspects of Waterloo tourism. It will start with a general overview of the experiences of most tourists on their visit, rendered homogenous by an expected and accepted way of “doing” Waterloo. It will then discuss the Waterloo publications of Walter Scott and Lord Byron, as well as the most popular travel guide of the day, John Murray’s *A Hand-Book for Travellers on the Continent*, all of which helped shape that standard experience. It will then explore some of the more performative aspects of Waterloo tourism, in the form of relics. The discussion on relics will be divided into visitation relics and collection relics. Visitation relics were stationary objects at

³ James Buzzard, *The Beaten Track: European Tourism, Literature, and the Ways to Culture, 1800-1918* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993); Pieter Francois, “If it’s 1815, This Must be Belgium: The Origins of the Modern Travel Guide,” *Book History* 15 (2012): 71-92; Pieter Francois, “‘The Best Way to See Waterloo is with your Eyes Shut’ British ‘Histourism,’ Authenticity and Commercialism in the Mid-Nineteenth Century,” *Anthropological Journal of European Cultures* 22:1 (2013): 25-41; Richard Mullen and James Munson, *The Smell of the Continent: The British Discover Europe* (London: Macmillan, 2009).

⁴ John Pimlott, *The Englishman’s Holiday: A Social History* (London: Faber and Faber, 1947), 189; John Pemble, *The Mediterranean Passion: Victorians and Edwardians in the South* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987), 1.

⁵ Francois, “The Best Way to See Waterloo,” 31.

Waterloo that were “must sees” on the itinerary, and which served much the same purpose for the secular pilgrimage to Waterloo that significant Catholic relics did as anchors of religious pilgrimages. Collection relics, smaller and less unique objects found or purchased on the battlefield and taken home, had two functions. First, they were performative relics – proof that one had been there. Second, they provided a tangible anchor to the intangible past; a way, as several scholars have pointed out, of experiencing history by physically handling it (although, as we shall see, the connection between the relic and the battle may only have existed in the mind of the purchaser).⁶ Finally, this chapter will examine the question of international ownership when it came to the field of Waterloo, detailing the relationships and claims of Belgium/the Kingdom of the Netherlands, Britain, Prussia, and France each had to the battlefield itself.

⁶ See Stuart Semmel, “Reading the Tangible Past: British Tourism, Collecting, and Memory after Waterloo,” *Representations* 69 (Winter, 2000): 9-37; Leora Auslander & Tara Zahra, eds., *Objects of War: The Material Culture of Conflict & Displacement* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2018).



Figure 2.1: Plan of Brussels and the Country 25 Miles to the South. Shewing the Situation of the Battles of the 16th & 18th of June 1815 (London: Thomas Kelly, 1816).

Thanks to guidebooks, travelogues, and practical factors such as geography and transportation, almost all visitors to the battlefield experienced it in roughly the same way, and it is worth exploring that journey as a baseline before venturing further. The village of Waterloo is some ten miles from Brussels, and the battlefield another two miles beyond that, and carriages were the easiest and most popular way to get there (see Figure 2.1).⁷ Most excursions left in the morning and returned either before or after dinner.⁸ Early tourists needed to hire a carriage, with the price ranging from 25 to 30 francs, including gratuity.⁹ As it became clear that Waterloo tourism would become a minor industry, shuttle services emerged, including one run by two Englishmen and boasting two British-made four-horse mail coaches, with round-trip tickets costing a more reasonable 5 francs.¹⁰ This particular service boasted staggered departures (the *Warrior* departed at 9am, the *Victoria* at 10am), stops at all of the fashionable hotels, and a branch service from the village of Mount St. John to the Chateau of Hougoumont, so visitors could see the battlefield without tiring or exposing themselves to inclement weather. The mail coaches became so popular that *Bradshaw's Hand-Book* recommended purchasing tickets for whatever day suited “immediately [upon] arrival in Brussels.”¹¹

After boarding their coaches, tourists rode through Brussels and out via the Namur Gate and headed south.¹² The road south was relatively straight, and about 40 or 50 feet wide. Only the center

⁷ A Visit to Waterloo, *The Pocket Magazine of Classic and Polite Literature* (London: James Robins and Co, 1829), 2:126-127.

⁸ Robert Hills departed at 9am, while P.T. Barnum and his companions, in order to be back by their afternoon show, were forced to set out at 4am. Robert Hills, *Sketches in Flanders and Holland; with some account of a Tour Through Parts of Those Countries, Shortly After the Battle of Waterloo; in a Series of Letters to a Friend* (London: J. Haines and J. Turner, 1816), 76; Phineas Taylor Barnum, *Life of P. T. Barnum* (London: Sampson Low, Son, & Co., 1855), 242.

⁹ Hills, *Sketches in Flanders and Holland*, 75; Anne Laura Thorold, *Letters from Brussels, in the Summer of 1835* (London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, Green, and Longman, 1835), 272-273;

¹⁰ George Bradshaw, *Bradshaw's Illustrated Hand-Book for Belgium and the Rhine* (London: W. J. Adams, 1853), 40.

¹¹ Bradshaw, *Bradshaw's Illustrated Hand-Book for Belgium and the Rhine*, 40.

¹² Thorold, *Letters from Brussels*, 273; George Saint George, *A Saunter in Belgium in the Summer of 1835; with Traits, Historical and Descriptive* (London: F. C. Westley, 1836), 362; A Visit to Waterloo, *The Pocket Magazine*, 1829, 2:126.

10-20 feet strip was paved, however, the rest was a dirt or mud track, depending on the weather.¹³ The road was a toll road, with collection points at every league, but most excursions to the field factored the tolls into the overall price for the hiring of a carriage.¹⁴ After passing through Brussels’ suburbs, and journeying three or four miles, the road enters the forest of Soignes.¹⁵ The forest, which several visitors, including Byron, link with the more well-known Ardennes, was a well-manicured and extensive beech forest, and hemmed in the road tightly on either side. Reactions to the forest varied, from those who considered it “delightful” and welcomed its shade to those that declared it “awful.”¹⁶ For many visitors, the forest presented an opportunity to ruminate on the past. The wood of the Soignes forest had been commandeered by Napoleon earlier in the war to help build his great invasion fleet at Antwerp, and some could not divorce the forest from the threat of invasion, although they did delight in the fact that the wood that had once built French ships later guarded the back of a British army.¹⁷ Despite the naval implications of Soignes, more visitors were struck by the fact that their army had traveled the same road they were now on. As Charlotte Eaton (née Waldie) noted in 1817, “it was impossible to retrace without emotion the very road by which our brave troops had marched out to battle... and by which thousands had been brought back, covered with wounds, in pain and torture.”¹⁸ These emotions were highlighted by visitor’s mental images of the chaotic nature of the road during and after the battle, choked with the

¹³ James Simpson, *A Visit to Flanders in July, 1815, Being Chiefly an Account of the Field of Waterloo* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood, 1816), 62.

¹⁴ Thomas Pennington, *A Journey into Various Parts of Europe* (London: George B. Whittaker, 1825), II: 578; Hills, *Sketches in Flanders and Holland*, 75.

¹⁵ The spelling of the forest’s name varies from account to account, in all likelihood because most chroniclers only ever heard it spoken. For that reason, this work will use the modern spelling.

¹⁶ Wemyss Dalrymple, *The Economist’s New Brussels Guide Containing a Short Account of Antwerp Malines, etc.* (Brussels: W. Todd, 1839), 121; William Makepeace Thackeray, *Little Travels and Roadside Sketches* (London: Smith, Elder, & Co., 1879), 332; *A Visit to Waterloo, The Pocket Magazine*, II: 126; Simpson, *A Visit to Flanders*, 61.

¹⁷ Simpson, *A Visit to Flanders*, 61; Hills, *Sketches in Flanders and Holland*, 76; James Simpson, *Paris After Waterloo* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons, 1853), 27.

¹⁸ Charlotte Anne Eaton, *Narrative of a Residence in Belgium During the Campaign of 1815* (London: John Murray, 1817), 248-249. See also *A Visit to Waterloo, The Pocket Magazine*, II: 126; Thomas Dyke, *Travelling Mems During a Tour Through Belgium, Rhenish Prussia, Germany, Switzerland, and France, in the Summer and Autumn of 1832: Including an Excursion up the Rhine* (London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, Green, & Longman, 1834), I:10-11.

baggage and wounded of the allied army, and for some time after, the graves of men and horses, and the detritus of war were clear along the route.¹⁹

From Soignes, carriages emerged into the village of Waterloo, still two miles from the battlefield itself. Descriptions of the village of Waterloo vary largely depending on when a person visited it. The evolution of Waterloo Village is a clear example of how the tourist trade benefited this particular portion of rural Belgium, and how the area’s residents embraced it. Early visitors describe the village as “naked and wretched,” a “poor, straggling, dirty village,” with “nothing to recommend it” on its own merits.²⁰ By 1836, however, Murray’s *Hand-Book for Travellers* informed its readers that Waterloo had expanded to the point where it was almost joined to Mont St. Jean, the hamlet on the edge of the battlefield.²¹ Benjamin Silliman, an American who toured Europe in 1851, noted “many new houses, and among them some beautiful dwellings, have sprung up, evincing a degree of prosperity which is, doubtless, due, in a great measure, to the celebrity conferred by the great battle upon a village formerly of little importance.”²² The villagers were aware of the benefits of the battlefield, and did their best to take advantage of them. We will discuss their activities as relic hunters later in this chapter, but it is worth briefly mentioning the changes they made to their village. The villagers did their best to preserve the quartermaster’s chalk markings on their doorways, which marked certain houses as the temporary residences of the commanding officers and staffs of the Allied army.²³ As the chalk marks inevitably faded over the years, they were replaced by more permanent markers on walls and doors.²⁴ The inn in

¹⁹ Hills, *Sketches in Flanders and Holland*, 77-78; Simpson, *Paris After Waterloo*, 27-28; Simpson, *A Visit to Flanders*, 62-63; Eaton, *Narrative of a Residence in Belgium*, 255-258.

²⁰ Henry Crabb Robinson, *Diary, Reminiscences, and Correspondence of Henry Crabb Robinson*, Thomas Sadler, ed. (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Co., 1898), 319; Robert Bell, *Wayside Pictures Through France, Belgium, and Holland* (London: Richard Bentley, 1849), 410; A Visit to Waterloo, *The Pocket Magazine*, II: 126.

²¹ John Murray, *A Hand-Book for Travellers on the Continent* (London: John Murray, 1836), 143.

²² Benjamin Silliman, *A Visit to Europe in 1851* (New York: G. P. Putnam & Co., 1854), II:359.

²³ Simpson, *A Visit to Flanders*, 63-64.

²⁴ John Ashton, *Rough Notes of a Visit to Belgium, Sedan, and Paris in September 1870-71* (London: Henry S. King & Co., 1873), 15.

the village continued its trade, and many tourists were delighted to take coffee or a meal in the same building where Wellington wrote his Waterloo dispatch.²⁵

Waterloo’s village church became another focal point for visitors. The church was described as “elegant, with a handsome dome,” and was, thanks to its height, often the first glimpse of the village that travelers had.²⁶ Its main attraction to tourists, however, was not its picturesque aspect or exterior, but the “marble tablets to the memory of those who fell in the contest.”²⁷ These varied in nature, some marked individual deaths while others recorded all the officers of that regiment who fell.²⁸ More and more of these were erected over time, or replaced as the damp and wear obliterated the names carved into them.²⁹ The majority of the markers were dedicated to British officers, but some accounts also mention Dutch, German, and French memorials.³⁰ Having been presented with the first physical evidence of the horrors of the battle in the form of these monuments, tourists then continued on to the actual field of battle, either on foot or once again in their carriages.³¹

Reactions to the field of battle, as with Waterloo village, changed over time. Those who arrived soon after June 18, 1815 were greeted by “fields then laid waste... the ground trampled on, and black with thousands of military hats and caps scattered about, and cut in pieces, appearing at a distance like a herd of crows in pursuit of carrion... bones, and flesh of horses, the dead half-buried,” or, shortly after,

²⁵ Zachariah Allen, *Sketches of the State of the Useful Arts and of Society, scenery, in Great-Britain, France and Holland. Or, The Practical Tourist* (Boston: Carter, Hendee & Co. 1833), II: 182; Robinson, *Diary, Reminiscences, and Correspondence*, 319; Hills, *Sketches in Flanders and Holland*, 79; John Scott, *Journal of a Tour to Waterloo and Paris, in Company with Sir Walter Scott in 1815* (London: Saunders and Otley, 1842), 44.

²⁶ Bradshaw, *Bradshaw’s Illustrated Hand-Book for Belgium and the Rhine*, 41; Pennington, *A Journey into Various Parts of Europe*, II: 581-582; Hills, *Sketches in Flanders and Holland*, 79.

²⁷ Bradshaw, *Bradshaw’s Illustrated Hand-Book for Belgium and the Rhine*, 41.

²⁸ Silliman, *A Visit to Europe*, II: 364-365; Thackeray, *Little Travels and Roadside Sketches*, 334; Robinson, *Diary, Reminiscences, and Correspondence*, 319-320.

²⁹ *A Visit to Waterloo, The Pocket Magazine*, II: 130.

³⁰ Bell, *Wayside Pictures*, 410; Sala, *Waterloo to the Peninsula*, I:14.

³¹ Scott, *Journal of a Tour to Waterloo and Paris*, 45; Sala, *Waterloo to the Peninsula*, I:18; Simpson, *A Visit to Flanders*, 65.

“a long line of immense fresh-made graves.”³² Within two months, most of the discarded materiel of war had been cleaned up, but there were still indications of what had occurred. Henry Crabb Robinson visited on August 14, 1815, and noted that there were still “arms of trees hanging down, shattered by cannonballs, and not yet cut off. And there were ruined and burnt cottages in many places, and marks of bullets and balls on both houses and trees.”³³ By the end of the decade, however, the battlefield had changed. William Rae Wilson, who visited only a few days after the battle and again in the 1820s, “could not fail to remark the contrast between its appearance then and at present.” Where before had been a “field of blood,” was now one of “silent tranquility... most of the fields were covered with crops, and the husbandman was moving along slowly with the plough.”³⁴ There were still signs if one knew where to look. Zachariah Allen spotted skulls still on the field in 1833, and the crops presented their own memorial: “the fertility of the ground on which the battle was fought increased greatly for several years after it took place. No where were richer crops produced in the whole of Belgium, and the corn is said to have waved thickest, and to have been of a darker colour, over those spots where the dead were interred, so that in spring it was possible to discover them by this mark alone.”³⁵ By the next decade, however, even those marks had faded. “There is nothing left of Waterloo,” lamented Robert Bell in 1849, “you will see nothing in the whole outspread scene but a monotonous, dead level, hardly relieved by an undulation, and dotted only at great intervals with a few trees that have a heart-broken air of funereal loneliness.”³⁶

³² William Rae Wilson, *Travels in Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Hanover, Germany, Netherlands, &c.* (London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, and Green, 1826), 533-6; Eaton, *Narrative of a Residence in Belgium*, 262-263.

³³ Robinson, *Diary, Reminiscences, and Correspondence*, 319.

³⁴ Wilson, *Travels*, 533-535.

³⁵ Allen, *Sketches of the State of the Useful Arts*, II:184-5; John Murray, *Murray's Handbook for Belgium and the Rhine* (London: John Murray, 1852), 80. This last may be apocryphal. One visitor in 1870 reported that “the extra fertility it is said to have manifested after the burial of the dead, and the darker spots, real or imaginary, in the corn in those places where the bodies lay thickest—an idea which our great novelist adopted in his 'Battle of Life'—must long ago have faded out.” Ashton, *Rough Notes of a Visit to Belgium*, 168-169.

³⁶ Bell, *Wayside Pictures*, 405-406.

One of the few exceptions to this monotony was the Chateau of Hougoumont, which anchored the changing battlefield to its history just as diligently as it had once anchored the Allied right. As such, it quickly became a focus of the tour of the field. “The most interesting part of the field,” reported one account, “is the Chateau de Huguemont,” presenting “the most evident traces of the effects of war.”³⁷ Hougoumont had been at the center of extremely heavy fighting during the battle and its dilapidated appearance was preserved. For British tourists, this added to its charm. Not only did the ruins of Hougoumont stand as testament to the brutal nature of the battle and thus the greatness of the Allied victory, but it also appealed to the Victorian mania for ruins in general, bringing Waterloo in line with great classical victories like Marathon.³⁸ Additionally, Hougoumont allowed tourists to leave their mark on Waterloo. It became customary to write your name on the walls of the chateau’s chapel, a practice encouraged by the fact that a visitor could find the signatures of Byron, Southey, and Wordsworth mixed in with “millions of names, addresses, and dates in every known language”³⁹ George Sala reported that the chapel walls were freshly whitewashed every five years “but six months afterwards the walls are covered again with names as thick as peas,” with some more creative tourists attaching charcoal or pencils to walking sticks or parasols, or mounting ladders borrowed from local farmers, to sign their names up to fifteen feet up the walls.⁴⁰ From Hougoumont, tourists usually returned to their carriages and either dined in Waterloo, the inn at La Belle Alliance on the French side of the valley (and where, per legend and local inscriptions, Wellington and Blücher met), or journeyed back to Brussels

³⁷ A Visit to Waterloo, *The Pocket Magazine*, II: 128-129; Allen, *Sketches of the State of the Useful Arts*, II:187-188.

³⁸ Ashton, *Rough Notes of a Visit to Belgium*, 16-18; Bell, *Wayside Pictures*, 405; George Gordon Byron, “Childe Harold’s Pilgrimage,” in *The Poetical Works of Lord Byron* (Boston: James R. Osgood and Co., 1874), IV:167n. See also Semmel, “Reading the Tangible Past;” Francois, “The Best Way to See Waterloo”; A. V. Seaton, “War and Thanatourism: Waterloo 1815-1914,” *Annals of Tourism Research* 26:1 (1999): 130-158.

³⁹ Sala, *Waterloo to the Peninsula*, I:22; A Visit to Waterloo, *The Pocket Magazine*, II: 128-129; Murray, *A Hand-Book for Travellers on the Continent*, 147; Bell, *Wayside Pictures*, 412-413.

⁴⁰ Sala, *Waterloo to the Peninsula*, I:22.

itself for their evening meal, content that they had fulfilled their patriotic obligations and “done” Waterloo.⁴¹

It is worth noting how much, for all their speed of arrival, the itinerary of those first tourists described by Alexander Cavalié Mercer matched what would become the standard. They arrived from Brussels along the same road through the Soignes forest (which must have been an unpleasant drive, considering the amount of baggage and wounded going the other way), passed inevitably through Waterloo village, arrived on the field, examined it briefly, and then made a beeline for the Chateau of Hougoumont.⁴² The only thing that would have been lacking were services that catered for the tourist traffic, which would arrive soon after those first tourists.

Scott, Byron, and Murray

Four works are worth discussing in greater detail, as they shaped both the anticipation of the journey to Waterloo and the experience itself. Two are poems, one is a travel narrative, and the fourth is the most popular guidebook of the day. Waterloo attracted its fair share of celebrity guests, and two produced narratives which became a part of the battlefield tourism experience. In late July of 1815, Walter Scott embarked on a trip to the continent to visit the battlefield and the allied armies stationed in Paris. Scott was the first celebrity to visit the battlefield, and his trip eventually produced three works: His anonymous epistolary work *Paul's Letters to his Kinsfolk*, published in 1816; John Scott's *Journal of a Tour to Waterloo and Paris, in Company with Sir Walter Scott in 1815*, published after John Scott's death in 1842; and the purported purpose of the trip, “The Field of Waterloo,” an epic poem published under his own name in 1815. “The Field of Waterloo” was eagerly anticipated, and the *Caledonian Mercury*

⁴¹ Bradshaw, *Bradshaw's Illustrated Hand-Book for Belgium and the Rhine*, 43-44; Rajah Ram Chuttraputtee, *Diary of the Late Rajah of Kolhapoor*, Edward W. West, ed. (London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1872), 78. See section on British obligations to Waterloo, below.

⁴² Mercer, *Journal of the Waterloo Campaign*, I:345-346.

carried the announcement of its forthcoming publication before Scott had even left Britain, and well before a single word of it had been written.⁴³ The buzz for the poem was further encouraged by the fact that Scott was donating his profits from the sales of the first edition to the Waterloo Fund. Scott was a proud supporter of the British military. His elder brother and son were both soldiers, and Scott himself, despite lameness from an early childhood bout with polio, was instrumental in the foundation of the Royal Edinburgh Volunteer Light Dragoons, a militia cavalry regiment (whose uniform he wore when he attended a dinner given in Paris by Lord Cathcart in honor of Czar Alexander I).⁴⁴

Paul's Letters to his Kinsfolk is made up of sixteen letters addressed to Paul's sister Margaret, two cousins, one named Peter and the other simply described as “The Major,” a friend referred to as “---, Esq., of -----,” and finally to a friend in the church. Scott uses these varied recipients to address different subjects. To Margaret, he writes of tourism, travel, and general interest; to Peter, continental politics; the Major and the Reverend, military and religious affairs, respectively; and Paul's friend -----, Esq., statistics. Waterloo is covered in letters VIII and IX (V-VII discuss Napoleon's advance into Belgium and the other battles of the Waterloo Campaign); the first to the Major and the second to Margaret. The letter to the Major, although it starts with a brief description of the journey from Brussels to the field, is, in fact, a well-written and relatively comprehensive narrative of the battle, complete with anecdotes. Scott is almost exclusively concerned with June 18, but does add a few details so that visitors to the battlefield can find locations and thus read his narrative in place.⁴⁵ Letter IX, to Margaret, is an account of visiting the battlefield. It touches on many of the traditional facets of narratives of Waterloo tourism, most notably relics and relic hunters, and Paul discusses his purchases and the differences in price between relics purchased on the field, in Brussels, and in Birmingham. Scott purchased his fair share of

⁴³ In the Press, *Caledonian Mercury*, July 31, 1815, issue 14609, p. 1.

⁴⁴ Paul O'Keeffe, General Introduction to *Scott on Waterloo*, by *Walter Scott* (London: Vintage Books, 2015), 1-10.

⁴⁵ Walter Scott, *Paul's Letters to his Kinsfolk*, in *Scott on Waterloo*, 103-137.

relics from the field, but the one he (through his avatar Paul) was most fascinated by was a manuscript collection of French songs, “stained by blood and clay.” It was the palpable authenticity and individuality of the papers that fascinated Scott (as the battlefield letters found by William Rae Wilson discussed later in the chapter fascinated him), and he fills the latter half of his letter to Margaret and its postscript with quoted ballads.⁴⁶

Scott’s “The Field of Waterloo” is an epic poem of twenty-three stanzas with an additional six stanza conclusion. Scott drew from his own experiences visiting the battlefield, and supplemented it with details obtained from his guides and various witnesses he met in Paris, including Wellington himself. The poem was finally published in October of 1815, and, despite great public anticipation, was widely lambasted by critics. *The Critical Review*, in a six-page excoriation, dismissed it as “absolutely the poorest, dullest, least interesting composition” Scott had yet produced, and noted his “obvious and incessant... alliterative imitation of Lord Byron.”⁴⁷ They dismissed the usefulness of the poem for educational purposes, noting that the official gazette was far more informative, and even negatively compared the poem’s style to Wellington’s “modest dispatches.”⁴⁸ Britain’s literati joined in *The Critical Review*’s drubbing, with Thomas, Baron Erskine penning perhaps the most damning condemnation:

On Waterloo's ensanguined plain
Lie tens of thousands of the slain;
But none, by sabre or by shot,
Fell half so flat as Walter Scott.⁴⁹

For Scott, fully aware of the vast suffering and loss of life endured by Waterloo’s “tens of thousands,” that quatrain must have cut particularly close to the bone. He redeemed his reputation somewhat by reminding his public that he was donating his share of the profits to the Waterloo Fund, but when the

⁴⁶ Walter Scott, *Paul's Letters to his Kinsfolk*, in *Scott on Waterloo*, 137-154.

⁴⁷ “Scott’s Field of Waterloo,” *The Critical Review* Series V: II: 5 (November, 1815): 459.

⁴⁸ “Scott’s Field of Waterloo,” *The Critical Review* Series V: II: 5 (November, 1815): 459.

⁴⁹ Thomas Erskine, quoted in John Lord Campbell, *The Lives of the Lord Chancellors and Keepers of the Great Seal of England* (Philadelphia: Blanchard and Lea, 1851), VI: 518.

British public looked to him as a battlefield guide, it was his anonymous *Paul's Letters to his Kinsfolk* that they chose, not his signed epic poem.

Following on Walter Scott's heels in May 1816, Lord Byron visited Waterloo on his way to summer with Percy Shelley in Switzerland and included his thoughts on the battle and the field in the third canto of his *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*. Scott and Byron shared a sympathy for those who had fallen in the battle, but from there, their views diverge quite strikingly. Scott was a lifelong Tory and a general supporter of the British army and its goals. Byron, by contrast, was a vocal supporter of Napoleon, and viewed the third canto of *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage* as an opportunity to respond to the celebratory poems of Scott and others. The choice to continue his epic work in this way is significant – it was *Childe Harold* that propelled Byron towards literary celebrity, and its third canto (which at this point had been awaited for four years) was sure to command a wide audience. Byron makes several deliberate choices to highlight his views. The most significant is that he does not mention the Duke of Wellington, although he does mention the Duke of Brunswick and his cousin, Frederick Howard, who both died in the battle. Byron's “coverage” of the battle is not focused on glory or the deeds of the many catapulted to fame by the conflict, but on those who fell. “Stop!” declares the poet, quoting the Roman satirist Juvenal, “for thy tread is on Empire's dust.” He takes the opportunity of the Duchess of Richmond's ball, held in Brussels on the evening of June 15, to highlight the contrast between the joys of living and the sudden descent into death:

Last noon beheld them full of lusty life,
Last eve in Beauty's circle proudly gay,
The midnight brought the signal sound of strife,
The morn the marshalling in arms, – the day
Battle's magnificent stern array!
The thunder-clouds close o'er it, which when rent
The earth is cover'd thick with other clay,
Which her own clay shall cover, heap'd and pent,
Rider and horse, – friend, foe, – in one red burial blent.

For all his contrarian viewpoint, however, Byron still adheres to some of the standard tropes of visiting and describing Waterloo. He mentions the Soignes forest (although he folds it into the larger Ardennes forest) waving above the allied troops “her green leaves, / Dewy with nature’s tear-drops as they pass, / Grieving, if aught inanimate e’er grieves, / Over the unreturning brave, – alas!” He also comments on the lack of discernable features and monuments on the field, noting that “no colossal bust / Nor column trophied for triumphal show” mark the battle. Where he does differ from many is that he feels this is appropriate; “the moral’s truth tells simpler so, / As the ground was before, thus let it be.” The stanzas of *Childe Harold* that concern Waterloo are not as rabidly pro-Napoleon as some other chroniclers (although he does refer to the field as “the grave of France”), but instead give off a resigned bitterness concerning what the battle achieved for all its terrible losses. This is best summed up by the end of stanza 17, where Byron questions whether the only beneficial thing to come out of Waterloo was an increased wheat crop: “How that red rain hath made the harvest grow! / And is this all the world has gained by thee, / Thou first and last of fields! king-making Victory?” This is a theme he would return to years later in *Don Juan* when, while addressing the Duke of Wellington directly, he demanded “And I shall be delighted to learn who, / Save you and yours, have gained by Waterloo.”⁵⁰

For all that Byron sympathized with the French and Napoleon, his work became one of the standards to read before visiting Waterloo and even to refer to him while visiting. One guidebook, written by a veteran of the battle, acknowledged that Byron’s romanticism might not be for everyone

⁵⁰ George Gordon Byron, *Childe Harold’s Pilgrimage: A Romant* (Philadelphia: W. A. Leary & Co., 1852), canto 3: stanzas 17-31, 103-108; George Gordon Byron, *Don Juan* (London: C. Daly, 1852), canto 9: stanza 4, 249; for an example of a pro-Napoleon view of Waterloo, see Orlando Williams Wight, *Peoples and Countries Visited in a Winding Journey Around the World* (Detroit: Raynor & Taylor, 1888), 396; for more on Byron and Waterloo, see Philip Shaw, *Waterloo and the Romantic Imagination* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), 165-191; Semmel, “Reading the Tangible Past.”

and recommended that “the more staid traveler” consult Scott, while leaving Byron to young lady visitors.⁵¹

The other work that was carried regularly on visits to the battlefield is the final book worth discussing in slightly more detail, John Murray’s *A Hand-Book for Travellers on the Continent*. John Murray III, the well-known London publisher, first produced his *Hand-Book* in 1836 to address “the want of any tolerable English Guide Book for Europe north of the Alps.” It was organized by region and by city “hubs” within those regions, as well as by various routes between those hubs. From the beginning, Waterloo was included as a part of Route 25, which outlined the journey from Brussels to Aix La Chapelle, via Waterloo, Namur, Liege, and Spa. The description of Waterloo – both the village and the field – fills some seven pages, and includes a map of the battle. The coverage is detailed and written in a clear manner, and landmarks are numbered so they can be found on the accompanying map. The *Hand-Book* quotes extensively from other sources, most notably Byron and Southey, as well as several travel narratives. In structure and order, it closely resembles the traditional layout. It starts with Soignes forest, before discussing the village and the church, the field, La Haye Sainte, La Belle Alliance, and finally, Hougoumont. This further cemented that order as the “correct” order to narrate a visit to Waterloo.⁵²

Murray’s *Hand-Book* became so popular it became the basis for a franchise, with guides being produced for London and a variety of British counties, all the way out to India, Burma, and Ceylon. Waterloo continued to be included in reprints of *A Hand-Book for Travellers on the Continent*, as well as *Murray’s Handbook for Belgium and the Rhine*. John Ashton, who visited Waterloo with a party of strangers, recounted that one of the group was “a spinster of mature years, wearing spectacles and

⁵¹ Henry R. Addison, *A Rough Sketch of the Field at Waterloo* (Brussels: Belgian Company of Booksellers, 1842), 10-11.

⁵² John Murray, *A Hand-Book for Travellers on the Continent: Being a Guide Through Holland, Belgium, Prussia, and Northern Germany, and Along the Rhine, from Holland to Switzerland* (London: John Murray and Son, 1838).

carrying a large guide book, to which she was constantly referring,” who, when their guide was showing around the battlefield, was “constantly checking him off by Murray.”⁵³ William Makepeace Thackeray heartily endorsed the *Hand-Book* in his *Little Travels and Road-Side Sketches*, stating the delight and instruction he had obtained from “my guide, philosopher, and friend,” and noting that “every English party I saw had this infallible red book in their hands, and gained a vast deal of historical and general information from it.”⁵⁴

Relics & Collecting

All the guides and travel narratives of Waterloo discussed the profusion of relics and the industries that grew up around them. These can loosely be divided into two types: visitation and collection, and each is worth exploring. Visitation relics are relics located on sight that were visited rather than purchased. In this, they closely resemble saints’ relics from the Roman Catholic tradition, and indeed, form a crucial part of the similarities between secular British pilgrimage to Waterloo and religious Catholic pilgrimage to the major religious centers of Europe. As with saints’ relics, the visitation relics of Waterloo were linked with individuals, in this case, the Duke of Wellington, Sir Thomas Picton, and the Marquess of Anglesey.

The Duke of Wellington and Sir Thomas Picton’s relics were not of their bodies (although Picton paid the highest price with his), but were trees permanently associated with them. The Wellington Tree was an elm, positioned on the British ridge near where the Namur road crossed a country lane, where, according to several accounts of the battle, Wellington oversaw the beginning of his triumph. Despite several other accounts arguing that the Duke had too much tactical sense to place himself out in the open, the tree, and the spot, had become associated with Wellington. Whether or not Wellington took

⁵³ Ashton, *Rough Notes of a Visit to Belgium*, 14-18.

⁵⁴ Thackeray, *Little Travels and Roadside Sketches*, 333; *Hand-Book for Travellers on the Continent*, 151-158.

advantage of its shade on June 18, the tree was an ideal location for tourists to survey the battlefield from the first time. Because of its location on the side of the main road, it was also one of the first landmarks that visitors encountered when they arrived on the field from Waterloo village, and was thus often used as a reference point. The site of the tree and its position on the Allied ridge is the first point in Murray’s *Hand-Book* to be identified by number on the map.⁵⁵

The Picton Tree was located relatively close to the Wellington Tree, and served the same purpose for Sir Thomas Picton, commander of the 5th Division, as the Wellington Tree did for his superior officer.⁵⁶ Picton was the most senior allied officer to die at Waterloo, and did so in a heroic manner – struck in the temple by a musket ball while leading his division’s bayonet charge – which raised interest in him and his tree. His appearance at Waterloo also bolstered his posthumous reputation: thanks to lost baggage, he commanded his division in civilian clothes and a top hat.⁵⁷

⁵⁵ *Hand-Book for Travellers on the Continent*, 153-154; Thorold, *Letters from Brussels in the Summer of 1835*, 276-279; Barnum, *Life of P. T. Barnum*, 243-244.

⁵⁶ Dyke, *Travelling Mems*, I:11-12.

⁵⁷ Robert Havard, “Picton, Sir Thomas (1758–1815),” *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/22219>.



Figure 2.2: The Wellington Tree – Sketched on the Field of Waterloo, The Wellington Tree on the Field of Waterloo, *The Illustrated London News*, November 27, 1852, 469.

Neither the Wellington Tree nor the Picton Tree were well-treated. The Wellington Tree was “mutilated and stripped by relic hunters” and “carried off piece-meal” (Figure 2.2).⁵⁸ Before what was left was cut down and sold to John George Children, a former militia officer and Librarian of the British Museum, who happened to be on the battlefield the day the farmer was removing it.⁵⁹ Children

⁵⁸ *Hand-Book for Travellers on the Continent*, 154; Wilson, *Travels*, 533n.

⁵⁹ “The Lion of Waterloo,” *The Mirror of Literature, Amusement, and Instruction*, November 25, 1826, No. 224, P. 321; *Hand-Book for Travellers on the Continent*, 154; Anna Atkins, *Memoir of J. G. Children, Esq.* (London: John Bowyer Nichols and Sons, 1853), 193-194.

commissioned Thomas Chippendale Jr. to make two chairs from the wood, one for the Prince Regent and one for himself (which he later gifted to Wellington), as well as several other keepsakes.⁶⁰ The popular rumor that he had “transferred [the Wellington Tree] to his own garden in England” so incensed Children that he wrote a letter in his own defense to *The Times* arguing that the farmer was going to cut the tree down anyway, as the relic hunters had killed it, and were trampling so much of his corn crop in their effort to get to it, “that the produce of half an acre of land was annually lost in consequence.”⁶¹ Unworked pieces of, “arbor Vellingtoniensis,” as the *Royal Cornwall Gazette* christened it, were valued as relics, but the wood was also “hacked and twisted... into toothpicks and snuff-boxes” and “different devices,” to be “retained as a memorial of the battle.”⁶² The Picton Tree did not even receive the mixed blessing of being purchased. It was cut down by the farmer on whose land it was planted, who left it by his doorway, “where every person who feels inclined hews off a portion.” Thomas Dyke, who visited the battlefield in 1832, admitted that “As a part of the army of spoilers, we brought away small pieces of it as memorials” before providing the following sad epitaph: “In a few years the misshapen remnant will entirely disappear.”⁶³ Even after the trees had been removed, guidebooks and visitor’s accounts continued to use the spot where the Wellington Tree had stood as a landmark to orient visitors to the battlefield, and usually commented in passing on the sad story of the fate of the tree.⁶⁴

⁶⁰ Geoffrey de Ballaigue, “The Waterloo Elm,” *Furniture History* 14 (1978):14-18; *Berrow’s Worcester Journal*, November 24, 1825; *Friday’s Post, The Ipswich Journal*, November 26, 1825; Miscellaneous, *Royal Cornwall Gazette, Falmouth Packet & Plymouth Journal*, November 26, 1825.

⁶¹ The letter was never sent. John George Children to the Editor of *The Times*, September 30, 1818, reproduced in Atkins, *Memoir of J. G. Children*, 193-194; “The Lion of Waterloo,” *The Mirror of Literature, Amusement, and Instruction*, November 25, 1826, No. 224, P. 321; *Friday’s Post, The Ipswich Journal*, November 26, 1825.

⁶² Miscellaneous, *Royal Cornwall Gazette, Falmouth Packet & Plymouth Journal*, November 26, 1825; Dyke, *Travelling Mems*, I:11-12; Wilson, *Travels*, 533n.

⁶³ Bell, *Wayside Pictures*, 411-413; Dyke, *Travelling Mems*, I:11-12.

⁶⁴ “The Lion of Waterloo,” *The Mirror of Literature, Amusement, and Instruction*, November 25, 1826, No. 224, P. 321; *Hand-Book for Travellers on the Continent*, 154; Wilson, *Travels*, 533n; Dyke, *Travelling Mems*, I:11-12; Thorold, *Letters from Brussels in the Summer of 1835*, 276-279.

The final visitation relic worth discussing in detail is the Marquess of Anglesey’s leg. Anglesey, then known as the Earl of Uxbridge, commanded the Allied cavalry at Waterloo, and led the charge of the heavy cavalry (comprising the Household Brigade and the Union Brigade), which routed the French I Corps, captured the Eagle of the *45^{ème} ligne*, and was later immortalized in part by Elizabeth Thompson’s 1881 painting *Scotland Forever!*. One of the last cannonballs fired by the French guns in the battle shattered his right knee, and his leg was amputated several hours after the battle.⁶⁵ Uxbridge was made the Marquess of Anglesey a few weeks after the battle, and served in various government positions, including Master-General of the Ordnance and Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, until his death in 1854.⁶⁶ His leg, however, much in the manner of numerous Catholic saints, had a longer career than he did. Having been amputated at the House of M. Paris, 214, Chaussée de Bruxelles, Paris buried the leg in his garden “decorously within a coffin, under a weeping willow,” and “placed over it a handsome tomb” bearing the following inscription:

Here lies the Leg of the illustrious and valiant Earl Uxbridge, Lieutenant-General of His Britannic Majesty, Commander in Chief of the English, Belgian and Dutch cavalry, wounded on the 18 June 1815 at the memorable battle of Waterloo, who, by his heroism, assisted in the triumph of the cause of mankind, gloriously decided by the resounding victory of the said day.⁶⁷

214, Chaussée de Bruxelles was located opposite the church in the village of Waterloo, and so became a must-see stop on the Waterloo tour, traditionally directly after visiting the church. Visitors witnessed the room and bloody chair where the leg was amputated, the gravesite, and were shown a boot that, it was claimed, the leg had been wearing when it was amputated. The house (and perforce the leg) remained in the Paris family, and by 1849, when Robert Bell visited, he was shown around by a “coarse

⁶⁵ According to military legend, Uxbridge was riding next to Wellington when it occurred. “By God, sir, I’ve lost my leg!” he exclaimed, at which point Wellington supposedly glanced away from the telescope he was using to survey his victory and replied “By God, sir, so you have!” (George Charles Henry Victor Paget Anglesey, *One-Leg: The Life and Letters of Henry William Paget, First Marquess of Anglesey* (New York: Morrow, 1961), 149).

⁶⁶ He walked using the first articulated artificial limb ever realized. (Anglesey, ‘Paget, Henry William, first Marquess of Anglesey (1768–1854)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/21112>.)

⁶⁷ *Hand-Book for Travellers on the Continent*, 152; “The Marquis of Anglesea’s Leg,” *The Morning Chronicle*, August 19, 1817; “Marquis of Anglesey’s Leg,” *Notes And Queries*, 3rd Series, II, September 27, 1862), 249.

Titaneque woman” who related “extravagant legends of both leg and boot, for the delectation of the *gobe-mouche* English who flock here in crowds to visit them.”⁶⁸ It was likely the same woman who was described by P. T. Barnum when he visited six years later, and who, upon his request, sold both him and his travelling companion, Sherwood Stratton, strips of the “original boot” roughly three inches long by one inch wide for a couple of francs. Her willingness to mutilate this historical relic “without hesitation” must lead us to the same conclusion that it led Barnum to, that “this must have been about the 99,867th boot that had been cut up as the ‘Simon pure’ since 1815.”⁶⁹

It was not just average tourists who visited the Marquess’ leg. In 1821, while on a continental tour, George IV visited Waterloo, with Wellington himself acting as his tour guide. The King remained quiet and subdued throughout, neither asking his tour guide any questions nor giving any sign that the battlefield affected him in any way, until Wellington led him to the small garden behind 214, where, upon sighting the monument to Anglesey’s leg, “he burst into tears.”⁷⁰ A few years after this visit, George IV’s example was followed by the King and Princess of Prussia, although there is no record whether they joined their tears to His Britannic Majesty’s.

Not everyone was as taken with the leg as George IV. Murray’s *Hand-Book* noted “the absurdity of the thing,” and Robert Bell declared it a “strange union of the ludicrous and the tragical. It was a thought worthy of Cervantes to build a tomb to the glory of the Marquis of Anglesey’s leg.”⁷¹ The periodical *Notes and Queries* recorded that beneath the grand epitaph quoted above, someone had added the addendum “Here lies the Marquis of Anglesey’s limb; / The Devil will have the remainder of him.”⁷² Thackeray, in his *Little Travels and Roadside Sketches*, took the opportunity to point out the

⁶⁸ Bell, *Wayside Pictures*, 411.

⁶⁹ Barnum, *Life of P. T. Barnum*, 242.

⁷⁰ Philip Guedalla, *Wellington* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1931), 330; Christopher Hibbert, *George IV: Regent and King, 1811-1830* (London: Allen Lane, 1973), 229; Dalrymple, *The Economist’s New Brussels Guide*, 121.

⁷¹ *Hand-Book for Travellers on the Continent*, 152; Bell, *Wayside Pictures*, 410-411.

⁷² “Marquis of Anglesey’s Leg,” *Notes And Queries*, 3rd Series, II, September 27, 1862), 249.

inherent classism in Britain’s commemoration of the battle. Describing Waterloo church, the author wondered “why was not every private man’s name written upon the stones in Waterloo Church as well as every officer’s?... if the officers deserved a stone, the men did. But come, let us away to drop a tear over the Marquis of Anglesea’s leg!”⁷³

While the visitation relics were “must-see” items, it was the collection relics that provided the visitor with both a tangible link to the battlefield and the social cachet at home of having been there. Collection relics took a remarkable variety of forms, and ranged from objects so ordinary that it was only their origin that made them special to frankly gruesome memento mori. The Wellington and Picton trees, and the boots of the Marquess of Anglesey are all worth mentioning again here, as they were visitation relics that became collection relics. They are also fine examples of ordinary objects that became noteworthy because of their origin. The scrap of leather that Barnum purchased or the piece of the Picton tree that Dyke cut off, were, in and of themselves, merely a scrap of leather and a scrap of wood, but because of their origins, like splinters sold as pieces of the “true” cross, they were prized as relics. Heman Humphrey, the president of Amherst College who visited Europe in 1835, brought away, as his only relic of the field, “a piece of charcoal from the ruins of the farm house of Hugomont.”⁷⁴ The chateau’s chapel provided perhaps the most sacrilegious of the relics – the hands, feet, and nose from a statue of the Virgin Mary, along with the body of the infant Christ she once held.⁷⁵ The farm was also the source of some of Waterloo’s least obvious relics; In addition to the charcoal, visitors would collect oats

⁷³ Thackeray, *Little Travels and Roadside Sketches*, XVI: 336. Anglesey’s leg was not the only military limb to be treated in such a manner. The arm of Confederate general Thomas “Stonewall” Jackson took on a similar hint of the reliquary. See Robert Krick, “The Mortal Wounding of Stonewall Jackson” in *Chancellorsville: The Battle and Its Aftermath*, ed. Gary Gallagher (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996); James Robertson, *Stonewall Jackson: The Man, the Soldier, the Legend* (New York: Macmillan, 1997); Wallace Hettle, *Inventing Stonewall Jackson: A Civil War Hero in History and Memory* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2011). For battlefield tourism and relics in the American context, see Thomas A. Chambers, *Memories of War: Visiting Battlefields and Bonefields in the Early American Republic* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2012); Joan E. Cashin, Ed., *War Matters: Material Culture in the Civil War Era* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2018).

⁷⁴ Heman Humphrey, *Great Britain, France, and Belgium* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1838), 2:337-338.

⁷⁵ Sala, *Waterloo to the Peninsula*, I:21.

from the chateau’s fields, or be sold sticks from its wood as mementos.⁷⁶ As mentioned above, Hougoumont also allowed for performance tourism, in the form of visitors signing their names on the whitewashed walls of the chapel, and this led to the collecting not of a relic of the battle of Waterloo, but a relic of the tourism that the battle produced. Visiting the chapel, the anonymous author of a report in *The Pocket Magazine of Classic and Polite Literature* “anxiously sought for [the signature] of Lord Byron, whose stanzas alone were enough to make Waterloo immortal; and the guide pointed out to me an excavation in the stone where it had been, but from whence some selfish and unfeeling Englishman had removed it!”⁷⁷ Robert Bell encountered the same gap, and declared it “an act of sacrilege” akin to “the spoliation of the Elgin marbles.”⁷⁸

The nature of the relics that visitors carried away from Waterloo, and their experience in obtaining them, depended largely on when they visited the battlefield. Wilson visited the field on June 21st, 1815, three days after the battle had taken place, and recorded that the ground was “black with thousands of military hats and caps scattered about... [along with] masses of papers, books, cartouch-boxes, drum heads, figures of eagles, crucifixes, scabbards, sheaths of bayonets, torn clothes, shattered muskets, fragments of military dresses.”⁷⁹ Because of his prompt arrival, Wilson obtained several relics not available to later visitors, in the form of letters written to soldiers who perished on the field.⁸⁰ By the time Waterloo tourism became popular, the dead had been buried and vast majority of the detritus of war had been picked up. Some relics could still be found on the field by chance, especially smaller items exposed by farming practices. Dyke recorded that “bones, bullets, trappings, and various military ornaments meet the eye in every direction upon the newly-ploughed lands,” and that he and his

⁷⁶ Thackeray, *Little Travels and Roadside Sketches*, XVI: 336; Ashton, *Rough Notes of a Visit to Belgium*, 18.

⁷⁷ A Visit to Waterloo, *The Pocket Magazine*, II: 128-129.

⁷⁸ Bell, *Wayside Pictures*, 412-413.

⁷⁹ Wilson, *Travels*, 533-536.

⁸⁰ While he kept the letters, he did write to those who had written them to tell them the fate of the addressees. It was, in several cases, the first news they had heard of those individuals. Wilson, *Travels*, 533n.

companions “picked up several mementos.”⁸¹ As time went by, however, fewer relics were found by tourists on the battlefield, and visitors turned to the local relic hunters.

The relic hunters of Waterloo are another inevitable part of a visit to the battlefield, and are mentioned in almost every account. Murray’s *Hand-Book* called them “a set of harpies... a numerous horde who infest the spot,” while Humphrey noted “it is almost impossible to shake them off.”⁸² They became famous enough that Anne Katherine Elwood, when visiting Thebes, compared the souvenir sellers there to Waterloo’s, recording that the Elwoods had “scarcely... come to anchor, ere we were beset by wild-looking natives, offering necklaces, scarabaei, and other curiosities for sale, with the same eagerness with which the Waterloo people bring relics to travellers.”⁸³ Relics came in many forms, but the most common were metal military objects: brass eagles, cap badges, buckles from shoes, bags, and boxes, uniform buttons, and of course, spent bullets, cannon balls, and shell fragments.⁸⁴ While most sellers concentrated on these smaller items, larger finds were also available. The most popular of these were helmets and cuirasses, stripped from dead cavalymen, although pistols and sabers were also sold.⁸⁵ The inherently martial aspect of these items was often expanded on, as Zachariah Allen discovered when a young relic hunter, “supposing we were Englishmen, pressed us to purchase a six-pound cannon shot; and by way of enhancing the value of his merchandize, observed, as he held it out to us, that it had killed a Frenchman.”⁸⁶

⁸¹ Dyke, *Travelling Mems*, I:11-12.

⁸² *Hand-Book for Travellers on the Continent*, 151, 158; Humphrey, *Great Britain, France, and Belgium*, 2:337-338.

⁸³ Anne Katherine Elwood, *Narrative of a Journey Overland from England, By the Continent of Europe, Egypt, and the Red Sea, to India* (London: Henry Colburn and Richard Bentley, 1830), I:183

⁸⁴ Humphrey, *Great Britain, France, and Belgium*, 2:337-338; Allen, *Sketches of the State of the Useful Arts*, II:189; *Hand-Book for Travellers on the Continent*, 148-9;

⁸⁵ Robinson, *Diary, Reminiscences, and Correspondence*, 319; Hills, *Sketches in Flanders and Holland*, 97; Barnum, *Life of P. T. Barnum*, 243-244.

⁸⁶ Allen, *Sketches of the State of the Useful Arts*, II:189.

In addition to metallic and wooden souvenirs, a variety of more gristly relics emerged from the battlefield. The same plows that turned up buttons and cap badges also turned up bones and skulls, and many of these were collected by visitors or offered up for sale.⁸⁷ The fame of a person, if they could be identified, added to the lustre of such relics. Much as *HMS Victory's* surgeon, Dr. Beatty, kept the bullet that killed Admiral Lord Nelson and preserved it in a locket, so one of Picton's staff or his surgeon preserved the bullet that killed the general.⁸⁸ Sir Walter Scott, a great admirer of the prize fighter John Shaw, who died at Waterloo serving as a corporal in the 2nd Life Guards, had his body exhumed from its original resting place near La Haye Sainte and returned to Britain. He had the rest of the body buried, but kept Shaw's skull in his library at Abbotsford, where it remains to this day.⁸⁹ For others, however, the motivation was more personal. The widow of Captain George Holmes of the 27th (Inniskilling) Regiment of Foot clearly desired a true memento mori of her late husband, who had been shot in the back, the bullet damaging a vertebra on its way into his chest cavity. She had his body macerated (boiled), and the damaged vertebra and bullet removed. They were subsequently varnished, and she had the bullet coated in silver and the vertebra modified to include a small silver-gilt container, the lid of which was engraved with the word “Waterloo” inside a laurel wreath and a pile of weapons behind a drum, helmet, and trumpet.⁹⁰

One of the great ironies of the relic mania that emerged from Waterloo is that one of the most common sets of relics, which would have been fitting memento mori, were used for practical purposes rather than collecting or memorializing the battle. False teeth, made from teeth extracted from corpses

⁸⁷ *Hand-Book for Travellers on the Continent*, 158; Dyke, *Travelling Mems*, I:11-12; Bell, *Wayside Pictures*, 405-410.

⁸⁸ The Picton bullet now resides at the National Army Museum. The family of Dr. Beatty gifted the Nelson bullet and locket to Queen Victoria. Musket ball that killed Sir Thomas Picton, 1815, Battle gallery, National Army Museum, <https://collection.nam.ac.uk/detail.php?acc=1963-10-270-1>; The Nelson Bullet, 1805, The Royal Collection Trust, Windsor Castle, <https://www.royalcollection.org.uk/collection/61158/the-nelson-bullet>.

⁸⁹ Skull of Corporal John Shaw, 200 Objects of Waterloo, Waterloo 200, <http://waterloo200.org/200-object/cast-of-skull-of-corporal-john-shaw/>.

⁹⁰ Captain Holme's Vertebra, 200 Objects of Waterloo, Waterloo 200, <http://waterloo200.org/200-object/holmes-vertebra/>.

and then mounted in a base carved from ivory became popular in the eighteenth century, but with the turn of the nineteenth century, and especially with the 50,000 casualties of Waterloo, all located relatively close to Britain, they became even more popular. Rather than teeth taken from poor corpses that had died of old age and a variety of other maladies, teeth taken from battlefield casualties were extracted from young and fit men, whose demise, in most cases, did not impact the quality of their teeth. Zachariah Allen witnessed a skeleton uncovered by workmen during a visit to the battlefield in 1833. The workman “began diligently to extract the teeth, and immediately brought me a handful of them for sale. The guide observed to me that whilst the teeth were fresh and in good order, they formed a considerable article of trade to supply the English and French dentists.”⁹¹ Dentists across Britain, as well as in Europe, began to advertise dentures made from “Waterloo Teeth” or “Waterloo Ivory.” Henry Crabb Robinson, only just back from a trip to Waterloo himself, had a Waterloo tooth fitted by a dentist in Norwich in January 1816, and was promised by the dentist that the Waterloo tooth would “outlast twelve artificial teeth.”⁹² The appeal was not the cachet of the battlefield or the association with Britain’s glory, but the quality of the teeth. The teeth became so popular that the term became eponymous. Teeth taken from casualties of the Crimean War, or even imported from the US Civil War, were still advertised and sold as Waterloo Teeth.⁹³

Teeth were not the only items that sometimes held only a dubious connection to Waterloo. The demand for relics of all kinds inevitably led to the exhaustion of the items found on the battlefield, and

⁹¹ Allen, *Sketches of the State of the Useful Arts*, II:189.

⁹² Robinson, *Diary, Reminiscences, and Correspondence*, 327.

⁹³ Semmel, “Reading the Tangible Past,” 9; “Waterloo Teeth,” 200 Objects of Waterloo, Waterloo 200, <http://waterloo200.org/200-object/waterloo-teeth-1815-2/>. Teeth were not the only physical remains extracted from Waterloo used for a useful purpose, Sir Charles Bell, a military surgeon who treated wounded men on the field, took home a French soldier’s skull, sliced by saber cuts, and used it as a teaching aid for trainee surgeons in the various hospitals in which he served. Upper Skull, Surgeons’ Hall Museums, <https://museum.rcsed.ac.uk/the-collection/key-collections/key-object-page?objID=2719&page=5>; Skull Sliced by Sabre Cuts, 200 Objects of Waterloo, Waterloo 200, <http://waterloo200.org/200-object/skull-sliced-by-sabre-cuts/>.

thus a rise in the business of creating fake relics. Ann Thorold, who visited the battlefield in 1835, reported that the demand for buttons was so great that

there existed a manufactory at Liege to supply the numerous visitors with the wished-for prize, who, in the plenitude of their joy, liberally rewarded the vendor. This farce has had its day; and now, in offering a button, they remark to you, ‘This is a real one; the manufactured button has the eagle's head turned the other way.’ Ever ready to think ourselves the lucky wight, we walk on with a singularly contented countenance, inwardly resolving to detect the authenticity of the treasures of those friends who have previously visited the spot, when to our dismay another button is offered, with the eagle's head exactly in the opposite direction, the fellow swearing his the true, ours the manufacture; our dreams vanish, our pride sinks, but we pocket the button.⁹⁴

Several months after his own visit to Waterloo, P.T. Barnum made the same unfortunate discovery, when, on a visit to Birmingham, he “made the acquaintance of a firm who manufactured to order, and sent to Waterloo, barrels of ‘relics’ every year. At Waterloo these ‘relics’ are planted, and in due time dug up, and sold at large prices as precious remembrances of the great battle.” He noted sourly that his own purchased relics “looked rather cheap after this discovery.”⁹⁵ It may very well have been knowledge of the same firm and practice that led Thackeray to remark that the fields of Waterloo grew “not only oats, but flourishing crops of grape-shot, bayonets, and legion-of-honor crosses, in amazing profusion.”⁹⁶ The Waterloo guide books warned against such fakes. Murray’s *Hand-Book* cautioned travelers that “when the real articles fail, the vendors are at no loss to invent others, so that there is little fear of the supply being exhausted.”⁹⁷ The warnings often fell on deaf ears, however, as the desire to own a relic of the battlefield outweighed many visitor’s common sense. “If you have sufficient credulity,” noted Robert Bell, “you may imagine yourself standing here surrounded by associations which will put you back some four-and-thirty years of your life.”⁹⁸ The trade, and the flow of gullible tourists, continued, to the point where, some 55 years after the battle, John Ashton recorded that his

⁹⁴ Thorold, *Letters from Brussels in the Summer of 1835*, 279-280.

⁹⁵ Barnum, *Life of P. T. Barnum*, 248.

⁹⁶ Thackeray, *Little Travels and Roadside Sketches*, XVI: 336.

⁹⁷ *Hand-Book for Travellers on the Continent*, 158.

⁹⁸ Bell, *Wayside Pictures*, 405-410.

group “were assailed by the relic-vendors, who pressed us to buy the usual things... The guide books tell you these things are spurious, but a very cursory examination inclined us to the opinion that most of them are genuine.”⁹⁹

Crowds of relic hunters, all vying for attention and ingenious fakes, often “aged” with the genuine dirt of Waterloo were not the only inconveniences that British tourists faced on their visit to the field. Robert Hills, who visited the field shortly after the battle, had his carriage stopped on its return to Brussels “by sentinels, whose business it was to search for, and take away, any weapons or armour which might have been found therein.” These guards, Hills noted, were stationed at barricades right before the gates of Brussels, but did not, in any way, warn outgoing travelers that purchases made at the battlefield would be confiscated. Nor was Brussels the only place where this occurred, a friend of Hills’ had three cuirasses seized by customs officers at the port of Ostend.¹⁰⁰ The lack of other reports of this nature as tourism boomed seems to indicate that, once the majority of relics were minor items such as buttons, bullets, and shako and cap badges, and once fake relics replaced real ones, the authorities abandoned this search-and seizure policy and let the trade flourish. The brief existence of this policy, however, as well as the apparently deliberate way it was implemented so that local peasants still profited from the trade, even when the items ended up in the hands of the authorities, brings us to the final question worth considering in this chapter: the question of international ownership.

The Second Battle of Waterloo

Every nation that fought at Waterloo could claim some ownership of the battle, whether it be in the form of collective memory or more directly via the bodies of their soldiers buried in the mass graves

⁹⁹ Ashton, *Rough Notes of a Visit to Belgium*, 15. Relic hunters were not the only people trying to take advantage of tourists. In 1817, a junior officer used his service at Waterloo to endear himself to a group of British tourists travelling to Brussels before selling one of them a forged bill on the British Linen Company and then robbing another of £100 and various accessories. Forgery and Swindling, *The Morning Post*, September 4, 1817.

¹⁰⁰ Hills, *Sketches in Flanders and Holland*, 101.

of the field.¹⁰¹ Beyond this general ownership, however, most allied nations made efforts to exert some further form of dominance over both the field itself and the battle’s memory. In the half century after Waterloo, the battle was refought countless times via monuments, paintings, visits, and the various histories and memoirs that are discussed in chapters I, III, and IV.

Of the allied nations, the Netherlands and later Belgium had the most compelling physical claim, as the battlefield lay entirely within their borders. This allowed Belgium, as this chapter has explored, to exchange the danger Napoleon’s army posed during the Hundred Days Campaign for a booming tourist industry, conferring the right to confiscate relics in the way Robert Hills and his acquaintances experienced. This led to the state being the primary collector of Waterloo relics, in contrast to Britain, where it was private collectors and regular tourists who fueled the interest. The Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam holds an extensive collection of Waterloo relics, many with much more detailed provenances than collectors in Britain encountered.¹⁰²

Much as Waterloo played a part in the British creation myth, so to was it adapted by the Netherlands as part of their national identity. This was particularly encouraged by King William I of the Netherlands, who sought to tie the glory of Waterloo to his son, William Frederick, then known as the Prince of Orange, and through him to the House of Orange.¹⁰³ The Prince of Orange commanded the I Allied Corps at Waterloo, and was the highest ranking allied officer to be wounded in the battle. The 1824 painting by Jan Willem Pieneman, discussed in chapter III, which features the Prince prominently,

¹⁰¹ Graves that were not separated by nationality or rank. Walter Harriman, *Travels and Observations in the Orient and a Hasty Flight in the Countries of Europe* (Boston: Lee and Shepard, 1883), 331-332.

¹⁰² Jolien Gitbels, “Tangible Memories: Waterloo Relics in the Nineteenth Century,” *The Rijksmuseum Bulletin* 63:3 (2015): 228-257.

¹⁰³ Several months after the battle, the suggestion that the Prince be granted a palace and lands “as a mark of national gratitude for his conduct in the battle of Waterloo” was “received with approbation by the Second Chamber of the States General.” *Caledonian Mercury*, January 1, 1816.

was one attempt by William I to commemorate his son’s actions.¹⁰⁴ That painting may have been slightly Dutch-centric, but it is relatively open in its depictions, and contains every nationality that fought at Waterloo (including several French prisoners) except the Prussians. William I’s second attempt to claim ownership, however, was not as generous with its shared glory.

Completed in 1826, the Lion’s Mound stands 140 feet high and boasts a circumference of roughly 1700 feet.¹⁰⁵ At its top is a stone pedestal on which stands an iron lion, the heraldic symbol of the Kingdom of the Netherlands, facing France with “a bold and triumphant look” and one paw on a globe.¹⁰⁶ The inscription simply reads “18th June, 1815.”¹⁰⁷ The mound, which took several hundred men and horses six years to complete, is centered on the point of the allied line where the Prince of Orange was wounded.¹⁰⁸ Despite the unspecified nature of the monument’s inscription, this location drew criticism, for, as one travelogue commented, “there is bad taste in thus seeking to glorify one particular wound amidst so many instances of devotedness to death.”¹⁰⁹ This criticism was made more legitimate by the fact that the mound contained the remains of several hundred soldiers of all nationalities, whose

¹⁰⁴ The Battle of Waterloo, Jan Pieneman, 200 Objects of Waterloo, Waterloo200, <http://waterloo200.org/200-object/jan-pieneman-wellington-and-staff-at-waterloo/> .

¹⁰⁵ A number of contemporary accounts place the height at 200 or 225 feet. “The Lion of Waterloo,” *The Mirror of Literature, Amusement, and Instruction*, November 25, 1826, No. 224, P. 321; Model for the Lion Mound Monument, 200 Objects of Waterloo, Waterloo 200, <http://waterloo200.org/200-object/model-for-the-lion-mound-monument/>; Henry Watkins Allen, *The Travels of a Sugar Planter, or, Six Months in Europe* (New York: John F. Trow, 1861), 118-9; Silliman, *A Visit to Europe*, II: 362; Thorold, *Letters from Brussels in the Summer of 1835*, 276-277.

¹⁰⁶ Allen, *Travels of a Sugar Planter*, 118-119.

¹⁰⁷ Contemporary accounts claim that the lion is cast out of captured French cannon. Silliman, *A Visit to Europe*, II: 362; Thorold, *Letters from Brussels in the Summer of 1835*, 276-277; Model for the Lion Mound Monument, 200 Objects of Waterloo, Waterloo200, <http://waterloo200.org/200-object/model-for-the-lion-mound-monument/>.

¹⁰⁸ Allen, *Sketches of the State of the Useful Arts*, II:188-189; Murray, *A Hand-Book for Travellers on the Continent*, 155; John M. Cobbett, *Letters from France* (London: Mills, Jowett, and Mills, 1825), 267-268.

¹⁰⁹ Mary Boddington, *Slight Reminiscences of the Rhine, Switzerland, and a Corner of Italy* (London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, Green, and Longman, 1834), I:30.

original graves were disturbed during the monuments construction, and who were now a part of the “watchtower of death” – a “great sepulchral mound” that seemed to honor only one wound.¹¹⁰

Despite the fact that the lion is also one of the heraldic symbols of the United Kingdom, there were numerous British objections to the Lion’s Mound. Of these, the most common was that the mound had significantly altered the topography of the battlefield. There was a breed of military man who would probably have liked to have preserved the battlefield entirely as it was (once the dead had been buried), as both a monument and an educational resource.¹¹¹ That was, of course, a pipe dream and the militaries involved had to accept the realities of continued agriculture, tourism, and collecting. The addition of a giant conical mound was another matter altogether, and was regarded as a “kind of sacrilege which they will not soon forget, nor forgive.”¹¹² The mound itself was not the only topographical sacrilege, however, for all that earth had to have come from somewhere, and the Dutch-Belgian workers had taken it from the allied ridge, “so as to reduce the most commanding point of Wellington’s position to dead level.”¹¹³ This completely changed the field, to the point where “until you are aware of this circumstance, the idea arises that from that spot the field of battle could not be distinctly surveyed.”¹¹⁴ Many viewed this change as a deliberate attempt by the Dutch to raise the Prince of Orange by diminishing Wellington, “the earth on which the hero [Wellington]’s foot rested, now contributes to a monument of victory too proud to be sullied by another’s tread.”¹¹⁵ The story that Wellington, upon visiting Waterloo after the erection of the mound exclaimed “they have spoilt my

¹¹⁰ Murray, *A Hand-Book for Travellers on the Continent*, 155; Silliman, *A Visit to Europe*, II: 362; Humphrey, *Great Britain, France, and Belgium*, 2:339; Sala, *Waterloo to the Peninsula*, I:13-14.

¹¹¹ Staff rides and battlefield tours remain a crucial part of the military education repertoire, with the Command and Staff Colleges of most countries organizing several per year.

¹¹² Humphrey, *Great Britain, France, and Belgium*, 2:338.

¹¹³ Humphrey, *Great Britain, France, and Belgium*, 2:338.

¹¹⁴ Thorold, *Letters from Brussels in the Summer of 1835*, 277.

¹¹⁵ Thorold, *Letters from Brussels in the Summer of 1835*, 277; Sala, *Waterloo to the Peninsula*, I:25.

battlefield” is apocryphal, but many who did visit the site lamented the Mound as “an ill imagined excrescence.”¹¹⁶

Not everyone objected to the Mound. Robert Macnish, a Scottish surgeon, declared that the pyramid was “exceedingly striking” and “partakes in no small degree of the sublime.”¹¹⁷ Thomas Dyke, even as he objected to the Mound’s topographical sacrilege, begrudgingly admitted that “as a work of art the monument is very fine.”¹¹⁸ For many, the very size of the Mound was its best feature. It was climbable by a spiraling road, later replaced by a more direct but challenging flight of steps. Braving those stairs, however, provided access to a “panorama of the whole view in a moment or two, without any embellishment from the imagination, or any vain flourishes of nationality.”¹¹⁹ Murray’s *Hand Book* declared the Mound “by far the best station for surveying the field,” and multiple accounts agree.¹²⁰ The view even redeemed the Mound in the eyes of some. Heman Humphrey, an American who visited Waterloo shortly after the Mound was completed admitted that his first instinct was to object to the Mound’s reshaping of the battlefield. When he climbed to the top, however, and saw “what a perfect map lies spread out before you the whole scene of action... I confess I was glad the pyramid had been raised, even at whatever expense of military taste.”¹²¹

For the Prussians, Waterloo was important, but the battle did not have the same towering importance that it did to the Dutch, the British, or even the French. The Napoleonic battle that was truly

¹¹⁶ Wellington, in fact, never visited the battlefield after the Mound’s construction. The anecdote likely originated in chapter seven of Victor Hugo’s *Les Miserables*. J. Paine, “Links with the Iron Duke,” *United Empire* 19:3 (March, 1928), 139; Boddington, *Slight Reminiscences*, 1:30. George Sala goes on for nearly a page about the mound’s and lion’s ugliness. Sala, *Waterloo to the Peninsula*, 1:24

¹¹⁷ D. M. Moir, *Tales, Essays, and Sketches, by the Late Robert Macnish, LL.D.* (London: Henry G. Bohn, 1844), II:452.

¹¹⁸ Dyke, *Travelling Mems*, 1:12-13.

¹¹⁹ Bell, *Wayside Pictures*, 407-408.

¹²⁰ Murray, *A Hand-Book for Travellers on the Continent*, 154-155; Silliman, *A Visit to Europe*, II: 362; Thorold, *Letters from Brussels in the Summer of 1835*, 278; Harriman, *Travels and Observations*, 331-332; Sala, *Waterloo to the Peninsula*, 1:23.

¹²¹ Humphrey, *Great Britain, France, and Belgium*, 2:338.

at the center of Prussian mythology is Leipzig, which dissolved the Confederation of the Rhine, permanently ended French control of Prussia, and thus consummated their War of Liberation.¹²² That did not mean, however, that the Prussians were apathetic about Waterloo. The Waterloo Church has its fair share of Prussian memorials, and the battlefield saw its fair share of Prussian visitors.¹²³ The Prussian priority when it came to Waterloo, however, can best be illustrated by their approach to naming the battle. When Wellington and Blücher finally met at the end of the day’s fighting, Blücher suggested naming the battle La Belle Alliance after the inn of the same name that anchored the French line. The name would have been a fitting one, as it would have permanently marked the alliance that brought down Napoleon.¹²⁴ Wellington demurred and, in dating his Dispatch from Waterloo, effectively guaranteed that the English-speaking world would remember the battle as Waterloo.¹²⁵ In Prussia, however, it remained La Belle Alliance, and Berlin boasted a *Belle-Alliance-Platz* from 1815 until 1947 in commemoration of the victory.¹²⁶ Prussia, as its name preference indicates, did not seek sole ownership of Waterloo, but did want partial ownership, and its efforts acknowledged. Prussian ownership claims, therefore, were largely aimed at pushing back against sole ownership claims by the other allies, especially Britain. George St. George, a British author who toured Belgium in 1835, nearly came to blows with a Prussian veteran officer on the battlefield who insisted that “Blücher was the hero of that sanguinary strife; and that it was owing to him alone that the British army escaped annihilation, and

¹²² See Michael Leggiere, *Napoleon and the Struggle for Germany: The Franco-Prussian War of 1813: Volume II The Defeat of Napoleon* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015); Christopher Clark, *Iron Kingdom: The Rise and Downfall of Prussia, 1600-1947* (Cambridge: Belknap Press, 2006).

¹²³ Sala, *Waterloo to the Peninsula*, I:14; A Visit to Waterloo, *The Pocket Magazine*, II: 129-130; Silliman, *A Visit to Europe*, II: 359-360.

¹²⁴ Popular legend has it the two Field Marshals met close to the inn.

¹²⁵ R. E. Foster, *Wellington and Waterloo: The Duke, The Battle and Posterity: 1815-2015* (Gloucestershire: Spellmount, 2014), 78-79; Walter Scott, *Paul’s Letters to his Kinsfolk*, in *Scott on Waterloo*, 133-134.

¹²⁶ In 1947 it was renamed *Mehringplatz* in honor of the publicist Franz Mehring.

their great commander disgrace and death.” St. George claimed that, but for the veteran’s advanced age, “for the honor and glory of old England, I would have tried it with him on the field of Waterloo.”¹²⁷

Ownership of Waterloo was different for the French than it was for the allied powers. The battlefield was as much a grave for them as it was for the allies, but the sorrow to be found there was not mitigated by association with a glorious victory. French visitors to the battlefield found themselves faced with monuments to the allied victory and loss of life, but no memorials to their soldiers. This was not because there was no French interest (public or private), but because, for several years after Waterloo, the French were not allowed to erect monuments on the battlefield.¹²⁸ The French responded to this ban in two ways. The first, as summed up by Victor Hugo, was to declare the entire area a monument: “There is no French tomb [at Waterloo],- for France, the whole plain is a sepulcher.”¹²⁹ The second approach, which was more proactive but was frowned upon by the authorities, was to vandalize the allied monuments, especially the Lion’s Mound. Reports on this vandalism vary in several details, but most agree that it was French soldiers crossing Waterloo either to get to the Belgian Revolution or returning from the Siege of Antwerp in the early 1830s that perpetrated the act.¹³⁰ According to some accounts, the French deployed artillery and attempted to slay the lion, but the shots only “wounded him [the lion] in the neck” or “[struck] off a few corners of the pedestal.”¹³¹ Other accounts report instead that French soldiers climbed the mound to mutilate the lion’s teeth and nails, or “broke his majesty’s tail

¹²⁷ George, *A Saunter in Belgium*, 366-367.

¹²⁸ Seaton, “War and Thanatourism,” 145. There are now a number of French monuments on or near the battlefield. They are still outnumbered, however, by the allied markers.

¹²⁹ Victor Hugo, *Les Misérables* (London: George Routledge and Sons, 1887), II:25. Waterloo Church does contain markers to French officers. Bell, *Wayside Pictures*, 410.

¹³⁰ There is also a chance that it was French-allied Belgians that committed the act. Belgium, *The Times*, June 23, 1831, p. 5.

¹³¹ According to one account, the wounds on the neck were still visible in 1840. Elizabeth J Knox to a relation, September 15, 1840 in Alice Elizabeth Knox Blake, *Memoirs of a Vanished Generation, 1813-1855* (London: John. Lane, 1909), 114; Dyke, *Travelling Mems*, I:12-13.

into three pieces.”¹³² The assertion by two visitors that a French soldier was apprehended in the act of attempting to blow up the entire statue, however, is likely the fabrication of a local guide.¹³³

On the 31st of July, 1815, James Simpson, a British lawyer, mounted the carriage he had hired in Brussels for the occasion and instructed his coachman to take him to Waterloo. “‘Oui, Monsieur l’Anglais’ [the coachman] answered, with a smack of whip and an emphasis, which shewed that he felt that conducting Englishmen *there*, was conducting them to their own proper domain.”¹³⁴ The coachman, in all likelihood originally from Brussels or the surrounding area, almost certainly felt no such thing, but did feel a fondness for the gold that flowed from British visitors drunk on national pride. For the British, however, Simpson’s statement would not have seemed strange at all: it summed up their feelings on the field perfectly. Waterloo may have been located in another country on the continent, but it was British blood that had soaked it and British arms that had won it. In their minds at least, it was the British who owned Waterloo.

The most obvious manifestation of this perceived ownership was the sheer number of British tourists that visited the battlefield. Although no official numbers were kept, several anecdotal sources seem to indicate that, at least up until the 1850s, the British were the most numerous visitors.¹³⁵ The British were also, as discussed above, the most likely to purchase relics, many of which, in later years, they had a legitimate claim to, as they were manufactured in Britain. This domination of the tourist trade was partially a result of one of the internal manifestations of British-perceived ownership: an

¹³² According to Murray, further vandalism was stopped by Marshal Étienne Gérard, who commanded the French troops in Belgium. Murray, *A Hand-Book for Travellers on the Continent*, 155; Allen, *Travels of a Sugar Planter*, 118-119; Addison, *A Rough Sketch of the Field at Waterloo*, 83-84.

¹³³ Sala records that the French soldiers threatened to blow it up, but never attempted to follow through. Sala, *Waterloo to the Peninsula*, I:24; Allen, *Travels of a Sugar Planter*, 118-119; Addison, *A Rough Sketch of the Field at Waterloo*, 83-84.

¹³⁴ Simpson, *A Visit to Flanders*, 60.

¹³⁵ In the 1850s, Americans seem to have become the prevalent tourists. Silliman, *A Visit to Europe*, II: 359-360; Ashton, *Rough Notes of a Visit to Belgium*, 13-14; Bradshaw, *Bradshaw’s Illustrated Hand-Book for Belgium and the Rhine*, 40.

obligation to visit. British tourists, visiting the continent, felt enormous pressure to visit Waterloo. It became the quintessential secular pilgrimage, and religious language was often employed to reinforce that idea. George Sala, as he departed Brussels for the field, remarked that he had “commenced the great English pilgrimage,” and noted that Waterloo Church, despite its Catholic nature, was “to the English pilgrim, second only in reverent interest to St. Paul’s and Westminster Abbey.”¹³⁶ While for Sala it was the church that was of interest, others directed their awe to the field itself. One author described a “pilgrimage to its plains... to tread upon soil, consecrated by British heroism.”¹³⁷ Thomas Pennington agreed, and declared the “ground hallowed with the ashes of our gallant countrymen,” and walked it “with slow and solemn steps.”¹³⁸ One article discussing the Belgic Mound even published an illustration of the mound and the battlefield that, in its use of light and perspective, bears a striking resemblance to religious imagery (Figure 2.3).¹³⁹

¹³⁶ Sala, *Waterloo to the Peninsula*, I:4, 11.

¹³⁷ A Visit to Waterloo, *The Pocket Magazine*, II:126.

¹³⁸ Pennington, *A Journey into Various Parts of Europe*, II: 579.

¹³⁹ “The Lion of Waterloo,” *The Mirror of Literature, Amusement, and Instruction*, November 25, 1826, No. 224, P. 321.



Figure 2.3: Illustration from "The Lion of Waterloo," *The Mirror of Literature, Amusement, and Instruction*, November 25, 1826, No. 224, P. 321

Just as important as visiting Waterloo, or possibly even more so, was being seen to visit Waterloo. Ann Laura Thorold noted several reasons for visiting the battlefield, including "old England's glory, pride in the living, or sorrow for the dead," but presented as the most compelling reason "because every one goes; because you cannot stand proof against the repeated questions, on your return, 'Of course you saw Waterloo?' because you cannot encounter the faces of astonishment at your feebly answered 'No.'"¹⁴⁰ Much as all roads once led to Rome, in the nineteenth century the known truth was that "every one visits Waterloo," and they were then expected to talk about it when they got home.¹⁴¹ This became so expected that Thackeray, ever eager to buck tradition, stated in his *Little Travels and Roadside Sketches* "I thought to myself... what a fine thing it will be in after-days to say that I have been

¹⁴⁰ Thorold, *Letters from Brussels in the Summer of 1835*, 271-272.

¹⁴¹ A Visit to Waterloo, *The Pocket Magazine*, II:126.

to Brussels and never seen the field of Waterloo.” The pressure was too great, however and, growing bored with Brussels, he “jingled off at four miles an hour for Waterloo.” We have mentioned Thackeray’s reactions to Waterloo Church and Anglesey’s leg, but even he, cynic that he was, was moved by the power of the field within the collective British psyche, and declared, four pages after his admission that he intended not to go,

Well, though I made a vow not to talk about Waterloo either here or after dinner, there is one little secret admission that one must make after seeing it. Let an Englishman go and see that field, and he *never forgets it*. The sight is an event in his life; and, though it has been seen by millions of peaceable *gents* — grocers from Bond Street, meek attorneys from Chancery Lane, and timid tailors from Piccadilly — I will wager that there is not one of them but feels a glow as he looks at the place, and remembers that he, too, is an Englishman.¹⁴²

Waterloo’s power almost scared him. “It is a wrong, egotistical, savage, unchristian feeling, and that’s the truth of it. A man of peace has no right to be dazzled by that red-coated glory, and to intoxicate his vanity with those remembrances of carnage and triumph.”¹⁴³ But it was that power that drove the battlefield’s tourism industry, and ensured the battle’s place in British collective memory.

¹⁴² Thackeray, *Little Travels and Roadside Sketches*, XVI: 336.

¹⁴³ Thackeray, *Little Travels and Roadside Sketches*, XVI: 336.

Chapter III: “Gold-Plated Military Orgies:” Waterloo Remembrance and Celebrations¹

Remembrance of Waterloo became a significant part of nineteenth century British social life. Both the military and civilian spheres celebrated the battle, and in many cases the spheres overlapped on the days surrounding June 18th. In addition to explicit celebrations of Waterloo, June 18th became a preferred day for holding fairs and meetings.² This chapter examines some of the more focused celebrations, both in the military and civilian worlds. It begins with a detailed examination of the commemorative Waterloo Banquet, an elite affair held every year by the Duke of Wellington himself. It then explores some of the other public celebrations of the battle, as well as the commemorative medals struck for Waterloo. Finally, it briefly discusses the model of Waterloo originally commissioned by the government and subsequently finished with private funds.

This chapter is located within, and builds on, several historiographies. The first of these is the growing historiography on war and collective memory. This is largely a twentieth-century topic, with the World Wars and their remembrance looming large in both the scholarship and the nations’ collective psyches.³ There is very little work that focuses exclusively on nineteenth century military remembrance, but it has become a staple in works that combine military and either social or cultural history, and

¹ “The ‘Service of Gold Plate’,” *Bristol Mercury*, June 23, 1832.

² R. E. Foster, *Wellington and Waterloo: The Duke, the Battle and Posterity 1815-2015* (Gloucestershire: Spellmount, 2014), 114.

³ See, for example, George L. Mosse, *Fallen Soldiers: Reshaping the Memory of the World Wars* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990); Jay Winter, *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European Cultural History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995); Paul Fussell, *The Great War and Modern Memory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1975); Suzanne Evans, *Mothers of Heroes, Mothers of Martyrs: World War I and the Politics of Grief* (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2007), chapter 4; Glen O’Hara, *Britain and the Sea Since 1600* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010); Samuel Lynn Hynes, *A War Imagined: The First World War and English Culture* (London: Bodley Head, 1990); Timothy G. Ashplant, Graham Dawson, and Michael Roper, eds., *Commemorating War: The Politics of Memory* (London: Routledge, 2000); Tony Judt, “From the House of the Dead: An Essay on Modern European Memory,” in *Postwar: A History of Europe Since 1945* (New York: Penguin, 2005).

certain biographies.⁴ The second concerns press coverage of Waterloo and the men who fought there. Newspapers were crucial to the shaping of Britain’s image of Waterloo, and the behavior of veterans towards the press illustrates that they knew it.⁵ In the case of the Waterloo Banquet, the level of detail reported each year in *The Times* illustrates that information was being fed to the paper, even if journalists were not allowed in for the Banquet itself. Finally, the annual nature of the Banquet and deliberate attempts by its host and attendees to make it a cultural touchstone, along with the emergence of more widespread Waterloo celebrations in the national culture, situates it within the historiography on the invention of tradition.⁶ This chapter builds on such scholarship, most notably by combining the various forms of Waterloo remembrance and celebration and how they were covered in the press, thus allowing them to be examined not simply as individual phenomena, but as a long-term cultural feature of the first half of nineteenth-century Britain.

To this end it is worth delineating between “Waterloo Events” and “Waterloo Objects,” and how each (whether military or civilian) performed different types of cultural work. The first two sections of this chapter discuss Waterloo Events – set-date commemorations where people were brought together to reflect, recall, and celebrate. The Waterloo medals, both official and commemorative, explored in the third section, represent Waterloo Objects. These medals, depending on their provenance, either serve as a calling card and demonstration of service, or allowed the general public to feel more connected to Waterloo and the national endeavors that surrounded it. The Waterloo Model, discussed in the final

⁴ See Alan Forrest, *Waterloo* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015); Foster, *Wellington and Waterloo*; Rory Muir, *Wellington: Waterloo and the Fortunes of Peace, 1814-1852* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015); Neville Thompson, *Wellington After Waterloo* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd, 1986).

⁵ Christopher M. Keirstead and Marysa Demoor, “Introduction: Waterloo and Its Afterlife in the Nineteenth-Century Periodical and Newspaper Press,” *Victorian Periodicals Review* 48:4 (Winter 2015), 447-452; *Special Issue: Waterloo and Its Afterlife in the Nineteenth-Century Periodical and Newspaper Press*, ed. Christopher M. Keirstead and Marysa Demoor, special issue, *Victorian Periodicals Review* 48:4 (Winter 2015); Peter W. Sinnema, *The Wake of Wellington: Englishness in 1852* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2006), 1-20.

⁶ Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, eds., *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), David Cannadine, *Aspects of Aristocracy: Grandeur and Decline in Modern Britain* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994); David Cannadine, *Ornamentalism: How the British Saw Their Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001)

section of this chapter, was both an event and an object. As a physical object, it was designed to celebrate those who served and allow the public to feel closer to the achievement. As an exhibition, it was an event designed to draw a crowd.

Everything discussed in this chapter sought to commemorate Waterloo in one way or another. This should be considered in contrast to the various memoirs and histories, and the mania for relic-hunting, discussed in previous chapters, as their goal was more to recreate Waterloo than to remember it.

There are several points that are worth noting in relation to the events and items discussed in this chapter. Remembrance of the Napoleonic Wars differed from all the European wars that came after it in two significant ways. First, unlike the memorial ceremonies that emerged in response to the Crimean War and became a fundamental part of British culture with the First and Second World Wars, the commemorations of Waterloo were true celebrations, where the emphasis was on honoring Britain’s achievement rather than her glorious dead. This was partially thanks to the nature of Waterloo, which was an unqualified victory unmarred by any obvious missteps, and partially thanks to a shift in Britain’s style of remembrance that occurred with the Crimean War. Up until the 1850s, it was individual battles, such as Waterloo, Trafalgar, and Vittoria that were marked and celebrated. From the Crimea on, remembrances become more solemn events and slowly expand to mark not battles but wars, culminating in the establishment of November 11 as Remembrance Day, which honors all British veterans, alive and dead.⁷

⁷ This overall trend, arguably, can be seen as part of both the wider democratization of war and the fading importance of decisive set-piece battles. Stephanie Markovits, *The Crimean War in the British Imagination* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009); Trevor Royle, *Crimea: The Great Crimean War, 1854-1856* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2000), III:5. It should be noted, however, that despite the disasters of the Crimea, war in general was celebrated and glorified in some portions of British life up to 1914. See Michael Paris, *Warrior Nation: Images of War in British Popular Culture, 1850-2000* (London: Reaktion Books, 2000), chapter 1.

These were truly national celebrations, in their scope, but even more importantly in their focus. Waterloo was enshrined by these celebrations as a British victory, not an allied one. The British (and Wellington in particular) were happy to accept the adulation and gifts of a grateful continent, but that willingness to receive was not matched by one to give. When the allies appeared, they were usually the Belgian, Dutch, and Hanoverian forces that were under the Duke of Wellington’s (and therefore Britain’s) direct command. The Prussians, under Prince Blücher and with their own agency, were only rarely and often begrudgingly mentioned.

Almost every country involved in the Waterloo campaign marked it in some way. In Brussels the anniversary opened with the ringing of the city’s bells, and closed with public illuminations, while the royal family and government officials attended a service at Waterloo itself.⁸ While there were no official celebrations, there is evidence that French soldiers met on the day to celebrate camaraderie.⁹ Prussian celebrations are markedly different, however, from the other Waterloo nations, thanks largely to a different experience of the Napoleonic Wars. Known in Prussia (and later Germany) as the Wars of Liberation, the Napoleonic Wars were marked by a progression of defeat, occupation, and finally redemption. Because of this, the 1813 Battle of Leipzig, which pushed Napoleon’s control back to the Rhine, was held on equal footing with Waterloo. In addition, because of the inherently defensive and broader nationalistic qualities of the Prussian war experience, the commemoration was more democratized than it was in the British context, with the contributions of volunteer units being heavily celebrated in the years immediately following Waterloo. It is this factor, primarily, that led to celebrations in Prussia tailing off long before they did in Britain, as those same volunteer units became

⁸ Thomas Pennington, *A Journey into Various Parts of Europe: and a Residence in them During the Years 1818, 1819, 1820, and 1821* (London: George B. Whittaker, 1825), II:590.

⁹ Brian Joseph Martin, *Napoleonic Friendship: Military Fraternity, Intimacy & Sexuality in Nineteenth Century France* (Durham: University of New Hampshire Press, 2011), 205.

involved in liberal politics, and with their repression came an unofficial moratorium on large-scale remembrances of the Wars of Liberation.¹⁰

Many of these celebrations took place in a mixed military/civilian sphere. This allows us to examine the cultural and social relationships between the veterans and their deeds and the wider British public. This chapter includes events that are very much veteran-focused, events that sometimes involved veterans, and events that celebrated Waterloo without the presence of anyone who fought there. By the same token, the official military medals marking service at Waterloo and the years of war before it were exclusive to the military. The commemorative medals, on the other hand, while celebrating the military, were largely marketed to the general public. This presented veteran officers with a quandary – wider celebration of Waterloo was, by definition, wider celebration of their achievement, but it also required them to acknowledge the shared ownership of Waterloo that had resulted from the nationalization of the victory.

The Waterloo Banquet

In January 1853, only a few months after the death of the Duke of Wellington, his son opened Apsley House to the public for a day to commemorate his father. *The Times* reported in detail on the day, and provided a written tour of the house for its readers. The picture gallery received particular attention, not for its (admittedly excellent) collection of European masters, but for its central role in the annual gathering of 1815's masters of Europe:

In the picture gallery the annual Waterloo Banquet was held, and though it must be confessed that for such a purpose this long and narrow apartment was by no means well adapted, yet to the visitor this fact is its chief attraction. For upwards of 30 years did the Duke here assemble

¹⁰ Christopher Clark, “The Wars of Liberation in Prussian Memory: Reflections on the Memorialization of War in Early Nineteenth-Century Germany,” *The Journal of Modern History* 68:3 (September 1996), 550-576; Christopher Clark, *Iron Kingdom: The Rise and Downfall of Prussia, 1600-1947* (Cambridge: Belknap Press, 2006), 378-385. See also Holger Hoock, *Empires of the Imagination: Politics, War, and the Arts in the British World, 1750-1850* (London: Profile Books, 2010), 174.

around him the chiefs with whom he fought his last battle, and here, as time rolled on, he found himself among the last of that distinguished band of veterans, the greatest spared longest to witness the permanence of his own fame. When the next 18th of June comes round who will be worthy to preside over the surviving representatives of that army which conquered at Waterloo?¹¹

The Waterloo Banquet was held at Apsley House from 1822 until 1852. Throughout the years, it varied in size and how much popular attention it received, but the event remained an all-male formal dinner with a guest list comprised exclusively of veterans of the battle, the reigning sovereign (or, in the case of Victoria, her consort Prince Albert), and, on occasion, the ranking ambassador of an allied nation.¹² In theory, this limited the potential guest list to some 1,770 men, but, just as Waterloo service alone could not guarantee a veteran post-war success in a political, imperial, or even military career, it would not guarantee an invitation card to Apsley House. Analysis of guest lists from sixteen Waterloo Banquets, either recorded in archives or printed in the popular press, shows that 179 veterans received invitations.¹³ These were the elite of the Waterloo veterans, who had succeeded in the post-war era through a combination of connections, hard work, and the luck of being in the right age and rank range in 1815 to take advantage of the rising tide.

There is remarkably little scholarship on the Waterloo Banquet, but what there is argues that the emergence of the Banquet into the public sphere in 1822 marks a general warming to the army in

¹¹ “Apsley House,” *The Times*, January 7, 1853, p. 5.

¹² R. E. Foster, “Food for Thought: The Waterloo Banquet,” *The Waterloo Journal* 35:2 (Summer 2013), 13.

¹³ 1840 Waterloo Banquet Guest List, 1st Duke of Wellington Misc 18, Stratfield Saye House archive; 1841 Waterloo Banquet Guest List, 1st Duke of Wellington Misc 18, Stratfield Saye House archive; “Waterloo Banquet at Apsley-House,” *The Times*, June 20, 1836, p. 5; “The Waterloo Banquet,” *The Belfast News-Letter*, June 26, 1838; “Waterloo Banquet,” *The Times*, June 20, 1839, p. 6; “The Waterloo Banquet at Apsley-House,” *The Times*, June 19, 1841, p. 5; “The Waterloo Banquet,” *The Times*, June 20, 1842, p. 6; “The Waterloo Banquet,” *The Times*, June 20, 1843, p. 5; “The Waterloo Banquet,” *The Times*, June 19, 1844, p. 5; “The Waterloo Banquet,” *The Times*, June 19, 1845, p. 5; “The Waterloo Banquet,” *The Times*, June 19, 1846, p. 8; “The Waterloo Banquet,” *The Times*, June 21, 1847, p. 8; “The Waterloo Banquet,” *The Times*, June 20, 1848, p. 8; “The Waterloo-Banquet,” *The Times*, June 19, 1849, p. 5; “The Waterloo Banquet,” *The Morning Chronicle*, June 19, 1849; “The Waterloo Banquet,” *The Times*, June 19, 1850, p. 5; “The Waterloo Banquet,” *The Times*, June 19, 1851, p. 5; “The Waterloo Banquet,” *The Times*, June 19, 1852, p. 8. See Appendix A.

the softening of the immediate post-war radicalism (it is almost certain that there were informal celebrations of the battle before that date, not recorded in the press).¹⁴ That was, in fact, the start of a more general trend, as the growth of the Banquet, both in attendance and press coverage, indicates that the event increased in its popularity over its thirty-year history. The Banquet served three primary functions in those 30 years. For those who attended, it was a celebration of their military achievements, both past and present, allowing them to bask in the glory of 1815 in a publicly-acceptable way. For the British Army in general, despite the elite nature of the Banquet itself, it functioned as a grand celebration in miniature – a surrogate for national acclaim and a pinnacle event, from which all other Waterloo celebrations drew both pomp and legitimacy. For the nation, the Waterloo Banquet provided an anchor to that battle and the quarter-century of war that preceded it, a conflict which, as scholars have shown, played a crucial role in the development of a national identity and served as the moral and rhetorical basis for British hegemony.¹⁵ In short, even as other celebrations and memories of Waterloo and the Napoleonic Wars faded, the Waterloo Banquet increased in importance, both for those old soldiers who donned their uniforms and medals to dine in splendor, and those who flocked to Hyde Park Corner to witness the external portions of the event or read about it in ever-increasing media coverage.

The Banquet was an inherently conservative event, in both the political and more broadly cultural sense. While Wellington did not steep it in the explicit Toryism of its Scottish imitators, his position as the avatar of conservative politics meant that any celebration of him and his achievements carried with it a conservative angle. In 1841 that conservative association led Prince Albert, a staple at

¹⁴ Foster, “Food for Thought”; Rory Muir, *Wellington: Waterloo and the Fortunes of Peace, 1814-1852* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015), 184. On the Waterloo Banquet in general, see Foster, *Wellington and Waterloo*, 131, 158-160; Forrest, *Waterloo*, 109; Muir, *Wellington: Waterloo and the Fortunes of Peace*, 184, 274, 559; N. P. Dawnay & J. M. A. Tamplin, “The Waterloo Banquet at Apsley House, 1836, by William Salter,” *Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research* XLIX: 198 (Summer 1971): 63-76. R. E. Foster notes that Wellington hosted one in 1821 for the Royal Horse Guards, as he was their Colonel. Foster, “Food for Thought,” 13.

¹⁵ See, notably, Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707-1837* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), 1-9, 196, 327; Foster, *Wellington and Waterloo*; Forrest, *Waterloo*; Holger Hoock, *Empires of the Imagination: Politics, War, and the Arts in the British World, 1750-1850* (London: Profile Books, 2010)13, 361-367.

the Waterloo Banquets, to withdraw his RSVP five days before the event, stating that “my going to your dinner one or two days previous to a dissolution of Parliament might be misconstrued into a party demonstration.”¹⁶ From a foreign policy perspective, the multi-national nature of the banquet table’s trappings highlighted by the event, and the praise of certain allied nations, presented a material endorsement of the European Congress system and the balance-of-power approach championed by Lord Castlereagh and Wellington at the Congress of Vienna long after the system had outlived its usefulness. On the domestic side, hero worship of Wellington and his officers provided a gateway into conservative thought for many who would not otherwise have considered it: many who flocked to Hyde Park Corner to cheer Wellington and his officers owed their vote to the Great Reform Act, a piece of legislation that Wellington and the majority of his officers opposed. While Britain may have been the most democratic of the major allies, the Napoleonic Wars were still a victory for conservatism and the status quo over radicalism and change. It is unclear how many of those at Hyde Park Corner distinguished that particular victory from the more general one over Britain’s old enemy, but it is safe to assume that some did. To the large extent that the Waterloo Banquet informed other celebrations of the battle, it enabled the officers to control the narrative. That control was crucial to their use of Waterloo as a calling card and badge of honour in their own lives and careers, and to the use of the battle as a conservative touchstone.¹⁷

For well-connected or lucky Waterloo veterans, the celebration of the battle’s anniversary started roughly two weeks before the banquet, when a deceptively simple invitation card would arrive by post, simply stating “The Duke of Wellington requests the honor of... company at Dinner on the 18th

¹⁶ Prince Albert to Wellington, June 13, 1841, Hartley Library, University of Southampton, MS 61 Wellington Papers, WP2/77/20.

¹⁷ This use also came under attack in the 1840s, as Barbara Barrow has demonstrated in her exploration of the Chartist newspaper, the *Labourer’s* use of the term Waterloo as a democratic rallying cry. Barrow, “The Waterloo of Democracy against Despotism,” *Victorian Periodicals Review* 48:4 (Winter 2015): 511-530.

June... to celebrate the anniversary of the Battle of Waterloo. The favor of an answer is desired.”¹⁸ It would also note that the dress code would be “uniform.” Responses arrived at Apsley House the first week of June, most handwritten and confirming that they “will have the honor of waiting upon the Duke of Wellington to... celebrate the Anniversary of the Battle of Waterloo.”¹⁹ Some, such as the Marquis of Anglesey received so many invitations that they had custom RSVP cards printed and just filled in the details.²⁰ Negative replies were also forthcoming, with excuses varying from “extreme illness” to “indisposition.”²¹

As mentioned above, presence on the field of Waterloo was not enough to secure an invitation to Apsley House on June 18th. An invitation was an honor and a sign of success (and one which, thanks to the publishing of guest lists in the press, would be widely known); as such, Wellington’s secretaries, Fitzroy Somerset (who was in charge of military matters) and Christopher Collins (who served in a more civilian role), received their fair share of letters requesting invitations. Some of these were relatively polite and subtle, such as George Keppel, Earl of Albermarle’s note that took “the liberty of mentioning [what] my address is... in case my name should be on the list of the intended guests for this year;” others, such as Colonel Forlong, were more direct, noting that he was “sorry to hear he has so little chance of an invitation to dine with his Grace this year,” but “forever hopes Mr. Collins may yet have it in his power to send him one, if there should be any vacancies not filled up, by some officers declining the invitation.”²² That hope may not have been as far-fetched or presumptive as it sounds. Annotations

¹⁸ When the anniversary fell on a Sunday, the dinner would be moved to Monday the 19th of June. Wellington to Colonel Keane, invitation cards for 1848, 1849, 1850, and 1852. National Army Museum 1977/08/17/22/1, 1977/08/17/25/1-3.

¹⁹ Cathcart to Wellington, June 4, 1852 and Sir James Simpson to Wellington, June 2, 1852, National Army Museum, 1968/07/428.

²⁰ Marquis of Anglesey to Wellington, June, 1852, National Army Museum, 1968/07/428.

²¹ Sir John Campbell to Wellington, June 2, 1852, National Army Museum, 1968/07/428; “The Waterloo Banquet,” *The Times*, June 19, 1846, p. 8.

²² The Earl of Albermarle was successful in his application, and both of the officers quoted here were invited more than once. Albermarle to Fitzroy Somerset, June 12, 1851, Hartley Library, University of Southampton, MS 69 Christopher Collins Papers, MS69/4/31; Colonel Forlong to Christopher Collins, June 9, no year given, Hartley

on the 1828 guest list indicate that some form of wait list was kept, and that invitations that were declined by one officer were then reissued to another.²³ There is no evidence that these officers, many of whom had rather touchy senses of pride, objected to being included in a second wave of invitations, often only a few days before the day itself.²⁴

June 18th was a busy day at Apsley House. Wellington’s carefully cultivated permanent association with the victory at Waterloo meant that, for those acquainted with him, the best way to mark the day was to call on its victor. *The Times* in 1850 listed 178 individuals of note who had come to pay their respects including representatives of the royal family, several allied countries, the aristocracy, the clergy, the army and navy, Parliament, “and others far too numerous to mention.”²⁵ For those who did not know Wellington personally or resided too far away to call, congratulations in writing served the same purpose. For several days surrounding the 18th each year, Wellington routinely received congratulations on his victory. These included brief notes from friends and acquaintances and congratulations appended to letters concerning other business.²⁶ Wellington also received an extensive amount of unsolicited correspondence from admirers. Some contained merely their best wishes, or requests for his autograph dated June 18th, but others were more imaginative. Several included poems,

Library, University of Southampton, MS 69 Christopher Collins Papers, MS69/2/105; “The Waterloo Banquet,” *The Times*, June 19, 1851, p. 5 (emphasis is present in the original).

²³ 1828-1829 Waterloo Banquet Guest List, 1st Duke of Wellington Misc 18, Stratfield Saye House archive.

²⁴ The Earl of Albermarle’s successful application was dated June 12th. Albermarle to Fitzroy Somerset, June 12, 1851, Hartley Library, University of Southampton, MS 69 Christopher Collins Papers, MS69/4/31; “The Waterloo Banquet,” *The Times*, June 19, 1851, p. 5.

²⁵ “The Waterloo Banquet,” *The Times*, June 19, 1850, p. 5; “The Waterloo Banquet,” *The Times*, June 20, 1848, p. 8.

²⁶ See, for example, Duke of Gordon to Wellington, June 17, 1833; Marquess Wellesley to Wellington, June 18, 1841; Ernest Augustus, King of Hanover to Wellington, June 18, 1842; Colonel Gurwood to Wellington, June 18, 1842; Sir James Graham to Wellington, June 18, 1843, Hartley Library, University of Southampton, MS 61 Wellington Papers, WP2/4/63, WP2/77/35, WP2/89/2-3, WP2/89/5, WP2/105/40.

inspired either by Wellington or the battle, others, bound volumes (including a dictionary), and on one notable occasion, a turtle (which received a rare reply from Wellington).²⁷

While Wellington was inundated with well-wishers, notes, and gifts, the staff of Apsley House were preparing for the Banquet. The Banquet took place in three locations over the three decades it was held. From 1820 until 1828, the Banquet was held in the state dining room in the north-eastern corner of Apsley House, which could seat between 50 and 60 guests.²⁸ In 1829, partially because of the ongoing construction of the picture gallery and partially for convenience, Wellington, then Prime Minister, held the Banquet in 10 Downing Street.²⁹ There is no evidence that anyone objected to this extremely martial gathering taking place in Britain’s premier political address, although there are some indications that the more politically-savvy guests saw attendance as implicit support for Wellington’s efforts towards Catholic Emancipation.³⁰ Indeed, the press were more concerned by the fact that several attendees were quite late in arriving thanks to the Ascot races.³¹ In 1830, the Banquet first took place in its new permanent home, the newly-finished picture gallery that occupies the entire western end of one floor of Apsley House. Wellington had the gallery purpose-built to allow him to host grand formal occasions, from balls to the Banquet. The room could seat 85 comfortably, and drew inspiration from the most fashionable halls in Europe, including mirrored window shutters designed to bring a little bit of Versailles

²⁷ Richard Dannelly Davy to Wellington, June 16, 1836; Maria Matthews to Wellington, June 17, 1845; Rev. John Prowett to Wellington, June 18, 1837; Sir John Edmund de Beauvoir to Wellington, June 18, 1844; Lieutenant Edmund Peel to Wellington, June 16, 1836; Duke of Rutland to Wellington, June 18, 1838; James Knowles to Wellington, June 18, 1837; Isaac Niblett to Wellington, June 14, 1843, Hartley Library, University of Southampton, MS 61 Wellington Papers, WP2/40/106, WP2/130/133, WP2/46/121, WP2/121/24, WP2/40/107, WP2/52/43, WP2/46/120, WP2/105/12.

²⁸ Julius Bryant, *Apsley House: The Wellington Collection* (London: English Heritage, 2015), 20-22; R. E. Foster, “Food for Thought, 13.

²⁹ “The Duke of Wellington’s Grand Dinner,” *The Morning Post*, June 19, 1829.

³⁰ Duke of Clarence to Duke of Wellington, June 18, 1829, Hartley Library, University of Southampton, MS 61 Wellington Papers, WP1/1026/1.

³¹ Court Circular, *The Standard*, June 20, 1829, issue 654.

to Hyde Park.³² Wellington left most of the design to his architect, Benjamin Dean Wyatt, and his particular friend and confidant, Mrs. Arbuthnot, who took over the project after Wellington and Wyatt stopped speaking to each other.³³ Wellington’s only stipulation was that the room would be hung with yellow silk damask, despite being told repeatedly that “it is just the very worst colour he can have for pictures and will kill the effect of the gilding.”³⁴ What the Duke wanted, however, he got, and the yellow silk damask still graces the walls of Apsley House. The paintings that gave the gallery its name, while not wholly martial in nature, still served to remind the viewer of Wellington’s achievements. The majority of the paintings were from the Spanish Royal Collection; 165 paintings rescued from Joseph Bonaparte’s baggage train by British soldiers after the Battle of Vittoria and formally given to Wellington by King Ferdinand VII in 1816.³⁵ Altogether, the alterations to Apsley House cost Wellington £42,000, a sum that Wellington balked at, until those around him pointed out that he should consider the house and its contents a monument to his achievements and to Waterloo especially, an argument the annual Banquet certainly helped to cement.³⁶

The service for the Banquet was traditionally a gold service formerly owned by the Duke of York, which sometimes alternated with a silver set gifted by Don John, King of Portugal.³⁷ The size of the table could be expanded or contracted depending on the number of guests expected, but whatever the size the table was laid to completion, as empty seats were preferable to gaps in the service.³⁸ The table was built around two 12-foot-high candelabras, the gift of Tsar Alexander of Russia, each carved from a solid

³² Harriet Arbuthnot, *The Journal of Mrs. Arbuthnot, 1820-1832*, Francis Bamford & the Duke of Wellington, eds. (London: Macmillan & Co., 1950), II:336-337, plate 15.

³³ Arbuthnot, *Journal*, II:219, 333.

³⁴ Arbuthnot, *Journal*, II:333.

³⁵ Bryant, *Apsley House*, 16-17.

³⁶ The average annual wage at the time was roughly £33. Gregory Clark, "What Were the British Earnings and Prices Then? (New Series)" MeasuringWorth, 2017, <http://www.measuringworth.com/ukearnncpi/>; Arbuthnot, *Journal*, II:335-336, 335 n2.

³⁷ "Waterloo Banquet at Apsley-House," *The Times*, June 20, 1836, p. 5; "The Waterloo Banquet at Apsley-House," *The Times*, June 19, 1841, p. 5; "The Waterloo Banquet," *The Times*, June 20, 1843, p. 5.

³⁸ *The Morning Post*, June 20, 1836, p. 5.

block of marble, and, thanks to their weight of 1.25 tonnes, permanent fixtures in the gallery.³⁹ The center of the table was dominated by “the magnificent silver plateau presented to the Duke by the King of Portugal, 27 feet long, and 4 feet wide” and decorated with a “hundred trophies,” supplemented in later years with equestrian statues of Wellington and Napoleon designed by Count D’Orsay.⁴⁰ The Russian candelabras were reinforced by three more in gold, the gift of the citizens of London, shaped as foot soldiers, each wearing the uniform and carrying the standard of one of the allied nations that fought at Waterloo.⁴¹ The final touch on the table was the dessert set of Dresden porcelain from the King of Prussia, which completed the Grand Alliance of table decorations.⁴² Each piece represented “some engagement or general officer engaged in it; the service containing the whole series of his grace’s victories in India, the Peninsula, and at Waterloo.”⁴³ Taken as a whole, the effect of the table was imposing, and political. Even thirty years after the creation of the formal Great Powers system, Wellington’s table represented his conservative backing for Castlereagh’s vision – a gilded embodiment of the Congress of Vienna.

If the main table represented the continent with its network of alliances and battlefields, the oaken buffet and sideboard were solidly British.⁴⁴ At its center rested the Wellington Shield, commissioned in 1814 by the Merchants and Bankers of London. While inspired by John Flaxman’s famous Achilles’ Shield, designed for George IV, the Wellington shield was in fact designed by Thomas Sothard and made by Benjamin Smith in silver gilt and deadened gold. The central boss depicts Wellington and his generals riding in triumph over a French standard while an allegorical representation

³⁹ “Apsley House,” *The Times*, August 8, 1835, p. 7; *The Mirror of Literature, Amusement, and Instruction* (London: J. Limbird, 1837), xxix: 159-160.

⁴⁰ “The Waterloo Banquet,” *The Times*, June 20, 1843, p. 5; “The Waterloo Banquet,” *The Times*, June 19, 1846, p. 8; “The Waterloo Banquet,” *The Times*, June 19, 1850, p. 5; “The Waterloo Banquet,” *The Times*, June 19, 1852, p. 8.

⁴¹ “Apsley House,” *The Times*, August 8, 1835, p. 7; *Mirror of Literature*, xxix: 159-160.

⁴² “The Waterloo Banquet,” *The Times*, June 20, 1843, p. 5.

⁴³ *Mirror of Literature*, xxix: 159.

⁴⁴ “Apsley House,” *The Times*, August 8, 1835, p. 7.

of fame crowns him with laurels. Surrounding the central boss are scenes from Wellington’s career from the victory at Assaye in 1803 to the confirmation of his dukedom in 1814.⁴⁵ The details on the shield attracted so much attention from visitors that in 1822 Wellington commissioned James Deville, a well-known local lamp maker, to design and install a mount in the sideboard that allowed the shield to be inclined and rotated at will.⁴⁶ The Wellington Shield was flanked by two more candelabra, also made by Smith, designed to look like stylized trees laden with the fruits of victories and trophies and weapons laid at their base. One is surmounted by a figure of Victory, supported by an English Grenadier, a Scottish Highlander, and an Irish Light Infantryman, each holding their national flag, while the other features a Portuguese civilian, an Indian Sepoy, and a Spanish Guerilla capped by the figure of Fame.⁴⁷ Despite the fact that the Wellington Shield was designed in 1814 and thus does not depict Waterloo, and was only inspired by Flaxman’s Achilles’ Shield, visitors and the press routinely still referred to it as Flaxman’s Achilles’ or Waterloo Shield.⁴⁸ These pieces were supplemented with gifts from other British institutions and individuals, such as “a solid gold vase, the tribute of the noblemen of England, beautifully portraying the Guards forming a square.”⁴⁹ The descriptions of the room found in various newspapers demonstrate some bias in this area, always making sure to mention the “splendid Achilles shield” even if only providing a general description of the rest of the plate and decorations.⁵⁰

Newspapers throughout Britain carried reports of the Banquet and its lavish setting. As stories of the opulence spread, so too did public curiosity. The elite and inherently limited nature of the guest list, combined with the media coverage, intrigued Britons across all levels of society. Some sought to bypass the guest list and sought admission to the event itself as “a spectator to witness the assembling

⁴⁵ “The Wellington Shield,” *The Saturday Magazine*, March 1, 1834, volume IV, 81-83.

⁴⁶ Another rotation device was constructed for the Shield’s display cabinet, where it was rotated by a handle. Bryant, *Apsley House*, 22-24.

⁴⁷ “The Wellington Shield,” *The Saturday Magazine*, March 1, 1834, volume IV, 83.

⁴⁸ “Waterloo Banquet at Apsley-House,” *The Times*, June 20, 1836, p. 5; “The Waterloo Banquet at Apsley-House,” *The Times*, June 19, 1841, p. 5; “The Waterloo Banquet,” *The Times*, June 20, 1842, p. 6.

⁴⁹ “Apsley House,” *The Times*, August 8, 1835, p. 7.

⁵⁰ “Waterloo Banquet at Apsley House,” *The Standard*, June 20, 1836.

on your Grace’s Guests at Apsley House” or “to see the Conqueror of the great Napoleon surrounded by the gallant spirits whom his genius conducted to victory.”⁵¹ These requests were denied on principle, as to let one in would open a floodgate. The more acceptable solution to social mores, the staff of Apsley House, and Wellington himself, was to admit select people during the day to “see the Waterloo plate laid out, in preparation for the Waterloo dinner.”⁵² Individuals and groups applied in writing to Wellington or his secretaries, to request admission.⁵³ Although open to a wider population than the Banquet itself, entry to view the plate was still limited to rarified social circles. For those unknown to Wellington or his secretaries, letters of introduction were required, and permission for admission had to be obtained in advance.⁵⁴ Requests for admission became so regular that lithographed tickets were produced, with blanks for the individual’s name, the number of people in the group, and the signature of Somerset, Collins, or some other individual with the power of admittance.⁵⁵ *The Times* informed their readers in 1836 that “a large number of the nobility” had been admitted via these tickets to view “the tables as set out for the entertainment, in the Waterloo Gallery.”⁵⁶ *The Morning Post* the same year recorded that “every part of the spacious apartment... constantly crowded with a succession of elegant company... From twelve o’clock at noon until three company were constantly entering into, and departing from, Apsley House.”⁵⁷ By 1839 requests had become so common that Wellington stopped the practice temporarily, and *The Chartist* reported that 600 people had, by this action, been denied

⁵¹ Thomas Smyth to Wellington, June 11, 1846, Hartley Library, University of Southampton, MS 61 Wellington Papers, WP2/143/72; “Persevere” to Wellington, June 19, 1837, Hartley Library, University of Southampton, MS 61 Wellington Papers, WP2/46/123; B. R. Haybon to Wellington, June 16, 1840, Hartley Library, University of Southampton, MS 61 Wellington Papers, WP2/69/29.

⁵² E. G. Sievers to Wellington, June 16, 1834, Hartley Library, University of Southampton, MS 61 Wellington Papers, WP2/11/23.

⁵³ Wellington to H. Tucker, June 16, 1838, Hartley Library, University of Southampton, MS 61 Wellington Papers, WP2/52/39.

⁵⁴ Count Kielmansegge to Wellington, June 8, 1846, Hartley Library, University of Southampton, MS 61 Wellington Papers, WP2/143/55.

⁵⁵ Passes to see the Waterloo dinner table, Hartley Library, University of Southampton, MS 69 Christopher Collins Papers, MS69/2/42-43.

⁵⁶ “Waterloo Banquet at Apsley-House,” *The Times*, June 20, 1836, p. 5.

⁵⁷ *The Morning Post*, June 20, 1836, p. 5.

entry.⁵⁸ It is unclear how long the ban continued, but there are multiple requests for admission in the Wellington papers from after that date.⁵⁹

Those who could not gain admission, but still wanted to experience some small part of the evening, could join the crowds that gathered outside the gates of Apsley House and the adjacent Hyde Park in the hours before the dinner. The size of the gathering varied per year, but on several occasions either blocked Piccadilly or would have, if not for efforts of the Metropolitan Police.⁶⁰ The makeup of the crowd varied. The majority were average London pedestrians, described by the papers simply as “respectable,” but, as *The Times* noted, the crowd “was not confined to the middle classes:” horsemen and “the carriages of the nobility” were mixed throughout the crowd.⁶¹ Some of those in attendance hoped that the golden light of glory shining from the windows and doorway of Apsley House would shine on them. Many wore military uniforms and decorations (the Earl of Cardigan was spotted in 1846), and those who wore the Waterloo medal, as was noted of one Chelsea pensioner, “displayed not a little *amour propre*.”⁶² For those who sought some favor or acknowledgement, some maneuvering for position was required to obtain the ideal spot: “there were many noblemen and gentlemen on horseback who took up their position on the western side of the eastern entrance-gate – a position which commanded the recognition of those distinguished officers entitled to join the festive board of the noble and gallant Duke.”⁶³ Those distinguished officers were not above a little acknowledgement and jockeying themselves, and as they arrived, many in open-topped carriages (it was June, after all),

⁵⁸ “Waterloo Banquet,” *The Chartist*, June 23, 1839.

⁵⁹ B. R. Haybon to Wellington, June 16, 1840, Hartley Library, University of Southampton, MS 61 Wellington Papers, WP2/69/29; Count Kielmansegge to Wellington, June 8, 1846, Hartley Library, University of Southampton, MS 61 Wellington Papers, WP2/143/55.

⁶⁰ “Waterloo Banquet,” *The Chartist*, June 23, 1839; “Waterloo Banquet at Apsley House,” *The Standard*, June 20, 1836; “The Waterloo Banquet,” *The Times*, June 20, 1843, p. 5.

⁶¹ “Waterloo Banquet at Apsley House,” *The Standard*, June 20, 1836; “The Waterloo Banquet,” *The Times*, June 19, 1846, p. 8; “The Waterloo Banquet,” *The Times*, June 19, 1844, p. 5.

⁶² “The Waterloo Banquet at Apsley House,” *The Times*, June 19, 1841, p. 5; “The Waterloo Banquet,” *The Times*, June 19, 1846, p. 8; “The Waterloo Banquet,” *The Times*, June 21, 1847, p. 8; “The Waterloo Banquet,” *The Times*, June 19, 1850, p. 5.

⁶³ “The Waterloo Banquet,” *The Times*, June 20, 1843, p. 5.

their popularity was judged by the volume of the crowd’s cheers. John Byng, Earl Strafford, Alexander Fraser, Lord Saltoun, Sir Harry Smith, and Prince Castelcicala were all popular, but the perennial favorites were Sir Henry Hardinge, the Marquis of Anglesey, King William IV, Prince Albert, and the Duke of Wellington himself, who emerged from the house to welcome the King or Prince.⁶⁴

Having alighted from their carriages and acknowledged the crowd, guests made their way into Apsley House past the Band of the Grenadier Guards (Wellington was their Colonel) and into the salon for pre-dinner drinks.⁶⁵ The royal guests were traditionally the last to arrive (shortly after 7). They would be greeted three times before they even entered Apsley House, first by the crowd, next by Wellington himself, and finally by the band, who would mark that moment either with the national anthem or, sometimes in the case of Prince Albert, the Coburg March.⁶⁶ Dinner would be announced between 7:30 and 8, whereupon Wellington and his royal guests would head the procession into the gallery for the meal.

Despite being the stated purpose of the evening, the food itself played a decidedly secondary role at the Waterloo Banquet. Only one menu from the three decades of Banquets survives, and the newspaper reports of the evening, which are particularly extensive in the later years, do not mention the food at all.⁶⁷ It seems, then, that it was the food’s role to highlight the service, rather than the other way around, and to provide a justification for the sit-down nature of the celebration. Despite this neglect, the food produced by the Apsley House kitchens was sumptuous and fitting for such an

⁶⁴ “The Waterloo Banquet,” *The Times*, June 20, 1843, p. 5; “The Waterloo Banquet,” *The Times*, June 19, 1844, p. 5; “The Waterloo Banquet,” *The Times*, June 19, 1846, p. 8; “The Waterloo Banquet,” *The Times*, June 20, 1848, p. 8; “The Waterloo-Banquet,” *The Times*, June 19, 1849, p. 5; “The Waterloo Banquet,” *The Times*, June 19, 1850, p. 5; “The Waterloo Banquet,” *The Times*, June 19, 1851, p. 5; “The Waterloo Banquet,” *The Times*, June 19, 1852, p. 8; “Waterloo Banquet at Apsley House,” *The Standard*, June 20, 1836.

⁶⁵ See, for example, “The Waterloo Banquet at Apsley House,” *The Times*, June 19, 1841, p. 5; “The Waterloo Banquet,” *The Times*, June 21, 1847, p. 8; “The Waterloo Banquet,” *The Times*, June 19, 1851, p. 5.

⁶⁶ For the band playing the national anthem, see “The Waterloo Banquet,” *The Times*, June 19, 1846, p. 8; for the Coburg March, see “The Waterloo Banquet,” *The Times*, June 19, 1850, p. 5.

⁶⁷ The closest is a mention in passing, such as this example from the 1851 *Times* report of the evening: “The banquet, which included every luxury, being over, and desert having been placed on the table...” “The Waterloo Banquet,” *The Times*, June 19, 1851, p. 5.

occasion. The menu from the 1839 Banquet, the only one that remains, records five courses, supplemented by three different sets of four removes, and two side table services over the course of the dinner (Figure 3.1).⁶⁸ Dinner began with two soup options, after which diners were presented with a four-option fish course, supplemented by four meat removes.⁶⁹ This was followed by a course of 24 entrees which heavily favored fowl, but included lamb, rabbit, pasta, and rice dishes. After that came four roasts, again supplemented by four cold removes and four flying plate removes – items such as soufflés, fondues, and cheeses, served rapidly because of their nature. Finally came 24 entremets, both sweet and savory, supplemented by a sweet side table service.⁷⁰ Throughout the meal, the band, which had moved from the foyer to an adjacent room, provided music.⁷¹ Considering the explicit patriotic overtones of the event, it is worth noting that the menu still maintained a heavy continental influence in both food and style, and that the 1839 menu itself is in French.⁷²

⁶⁸ Waterloo Banquet Menu, June 18, 1839, 1st Duke of Wellington Misc 18, Stratfield Saye House archive.

⁶⁹ Removes are additional dishes within a course, added after the originals are removed. In this case, the four fish dishes are placed on the table, and when diners have been served, the fish dishes are removed and replaced with four meat dishes which can be eaten separately or together with the fish, but are still considered to be part of the same course. Dan Jurafsky, *The Language of Food: A Linguist Reads the Menu* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 2014), 25.

⁷⁰ All of the details of the menu are drawn from the Waterloo Banquet Menu, June 18, 1839, 1st Duke of Wellington Misc 18, Stratfield Saye House archive.

⁷¹ For a sample playlist, see “The Waterloo Banquet,” *The Times*, June 20, 1843, p. 5; “The Waterloo Banquet,” *The Times*, June 21, 1847, p. 8.

⁷² This was perhaps due to the fact that Wellington’s cook was French. Bryant, *Apsley House*, 22; Waterloo Banquet Menu, June 18, 1839, 1st Duke of Wellington Misc 18, Stratfield Saye House archive.

Menu for the 1839 Waterloo Banquet			
Turtle Soup		Spring Soup	
<u>Four Fish Dishes</u>			
Turbot with Lobster Sauce	Dover Sole Fillets au Veloute	Trout in Genevoise Sauce	Matelotte of Eels
<u>Four 'Removes'</u>			
Fat Chicken a la Régence	Ham with Madeira	Beef Fillets a la Jardinière	Veal (Calves) Head en Tortue
<u>Twenty-Four Entrees</u>			
Two Supreme of Fowls with Truffles		Two Ducklings Fillets with Garden Peas	
Two Pigeon Fillets a la Maréchale		Two Lamb Cutlets a l'Italienne	
Two Glazed sweetbread of Veal with Asparagus		Two Young Rabbits a la Toulouse	
Two Quenelles of Fowls a la Béchamel		Two Chicken a la Reine, a la Chivry	
Two Tendons of Veal with Macédoine		Fillets of Fowls a la Orly with Tomato Sauce	
Warm Pate a la Financière		Macaroni Timbale a la Milanaise	
Casserole of Potatoes with Blanquette of Fowls		Casserole of Rice a la Reine	
Escalopes of Young Leveret with mushrooms			
<u>Four Roasts</u>			
Poulardes	Pricked Leverets		Pricked Leverets
<u>Four Cold 'Removes'</u>			
Loaf of Game in Jelly	Biscuit with Chantilly	Pheasant Pâté	Baba in Madeira Wine
<u>Four Removes 'Flying Plates'</u>			
Vanilla Soufflé	Cheese Fondue	Lemon Soufflé	Ramequins of Parmesan
<u>Twenty Four Entremets</u>			
Two Fruit Salads		Two Charlottes of Strawberries	
Two Vanilla Creams		Two Garnished Pinapple Jellies	
Two Garnished Plover Eggs in Aspic		Apple Nougat	
Glazed Genoese Cakes		D'Artois of Apricots	
Merengued Fanchonettes		Crayfish with Wine Champagne	
Two Garden Peas a la Française		Two French Beans a la Maitre d'Hotel	
Two Artichokes a la Barigoule		Two Asparagus with Butter Sauce	
Lobsters Salad			
<u>Side Table First Service</u>		<u>Side Table Second Service</u>	
Two Vol au Vent with Béchamel		Two Apple Tarts	
Two Croquettes of Fowls au Veloute		Goosberry Tart	
Two Haunch of Venison		Currants Tart	
Roast Beef		Cabinet Pudding	
Saddle of Roasted Mutton		Rice Pudding	
Rice with Consommé		Fried Whitting	

Figure 3.1: Waterloo Banquet Menu, 18 June 1839, 1st Duke of Wellington Misc 18, Stratfield Saye House archive. Translated by Lydia Rousseau, House Steward, Apsley House.

Once the dinner was over, what many recognized as the most important part of the evening could begin: the toasts. These were not simply the raising of glasses, but presented opportunities for acknowledgement on both sides. The toasts consisted of short speeches (often interrupted by cheers

and shouts) by the individual giving the toast and subsequently by the one “returning thanks.”⁷³ The unwavering order of the toasts reflected the implicit hierarchy built in to the British Army.⁷⁴ The first toast, unsurprisingly, was always to the sovereign, followed, in later years by one to Prince Albert, who would, at the culmination of his thanks, propose a toast to the Duke of Wellington. Wellington would then give “the army that fought the battle of Waterloo,” followed, in silence, by “the memory of those who fell.”⁷⁵ After glasses had been recharged, Wellington would, in strict hierarchical order, toast the cavalry, the Guards, and the infantry of the line, before acknowledging the artillery, staff, engineers, and, traditionally last, the Prussians. In some cases, other toasts, such as to other allies or branches of service (such as the medical staff) would be made based on the those in attendance.⁷⁶

The toasts, however, went beyond the general honor of each officer hearing their arm of the service acknowledged. Wellington, in toasting each branch, would pick an officer or two to represent them, both in honor and in response. Some officers served in this role regularly. The Marquis of Anglesey, for example, almost always represented the cavalry, which he had commanded at Waterloo, while Wellington usually used the toast to the Prussian Army to acknowledge Henry Hardinge, who had served as the British liaison to Blücher’s forces. For the regular line infantry, which represented the lion’s share of the Waterloo officers, Wellington had more freedom to pick, and he usually used it as a way to pick out an officer he felt worthy of attention. “The noble and gallant Duke,” *The Times* reported in 1850, dedicated the next toast “to ‘the line,’ a portion of the army that greatly exhibited the courage

⁷³ With the exception of 1850, when Wellington requested that there be no cheering so as not to disturb a sick friend staying with him. “The Waterloo Banquet,” *The Times*, June 19, 1850, p. 5.

⁷⁴ For detailed descriptions of the order and wording of the toasts, see “The Waterloo Banquet,” *The Times*, June 20, 1842, p. 6; “The Waterloo Banquet,” *The Times*, June 19, 1846, p. 8; “The Waterloo Banquet,” *The Times*, June 19, 1850, p.5.

⁷⁵ “The Waterloo Banquet,” *The Times*, June 19, 1851, p. 5. The wording of these two toasts is nearly identical every year.

⁷⁶ The presence of Prince Castelcicala, for example, would generally inspire a toast to “the foreigners who fought in the British army at Waterloo.” “The Waterloo Banquet,” *The Times*, June 19, 1850, p. 5.

and determination of the British soldier. He thought there was an officer present who had rendered great services in the line – Sir Colin Halket.”⁷⁷

The greatest compliments, of course, were direct toasts, of which there were only a few per year, and which, especially in later years, were employed to pay tribute to those just back from imperial service. In 1847, Wellington singled out Sir Peregrine Maitland and Sir Harry Smith, noting in his remarks on Smith that “he desired more prominently to allude to one distinguished officer who had recently come among them from the scenes of several actions in which he had been engaged, and which had cast so brilliant a lustre on British arms, and... rendered him justly distinguished in the eyes of his native country.”⁷⁸ To be singled out in such a way, Sir Harry Smith replied, made “the present moment... one of the proudest of my life. To have my health thus flatteringly proposed by the great captain of the age, while surrounded by many of his gallant and veteran generals, and among so large an assemblage of my old comrades, so famed for deeds of arms, is an honour which I could scarcely aspire to.”⁷⁹ While unquestionably an honor, it was also potentially beneficial to a career. Not only were the Waterloo Banquets comprised of exactly the people one needed to impress to improve one’s military career, but the Waterloo Banquet speeches were also reported and sometimes (as in this case) reproduced in the press, thus guaranteeing that word would spread through other influential circles. There are also some indications that those gathered outside of Apsley House heard at least the general thrust of the speeches.⁸⁰

⁷⁷ “The Waterloo Banquet,” *The Times*, June 19, 1850, p. 5.

⁷⁸ “The Waterloo Banquet,” *The Times*, June 21, 1847, p. 8.

⁷⁹ “The Waterloo Banquet,” *The Times*, June 21, 1847, p. 8.

⁸⁰ In 1836 *The Times* reported that Wellington’s toast to the health of the King “was drunk by the company amidst cheering... which was re-echoed by a large assemblage of respectable persons who were congregated in Hyde-park.” “Waterloo Banquet at Apsley-House,” *The Times*, June 20, 1836, p. 5.

The speeches having been concluded, the guests returned to the saloon for tea and coffee and more informal conversation.⁸¹ The Banquet usually broke up between 10 and 11, often with Wellington and guests, making their way on to other events.⁸² On one notable occasion in 1838 when Queen Victoria was hosting a ball at Buckingham Palace the same night, the entire gathering was invited to move from Banquet to ball, an invitation that “his Grace and several of his gallant visitors” accepted.⁸³

Having outlined the general form of the Banquet, it is now necessary to look beyond the walls of Apsley House or Hyde Park Corner. For the British army in general, both at home and abroad, the anniversary of Waterloo served the same purpose as the anniversary of Trafalgar did for the Royal Navy: an opportunity to celebrate, through the achievements of a portion of their number, the entire force.⁸⁴ The celebrations of those regiments that carried the Waterloo battle honor on their colors may have been more elaborate or more personal, but there can be little doubt that the Army followed the public trend of associating June 18th with the entire army, rather than just that part of it that had actually been there.⁸⁵ For some members of the public, that association was not wholly positive. In 1852, in response to the resurgence of France under Louis Napoleon (soon to become Emperor Napoleon III) a letter to the Editor of the Times lambasted “‘Horse Guards’” for having been “asleep since 1815 and has only awoken once every June, to assist at the Waterloo banquet.”⁸⁶ The Army’s high command, the letter continued, “has outdone Alexander, for only ‘thrice he routed all his foes, and thrice he slew the slain;’ while it has performed that capital operation six-and-thirty times.”⁸⁷ While this is in some ways an unjust

⁸¹ See, for example, “The Waterloo Banquet,” *The Times*, June 19, 1852, p. 8.

⁸² In 1851 Wellington attended a social reunion and in 1852 two different receptions after the banquet. “The Waterloo Banquet,” *The Times*, June 19, 1851, p. 5; “The Waterloo Banquet,” *The Times*, June 19, 1852, p. 8.

⁸³ Marquess Curyingham to Wellington, June 17, 1838, Hartley Library, University of Southampton, MS 61 Wellington Papers, WP2/52/41; “The Waterloo Banquet,” *Belfast News-Letter*, June 26, 1838; “The Duke of Wellington’s Waterloo Banquet,” *The Standard*, June 19, 1838.

⁸⁴ Andrew S. Thompson, *Imperial Britain: The Empire in British Politics, c. 1880-1932* (London: Routledge, 2014), 46.

⁸⁵ Anniversary Dinner, *The Times*, July 4, 1838, p. 5.

⁸⁶ “Letter to the Editor from ‘An Englishman,’” *The Times*, January 24, 1852, p. 5.

⁸⁷ The line of poetry the letter quotes is, rather fittingly, from “Alexander’s Feast” by John Dryden (1697), which describes a victory banquet. “Letter to the Editor from ‘An Englishman,’” *The Times*, January 24, 1852, p. 5.

condemnation of an organization that successfully managed a fighting force with a presence on every inhabited continent, it certainly captures one of the views of the British army present in the metropole: that it had been fighting the same battle for nearly forty years and had failed to move with the times.

For other members of the public, the association of Horse Guards with the Waterloo Banquet presented an opportunity and a captive audience. In 1836 the Cornwall engineering firm of J. George and Son sent Wellington the plans for a steam war chariot with a request that he lay the plans “on the table at the Grand Waterloo Dinner, after the cloth is removed” so that “the Great Generals [present] will have an opportunity of [judging]... the utility of the invention.”⁸⁸ Wellington, who had no desire to see his annual celebration inundated with military inventions, directed J. George and Son to apply directly to the Master General of the Ordnance (at that point Sir Richard Hussey Vivian, who was, in fact, on the guest list for that night’s Banquet).⁸⁹

At first glance, it might seem odd that the general British public was interested in what, at the end of the day, was a relatively elitist military gathering. It is also, perhaps, counterintuitive that public interest and enthusiasm increased rather than decreased as the year of the actual battle receded. There are several explanations for this. The first was sheer national pride: Waterloo had been, as *The Times* in 1851 put it, the “crowning achievement of our national arms,” the moment that had cemented Britain’s role as the global hegemon of the nineteenth century.⁹⁰ The second was the Victorian mania for hero worship. The veterans of the Napoleonic Wars and Waterloo in particular made excellent candidates for the status of “great men” as explored by Thomas Carlyle and his contemporaries.⁹¹ This presented an

⁸⁸ J. George & Son to Wellington, June 18, 1836, Hartley Library, University of Southampton, MS 61 Wellington Papers, WP2/40/118-119.

⁸⁹ Wellington’s draft reply to J. George & Son to Wellington, June 18, 1836, Hartley Library, University of Southampton, MS 61 Wellington Papers, WP2/40/118-119; “Waterloo Banquet at Apsley-House,” *The Times*, June 20, 1836, p. 5.

⁹⁰ “The Waterloo Banquet,” *The Times*, June 19, 1851, p. 5.

⁹¹ Thomas Carlyle, *On Heroes, Hero-Worship, and the Heroic in History* (London: James Fraser, 1841); Ralph Waldo Emerson, *Representative Men: Seven Lectures* (Boston: Phillips, Sampson, and Company, 1850).

intriguing contradiction however, as one facet of Carlyle’s arguments is that his ‘Great Men’ stand, by their actions or intellect, above the majority and can speak for more than just themselves. This played directly into the idea of association with the Waterloo Banquet, the Waterloo Men, and Hyde Park Corner as a gateway to conservatism – letting those ‘Great Men’ (especially Wellington and his conservative allies) speak for one.⁹² On the other hand, the cult of hero-worship also fed the Victorian fondness for self-improvement and self-aggrandizement, for, as scholars have pointed out, one must believe in ‘great men’ if one wishes to become a great man.⁹³ This tension between hopeful and actual self-made ‘Great Men’ of the new Victorian mold (often self-made through industry), and more traditionally politically and militarily minted ‘Great Men’ kept the debate going, and the coverage of the Waterloo Banquets provided a suitable venue. Association with these men, whether through touring the Apsley House Picture Gallery, gathering outside on the evening of the Banquet, or merely reading about it in the popular press, allowed association with some small measure of their achievements and greatness.⁹⁴

The third explanation, which combines aspects of the first two, is that the celebration of Waterloo provided an anchor, as the century continued, to the 25 years of war that had significantly shaped Britain, internally and externally. This explanation helps explain the inevitable nationalization of the victory, including elite affairs such as the Banquet, which were slowly coopted into events of national remembrance. In 1839 *The North Wales Chronicle* argued that the traditional description of the

⁹² David R. Sorensen, Introduction to *On Heroes, Hero-Worship, and the Heroic in History*, by Thomas Carlyle (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013), 1-16; Owen Dudley Edwards, “‘The Tone of the Preacher’: Carlyle as Public Lecturer in *On Heroes, Hero-Worship, and the Heroic in History*” in *On Heroes, Hero-Worship, and the Heroic in History*, by Thomas Carlyle, edited by David R. Sorensen and Brent E. Kinser (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013), 199-208; Sara Atwood, “‘Leading human souls to what is best’: Carlyle, Ruskin, and Hero-Worship,” in Carlyle, *On Heroes* (2013), 247-257; Brent E. Kinser, “Thomas Carlyle, Social Media, and the Digital Age of Revolution,” in Carlyle, *On Heroes* (2013), 272-281.

⁹³ Walter E. Houghton, *The Victorian Frame of Mind: 1830-1870* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), 310-314.

⁹⁴ Houghton, *Victorian Frame of Mind*, chapter 12; Cornelia D. J. Pearsall, “Burying the Duke: Victorian Mourning and the Funeral of the Duke of Wellington,” *Victorian Literature and Culture* 27:2 (1999): 365-393; Stuart Semmel, “Reading the Tangible Past: British Tourism, Collecting, and Memory after Waterloo,” *Representations* 69 (Winter 2000): 9-37.

Banquet as “annual” should be replaced by “national.”⁹⁵ Two years later, *The Times* noted that the celebration had “become of historical interest, not only to this country, but to Europe in general.”⁹⁶ The passing of time became an integral part of reporting the Banquet, with later reports opening with an honor-roll of those veterans who had died in the past year.⁹⁷ What is more telling, however, is that to the press, the advancement of time made the subject more worthy of reporting, not less. As *The Times* put it in 1842: “as upwards of a quarter of a century has elapsed since that glorious victory... it yearly becomes of additional interest, not only to those moving in the military circles, but to the nation at large.”⁹⁸ Hero worship, history, and self-celebration were all individually popular in Victorian Britain; the combination of all three by the Waterloo banquet provided too heady a mix to be ignored.

One of the manifestations of this popularity was the emergence of other Waterloo dinners. Many regiments held their own celebrations of the battle, but it also became popular for civilian clubs to celebrate it.⁹⁹ In Worcester, the Royal Union Society of Pensioners paraded through the streets, attended a church service, and then met at the Union Tavern for a celebratory meal.¹⁰⁰ Besides the civilian nature of these celebrations, many were set apart from Wellington’s Banquet by being explicitly political in nature. The meetings of the Stockport Loyal Wellington Club, whose membership “comprise[d] a large proportion of the worth and consequence” of the Manchester area, can be seen as

⁹⁵ “Waterloo Banquet,” *The North Wales Chronicle*, June 25, 1839.

⁹⁶ “The Waterloo Banquet at Apsley House,” *The Times*, June 19, 1841, p. 5.

⁹⁷ See, for example, “The Waterloo Banquet,” *The Times*, June 19, 1851, p. 5; “The Waterloo Banquet,” *The Times*, June 19, 1852, p. 8.

⁹⁸ “The Waterloo Banquet,” *The Times*, June 20, 1842, p. 6.

⁹⁹ *The Morning Post*, June 18, 1824; *Caledonian Mercury*, June 28, 1827. There were multiple dinners that were not tied to any one particular club. See Windsor, June 18, *The Morning Post*, June 20, 1825; Weymouth, June 19, *The Morning Post*, June 20, 1826; *The Morning Post*, June 22, 1827; *The Newcastle Courant etc.*, June 23, 1827.

¹⁰⁰ *Berrow’s Worcester Journal*, June 24, 1824; *Berrow’s Worcester Journal*, June 23, 1825. In 1827, the venue of the dinner was moved to the Swan. *Berrow’s Worcester Journal*, June 21, 1827. In London, a similar society, the Honourable Corps of Gentlemen Pensioners, also met to celebrate the anniversary. Waterloo Grand Dinners, *The Morning Post*, June 20, 1825; *Mirror of Fashion*, *The Morning Chronicle*, June 20, 1825.

a direct response to the reform agitation that the area was known for.¹⁰¹ Following that model, William McKendrick wrote to Wellington in 1839 to seek the Duke’s permission to found the “Glasgow Wellington Club” which would meet every 18th of June and “admit members only of good character and of similar conservative opinions.”¹⁰² Sir John Hope was a member of a similar club in Edinburgh, and the surviving toast cards from their Waterloo dinners (which took place in 1835, 1836, and 1838) all show an equal dedication to conservative politics, with toasts being drunk to the “success of the conservative cause,” “the immortal memory of William Pitt,” and “the Conservative Members of the House of Commons.”¹⁰³ Wellington, although he clearly approved of conservative politics, did not go out of his way to endorse or encourage these banquets. His reply to William McKendrick is non-committal, and we have no record of his reply to another Glaswegian club requesting an autographed letter from him to crown their own Waterloo celebrations.¹⁰⁴

While the general populace and the majority of the press were in favor of the Waterloo Banquet, the celebration was not universally popular. In 1831, during the controversy over the Great Reform Act, a mob throwing stones at Apsley House targeted the picture gallery in particular, presumably at least partially because of its association with the Banquet.¹⁰⁵ The next year, on the anniversary of Waterloo, Wellington himself was attacked on his way home from the Bank of England

¹⁰¹ Battle of Waterloo, *The Lancaster Gazette and General Advertiser*, June 25, 1825; Eighteenth of June, *The Morning Post*, June 25, 1825; Stockport Wellington Club, *The Standard*, June 22^m 1827, p. 1.

¹⁰² William McKendrick to Wellington, August 12, 1839, Hartley Library, University of Southampton, MS 61 Wellington Papers, WP2/61/98.

¹⁰³ These were not the only toasts; each dinner boasted over 20 toasts. Printed Toast Cards for Waterloo Dinners, 1835, 1836, & 1838), Sir John Hope, 31 Moray Place, National Records of Scotland, Edinburgh, GD253/187/6. For the relationship between Wellington, Waterloo, and Scottish conservatism, see J. E. Cookson, “The Edinburgh and Glasgow Duke of Wellington Statues: Early Nineteenth-Century Unionist Nationalism as a Tory Project,” *The Scottish Historical Review* 83:215 (April, 2004): 23-40.

¹⁰⁴ Wellington to William McKendrick, draft reply, 1839, Hartley Library, University of Southampton, MS 61 Wellington Papers, WP2/61/98; John Thomas to Wellington, June 13, 1839, Hartley Library, University of Southampton, MS 61 Wellington Papers, WP2/59/101.

¹⁰⁵ Arbuthnot, *Journal*, II:432.

and had to finish his journey with an escort of 100 policemen.¹⁰⁶ The sumptuousness of the Banquet also drew criticism. The radical newspaper *The Chartist* reported in 1839 the case of “a Waterloo man, who was in the thickest of the fire, and received two wounds in the engagement [who] passed by Apsley House dinnerless and penniless on the 18th of June, and saw the men whom he had enabled to win the battle assembling to luxuriate upon gold plate.... Could not a WATERLOO MAN,” the paper concluded, “dine off of his ‘glory?’”¹⁰⁷ *The Bristol Mercury* took a similar approach, noting that while the gold plate the officers would be dining off of was a gift of George IV, it was paid for by the British public, a “small circumstance the Duke and his guests would do well to recollect, when they shall meet in celebration of their gold-plated military orgies.”¹⁰⁸

Many of the most vocal criticisms of the annual Banquet came from beyond the borders of Britain. The French press, unsurprisingly, took issue with the celebration of their defeat, accusing the British of living in the past and glorifying war. (*The Times* responded to this accusation by pointing out that the French continued to celebrate the anniversary of Austerlitz (a battle 11 years older than Waterloo) every year on the 2nd of December.)¹⁰⁹ Nor was it just the French press who were insulted. Two years after Wellington’s death, *The New York Daily Times* advanced the opinion that the alliance between Britain and France occasioned by the Crimean War would not have been possible had Wellington still been alive and hosting his annual dinner, noting “in the present year, friendly as England is with France, there would have been much that is ungracious or even insulting, in keeping up this braggadocio festival.”¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁶ “Attack upon the Duke of Wellington,” *Bristol Mercury*, June 23, 1832; Letter to the Editor, *The Times*, June 19, 1832, p. 3.

¹⁰⁷ It is interesting to note that in the same issue *The Chartist* published a relatively positive report on the banquet itself. “A Waterloo Man,” *The Chartist*, June 23, 1839.

¹⁰⁸ “The ‘Service of Gold Plate,’” *Bristol Mercury*, June 23, 1832.

¹⁰⁹ “Express from Paris,” *The Times*, June 25, 1846, p. 7; “The Ordinary Antagonism of the French Journals,” *The Times*, June 29, 1846, p. 4.

¹¹⁰ “The Anglo-French Union,” *The New York Daily Times*, July 8, 1854, p. 4.

The Waterloo Banquet remained remarkably consistent over the 30 years that it was held. Its growth, both in size and in attention, illustrates the importance of celebration and remembrance not only for those officers who took part, but also for civilians. It demonstrates that the priorities expressed by the Waterloo Banquet were not strictly military priorities, and that a large portion of the British public also valued remembrance of the Battle of Waterloo (even if that formal remembrance was the only memory they had of the battle), and the mental anchors it provided to their broader British identities. Its use as a method of advancement is also clear. For those who attended, the Banquet provided a social and networking boost, not only in person at the event itself, but also in wider London society via the guest lists reported in the press. For civilians, it was an opportunity to achieve greatness and glory by proxy: the gleam of the serried ranks of silver plate and china on the picture gallery’s long table and the golden light that poured forth from Apsley House’s doors and windows on June 18th did more than just welcome guests and illuminate Hyde Park Corner. It brought ordinary Britons into the company of great men and military heroes, and bathed the entire country, albeit temporarily, in the glory of “that sanguinary but brilliant achievement in British arms.”¹¹¹

Other Waterloo Celebrations

The news of the victory at Waterloo reached London on June 21, three days after the battle. It was carried by Major Henry Percy, Aide-de-Camp to the Duke of Wellington, who, along with his own experiences of the battle carried Wellington’s Waterloo Dispatch and two Eagles, the French Imperial battle standards, captured on the field.¹¹² Percy, who had been on the road since being handed

¹¹¹ “The Waterloo Banquet,” *The Times*, June 20, 1842, p. 6.

¹¹² Percy was the fifth son of Algernon Percy, Earl of Beverley and grandson of Hugh Percy, Duke of Northumberland. For the details of Percy’s journey, see Brian Cathcart, *The News from Waterloo: The Race to Tell Britain of Wellington’s Victory* (London: Faber & Faber, 2015), chapters 4, 7, & 11; Reginald Colby, *The Waterloo Despatch: The Story of the Duke of Wellington’s Official Despatch on the Battle of Waterloo and its Journey to London* (London: Her Majesty’s Stationary Office, 1965).

Wellington’s dispatch, first delivered the news to Earl Bathurst, Secretary of State for War, before continuing on to St. James’s Square where the Prince Regent was attending a party. Clad in the same bloodstained uniform he had worn at the battle and at the Duchess of Richmond’s ball that had preceded it, he interrupted the party to lay the Eagles and the news at the feet of the Prince Regent. He was rewarded the next day with a promotion to Lieutenant Colonel and the Order of the Bath.¹¹³

Lieutenant Colonel Percy received another, less tangible reward for his three-day journey: he was the only Waterloo veteran to be in the capital for the preliminary and spontaneous celebrations of victory.¹¹⁴ The days after Waterloo marked a high point for the army’s reputation in Britain.

Spontaneous celebrations and illuminations emerged across the capital in the days following the arrival of the news.¹¹⁵ Within a week, meetings were held in the City to establish a Waterloo Relief Fund, both houses of Parliament had voted official thanks, and new formation dances were being dedicated to the victory.¹¹⁶ The men who actually fought at Waterloo missed this outpouring, as they were still in France and Belgium. They received their own celebrations, in the form of dinners for general officers and multiple reviews and levees in and outside Paris, many attended by allied monarchs, but these were almost entirely military affairs.¹¹⁷

As the actual battle receded into the past, however, and especially once the Army of Occupation returned from France in 1818, military and civilian celebrations of the battle began to merge. Even those

¹¹³ Alan Forrest, *Waterloo* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 54; Cathcart, *The News from Waterloo*, 233-235.

¹¹⁴ Although he left shortly after to return to Wellington’s army. Cathcart, *The News from Waterloo*, 247.

¹¹⁵ Cathcart, *The News from Waterloo*, 237-256.

¹¹⁶ “Patriotic Meeting,” *The Morning Post*, June 29, 1815; “Waterloo Subscription,” *The Morning Chronicle*, June 30, 1815; House of Commons debate on Thanks to the Duke of Wellington, Prince Blücher, and the Allied Armies, June 23, 1815, *Historic Hansard Vol. 31*, columns 980-989; House of Lords debate on Thanks to the Duke of Wellington, Prince Blücher, and the Allied Armies, June 23, 1815, *Historic Hansard Vol. 31*, columns 971-977; “For This Week Only. Sadler’s Wells,” *The Morning Chronicle*, June 27, 1815.

¹¹⁷ Walter Scott attended both a dinner and a levee, and even though it was undoubtedly his civilian fame that earned him the invitations, he still wore his uniform as an officer of the Royal Edinburgh Volunteer Light Dragoons. Paul O’Keefe, general introduction to *Scott on Waterloo*, by Walter Scott (London: Vintage Books, 2015), 10-11; *Diary of Lord R. E. H. Somerset, 1815-1817*, Bodleian Library Special Collections, Bodleian Library, University of Oxford.

celebrations that were explicitly martial in nature and guest list were subject to civilian encroachment, if only in the form of spectators, just as military men were welcome at celebrations in civilian venues.

The most common forms of public military celebrations were parades and levees. Sometimes these were specially planned events, and sometimes they were standard parades and marches made significant by the day. *The Times* reported in 1820 that Waterloo Day was marked by the Duke of York inspecting the guard before their parade in St. James’s Park, and subsequently leading his own regiment in a church service (the 18th fell on a Sunday that year), where he was recognized and cheered by the crowd. *The Times* also reported that those soldiers who had been involved in the battle were permitted to wear laurel leaves with their uniforms.¹¹⁸ The laurels continued to be employed on that day, traditionally worn in head gear, although by 1834 the laurels had migrated from the caps of those who had been present at the battle to the colours of the regiments that had been there, while the veterans of the conflict were given the day off.¹¹⁹ For the twentieth anniversary, a year later, the two laurel traditions were combined, with leaves both on the colours and in the caps of veterans. That year, Wellington himself, accompanied by several of his generals and cheered by crowds, reviewed the parade before inspecting the troops stationed at the Wellington Barracks in Birdcage Walk and laying the first stone of a new military chapel.¹²⁰

Celebrations were not limited to London. In 1829, for example, the troops stationed in Dublin staged a reenactment of the battle in Phoenix Park, although they proceeded through the event far too quickly for the spectators, many of whom arrived too late to witness the event.¹²¹ Nor was the Army the only branch of the service to honor the anniversary. In 1828 the Duke of Clarence (later William IV), then the Lord High Admiral, held a regatta on the Thames to mark the battle. The regatta, which was

¹¹⁸ “Yesterday the Duke of York visited the King,” *The Times*, June 19, 1820, p. 3.

¹¹⁹ “Yesterday morning the King left town for Kew,” *The Times*, June 19, 1822, p. 2; “Yesterday being the 19th anniversary of the battle,” *The Times*, June 19, 1834, p. 5.

¹²⁰ “Bank shares at Vienna,” *The Times*, June 19, 1835, p. 2.

¹²¹ “The Army,” *Morning Chronicle*, June 23, 1829.

centered around a rowing race boasting a total of 23 sovereigns in prize money, drew the ceremonial barges of several of the City’s guilds and attracted an elite crowd of senior army and naval personnel, aristocrats, and several ambassadors, including Prince Polignac, then representing France at the Court of St. James.¹²² Five years later, the Navy again honored the army, this time at Chatham, with the launch of *HMS Waterloo*, a 120-gun first-rate ship of the line. The launch attracted a large crowd, both on land and in private yachts, and was supplemented with a fireworks display and a reenactment of the battle by detachments of four regiments on the heights overlooking Chatham.¹²³

Much less martial, but still popular, were dances and balls. On the second anniversary of the battle, Almack’s held a “splendid *Fete*” “in a style of unexampled magnificence,” which was graced by the officers of the First and Second Regiments of the Life Guards and was marked by waltzing and quadrilles from 11pm until 4:30am.¹²⁴ Not to be outdone, the officers of the Royal Horse Guards Blue gave an even more sumptuous ball at the Riding House in Windsor the same night “to the whole of the fashionable world.” which boasted dancing from 11pm until 5am, interrupted at 1am by a sit-down supper for a thousand guests at tables decorated by trophies of Wellington’s campaigns.¹²⁵ Despite the presence at Almack’s of over thirty of Britain’s titled aristocracy, it was the Windsor *Fete* that achieved the ultimate guest list honor in the presence of both Wellington and the Prince Regent. The latter held court in the ballroom from within the campaign tent of the Tipu Sultan, which had been captured at the 1799 siege of Seringapatam at which Wellington, then simply Colonel Arthur Wellesley, had been present.¹²⁶ As the years since the battle increased, it became more popular for civilian balls to celebrate the occasion without the requirement of an organized military presence. Cheltenham’s Assembly Rooms

¹²² “Waterloo Regatta,” *The Times*, June 19, 1828, p. 6.

¹²³ The Kingdom of the Netherlands had beaten the Royal Navy to the punch on this one, building an 80-gun warship of the same name in the early 1820s. Pennington, *A Journey into Various Parts of Europe*, II:613; “Launch of the Waterloo,” *The Times*, June 19, 1833, p. 5.

¹²⁴ Almack’s Ball, *The Morning Post*, June 20, 1817; Almack’s Ball, *The Morning Post*, June 13, 1817.

¹²⁵ Windsor, June 19, *The Morning Post*, June 20, 1817; Other Parties, *The Morning Post*, June 9, 1817.

¹²⁶ Almack’s Ball, *The Morning Post*, June 20, 1817; Windsor, June 19, *The Morning Post*, June 20, 1817.

Subscription Balls marked the anniversary in 1827 with “a profuse display of variegated lamps and festoons of laurel, with the other customary ensignia of festival and rejoicing,” but no promise of officers in attendance.¹²⁷ One of the most successful civilian balls was Alresford’s Dance on the Nythe, also known as the Waterloo Maying, which took place over two days annually on the common next to Old Alresford Pond.¹²⁸ Under the patronage of Baron and Lady Rodney, “a handsome and spacious bower was erected” with a full band and small boats to bring revelers across Old Alresford Pond.¹²⁹ The boats were constantly kept busy, as reports from the 1820s state that over 200 couples were often on the dance floor at once, “surrounded by crowds of merry spectators.”¹³⁰ The event was clearly a highlight of the local social calendar, with “all the beauty and fashion of the neighbourhood grac[ing] the scene,” “highly gratified with their amusement.”¹³¹ Unsurprisingly, given the clientele, the event is described in the papers as “highly respectable” and marked by “the utmost decorum,” despite indications that occasionally, a former trooper of the Light Dragoon regiments would provide entertainment by “running about with a wheelbarrow blindfolded,” an amusement in which he apparently showed remarkable skill.¹³²

The arts did not ignore Waterloo, and over the years several artistic endeavors took advantage of the public’s desire to celebrate the victory. In January 1825 “public curiosity was excited... by

¹²⁷ Cheltenham, June 22, *The Morning Post*, June 25, 1827.

¹²⁸ A maying is the celebration of May Day, traditionally held on May 1st every year. In a particularly patriotic move, the towns around Winchester decided to move their annual May Day celebration to June 18th to mark Waterloo. See Winchester, June 13, *The Morning Post*, June 13, 1825; Dance on the Nythe, *The Morning Post*, June 27, 1825; Winchester, *Hampshire Telegraph and Sussex Chronicle*, June 22, 1829.

¹²⁹ Dance on the Nythe, *The Morning Post*, June 27, 1825; Southampton, June 25, *The Morning Post*, June 27, 1826.

¹³⁰ Dance on the Nythe, *The Morning Post*, June 27, 1825; Winchester, *The Salisbury and Winchester Journal*, June 23, 1823, p. 4; Southampton, June 25, *The Morning Post*, June 27, 1826.

¹³¹ Winchester, *The Salisbury and Winchester Journal*, June 23, 1823, p. 4; *Hampshire Telegraph and Sussex Chronicle*, June 25, 1827.

¹³² Dance on the Nythe, *The Morning Post*, June 27, 1825; *A Narrative of the Life of Richard Titheridge, a Native of Alresford, Better Known in Winchester and Southampton by the Name of Dickey Dung Prong, Formerly a Light Dragoon in the British Army. To which is Added, an Account of the Murder of His Father, about Sixty-two Years Ago* (London: John Fletcher, 1835), 8.

preparations for erecting a Temple” in Hyde Park to house and display Jan Willem Pieneman’s *The Battle of Waterloo* (1824).¹³³ Pieneman, who was then director of the Royal Academy at Amsterdam, had been commissioned to paint the 27 feet long and 18 feet high painting by William I, King of the Netherlands.¹³⁴ He sketched several of the notable figures in it, including Wellington, from life before embarking on the final project, which was then loaned to Britain by William I.¹³⁵ The building, constructed on the site of the Old Riding House near Grosvenor Gate, was large enough that it required the permission of both the King and his Office of Woods.¹³⁶ The work is not really of the battle, which is relegated to the background, but is instead a group portrait of the over 25 significant figures in the battle, who are depicted life-sized.¹³⁷ The great majority of these are command and staff officers, most notably Wellington himself, who holds the painting’s center mounted on his charger, Copenhagen, and the Prince of Orange, painted on his sickbed (he was wounded at the battle), the most senior Dutch officer present. Despite the painting being set towards the end of the battle, there is not a single Prussian individual in it.¹³⁸

The painting became a popular destination for London society, thanks to its artistic merits, its nearly panoramic size, and its privileging of the British and Dutch perspectives. It opened to the public in early May, after a private viewing for the press that was graced by the presence of many of the painting’s “distinguished conquerors,” who praised the “faithful hand of the artist in many of the details of the battle.”¹³⁹ Admission was one shilling, and one could purchase a description for another

¹³³ Hyde Park, *The Morning Post*, January 28, 1825.

¹³⁴ The Arts, *The Morning Post*, May 9, 1825.

¹³⁵ “Battle of Waterloo,” *The Times*, June 18, 1825, p. 1.

¹³⁶ Temporary exhibition building for a picture of the Battle of Waterloo, 1825, London, National Archives, WORK 16/26/5.

¹³⁷ “Battle of Waterloo,” *The Times*, June 18, 1825, p. 1.

¹³⁸ The Battle of Waterloo, Jan Pieneman, 200 Objects of Waterloo, Waterloo200, <http://waterloo200.org/200-object/jan-pieneman-wellington-and-staff-at-waterloo/>

¹³⁹ The Arts, *The Morning Post*, May 9, 1825; *The Morning Post*, May 11, 1825.

shilling.¹⁴⁰ On the anniversary of the battle, however, the admission fee was waived for any veteran of the battle, “provided they bring their medal in uniform, or certificate of discharge out of uniform,” a decision *The Morning Post* declared “highly creditable to those who agreed to grant the privilege to the brave fellows.”¹⁴¹ Clearly intended as a temporary exhibition timed to the tenth anniversary of the victory, popular demand kept it open far longer than was originally planned. The advertisements for the exhibition in the days following Christmas 1825 assured the public that “a good fire [was] constantly kept,” a necessity in a temporary building that had been designed for a British summer.¹⁴² It is unclear when it finally closed, but reports indicate that it was still open in March 1826, ten months after it had first opened.¹⁴³

More common than dedicated exhibitions were additions to programs that acknowledged the event. The King’s Theatre, Haymarket, on the days around the anniversary, would add a fourth act to their musical selections comprising “Beethoven’s celebrated Battle Symphony, composed in celebration of the Battle of Waterloo, with appropriate scenery, decorations, &c., and dramatized expressly for this occasion. The whole to conclude with the National Anthem ‘God save the King.’”¹⁴⁴ The Prague Minstrels, who were performing at the Egyptian Hall, Piccadilly, during the twenty-fifth anniversary of the battle in 1830, announced to potential audience members that “in commemoration of the Battle of Waterloo, their popular piece under that name, with a new movement, and also the Duke of Wellington’s Grand March, will be performed throughout the present week.”¹⁴⁵

¹⁴⁰ “Battle of Waterloo,” *The Times*, June 18, 1825, p. 1.

¹⁴¹ Anniversary of the Battle of Waterloo, *The Morning Post*, June 14, 1825, p. 1; *The Morning Post*, June 15, 1825, p. 3.

¹⁴² Battle of Waterloo, *The Morning Post*, December 27, 1825, p. 1; Battle of Waterloo, *The Morning Post*, December 29, 1825, p. 1.

¹⁴³ *The Morning Post*, March 28, 1826.

¹⁴⁴ In fact, Beethoven’s Battle Symphony, also known as Wellington’s Victory, was actually composed in 1813 and honored the victory at Vittoria, not Waterloo. “King’s Theatre,” *The Times*, June 19, 1830, p. 2; “King’s Theatre,” Haymarket, *The Times*, June 17, 1830, p. 2.

¹⁴⁵ “The Prague Minstrels,” *The Times*, June 19, 1830, p. 1.

While many regular performances tipped their caps to the anniversary, two venues put on dedicated, annual shows to celebrate the battle: Astley’s Royal Amphitheatre and Royal Vauxhall Gardens. Astley’s Royal Amphitheatre was a permanent circus located in Lambeth, famous for its horse and acrobatic shows.¹⁴⁶ Its 42-foot ring, surrounded by seats, became the international standard for circuses. Around the 18th of June, the Amphitheatre would supplement whatever shows or guest acts it currently had on with “the Battle of Waterloo, including three grand melee scenes of the advance of the French army and the Battles of Ligny and Quatre Bras.”¹⁴⁷ Astley’s *Battle of Waterloo* is discussed in detail in chapter IV, but it is worth noting here that within a few years of the show’s debut, it became so well known that the advertisements, instead of going into details, merely announced “the grand military national spectacle of the Battle of Waterloo.”¹⁴⁸

By far the most famous of the regular performance celebrations of Waterloo was the Vauxhall Fete. Unlike the Waterloo Banquet, it was usually held multiple times around the 18th of June, and sometimes extended into July.¹⁴⁹ Vauxhall Gardens had been one of London’s premier outdoor entertainments since the days of Samuel Pepys, but even by its standards, the Waterloo Fetes were popular.¹⁵⁰ *The Times* reports of the event always noted the high number of people in attendance, often despite poor weather.¹⁵¹ One of the highlights of Vauxhall was its extensive and colorful illuminations, and those were supplemented on the 18th of June by an estimated 12,000 additional lamps, often arranged into thematic decorations.¹⁵² In 1838, for example, one end of the large quadrangle was dominated by “a portrait of the Duke of Wellington in bronze-coloured lamps, surrounded with wreaths

¹⁴⁶ Richard D. Altick, *The Shows of London* (Cambridge: Belknap Press, 1978), 119, 176.

¹⁴⁷ “Anniversary of the Battle of Waterloo,” *The Times*, June 19, 1829, p. 2.

¹⁴⁸ “Astley’s,” *The Times*, June 19, 1834, p. 4.

¹⁴⁹ See, for example, Royal Gardens, Vauxhall, *The Times*, July 25, 1827, p. 2; Repetition. Royal Gardens, Vauxhall, *The Times*, July 9, 1828, p. 2.

¹⁵⁰ For a general history of Vauxhall, see William B. Boulton, *Amusements of Old London* (New York: Tabard, 1970), II: 1-41.

¹⁵¹ “Vauxhall Gardens,” *The Times*, June 19, 1824, p. 5; “Vauxhall Gardens,” *The Times*, June 18, 1836, p. 3; “Vauxhall Gardens,” *The Times*, June 19, 1838, p. 5.

¹⁵² “Vauxhall Gardens,” *The Times*, June 19, 1824, p. 5.

of laurel in green lamps”¹⁵³ Whatever musicians and performers were in residence at that time performed, often adding some form of military piece or theme, and they were supplemented by more explicitly martial music and further decorations.¹⁵⁴ 1833 saw the debut of the “Waterloo Waltzes,” which *The Times* declared “ought to be heard by all lovers of martial music;” in 1836 the crowds were entertained by the band of the Coldstream Guards.¹⁵⁵

As at Astley’s, many people were drawn by the promise of military reenactment, a bar that Vauxhall set quite high for itself in 1827, when it created, on several acres of land adjacent to the gardens, a battle spectacle that the *Morning Post* declared was “one of the most grand and extraordinary perhaps ever witnessed in this country.”¹⁵⁶ The 1827 spectacle involved underground gas pipes to create huge jets of flame, artillery fire, “the terrific spectacle of the blowing-up of Hougomont,” and the verisimilitude created by employing veterans of the battle as reenactors.¹⁵⁷ By the time the owners of Vauxhall were considering the 1828 Fete, it was clear they could not aim quite so high again, as they had been subject to local complaints stating that “the noise of the exhibition of the battle of Waterloo could only be compared to the cannonading of a town.”¹⁵⁸ This put them in a quandary, as the management “understood that the public fully expect that this grand national spectacle will then form a part of the amusements.”¹⁵⁹ Their solution was a compromise – eliminate the flame spouts and artillery, and instead provide a demonstration of “equestrian military evolutions and combats” which would provide a similar spectacle without the problematic explosions.¹⁶⁰ As the years went on, the advertisements and reports from the Fete make fewer mentions of reenactments, and focus more on

¹⁵³ “Vauxhall Gardens,” *The Times*, June 19, 1838, p. 5.

¹⁵⁴ “Royal Gardens, Vauxhall,” *The Times*, June 17, 1836, p. 4; “Vauxhall Royal Gardens,” *The Times*, June 17, 1823, p. 2.

¹⁵⁵ “Vauxhall,” *The Times*, June 18, 1833, p. 6; “Vauxhall Gardens,” *The Times*, June 18, 1836, p. 3.

¹⁵⁶ “Vauxhall Gardens,” *The Morning Post*, June 19, 1827.

¹⁵⁷ “Vauxhall Gardens,” *The Morning Post*, June 19, 1827; Royal Gardens, Vauxhall, *The Times*, August 14, 1827, p. 2.

¹⁵⁸ “National Morals,” *The Times*, May 21, 1828, P. 3.

¹⁵⁹ “Royal Gardens,” Vauxhall, *The Times*, June 17, 1828, p. 3.

¹⁶⁰ “Royal Gardens,” Vauxhall, *The Times*, June 17, 1828, p. 3.

music, variety acts, and illuminations. It is probably safe to assume that as complaints and expenses mounted, Vauxhall limited their Waterloo Fetes to more traditional attractions. Despite this, June 18th continued to be a popular night at the Gardens through most of the nineteenth century, and one that was approved by Wellington himself.¹⁶¹

Inspired by the example of Vauxhall, several organizers took advantage of June’s warmer weather and threw their own outdoor events. The grounds of the Pack Horse tavern, Egham Hill near Windsor played host to “a handsome and capacious tent, decorated with a portrait of the illustrious hero [Wellington], surrounded with laurels,” in which “upwards of a hundred persons partook of an excellent dinner” in 1825.¹⁶² The next year, in Bath, Colonel Horner and the officers of the North Somerset Yeomanry Cavalry gave a “grand gala... at Sydney Gardens” complete with illuminations, an imitative triumphal arch, a transparency depicting the charge of the 2nd Dragoons (Scots Greys), and a variety of performances. The event and “the fineness of the weather attracted a very numerous assemblage,” who were “afforded the highest gratification.”¹⁶³

The Waterloo Medals

As with almost all forms of Waterloo remembrance, physical medals can be divided into two categories – actual military awards given by the state and commemorative medals created by private enterprise. We will start with the officially produced military awards. The Waterloo Medal was announced in a memorandum from Horse Guards published in the April 23, 1816 issue of *The London Gazette* “in commemoration of the brilliant and decisive victory of Waterloo, a medal shall be conferred upon every Officer, Non-Commissioned Officer, and Soldier of the British Army present upon that

¹⁶¹ Boulton, *Amusements of Old London*, II:40; Foster, *Wellington and Waterloo*, 113.

¹⁶² Windsor, June 18, *The Morning Post*, June 20, 1825.

¹⁶³ Bath, June 24, *The Morning Post*, June 27, 1826.

memorable occasion.”¹⁶⁴ To fulfill this goal, the Royal Mint struck over 37,000 of them, although not all of them were issued. The medal was designed by Thomas Wyon Jr., at that point the Mint’s Chief Engraver and designer of the newly issued silver currency.¹⁶⁵ The medal featured the bust of the Prince Regent, bedecked with laurels and marked “George P. Regent” on one side and the figure of Victory on the other, seated on a plinth marked “Waterloo” with “Wellington” curved around the top of the medal over her head. It was suspended on a crimson ribbon with blue edges, and the memorandum that created it forbade the wearing of the ribbon without the medal attached.¹⁶⁶ The poor design of the suspension, however, led many recipients to remove the original steel ring and substitute it with a design of their own.¹⁶⁷ The medal represents three British Army firsts: it was the first campaign or battle medal issued to all soldiers, regardless of rank, present at an action; it was the first campaign medal to be issued to the next-of-kin of those killed in action; and it was the first medal where the recipient’s name, rank, and regiment were impressed into the edge of the medal by machine.¹⁶⁸ Of these three firsts, while the second set an intriguing precedent for future conflicts and the third was an impressive technological achievement, it was the first that caused trouble.

Campaign medals were not a new idea; they were common practice on the continent and the East India Company issued them to its forces.¹⁶⁹ The general view of these in the United Kingdom, as reported by a Victorian coin expert, was that “English military pride had hitherto rebelled against the practice common in Continental armies, of conferring medals and distinctions on every man, or every

¹⁶⁴ In fact, any British soldier or member of the King’s German Legion who was present at the battles of Ligny, Quatre Bras, or Waterloo were eligible. “Memorandum,” *The London Gazette*, April 23, 1816, p. 749.

¹⁶⁵ Lawrence L. Gordon, *British Battles and Medals* (Aldershot: Gale and Polden, 1962), 52; Philip Attwood, ‘Wyon family (per. C.1760-1962)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/64499>.

¹⁶⁶ W. S. W. Vaux, “On English and Foreign Waterloo Medals,” in *The Numismatic Chronicle and Journal of the Numismatic Society*, ed. W. S. W. Vaux et al. (London: John Russell Smith, 1869), IX:109-110; “Memorandum,” *The London Gazette*, April 23, 1816, p. 749.

¹⁶⁷ Gordon, *British Battles and Medals*, 52.

¹⁶⁸ Gordon, *British Battles and Medals*, 52.

¹⁶⁹ The medal awarded for the capture of Seringapatam and the Fourth Anglo-Mysore War in 1799 may have been the first medal the Duke of Wellington, then Sir Arthur Wellesley, ever received.

regiment, who had simply done their duty in their respective services.”¹⁷⁰ Waterloo, however, was significant enough to prove an exception, especially since the Prince Regent rather liked the idea of a medal with his head on it, and the idea for the medal came from Wellington himself.¹⁷¹ The problem was, despite Waterloo’s unique status, once Horse Guards started issuing campaign medals, soldiers who risked their lives in other less geopolitically significant but equally dangerous campaigns wanted that acknowledgement. Almost all future conflicts in which the British Army was involved resulted in a campaign medal, and the next significant European conflict, the Crimean War, was the origin of the Victoria Cross, Britain’s highest award for gallantry.¹⁷²

In 1816, however, the debate over medals focused not on the future, but on the past. After Napoleon’s first abdication in 1814, the veteran British army that had fought across the Iberian Peninsula was broken up, with many regiments being sent to North America for the tail end of the War of 1812, or to far-flung portions of the Empire. A large portion of the British forces at Waterloo were new recruits, as there had not been time since Napoleon’s return to recall the veteran battalions. This unfortunate concatenation of geography and military planning led, in 1816, to the sight of relatively new recruits, some with under a year of service, proudly wearing the Waterloo Medal, while veterans who had served through all six years of the Peninsular War were bare chested. It was inevitable that calls began to emerge for a similar medal to be awarded to all Peninsular veterans. There were medals produced for the Peninsular War, but as a soldier had to command a battalion or corps during an engagement to be eligible, the lowest ranking British soldier to be awarded one was a captain.¹⁷³ The solution to this quandary came (although not until 1847) with the Military General Service Medal, which

¹⁷⁰ Vaux, “On English and Foreign Waterloo Medals,” 111.

¹⁷¹ Gordon, *British Battles and Medals*, 52.; Vaux, “On English and Foreign Waterloo Medals,” 110.

¹⁷² See John Glanfield, *Bravest of the Brave: The Story of the Victoria Cross* (Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 2005).

¹⁷³ “Horse Guards, October 7, 1813,” *The London Gazette*, October 5, 1813, p.1985; Gordon, *British Battles and Medals*, 48-51; Stanley Currie Johnson, *The Medal Collector; a Guide to Naval, Military, Air-Force and Civil Medals and Ribbons* (London: H. Jenkins, 1921), 52-57;

was awarded (only upon application) to anyone who had served in a major battle with the British army between the years 1793 and 1814.¹⁷⁴

As he was suggesting the Waterloo medal for all ranks, Wellington also suggested the idea of a grand commemorative medal, originally planned to be of solid gold, that was destined only for the allied monarchs, ministers, and generals. The Prince Regent, who was all for commemorating the battle (even though he had not been there, some of its success rubbed off on him, as it became a national victory), expanded the idea to three versions of the same medal: in gold, to be distributed as Wellington had envisioned, in silver for lesser dignitaries, and in bronze, available for purchase by the public.¹⁷⁵ The Royal Mint held a design competition in 1816 and settled on a proposed design by John Flaxman, but were overruled by the Prince Regent, who preferred a classical design by Benedetto Pistrucci, an Italian engraver who had risen to prominence in France towards the end of the Napoleonic Wars before moving to Britain in December, 1815 (Figure 3.2).¹⁷⁶

¹⁷⁴ A total of 26,091 were awarded. For those who earned both the Waterloo Medal and the MGSM, they became a matched set, and there is evidence that the MGSM was added to portraits years after they were painted. Gordon, *British Battles and Medals*, 25; Vaux, “On English and Foreign Waterloo Medals,” 111-112; The portrait of Colonel Thomas Wildman by James Lonsdale shows the subject in uniform and sporting both the Waterloo Medal and the MGSM, despite the fact that the MGSM was not awarded until 1847 and the artist died in 1839. In this case the MGSM is not pinned next to the Waterloo medal, but is instead worn on the pelisse, where, presumably, it was easier to add it later. Thomas Wildman by James Lonsdale, Art UK, <http://artuk.org/discover/artworks/thomas-wildman-17871859-47850>. Napoleon had endowed a similar honor, known as the Medal of Saint Helena, in his will, which would have been awarded to all those who fought under him between 1792 and 1815, but it did not become a reality until Napoleon III instituted it in 1857. Its creation was ridiculed in some anti-Bonapartist circles, and a Belgian illustrator, Félicien Rops, designed a parody Waterloo Medal that, unlike Hone and Cruikshank’s Peterloo medal, was actually struck in limited quantities. See Philip Attwood, “Notorious for their Villainies,” in *Medals of Dishonour*, Philip Attwood and Felicity Powell (London: British Museum Press, 2009), 25-26.

¹⁷⁵ A limited number of the silver medals would also be purchasable. “The Great Waterloo Medal,” *The Art Journal*, November 1, 1849, 333-334.

¹⁷⁶ G. P. Dyer & P. P. Gaspar, “Reform, the New Technology and Tower Hill, 1700-1966,” in *A New History of the Royal Mint*, ed. C. E. Challis (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 478; Graham Pollard, ‘Pistrucci, Benedetto (1783-1855)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/22314>.



Figure 3.2: The obverse and reverse dies for the Pistrucci Waterloo Medal. London, The Royal Mint Museum, <http://www.royalmintmuseum.org.uk/history/people/artists/benedetto-pistrucci/index2.html>

Pistrucci’s design was a then unprecedented 5.5 inches in diameter and depicted at its center the busts of the kings of Britain, Austria, Russia, and Prussia. The allied sovereigns were surrounded by 60 classical figures, all allegorical in nature. Apollo is depicted in his chariot at the top of the medal, restoring the day to Europe, and his chariot is followed by a rainbow zephyr, scattering flowers onto the earth as a sign of peace. He is heading towards two youths representing the constellation Gemini, the dominant astrological sign on June 18th. Gemini, depicted as the usual figures of Castor and Pollux, bearing spears, also represent Wellington and Blücher, reaching their apotheosis. Power is represented as a large man with a club sitting beneath an oak tree, but is, by his placement behind the sovereigns, subservient to Justice, who sits with all four of the sovereigns facing her, indicating the chosen direction of Europe.¹⁷⁷ Justice sits with a palm in one hand, ready to reward virtue, and a sword in the other, to punish crime. Along the bottom of the medal flees Night, banished by the Apollo’s light; finally, to her right the Furies gather under Power, while on her left the Fates look to Justice for guidance. The center of the medal’s reverse is dominated by two riding figures, classically dressed but wielding the batons of

¹⁷⁷ The figure with the club connoting power may be Hercules.

field marshals and representing Wellington and Blücher. Wellington charges ahead while Blücher gallops to his aid, while between them the winged figure of victory holds their reigns. Above them, on the top of the medal’s reverse, Jupiter, mounted in his chariot, stands in victory at the culmination of the battle of the Giants, nineteen of whose tumbling, defeated, bodies form the rest of the medal’s reverse border, each representing a year of war.¹⁷⁸

Upon the selection of his design in 1819, Pistrucci successfully lobbied for a total fee of £3,500, payable as he progressed, arguing that the medal represented the labor of 30 ordinary medals, for which he was charging £105 at the time.¹⁷⁹ His estimate of the work involved was accurate, as he did not deliver the dies until 1844, at which point the only original planned recipient still alive was the Duke of Wellington.¹⁸⁰ It was not just the scope of the project that extended it over nearly three decades, however. During the period he was working on the medal, Pistrucci was also the chief medalist of the Royal Mint. He designed some of the new gold and silver coins for the final recoinage under George III, and worked on some of the new coinage for George IV. He designed the coronation medals for George IV and Queen Victoria, the Long Service Medal, and continued to take private commissions, including a bust of the Duke of Wellington in 1832.¹⁸¹ Throughout his time at the Royal Mint, Pistrucci was also locked in a rivalry with William Wyon, who took over as chief engraver when Pistrucci was made chief medalist. Pistrucci had assumed the position of chief engraver would be his, even though, as a foreigner, he could not hold it, and blamed Wyon for, as Pistrucci saw it, stealing the position he had earned.¹⁸² The chief medalist position was created as a compromise, and the chief engraver’s original salary of

¹⁷⁸ All details of the medal taken from “The Great Waterloo Medal,” *The Art Journal*, November 1, 1849, 333-334. For an image of the medal, see Dies of the Pistrucci Waterloo Medal, 200 Objects of Waterloo, Waterloo 200, <http://waterloo200.org/200-object/dies-of-the-pistrucci-waterloo-medal>.

¹⁷⁹ Graham Pollard, ‘Pistrucci, Benedetto (1783-1855)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/22314>.

¹⁸⁰ Dies of the Pistrucci Waterloo Medal, 200 Objects of Waterloo, Waterloo 200, <http://waterloo200.org/200-object/dies-of-the-pistrucci-waterloo-medal>.

¹⁸¹ Graham Pollard, ‘Pistrucci, Benedetto (1783-1855)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/22314>; Gordon, *British Battles and Medals*, 55.

¹⁸² Dyer & Gaspar, “Reform, the New Technology and Tower Hill, 1700-1966,” 489.

£500 was split between Wyon and Pistrucci with only a minor increase up to £300 for each of them. His perceived mistreatment over his position set the tone for the remainder of Pistrucci’s years at the mint, where he complained constantly, disrupted projects, and turned in sub-standard work, despite his obvious talent. Pistrucci also continued to feud with Wyon, with their rivalry eventually spilling over into the press. Wyon, while taking part in this feud, was better at not letting it interfere with his work, and so he remained at the Mint when, in 1839, Pistrucci returned to his home city of Rome.¹⁸³ When the finished dies for the medal were finally delivered in 1844, technical challenges replaced artistic ones. The dies for the medal had to be hardened before the medals could be struck, but this process had never been performed on a die of this scale before. Instead of potentially ruining them, the dies were kept as-is, with a few medals being produced in silver via the newly discovered process of electrotyping.¹⁸⁴ The medal was not fully realized and cast as intended until 2015, when the Royal Mint produced a commemorative run for the two-hundredth anniversary of Waterloo.¹⁸⁵

Commemorative medals were not limited to official sources and many, as in the arts and publishing, took advantage of the public’s interest in Waterloo and other British victories.¹⁸⁶ Of these, James Mudie’s set presents an excellent example. Mudie was indirectly connected with the Napoleonic Wars, having served as an officer in the Marines from 1799 to 1810. He suffered from bouts of ill health and never saw combat, but did serve as a recruitment officer before debts and various other activities

¹⁸³ Dyer & Gaspar, “Reform, the New Technology and Tower Hill, 1700-1966,” 478-479, 488-489; Graham Pollard, ‘Pistrucci, Benedetto (1783-1855)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/22314>.

¹⁸⁴ Graham Pollard, ‘Pistrucci, Benedetto (1783-1855)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/22314>; Dies of the Pistrucci Waterloo Medal, 200 Objects of Waterloo, Waterloo 200, <http://waterloo200.org/200-object/dies-of-the-pistrucci-waterloo-medal>.

¹⁸⁵ The Pistrucci Waterloo Silver Medal 2015, The Royal Mint, http://www.royalmint.com/shop/The_Pistrucci_Waterloo_Silver_Medal_2015

¹⁸⁶ See Timothy Alborn, *All That Glittered: Britain’s Most Precious Metal from Adam Smith to the Gold Rush* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), chapter 9.

caused him to be dismissed from the service.¹⁸⁷ Inspired by a set commissioned by Napoleon in Paris, Mudie decided to create a “grand series of national medals” commemorating recent achievements in British history.¹⁸⁸ Debuted in 1819, Mudie’s set comprised 40 medals and could be purchased in bronze (half a guinea each or 20 guineas the set), silver (one guinea each or 40 guineas the set), or gold (15 guineas each or 600 guineas the set).¹⁸⁹ Mudie’s published records for the medal series list 259 subscribers in Britain, India, and the United States, including 22 current or former officers in the armed forces. The army was represented by nine general officers, including the Duke of Wellington and the Marquis of Anglesey.¹⁹⁰ Mudie employed a variety of engravers over the course of the 40 medals, the majority from France, but the collection boasts several engravings each by Thomas Webb, William Wyon, and George Mills.¹⁹¹

Each medal was roughly 1.6 inches in diameter and depicted a notable moment in British history, often a battle, while the reverse usually featured the bust of a significant figure from that event. The treatment of these events varied based on the artist’s preferences. Some are depicted with a modicum of realism, considering the medium, while others are fully allegorical in nature. Medal 11 is one of the more realistic. The medal celebrates the foundation of the Royal Military College, and features an engraving of Queen Charlotte presenting the Colours to students of the academy, with both the queen and the new standard-bearer flanked by men in uniform. The flag is not the King’s Colour or the Academy’s, but instead bears the motto “vires acquirit eundo,” a quote from Virgil’s *Aeneid* that translates to “she gathers strength as she goes.” The implication of Britain’s strength growing as the

¹⁸⁷ Bernard T. Dowd and Averil F. Fink, 'Mudie, James (1779–1852)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, 1967, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/mudie-james-2487/text3345>.

¹⁸⁸ *An Historical and Critical Account of A Grand Series of National Medals* (London: Henry Colburn and Co., 1820).

¹⁸⁹ “Insolvent Debtors’ Court,” *The Times*, August 28, 1821, p. 3; “Grand Series of National Medals,” *The Leeds Mercury*, March 27, 1819, p. 1; *Historical and Critical Account of A Grand Series of National Medals*, x.

¹⁹⁰ *Historical and Critical Account of A Grand Series of National Medals*, v-ix.

¹⁹¹ *Historical and Critical Account of A Grand Series of National Medals*, xvi; “Mr. Mudie’s Grand Series of Medals,” *The Gentleman’s Magazine*, November 1817, 444.

Royal Military College moves forward is clear, but the choice is still odd, given that the original quote refers to the power of Fama, rumor personified. The reverse of the medal features Thomas Webb’s bust of the Duke of York, who founded the College and served as the Commander-in-Chief during the Peninsular War.¹⁹² In contrast, Medal 28 can be taken as an example of the more allegorical designs. Described as “England gave Peace to the World,” the medal celebrates Napoleon’s defeat in 1814. As such, the medal is a notable example of British propaganda, considering it was a combined Russian, Prussian, and Austrian force, without a single British soldier, that marched on Paris and forced Napoleon’s abdication. Despite this, the medal depicts a seated Britannia, her armaments present, but sheathed, placing an olive branch onto the globe, which is held by a female angel who presents it to her with head bowed. The other side features a bust of the Prince Regent in the classical style, with the short hair and laurel wreath of a Roman.¹⁹³

The medals ranged, chronologically, from the British settlement of Bombay in 1602 to the establishment of a constitution for the Ionian Islands in 1817. Of the 40 medals, 15 are directly related to the Peninsular War, five represent the aftermath and the Congress of Vienna, and six represent the Battle of Waterloo and its aftermath. Of the subscribers to Mudie’s complete series, ten had the satisfaction of seeing themselves depicted as busts within the collection.¹⁹⁴ The Duke of Wellington was by far the most portrayed figure in the series; various busts of him (both in uniform and classically depicted) are on eight of the medals.¹⁹⁵ In 1820, as a supplement to the medals (and his income), Mudie published a companion book, with detailed descriptions of the events, figures, and the medals themselves, as well of plates illustrating the obverse and reverse of each one. Mudie’s medal set, while well-known and the beneficiary of a decent subscriber base, was not a financial success. In 1821, two

¹⁹² *Historical and Critical Account of A Grand Series of National Medals*, 57-58.

¹⁹³ *Historical and Critical Account of A Grand Series of National Medals*, 121.

¹⁹⁴ The subscribers who were also portrayed were: George IV, the Duke of York, the Duke of Wellington, the Marquis of Anglesey, the Earl St. Vincent, Lord Beresford, Lord Exmouth, Lord Hill, Lord Lynedock, and Sir Sidney Smith. *Historical and Critical Account of A Grand Series of National Medals*.

¹⁹⁵ *Historical and Critical Account of A Grand Series of National Medals*.

years after he completed the set, and a year after the publication of the companion volume, Mudie was taken to debtor’s court. There he revealed that the dies alone for the medal set cost him over £7,000, and that the entire project had left him roughly £10,000 in debt.¹⁹⁶ He had hoped, *The Times* reported, that the Government would consider it a national work and compensate him for his efforts, but despite the support of several MPs, the Chancellor of the Exchequer turned him down. He was forced to hand over the dies for the medals as well as his collections of busts to discharge his debts.¹⁹⁷ His supporters in Parliament and government were not without resources, however, and through the patronage of Sir Charles Forbes, an MP and subscriber to the medals, the Colonial Office was persuaded to grant Mundie and his family free passage to New South Wales, where he was given a 2150 acre land grant and was eventually made a Justice of the Peace.¹⁹⁸

The Waterloo Model

The case of William Siborn’s model of the Battle of Waterloo is a sad story, but it is also a demonstration of just how enthusiastically the veterans of Waterloo, and Wellington in particular, defended their reputation and the public view of the battle as a British victory.¹⁹⁹ Siborn, the son of a captain in the 9th Foot who was wounded at the Battle of Nivelles, graduated from the Royal Military

¹⁹⁶ Bernard T. Dowd and Averil F. Fink, 'Mudie, James (1779–1852)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, 1967, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/mudie-james-2487/text3345>.

¹⁹⁷ “Insolvent Debtors’ Court,” *The Times*, August 28, 1821, p. 3.

¹⁹⁸ Bernard T. Dowd and Averil F. Fink, 'Mudie, James (1779–1852)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, 1967, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/mudie-james-2487/text3345>.

¹⁹⁹ The spelling of Siborn’s last name varies between Siborne, Sibourne, and Siborn depending on the source. This work will use Siborn, as that is how he signed his name on several letters and petitions relating to his model. See, for example, William Siborn to Parliament, May 24, 1841, Waterloo Correspondence vol. v, British Library, 290. For the most detailed work on Siborn and his model, see Malcolm Balen, *A Model Victory: Waterloo and the Battle for History* (London: Harper Perennial, 2006) or Peter Hofschroer, *Wellington’s Smallest Victory* (London: Faber & Faber, 2005), although it should be noted that Hofschroer is virulently anti-Wellington and the work is best read with knowledge of that bias.

College, Sandhurst in 1814 and joined his father’s regiment.²⁰⁰ Although he missed Waterloo, Siborn did serve with the Army of Occupation for two years before being put on half pay when his regiment was reduced in 1817. He served in a variety of military odd-jobs and published two works on topographical surveying and drawing before being commissioned in 1830 by Lord Hill, then serving as commander-in-chief, “to undertake the construction of a model of the Battle of Waterloo” as a “national military work.”²⁰¹ Siborn was granted a leave of absence from his military duties to complete the task and spent eight months surveying the battlefield in minute detail while living in the farm of La Haye Sainte, which had served as the foremost bulwark of Wellington’s center and had seen some of the most intensive fighting during the battle.²⁰²

Having gained a detailed understanding of the ground, Siborn then set out to map the movements of the armies upon it. He applied to government sources for the official versions of events, and also corresponded with hundreds of officers who had been present. To streamline this process, he had lithographed questionnaires printed, with space for officer’s answers, and included blank maps of the Waterloo battleground for them to fill in what details they could about the movements of their regiments and those around them.²⁰³ His focus was palpably to obtain as accurate an image of the battle as he could, to the point where he engaged in multiple rounds of correspondence with certain officers, seeking clarifications and reassuring them that he “consider[s] all communications made to [him] by Officers respecting Waterloo as strictly confidential, and that, although it is my wish when returning thanks generally, in a preface, to name a few whose aid may have been important, I shall never, either in representing, or in describing any particular fact, bring forward the name of any officer in support of

²⁰⁰ R. H. Vetch, rev. James Falkner, ‘Siborne [Siborn], William (1797-1849)’, Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2013, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/25504>.

²⁰¹ William Siborn to Parliament, May 24, 1841, Waterloo Correspondence vol. v, British Library, 290.

²⁰² R. H. Vetch, rev. James Falkner, ‘Siborne [Siborn], William (1797-1849)’, Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2013, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/25504>.

²⁰³ See, for example, William Siborn to Major Doherty, November 10, 1834; William Siborn to Major Walcott, November 11, 1834; William Siborn to Captain Enoch, December 2, 1834; William Siborn to Lieutenant Colonel Childers, December 27, 1834, Waterloo Correspondence, British Library, vol. iv, 209, 211, vol. ii, 24, 209.

such fact.”²⁰⁴ The correspondence Siborn conducted with allied officers remains the largest collection of first-person Waterloo narratives ever compiled, and is a testament to Siborn’s work.

Unfortunately, having gathered a remarkable amount of data on the battle and the battlefield, Siborn’s luck ran out. In 1833 the new, post-Great Reform Act British government informed him that they were no longer willing to pay the £1,400 then estimated to finish the work, but if he completed the work on his own he would not have to pay back the £380 already advanced to him.²⁰⁵ For the next 16 years, Siborn worked on and tried desperately to pay for his model. He sought out subscribers multiple times, gaining some limited success, but never enough to pay off his debts.²⁰⁶ He exhibited it publicly all over Great Britain, where it was a great success – drawing upwards of 100,000 visitors to the Egyptian Hall in London in 1838 – the costs of transporting and properly displaying it were so high, however, “that the receipts barely sufficed to cover such expenditure.”²⁰⁷ He also repeatedly tried to sell it, to the Royal Dublin Society, and to both the War Office and the Ordnance Department as an educational tool.²⁰⁸

The original cancellation of his project by the Government was pure bad luck, but Siborn was also frustrated by his own determination that his model should be as accurate as possible. Early in the process of designing it, he decided that the model should depict the field at 7pm, traditionally regarded as the climax of the battle.²⁰⁹ It was at 7pm that the French Imperial Guards crested the British-held ridge and were checked and subsequently defeated by the allied infantry. It is a justifiably celebrated moment in British military history, and one that is directly responsible for the ceremonial headwear of

²⁰⁴ William Siborn to Shaw Kennedy, April 3, 1836, Waterloo Correspondence vol. iv, British Library, 68.

²⁰⁵ William Siborn to Viscount Howick, January 2, 1836, Waterloo Correspondence vol. iv, British Library, 122.

²⁰⁶ Subscription proposal, January, 1834; Colonel Bowles to William Siborn, March 18, 1846, Waterloo Correspondence, British Library, vols. I & vi.

²⁰⁷ William Siborn petition to Parliament, May 24, 1841, Waterloo Correspondence, British Library, vol.v, 290.

²⁰⁸ William Siborn to Edward Hardman, September 10, 1841; L. Sullivan to William Siborn, March 20, 1841; G. Murray to William Siborn, November 24, 1841, Waterloo Correspondence, British Library, vol. v, 288, 293.

²⁰⁹ William Siborn to Major Doherty, November 10, 1834, Waterloo Correspondence, British Library, vol. iv, 209.

the Guards Regiments, in imitation of those worn by the French Imperial Guard.²¹⁰ Unfortunately, by 7pm the Prussians were also present on the battlefield and although Siborn’s model limits their presence and influence (he did not go to anywhere near the same level of trouble contacting Prussian officers as he did British), many British officers still objected.²¹¹ Captain John Kincaid can be taken as speaking for many of the objecting officers when he wrote, in a letter to Siborn that the model “gives an equal division of the glory to a Power that did not taste our equal division in the labour.”²¹² If ordinary officers objected, one can understand why Wellington, who jealously guarded his position as public avatar of Britain’s victories in Europe, never came to Siborn’s aid. Whether Wellington went out of his way to sabotage Siborn’s work, as certain scholars have suggested, or merely stepped aside and did not exert a positive influence is unclear, but Wellington does not appear on any of the subscriber lists, and Siborn unquestionably would have found life easier with Wellington as a patron.²¹³ That Siborn’s depiction of the battle was objectionable to some in power, and that he knew it, is indicated by the postscript he added to his 1841 petition to Parliament. The petition, which makes it clear that the model had long since become a millstone around Siborn’s neck, hopes Parliament “may condescend to direct that the model be deposited in the British Museum, the Tower, or in any other public building, as the property of the nation, granting at the same time to your Petitioner such amount of compensation as to your Honorable House he may appear to deserve.”²¹⁴ In a postscript, added later on another sheet of paper, possibly in response to feedback from his allies in Parliament, Siborn, who at this point was one of the leading experts on Waterloo, surrenders to his critics:

²¹⁰ The First Foot Guards were renamed The Grenadier Guards and provided with bearskin caps after the battle, and the headgear was extended to the other Foot Guard regiments in 1831.

²¹¹ William Siborn, Model of the Field of Waterloo, National Army Museum, London, NAM1975-05-56-1, <http://www.nam.ac.uk/online-collection/detail.php?acc=1975-05-56-1>

²¹² John Kincaid to William Siborn, May 2, 1839, Waterloo Correspondence, British Library, vol. v, 29.

²¹³ Hofschroer, *Wellington’s Smallest Victory*; List of Subscribers to Siborn’s work, Waterloo Correspondence, British Library, vol. vi.

²¹⁴ William Siborn petition to Parliament, May 24, 1841, Waterloo Correspondence, British Library, vol.v, 290.

he would humbly venture to suggest that a Committee of military officers should be appointed to inspect the model at the time of its being deposited in the room selected for its reception, in order to ascertain whether any alterations might be advisable as regards the distribution of the troops, with a view to render the representation which it affords of the Battle, as accurate as possible, and that your Petitioner should be required to carry any alterations so proposed with effect.²¹⁵

Siborn found an unlikely ally in Lieutenant Colonel Jonathan Leach who, in his fourth book, *Rambles Along the Styx*, praised Siborn’s models for their accuracy, especially compared the popular panoramas that

may answer equally well as representations of one fight as of another; Wagram or Waterloo,- Salamanca or Austerlitz,- Jena or Talavera. Lines and squares of Infantry blazing away in every direction; *here* into the ranks of friends, *there* into those of their enemies; Highlanders placed in the foreground, and playing first fiddle in battles wherein not a Highland Regiment happened to be present; cavalry charging to the right, left, and front simultaneously, without any apparent motive, and the Artillery discharging salvos of round and grape shot *ad libitum*; oftentimes in any and every direction but the right one.²¹⁶

Leach’s preference for Siborn’s models is clear, as is the implication that the accuracy of those models, created by “a gallant officer, at great expense of time and money” is far superior to anything produced by civilians for the general populace’s entertainment.²¹⁷ Leach closes his recommendation with an excoriation of the government and its decision to not buy the models for the £4,000 pounds Siborn owed, and praises the efforts of those who have started a subscription to rescue Siborn from his debt and purchase for “the British public... a most valuable and faithful representation of that great and decisive battle.”²¹⁸

²¹⁵ Postscript to William Siborn petition to Parliament, May 24, 1841, Waterloo Correspondence, British Library, vol.v, 292.

²¹⁶ Jonathan Leach, *Rambles Along the Styx* (London: T. and W. Boone, 1847), 130-131.

²¹⁷ Leach, *Rambles Along the Styx*, 130.

²¹⁸ Leach, *Rambles Along the Styx*, 131.

The model now resides in the National Army Museum, having been purchased by subscription by the regiments present at Waterloo two years after Siborn’s death. His greater legacy, however, takes the form of paper rather than lead soldiers. In 1844 Siborn published his two-volume *History of the War in France and Belgium in 1815*, which remains in print and was, for many years, the standard work on Waterloo. In addition, Siborn’s second son, Major General Herbert Taylor Siborne, edited a selection of his father’s Waterloo correspondence and published them under the title *Waterloo Letters*.²¹⁹

Siborn’s reliance on civilian patrons and private funds to finish and display his model, along with the increasing civilian dominance of events commemorating Waterloo, emphasizes how much how much of the collective memory of the battle was experienced through wider British and therefore civilian culture. This is even more true of the representations of the battle and officers found in British popular culture, discussed in the next chapter. This does not mean veteran officers were set aside, however. Many successfully employed patronage to influence how the public saw both them and the battle they fought, while others found themselves the targets of radicals, satirists, and anti-war activists.

²¹⁹ R. H. Vetch, rev. James Falkner, ‘Siborne [Siborn], William (1797-1849)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2013, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/25504>.

Chapter IV: “Grand Military and National Spectacle:” Waterloo and the Army Officer in Popular Culture¹

Almost immediately after the victory, Waterloo became a part of Britain’s cultural fabric. It was used as a rhetorical device to justify the expansion of empire and political involvement in the continent. At home and abroad, it became one of the preferred methods to indulge in performative patriotism, whether by visiting the battlefield and bringing home a relic (often of dubious authenticity), or simply attending one of the celebrations or performances that marked the battle’s anniversary each year across the country. The almost half-century of near constant war that Britain experienced up until Waterloo had guaranteed that the army, and especially its officers, had become staples of the nation’s popular culture. The works of Jane Austen alone provide examples of retired Indian nabobs, incompetent colonels, and romantically dangerous junior officers.² One of the notable side effects of Waterloo’s ubiquity (and the success of several of those who fought there), was that it kept the British Army, and especially its officer corps, prominent in the national conversation, despite the relative peace enjoyed by Britain and Europe after 1815.

This interest in the officer corps was manifested through depictions in the popular culture and media of the day. This chapter will examine representations of Waterloo and army officers in three different forms of media: *The Battle of Waterloo* (1824) hippodrama at Astley’s Royal Amphitheatre, various literary works, and three contrasting paintings, Joseph Mallord William Turner’s *The Field of*

¹ Royal Amphitheatre (Astley’s), July 14, 1828, The Marcus Stone Collection, London, Victoria & Albert Museum Theatre and Performance, THM/234/8/1, 376.

² See, respectively, Colonel Brandon and Sir John Middleton in *Sense and Sensibility* and Colonel Forster and George Wickham in *Pride and Prejudice*. For the military and Austen, see Tim Fulford, “Sighing for a Soldier: Jane Austen and Military Pride and Prejudice,” *Nineteenth Century Literature* 52, no. 2 (September 2002): 153-178; Louise Carter, “Scarlet Fever: Female Enthusiasm for Men in Uniform,” in *Britain’s Soldiers: Rethinking War and Society, 1715-1815*, eds. Kevin Linch and Matthew McCormack (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2014); Brian Southam, *Jane Austen and the Navy* (London: Hambledon Press, 2001)

Waterloo (1818), Sir Thomas Lawrence’s *Portrait of the Duke of Wellington, in the dress that he wore, and on the horse he rode at the battle of Waterloo* (1818), and William Salter’s *The Waterloo Banquet, 1836* (1840/1841). While all the works considered here were produced for entertainment and profit, their motives went beyond that. Astley’s *The Battle of Waterloo* was a commemorative celebration that, for all its addition of fictional heroes and comic relief, kept the military conflict at its center. Its depictions of officers fit the standard patriotic narrative. In contrast to the Astley’s hippodrama and the travel literature considered in Chapter II, the fiction that either incorporated officers or was focused completely on them was much more critical of them as a group, and, to varying degrees, the entire system of rank within the army. The authors of these works were overwhelmingly civilians writing for the popular or literary press and were thus completely outside of the military machine. The same can be said for Turner, whose *The Field of Waterloo* is about as explicitly anti-war as a painting of a victory can get, and who set aside the individuality of the Waterloo veterans in favor of an overall mood. With these works, the Duke of Wellington and other senior officers did not even have the shared ownership they experienced with the annual commemorations of the battle itself. When they were presented with a chance to influence pieces of these media, as in the case of William Salter’s painting of the Waterloo Banquet, they leapt at the opportunity.

Some measure of the impact of these pieces can be taken from their longevity. Astley’s *The Battle of Waterloo* ran intermittently for three decades, was immortalized in William Makepeace Thackeray’s *The Newcomes*, and one character proved so popular that she was later imported into another play.³ Several of the literary works considered became so popular that their character names entered the popular lexicon, becoming shorthand terms for their character’s traits.⁴ Finally, while neither Turner’s *The Field of Waterloo* or Salter’s *The Waterloo Banquet, 1836* sold immediately, they

³ Astley’s Royal Amphitheatre, *The Times*, February 17, 1844, p. 6; J. H. Amherst, *Ireland as it is* (New York: Samuel French, 1865).

⁴ See, for example, The Cardigan Influenza, *The Examiner*, March 14, 1841; London, *Daily News*, December 12, 1854.

did achieve lasting success. The Turner is now an integral part of the Tate Britain’s “Walk Through British Art,” and the Salter hangs in Apsley House’s Portico Drawing Room, right next to the gallery it depicts.

Theatre

Battles and military themes were quite popular within British theatrical circles, especially during the wars themselves. An examination of plays produced between 1800 and 1850 reveals that there were 150 plays centered on specific battles or campaigns. Of these, 53 drew their inspiration from the Napoleonic Wars.⁵ Many of these productions were temporary in nature – designed to capitalize on the most recent victory and be forgotten with news of the next one.⁶ The battles of Trafalgar, Talavera, Salamanca, Vittoria, and Waterloo and the sieges of Flushing and Badajoz all had theatrical spectacles marking them within a year of the actual event, and there is little evidence that these were ever revived.⁷ As the wars retreated into memory, theatres moved away from current events and towards more pastoral or fantastic themes, often looking to antiquity or beyond Europe. When performances did touch on military themes or involve military individuals after 1815, they were much more likely to take their inspiration from medieval and ancient history than they were from the army’s relatively recent victories.⁸ One of the few exceptions to both of these general rules was Astley’s Royal Amphitheatre’s “unprecedentedly magnificent representation” of Waterloo, which first opened in 1824.⁹

⁵ See Appendix B for a complete list of military subject plays. “Hand-List of Plays, 1800-1850,” in *A History of English Drama, 1600-1900*, Allardyce Nicoll (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1955), IV: 245-643.

⁶ For the British theatre as propaganda during the Napoleonic Wars, see Susan Valladares, *Staging the Peninsular War: English Theatres 1807-1815* (London: Routledge, 2016).

⁷ Trafalgar and Waterloo were the only battles of the war commemorated extensively after 1815. In 1828, however, Astley’s did produce a show called *Buonaparte’s Fatalities* that was comprised of portions of older spectacles. Hand-List of Plays, IV: 437.

⁸ 72 of the 150 military plays were based on wars that preceded the Napoleonic Wars, while 13 drew on mythological or fictional conflicts. Appendix B; The Marcus Stone Collection, London, Victoria & Albert Museum Theatre and Performance, THM/234/8/1-8.

⁹ Multiple Advertisements and Notices, *The Morning Post*, June 10, 1824, p. 1; George Speaight, *Juvenile Drama: The History of the English Toy Theatre* (London: Macdonald & Co., 1946), 70; Scott Hughes Myerly, *British Military Spectacle: From the Napoleonic Wars Through the Crimea* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1996), 145.

The 1824 *Battle of Waterloo* was not the first tribute to the victory to grace the London stage. Ten productions that involved the battle appeared between 1815 and 1850, with the first premiering on November 15th 1815, less than five months after the battle itself. Several of the productions were not battle spectacles, but were more traditional performances set around the battle, and boasting titles such as *La Vivandière; or, The Eve of Waterloo* or *The Duke’s Coat; or, The Night After the Battle*.¹⁰ What set Astley’s *The Battle of Waterloo* apart was its success. Written by J. H. Amherst and with battle and set-piece choreography by Andrew Ducrow, Europe’s premier equestrian performer, the spectacle was divided into three acts, each ending with a battle scene.¹¹ The first of these was the Bridge at Marchienne, from which the advancing French evicted the Prussians on June 15 on their way towards Brussels. The second was the crossroads at Quatre Bras, south of Waterloo, which the allied army held against the French on June 16, but which prevented Wellington from coming to the aid of Blücher at Ligny. The final climax was set around Mont St. Jean, on the French side of the valley in which the battle of Waterloo was fought, towards the close of the day on June 18.¹² The advertising for the show made much of its authenticity, proudly informing potential audience members that “the infantry movements [were] by picked Waterloo men” and the backdrops and scenery were painted on the field itself by the theatre’s artists.¹³ Amherst made sure to include several of the well-known individuals from the battle, including Napoleon, Wellington, and Blücher, along with a number of their generals. William Davis, then the owner and manager of Astley’s, played Prince Blücher, and Ducrow played the Duke of Brunswick, whose death at the Battle of Quatre-Bras served as the second-act finale.¹⁴ If any of the historic figures could be said to be the lead, it would be Napoleon, who was written in a sympathetic light. He was

¹⁰ Appendix B.

¹¹ For further details on the action, see A. H. Saxon, *Enter Foot and Horse: A History of the Hippodrama in England and France* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1968), 138-140; for Ducrow, see A. H. Saxon, *The Life and Art of Andrew Ducrow* (Hamden: Archon Books, 1978).

¹² J. H. Amherst, *The Battle of Waterloo, A Grand Military Melo-Drama in Three Acts* (London: Duncombe, 1824), 11-13, 23-24, 36.

¹³ Davis’s Royal Amphitheatre, *The Times*, April 20, 1824, p. 2; Brenda Assael, *The Circus and Victorian Society* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2005), 53.

¹⁴ Saxon, *Enter Foot and Horse*, 138-139.

played by a Mr. Gomersall, who received top billing for the role and whose likeness to, and performance as, the former Emperor was praised by nearly everyone from theatrical critics to William Makepeace Thackeray.¹⁵ Wellington was of course represented, although in much more of a cameo role than Napoleon, and spoke largely in patriotic quotations.¹⁶

While audiences could see almost all of their favorite generals from Madame Tussaud’s brought to life at Astley’s, the show also included several fictional characters for the audience to sympathize and identify with. These included the fiery Prussian wife Phedora (played by the well-known actress and equestrian Mrs. Makeen), who followed the Prussian army to war to see justice done for Napoleon’s depredations.¹⁷ Seeking to balance both Phedora and the violence of the battle scenes, Amherst, the playwright, took the stage in the form of the half-French comic relief, Monsieur Maladroit, who ensures he speaks the language of every army engaged in a battle, so he can claim protection from any of them.¹⁸ Romance was introduced by the British hero Standfast, a corporal in the Highlanders, and his sweetheart, Mary, who dons a uniform of her own and masquerades as a male recruit to follow him to war.¹⁹ Finally we have Molly Maloney, a comic version of the stock Mother Courage character, played in

¹⁵ Thackeray’s Colonel Newcome “was amazed – amazed, by Jove, sir – at the prodigious likeness of the principal actor to the Emperor Napoleon.” William Makepeace Thackeray, *The Newcomes* (London: J.M. Dent & Sons, Ltd., 1910), I:170; Royal Amphitheatre (Astley’s), July 14, 1828, The Marcus Stone Collection, London, Victoria & Albert Museum Theatre and Performance, THM/234/8/1, 376; Bonaparte, as performed by Mr. Gomersal, The Marcus Stone Collection, London, Victoria & Albert Museum Theatre and Performance, THM/234/8/1, AST-85; Royal Amphitheatre, *The Drama; or, Theatrical Pocket Magazine*, June, 1824, vol. VI, no. 4, 201; Walter Macfarren, *Memories: An Autobiography* (London: The Walter Scott Publishing Co., Ltd., 1905), 25-26; T. Allson Brown, *History of the American Stage: Containing Biographical Sketches of Nearly Every Member of the Profession that has Appeared on the American Stage, from 1733 to 1870* (New York: Dick & Fitzgerald, 1870), 146.

¹⁶ Amherst, *The Battle of Waterloo*, 24, 28; Assael, *The Circus and Victorian Society*, 55-57; Saxon, *Enter Foot and Horse*, 139.

¹⁷ Amherst, *The Battle of Waterloo*, 2-5, 21-23; Saxon, *Enter Foot and Horse*, 138.

¹⁸ Amherst, *The Battle of Waterloo*, 2, 10-11; Saxon, *Ducrow*, 165.

¹⁹ Amherst, *The Battle of Waterloo*, 13-15, 30-32; *Pollock’s Characters & Scenes in the Battle of Waterloo* (London: B. Pollock), The Marcus Stone Collection, London, Victoria & Albert Museum Theatre and Performance, THM/234/8/1, AST-86-97.

pantomime-dame style by a Mr. Herring.²⁰ Maloney was undoubtedly meant to instill some more humor into the piece, but the character is meant to be laughed with, rather than at. She rescues Corporal Standfast at one point, and largely serves the same purpose here that Captains Gower, Fluellen, Macmorris and Jamy do in Shakespeare’s *Henry V*: reinforcing the British, rather than English, nature of the victory, thus allowing it to emphasize union.²¹ The character proved to be so popular that Astley’s occasionally had Herring back just to sing Molly’s song, and Amherst used her as the inspiration for the character of Judy O’Trot in his 1857 play, *Ireland as it is*.²²

Astley’s *The Battle of Waterloo* opened on April 19, 1824, and ran for a remarkable 144 consecutive performances, with a potential total audience of between 288,000 and 360,000.²³ Britain’s general and theatrical press confirmed the popularity illustrated by the length of the initial run. *The Drama* reported that “the ‘Battle of Waterloo’ together with the amazing horsemanship of Mr. Ducrow have drawn such fashionable and crowded audiences to this theatre, that all thought of producing further novelty has for the present been laid aside.”²⁴ *The Court* magazine went so far as to credit Ducrow’s purchase of Astley’s at the end of the 1824 season to the show’s success.²⁵ *The Morning Post* agreed, occasionally listing the members of the social elite that had been seen there, and reporting that the spectacle “continues to excite the attention of all classes... the curtain never rises without an

²⁰ Amherst, *The Battle of Waterloo*, 2; Astley’s, *The Drama*, July 6, 1831, quoted in *The Album of Literature and Amusement* (London: W. Strange, 1831), II:31; Royal Amphitheatre, *The Drama; or, Theatrical Pocket Magazine*, June, 1824, vol. VI, no. 4, 201.

²¹ “Here’s may English, Irish, and Scotch, niver quarrel together except in perfect harmony, and may their only contest be who shall be the first to strike the foe, and the foremost to spare the foe who strikes to them” Amherst, *The Battle of Waterloo*, 16, 32; Peta Tait, *Fighting Nature: Travelling Menageries, Animal Acts and War Shows* (Sydney: Sydney University Press, 2016), 40; For depictions of all the characters and their notable interactions, see *Pollock’s Characters & Scenes in the Battle of Waterloo* (London: B. Pollock), The Marcus Stone Collection, London, Victoria & Albert Museum Theatre and Performance, THM/234/8/1, AST-86-97.

²² Royal Amphitheatre, *The Times*, August 15, 1827, p. 2; Amherst, *Ireland as it is*.

²³ Saxon, *Enter Foot and Horse*, 137; Assael, *The Circus and Victorian Society*, 51-52.

²⁴ Royal Amphitheatre, *The Drama; or, Theatrical Pocket Magazine*, June, 1824, vol. VI, no. 4, 201.

²⁵ The Late Mr. Ducrow, *The Court, Lady’s Magazine, Monthly Critic and Museum*, April 1842, 333.

overflow.”²⁶ Astley’s range of ticket prices helped with that cross-class appeal: box seats were four shillings each, stalls were two shillings a seat, and one shilling would buy access to the gallery.²⁷

Crucially, given *The Battle of Waterloo’s* claims of authenticity, military audiences were just as taken with it as the civilian populace. Late in the 1824 run, the directors of the Military Asylum, Chelsea, decided the show would be an ideal entertainment for their young charges, and arranged, with the school’s patron, the Duke of York, for 700 of them to attend.²⁸ Benson E. Hill, a former artillery officer turned writer, saw the show for the first time expecting “much food for mirth; but was amazed at the accuracy with which the military evolutions were executed.”²⁹ So impressed was he that he maintained that any “old soldier, on the 18th of June, not to have sought the field of Waterloo, as there represented, would have been insensible to Britain’s glory.”³⁰ Nor was Hill the highest military authority to witness and approve of the spectacle. Wellington himself went twice during the 1824 run, as did the Marquis of Anglesea, and both “expressed themselves highly pleased, with the mimic representation of that celebrated conflict.”³¹ Indeed, Wellington so enjoyed himself that he went to see it again during the 1829 Waterloo anniversary performances, accompanying the Countess of Jersey and thirty children.³² Astley’s was quick to take advantage of this, opening their customary ad in *The Times* three days after Wellington’s visit with an announcement that “the grand entertainments produced on Monday last having been represented before his Grace the Duke of Wellington and a distinguished assemblage of

²⁶ *The Morning Post*, May 13, 1824; *The Morning Post*, May 29, 1824.

²⁷ Royal Amphitheatre, *The Morning Post*, July 25, 1825, p. 1.

²⁸ The Military Asylum, Chelsea, was an orphanage for the children of soldiers who had been killed in action. *The Morning Post*, September 30, 1824.

²⁹ Benson Earle Hill, *Playing About; or Theatrical Anecdotes and Adventures* (London: W. Sams, 1840), 1:234.

³⁰ Hill, *Playing About*, 234.

³¹ Royal Amphitheatre, *The Drama; or, Theatrical Pocket Magazine*, June, 1824, vol. VI, no. 4, 201; *The Morning Post*, August 4, 1824.

³² Entry for July 6, 1829, Lord John Russell, ed., *Memoirs, Journal, and Correspondence of Thomas Moore* (Boston: Little Brown, 1853), VI:61; *The Bury and Norwich Post: Or, Suffolk and Norfolk Telegraph, Essex, Cambridge, & Ely Intelligencer*, July 15, 1829.

rank and title, and honoured with repeated marks of approbation, will be repeated this evening, tomorrow, and Saturday.”³³

Astley’s annual revival of the spectacle to coincide with the anniversary of the battle, discussed in the previous chapter, began in 1829, but *The Battle of Waterloo* was sufficiently popular that it was revived at least twice between its debut in 1824 and the start of this trend five years later.³⁴ The show was short enough that it always ran alongside at least one other production, sometimes as the headline attraction and sometimes as the closing act.³⁵ The first revival opened on July 25th, 1825, “dedicated to his Grace the Duke of Wellington.”³⁶ Despite the original run having closed less than a year before, the revival proved popular. In late August, *The Morning Post* reported the debut of a new piece alongside *The Battle of Waterloo*, noting that “the whole concluded with the favorite spectacle of *The Battle of Waterloo*. The house was crowded to an overflow.”³⁷ The 1825 revival eventually closed in early September.³⁸ Less than three years later, the show was revived again. On July 14, 1828, the Amphitheatre’s poster announced that its production of *The Battle of Navarino* was to be briefly superseded by “the Grand Military and National Spectacle of The Battle of Waterloo.”³⁹ (Figure 4.1) “The anxious enquiries that have been made by the numerous Visitors of Rank and Title,” the poster informed its readers, “in conjunction with many distinguished Military Officers who honor the Amphitheatre with their support, respecting the re-production of this National and Imposing Spectacle, have induced the Managers to get up the Work with all its extensive Martial Appurtenances with encreased effect than

³³ Astley’s Royal Amphitheatre, *The Times*, July 9, 1829, p. 2. See also Royal Amphitheatre, *The Morning Chronicle*, July 14, 1829.

³⁴ Saxon, *Ducrow*, 135.

³⁵ See, for example, *The Morning Chronicle*, August 30, 1824; *The Morning Post*, September 7, 1825.

³⁶ Royal Amphitheatre, *The Examiner*, July 24, 1825; Royal Amphitheatre, *The Morning Post*, July 25, 1825, p. 1.

³⁷ Astley’s, *The Morning Post*, August 23, 1825.

³⁸ Royal Amphitheatre, *The Morning Post*, September 5, 1825, p.1; Royal Amphitheatre, *The Morning Post*, September 7, 1825, p. 1.

³⁹ Royal Amphitheatre (Astley’s), July 14, 1828, The Marcus Stone Collection, London, Victoria & Albert Museum Theatre and Performance, THM/234/8/1, 376. It had, in fact, been in previews since the 10th. Royal Amphitheatre, *The Times*, July 10, 1828, p. 2.

heretofore, and on a Scale of the utmost magnitude.”⁴⁰ Despite the poster’s assurances that the 1828 revival would be brief, the show once again proved popular and was extended several times, finally closing on September 20th, 1828.⁴¹

⁴⁰ Royal Amphitheatre (Astley’s), July 14, 1828, The Marcus Stone Collection, London, Victoria & Albert Museum Theatre and Performance, THM/234/8/1, 376.

⁴¹ Royal Amphitheatre, *The Times*, July 28, 1828, p. 2; Royal Amphitheatre, *The Times*, August 9, 1828, p. 2; Royal Amphitheatre, *The Times*, September 8, 1828, p. 2; Royal Amphitheatre, *The Times*, September 19, 1828, p. 2.

Royal Amphitheatre, (ASTLEY'S.)

Under the Management of Messrs. DUCROW & West.

MONDAY, JULY 14th, 1828, AND DURING THE WEEK,
Will be introduced, IN THE CIRCLE,

REGEE PAK, or the Omrah's Charger!

This unrivalled Animal, asserted, by the Natives, to be descended from the far famed Barbs of Persian Story, *Dagee, Sametee, Rekeh, and Kerkt!* mentioned in the Works of SIR W. JONES, D'HERBELLOT, MORIRI, and SIR JOHN MALCOLM, and stiled, from the alleged pre-eminence of his Breed, his high Blood and consummate Training, *Regee Pak!* (*Pure Veins!*) will make his First Entrée, attired in all the Splendid Paraphernalia and Magnificent Trappings so peculiar to the Menage of the Horses of the East, regarded as they are, by the Persians, to be only second in the link of legs to the Lordly Monarch, Man! To add to the gorgeous Splendour of the Scene, and give the British Public an adequate idea of the Pomp and Brilliance of attendance customary with Oriental Cavalry, *Regee Pak* will be accompanied by his Attendant *Jelloodars*, (*Grooms*) preceded by his *Shátirs*, (*Running Footmen*) and *Gholam e Sháh*, (*Royal Guards*) bearing the Imperial Banners of the IRAN and GAVEN, and will be menaged by his MEER-AKHOOR, (*Master of the Horse*), all correctly dressed in the Splendid Costume of their Country.

The whole of the Performance of this astonishing PERSIAN STEED are entirely New, and Invented by Mr. DUCROW.—The Horse likewise Broke and Tutored by him.—The whole will be accompanied with New and Splendid Dresses and Decorations.—The appropriate Music composed expressly by Mr. CALLCOTT.

<p>Clad in the golden trappings of the East, Not e'en Shah Abbas at his richest feast, Felt half such pride, or staltier trod the Earth, (Looking a creature of no mortal birth), Than <i>Regee Pak</i>, but of his trapping shorn, Not e'en the lowliest slave in Afric born, Moves more obedient to his Master's will,</p>	<p>Or more attests his lordly Ruler's skill; With fiery nostrils and with eyes of light, The Eagle's swiftness and the Lion's might; The Fawn's bland grace, each step attests so well, The docile sweetness of the light Gazelle; He stands with banner'd pomp around unfur'd, The pride of Persia, wonder of the world!</p>
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Meerza-Beg, Meer-Akhour, or Master of the Horse, Mr. DUCROW.

SURPRISING FEATS ON A SINGLE HORSE, BY THE YOUNG LANCER.
Miss Woolford will go through her graceful Act of Horsemanship.
The Gymnastic Voltigeurs will go through their various Ground & Lofty Feats of Agility,
In which Mr. WILKINSON will introduce his Wonderful Tourbillons.

<small>Clown,.....Mr. J. DUCROW.</small>	<small>Riding Masters,.....Messrs. SMITH and WIDDICOMB.</small>
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Previous to which will be Re-produced the Grand Military and National Spectacle of The

Battle of Waterloo

—The anxious enquiries that have been made by the numerous Visitors of Rank and Title, in conjunction with many distinguished Military Officers, who honor the Amphitheatre with their support, respecting the re-production of this National and Imposing Spectacle, have induced the Managers to get up the Work with all its extensive Martial Appurtenances with increased effect than heretofore, and on a Scale of the utmost magnitude.

The Revival of the National Piece at this moment, will occasion but a momentary suspension of the BATTLE of NAVARINO.

The Piece written by Mr. J. H. AMHERST.—The Spectacle and the whole of the Military Movements and Evolutions, with new effect, illustration of the British and Foreign Mode of Warfare, under the immediate Direction of Mr. DUCROW.

Principal Characters,—Messrs. Comersal, Herring, Cartlitch, Buckingham, Lawrence, Ducrow, Amherst, Smith, Lewis, J. Ducrow, Woolford, Wilkisson, Taylor, Mackintosh, Saunders, Bradley, J. Smith, S. Foster, Chapman, Southby, Widdicomb, Cooper, Montgomery, Pillingham, Bolton, Mrs. Pope, Mrs. West, Miss Ross, Miss Enscove, Mrs. Bradley, Miss Burrell, Messrs. Williams and Winter.

The Entertainments to conclude with, an entirely New Comic Pantomime, with New Music, Scenery, Machinery, Tricks, and Decorations, called,

Jack o' Lantern, or the Dismal Swamp.

Harlequin, Mess. RIDGWAY & HONOR. Pantaloon, Mess. FILLINGHAM & G. RIDGWAY. Clowns, Mess. TAYLOR & T. RIDGWAY. Columbine, Mrs. DUBOIS.

Figure 4.1: Royal Amphitheatre Poster from July 14, 1828. Royal Amphitheatre (Astley's), July 14, 1828, The Marcus Stone Collection, London, Victoria & Albert Museum Theatre and Performance, THM/234/8/1, 376

In between these revivals and the commencement of the annual anniversary performances, portions of the show were still employed. In 1827, Ducrow and his troop were recruited by Vauxhall Gardens for their own Waterloo anniversary celebrations, that year produced and directed by Mr. Farley

of the Theatre Royal, Covent Garden, and there are indications that they brought at least certain aspects of Amherst’s play with them.⁴² Later that same year, Mr. Herring once more appeared at Astley’s to perform Molly Maloney’s comic medley as a palate cleanser between circus acts.⁴³ Nor was the success of Astley’s *The Battle of Waterloo* limited to the capital. Word of mouth insured that there would be demand for the show outside of London. A variety of provincial theatres licensed the show from Amherst and Astley’s, although as some of these were traditional theatres, some adaptation would have been required.⁴⁴ Within three years of its debut in London, the production had appeared at the Theatre-Royal, Bristol; the Theatre Royal, Hull; the Olympic Circus and Cooke’s Royal Amphitheatre, Liverpool; and the Caledonian Theatre, Edinburgh.⁴⁵ Further afield, Ducrow’s company took the show to Dublin in 1825, and an American tour performed at New York’s Bowery Theatre and Boston’s National Theatre in the fall of 1840 and the winter of 1841.⁴⁶

Almost all of these touring productions were of shorter duration than the London runs, but were no less successful in attendance.⁴⁷ *The Bristol Mercury* informed its readers that the spectacle “has

⁴² *Berrow’s Worcester Journal*, June 7, 1827; Royal Gardens, Vauxhall, *The Examiner*, June 17, 1827; Assael, *The Circus and Victorian Society*, 51. This was not the first time Vauxhall and Astley’s has cooperated. Two years before Astley’s performances had concluded with “a Pot Pourri After-Entertainment, called Vauxhall at Astley’s.” Royal Amphitheatre, *The Morning Chronicle*, June 16, 1825.

⁴³ Royal Amphitheatre, *The Times*, August 15, 1827, p. 2.

⁴⁴ Here, as in London, military patronage was sought and valued. See Advertisements & Notices, *Manchester Times*, February 20, 1850, 1; Assael, *The Circus and Victorian Society*, 54-55, 176 n46. For an example of the changes, see Lord Chamberlain’s Plays. Vol. VII. April-May 1825, MS Add MS 42871, British Library, 249-291.

⁴⁵ Theatre-Royal, Bristol, *The Bristol Mercury*, November 22, 1824; Lord Chamberlain’s Plays. Vol. VII. April-May 1825, MS Add MS 42871, British Library, 249-250; Olympic Circus, *Liverpool Mercury etc.*, December 31, 1824; Public Amusements, *Liverpool Mercury etc.*, February 23, 1827; Caledonian Theatre, *Caledonian Mercury*, May 9, 1825.

⁴⁶ Dublin Theatre, *The Morning Chronicle*, January 26, 1825; Saxon, *Ducrow*, 126-127; Assael, *The Circus and Victorian Society*, 52-53; Theatres, *Boston Courier*, March 1, 1841, p. 4.

⁴⁷ *The Battle of Waterloo* ran in Bristol from November 22-December 1, 1824, in Liverpool from December 24, 1824-January 28, 1825 and again for a short time in February 1826 and 1827, in Edinburgh May 14, 1825-June 28, 1825, in New York from November-December 1840, and in Boston for at least two weeks in March, 1841. Theatre-Royal, Bristol, *The Bristol Mercury*, November 15, 1824; Theatre-Royal, Bristol, *The Bristol Mercury*, November 29, 1824; Olympic Circus, *Liverpool Mercury etc.*, December 31, 1824; Olympic Circus, *Liverpool Mercury etc.*, January 28, 1825; Olympic Circus, *Liverpool Mercury etc.*, February 10, 1826; Circus, *Liverpool Mercury etc.*, February 17, 1826; Public Amusements, *Liverpool Mercury etc.*, February 23, 1827; Caledonian Theatre, *Caledonian Mercury*, May 9, 1825; Caledonian Theatre, *Caledonian Mercury*, July 2, 1825; Theatricals, *Morning Herald*, November 2,

attained a degree of popularity as unprecedented as the efforts by which it has been produced,” and declared itself “at a loss at what point to commence our approbation” of “the most accurate display of military manœuvre ever beheld within the walls of any theatre.”⁴⁸ Further north, the production at the Olympic Circus, Liverpool, “secured the greatest houses ever experienced at that theatre.”⁴⁹ The *Liverpool Mercury*, delighted by the “splendour of the *materiel*, the beauty of the horses, and the strict fac-simile of all the performers to the original characters,” posited that this theatrical interpretation of the battle “is likely to prove as beneficial to [the Olympic Circus’ owner], as the original was to Europe in general.”⁵⁰ Nor was the appeal purely patriotic in nature. In New York, *The Battle of Waterloo* proved successful enough to sustain a multi-month run and drove the theatre critic for the *Morning Herald* to blame it and similar equestrian spectacles for the decline in attendance of the “legitimate” theatres.⁵¹

The Battle of Waterloo was so consistently popular that it outlived almost everyone who had been present at the actual battle. It was still being revived regularly in 1853, and in 1854, three decades after the show first opened, *The Times* was still using it as the benchmark of hippodrama in the capital, praising the new *Battle of Alma* as “the best military spectacle that has been seen since the days of the *Battle of Waterloo*.”⁵² The last recorded revival was in May, 1869, for the centenary of Wellington’s birth.⁵³ It ran for only a few weeks, despite the *Daily Express* declaring it “worthy of the palmy days of

1840, p. 1; Theatricals, *Morning Herald*, December 19, 1840, p. 2; Theatres, *Boston Courier*, March 1, 1841, p. 4; National Theatre, *Bay State Democrat*, March 12, 1841, p. 3.

⁴⁸ Some of that accuracy may have been due to the theatre’s management actively recruiting Waterloo veterans to perform. Theatre-Royal, Bristol, *The Bristol Mercury*, November 8, 1824; The Theatre, *The Bristol Mercury*, November 29, 1824.

⁴⁹ *Liverpool Mercury, etc.*, December 31, 1824.

⁵⁰ *Liverpool Mercury, etc.*, January 7, 1825; *Liverpool Mercury, etc.*, January 14, 1825.

⁵¹ Theatricals, *Morning Herald*, November 2, 1840, p. 1; Theatricals, *Morning Herald*, December 1, 1840, p. 2; Bowery Theatre, *Morning Herald*, December 3, 1840, p. 3; Theatricals, *Morning Herald*, December 19, 1840, p. 2.

⁵² Astley’s Royal Amphitheatre, *The Times*, July 12, 1853, p. 4; Astley’s Royal Amphitheatre, *The Times*, August 6, 1853, p. 5; Astley’s Amphitheatre, *The Times*, October 24, 1854, p. 10; In 1864, *The Times* declared *The Battle of Waterloo* to be either the most or second most successful production in Astley’s history. Astley’s Theatre, *The Times*, October 7, 1864, p. 7.

⁵³ Astley’s Theatre Royal, *The Times*, May 25, 1869, p. 8.

Ducrow,” but was brought back “by special desire” for a matinee on June 19th, where “the surviving veterans who fought on the 18th of June, 1815, [would] be present, by permission.”⁵⁴

Part of the reason for the longevity of Astley’s *Battle of Waterloo* may have been its merchandising. The same year as it debuted at Astley’s, William West, one of the most prolific publishers of juvenile dramas, published a toy theatre version of the spectacle, entitled *Characters & Scenes in the Battle of Waterloo*.⁵⁵ Toy theatre took the popular stage hits of the day and miniaturized them. An artist was sent to a performance of the chosen production, where they sketched each of the major characters in costume and the scene backgrounds. The printers would then reproduce the characters on sheets, with each figure usually between two and a half and three inches high, and with the scenic backgrounds to match. For some of the more popular productions, like *The Battle of Waterloo*, West also published even smaller versions, with character models only measuring one inch.⁵⁶ *The Battle of Waterloo* featured twelve plates of characters, including over 170 figures, depicted either individually or in groups, and twelve scenes, ranging from barracks and encampments to Waterloo village and the battlefield itself.⁵⁷ *The Battle of Waterloo* proved so popular that it was published by six different printers and appears to have been available into the twentieth century, which may explain, along with the emerging popularity of toy soldiers, why the battle continued to have a cultural impact on generations who hadn’t been alive when Wellington ordered the general advance.⁵⁸

⁵⁴ The *Daily Express*, quoted in Astley’s Theatre Royal, *The Times*, May 25, 1869, p. 8; Astley’s Theatre, *The Times*, June 10, 1869, p. 8; Astley’s, *The Times*, June 18th, 1869, p. 10; Astley’s, *The Times*, June 17, 1869, p. 8.

⁵⁵ Speaight, *Juvenile Drama*, 214; Pollock’s *Characters & Scenes in the Battle of Waterloo* (London: B. Pollock), The Marcus Stone Collection, London, Victoria & Albert Museum Theatre and Performance, THM/234/8/1, AST-86.

⁵⁶ Speaight, *Juvenile Drama*, 74-76.

⁵⁷ In the version held in the Marcus Stone Collection, the character sheets are black and white, while the backgrounds are in full color. Other, more expensive versions were colored throughout. *Pollock’s Characters & Scenes in the Battle of Waterloo* (London: B. Pollock), The Marcus Stone Collection, London, Victoria & Albert Museum Theatre and Performance, THM/234/8/1, AST-86-97.

⁵⁸ Speaight, *Juvenile Drama*, 237.



Figure 4.2: Frontispiece from Pollock's toy theatre version of *The Battle of Waterloo*.

Literature

Popular literature, even more than the theatre, was dominated by civilians. But where Amherst's *The Battle of Waterloo* was celebratory, the authors of popular prose were more cutting. While their targets varied from the purchase system to militarization in general, literature was used to criticize the army, not to praise it. It is also worth noting that military victories were not used as centerpieces in literature to the extent they were on stage. Waterloo, with a few notable exceptions, was the province of histories and memoirs, not novels and short stories.⁵⁹

This section will discuss five works published in the 1830s and 1840s. *Sir Frizzle Pumpkin, K.C.B.* and *Nights at Mess* by James White, *Captain Sword and Captain Pen* by Leigh Hunt, *Sketches of Young*

⁵⁹ This is one area where the traditional British preference for the navy is not evident – Trafalgar was equally neglected.

Gentlemen by Charles Dickens, and *The Book of Snobs* by William Makepeace Thackeray. Taken together, these works and where they first appeared represent a cross-section of British literary culture at the time. *Sir Frizzle Pumpkin, K.C.B.* and *Nights at Mess* first appeared in *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*. Founded as a conservative answer to the Whig-leaning *Edinburgh Review*, *Blackwood's* or *Maga*, as it was known for short, became extremely popular for its mix of reviews, criticism, and satire. The magazine remained in circulation from its founding in 1817 until 1980, and George Orwell declared it one of the foundations of British imperial civilization in his *Burmese Days*.⁶⁰ White's two contributions, therefore, represent the sort of satire that would have been acceptable to mainstream Tories at the time – targeted more at abstract concepts and caricatures than individuals, and, while interested in the interactions between the military and civilian spheres, not overly critical of the army as an institution. Due to the chronology of the story, *Sir Frizzle Pumpkin, K.C.B.* does not mention Waterloo, but *Nights at Mess* dedicates an entire story to the battle's cultural influence. *Captain Sword and Captain Pen*, by contrast, is a radical work. Never serialized, Hunt's poem was read by pacifists and radicals, but was designed to communicate the cost of war to everyday readers. Despite its radical pedigree and goal, however, it was treated as a serious work and reviewed across the board, although many outlets preferred the artistry of the verse to the preachiness of the political and philosophical postscript that is, in fact, longer than the poem itself. For our purposes, it represents anti-war literature and the more mainstream portion of the radical movement. It alludes to Waterloo several times, but the majority of it is too generalized to target any one battle in particular.

Sketches of Young Gentlemen represents mainstream satire. Published by the respectable house of Chapman & Hall, Dickens' work lampooned the absurdity of youth, especially that part of youth that is determined to claim the respect of their elders before they may have earned it. While Dickens does deploy his talents for skewering institutions and individuals that he feels deserve it, he does so in a more

⁶⁰ He did not mean it as a compliment. George Orwell, *Burmese Days* (San Diego: Hartcourt Brace & Co., 1962), 33.

restrained manner, thus ensuring a welcome reception across the literary board. Because the majority of Dicken’s military targets had not yet been born in 1815, Waterloo, or in this case its veterans, play a supporting role, representing the elders that youth is seeking both to impress and supplant. In contrast to *Sketches of Young Gentlemen*, *The Book of Snobs* represents the more pointed end of British satire. First serialized in *Punch*, the iconic comic magazine that took its name and mission from the anarchic, club-wielding glove puppet made famous by Punch and Judy shows, *The Book of Snobs* pulls no punches in its criticism of a variety of British elites. Thackeray addresses institutionalized unfairness and prejudice in many of the same institutes that Dickens discusses, but by not limiting himself to the foibles of youth, his criticism and satire has much more bite. He does not seek, as Hunt does, to abolish the army by ending its purpose, but he does seek to end its unfairness. *The Book of Snobs*, therefore, serves as an example of purposeful satire; written not only to entertain, but also to encourage change, and would have been read by reform-minded individuals. In terms of its representation of Waterloo veterans, *The Book of Snobs* varies depending on the character being discussed. Some Waterloo veterans, who Thackeray sees as being hard done by, are treated sympathetically, while others are skewered.

Two other points are worth noting in regard to the selection of these works. The first is that two of them, *Sir Frizzle Pumpkin*, *K.C.B.* and *Captain Sword and Captain Pen*, entered the popular lexicon. Much as the mistaken use of one word for another similar sounding word is known as a malapropism or a dogberryism after, respectively, Mrs. Malaprop in Sheridan’s *The Rivals* or Dogberry in Shakespeare’s *Much Ado About Nothing*, so someone who received laurels they did not earn was dismissed as a Frizzle Pumpkin. In a similar fashion, Captain Sword and Captain Pen became shorthand for military and literary men, and individuals who combined the virtues of both were described as an alliance between the two. The second point is that, despite the popularity of these works at the time, they have largely gone unnoticed by scholars. Leigh Hunt’s work has been discussed to a certain extent, but *Sir Frizzle Pumpkin*,

K.C.B., *Nights at Mess*, and *The Book of Snobs* are largely unknown, and *Sketches of Young Gentlemen* is often overshadowed by Dickens’ other work.⁶¹ In addition, scholars (with the exception of Scott Hughes Myerly) who have considered these works have overlooked their depictions of officers and the army. The same cannot be said, happily, for *Vanity Fair*. Thackeray’s best-known work boasts a number of military characters and features the Battle of Waterloo as a significant point in the story. It would therefore, be a logical addition to this chapter. However, it is also Thackeray’s most written about work, and several scholars have already discussed *Vanity Fair* in a military context.⁶²

Sir Frizzle Pumpkin, *K.C.B.* was written by the rather prolific but largely unknown Rev. James White and was originally serialized in *Blackwood’s Edinburgh Magazine* before being published in collections of stories as either *The Adventures of Sir Frizzle Pumpkin* or *Some Passages in the Life of Sir Frizzle Pumpkin* in 1834/1835.⁶³ It tells the story of “a coward... one of the most nerveless and pusillanimous of human beings” who is forced to join the army by his mother.⁶⁴ He rises from lieutenant to general by pure chance, and the fact that, when terrified, his emotions shut down and he enters a fugue state where his body acts in self-preservation and separate from his mind. In this state he, in

⁶¹ For Leigh Hunt, see Philip Shaw, *Waterloo and the Romantic Imagination* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002); Rodney Stenning Edgecombe, *Leigh Hunt and the Poetry of Fancy* (Madison: Farleigh Dickinson University Press, 1994). *Sir Frizzle Pumpkin*, *K.C.B.* and *Nights at Mess* are briefly discussed in Scott Hughes Myerly, “The Eye Must Entrap the Mind’: Army Spectacle and Paradigm in Nineteenth-Century Britain,” *Journal of Social History* 26, no. 1 (Autumn, 1992): 105-131. For *The Book of Snobs*, see Gordon N. Ray, “Thackeray’s ‘Book of Snobs,’” *Nineteenth-Century Fiction* 10, no. 1 (June 1955): 22-33.

⁶² See Ian Ousby, “Carlyle, Thackeray, and Victorian Herosim,” *The Yearbook of English Studies* vol. 12 (1982): 152-168; Julian Jimenez Heffernan, “Lying Epitaphs: ‘Vanity Fair’, Waterloo, and the Cult of the Dead,” *Victorian Literature and Culture* 40, no. 1 (2012): 25-45; Edward Adams, *Liberal Epic: The Victorian Practice of History from Gibbon to Churchill* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2011), chapter 3; Alexandra Mullen, “Vanity Fair and Vexation of Spirit,” *The Hudson Review* 54, no. 4 (Winter, 2002): 581-589; Robert E. Lougy, “Vision and Satire: The Warped Looking Glass in *Vanity Fair*,” *PMLA* 90, no. 2 (March 1975): 256-269; Russell A. Fraser, “Pernicious Casuistry: A Study of Character in *Vanity Fair*,” *Nineteenth-Century Fiction* 12, no. 2 (September 1957): 137-147.

⁶³ There is some question of precisely when it first appeared in non-serialized form. The publication date for the US edition is 1834, but the first advertisements for its publication in Britain are in 1835. Margaret Oliphant, *Annals of a Publishing House: William Blackwood and His Sons, Their Magazine and Friends* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons, 1897), II:194; *Some Passages in the Life of Sir Frizzle Pumpkin: The Pic-nic, and other tales* (Philadelphia: E. L. Carey & A. Hart, 1834); Multiple Advertisements, *The Morning Post*, December 30, 1835, p. 1; Literature, *The Blackburn Standard*, February 17, 1836, p. 6.

⁶⁴ *Some Passages in the Life of Sir Frizzle Pumpkin*, 17.

succession, saves a fellow officer, captures an enemy general, wins a wife, breaks up a mutiny, arrests a notorious bandit, and ruins an enemy attack, thus saving his own army.

The work is not particularly cruel. Pumpkin himself is not overly sympathetic, but he is written nowhere nearly as badly as he could be.⁶⁵ His affection for those around him is clear, and he laments “the usual fate of military men,” to stand “all the dangers of several campaigns, and [to rise] no higher than lieutenant.”⁶⁶ Despite this, the work is clearly a pointed satire of those who are “raised by interest or accident to posts for which they are not qualified.”⁶⁷ As criticism of officers went, it was on relatively safe ground, especially as it showed plenty of other officers who were competent and willingly did their duty (sometimes without reward). The work received good reviews, although the sheer improbability of its coincidences persuaded the press to regard it as more comic fantasy than direct satire.⁶⁸ The *Newcastle Courant* declared it “an amusing fancy conception,” while the *Blackburn Standard* praised it as “one of the pleasantest books we have met with for a very long time” and urged “the dramatic tinkers of Covent-garden and Drury-lane” to adapt it, “for there is scarcely a story... that would not cut up into a delectable little farce or vaudeville.”⁶⁹

While it is difficult to definitively judge *Frizzle Pumpkin's* popularity, there are indications that it was successful. It went through multiple printings, and was also published in the United States. In 1837, the *Sheffield Independent* reported that Mr. Chandler's chestnut, Sir Frizzle Pumpkin, had won the five-sovereign subscription event at the Badsworth Hunt Steeple Races.⁷⁰ Perhaps the most telling indication

⁶⁵ He lacks, for example, the unrepentant self-interest and shamelessness of Thomas Hughes' and George MacDonald Fraser's Harry Flashman.

⁶⁶ *Some Passages in the Life of Sir Frizzle Pumpkin*, 63.

⁶⁷ What is to be done with the Pumpkins? *The Essex Standard*, November 16, 1855.

⁶⁸ The work leans into this on occasion. Pumpkin informs the narrator, after his accidental victory in Spain, that “in honor of me, by a delicate compliment of that highly chivalrous nation, a Pumpkin became a favorite dish at the tables of the highest of their nobility.” *Some Passages in the Life of Sir Frizzle Pumpkin*, 60.

⁶⁹ Literature, *The Newcastle Courant*, August 13, 1831; Literature &c., *The Blackburn Standard*, February 17, 1836, p. 6.

⁷⁰ Badsworth Hunt Steeple Races, *The Sheffield Independent*, March 25, 1837; Sporting Intelligence, *The Sheffield Independent*, April 1, 1837.

of *Frizzle Pumpkin*'s legacy, however, was that the term entered the public lexicon. During a political fight over the conduct of Lord Cardigan in 1841, *The Examiner* dismissed Thomas Macaulay, an outspoken MP for Edinburgh as “the Sir Frizzle Pumpkin, all of whose acts of timidity wear a false appearance of desperate daring.”⁷¹ Several years later, the *Morning Post*'s Paris Correspondent referred to Armand Marrast, President of the National Assembly, as Sir Frizzle Pumpkin, predicting that once the political struggle between President of the Republic and the National Assembly began in earnest, he would “sit down quietly on the steps of the Chamber with Pistol, and chew the leeks, which will be all that the Republic will leave for him to munch.”⁷² A few years later, *The Times*' Crimean War correspondent used the character of Sir Frizzle Pumpkin to illustrate why veterans of Inkerman and Alma were up in arms over the too generous distribution of clasps for the Crimea Medal. “A man who has earned his right to such distinctions by being under fire is naturally jealous of the honour, and feels that an injustice is done to him when others who have not been engaged at all are decorated with the insignia which he has hazarded life and limb to win. ... When Sir Frizzle Pumpkin is made a G.C.B., it very naturally diminishes the worth of the reward which the crown offers to Sir George Boabdil.”⁷³

While the timing of Sir Frizzle Pumpkin's career precluded the inclusion of Waterloo in his story, White's pseudo-sequel, *Nights at Mess*, corrected this oversight. The first chapters of *Nights at Mess* appeared in the June 1833 issue of *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, and, like *Sir Frizzle Pumpkin*, the rest of the work was also serialized in that publication. *Nights at Mess* was later printed in its entirety alongside *Sir Frizzle Pumpkin* in a collection first released in 1836.⁷⁴ *Nights at Mess* is a frame narrative, with its outer frame set over several nights in the officer's mess of a Dragoon regiment stationed in

⁷¹ The Cardigan Influenza, *The Examiner*, March 14, 1841. *The Examiner* made a similar argument again using the term as a negative epithet two years later. The Privilege Question, *The Examiner*, March 18, 1843.

⁷² Express from Paris, *The Morning Post*, February 7, 1849, p. 6.

⁷³ The Siege of Sebastopol, *The Times*, May 9, 1855, p. 9.

⁷⁴ Multiple Advertisements and Notices, *The Morning Post*, December 30, 1835, p. 1; Multiple Advertisements and Notices, *The Standard*, February 3, 1836, p. 1; *The Adventures of Sir Frizzle Pumpkin, Nights at Mess, and Other Tales* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons, 1846).

York, while the actual stories are told by the officers and their guests. The tales are light-hearted in nature, and usually revolve around misunderstandings and romance. Despite this, however, they address issues that would have been familiar to readers interested in the army’s place in Britain at the time. Military elopements, the use of the army to quell riots, and the differences between military and civilian cultures are all touched on. Overall, despite being hard-drinking, the officers are depicted as courageous and honorable individuals, and, in line with British traditions of satire, it is extremes of behavior that are ridiculed (such as the poet who is so caught up in his language that no one can understand him, or the country squire who, because he once served in the militia, believes he is a military man).⁷⁵

It is in the second story in this collection, told within the framing narrative by the usually taciturn Captain Withers, that the Battle of Waterloo makes its appearance. Waterloo is, in fact, the driving force of the story, but not in the traditional way. The story does not take place at the battle, 1815, but “shortly after the glorious peace, as they called it, of eighteen hundred and fifteen.” Withers, having returned from France, found himself a lieutenant on half-pay. Rather than enjoying the freedom of London, however, he finds that he soon tires of his newly unstructured lifestyle. This is a perennial complaint of veterans who have recently been released from active service, but in Withers case, it was exacerbated by the Waterloo mania that had gripped London. “Even in my coffee-room, I never could finish my modicum of port in peace,” Withers complained to his fellow officers, “some inquisitive fellow or other was sure to sit down at the opposite sit of the table, and ask me all about Vaterloo and the Dook of Villington.”⁷⁶ After having “offended sundry patriotic enquiries by the shortness of [his] replies,” Withers found himself afraid to venture into public. “The moment the medal was seen, [he] was elevated into a hero,” and if he tried to hide it, he was soon discovered. Far from celebrating the

⁷⁵ See *Adventures of Sir Frizzle Pumpkin, Nights at Mess, and Other Tales*, chapter III.

⁷⁶ *Nights at Mess* employs a variety of spellings to impart accents.

victories, he “cursed the Duke, and the Peninsula, and Waterloo as the disturbers of [his] peace,” and decided to move to the country “for a few months, till our fame should be in some measure forgotten.”⁷⁷

Thus Waterloo drives Withers from the capital to a cottage in Warwickshire where he hires a cook who was “as deaf as a post,” and, more crucially, “had never heard either of Waterloo or the Duke of Wellington.” The rest of Withers’ story takes place in rural Warwickshire and is a comedy of romantic misunderstandings that results in him being ordered by a jury to pay £2000 plus court costs in a breach of promise case, a decision that drives him to give up his cottage and return to active service, determined to never again say “a civil word to a woman, especially a widow.” What is significant here, however, is not the end of the story, but Withers’ apparently permanent association with Waterloo in the eyes of the civilians he meets. Even in the country, he cannot escape, and relates how one eccentric parson demands he compares Waterloo to Armageddon (Withers insists he’d “back the duke” against the devil himself, “horns, tail, and all”). Nor, it seems, can he shake the association in his own mind. When he is questioned about previous romantic attachments and engagements by the widow who eventually sues him, he takes references to romantic attachments as attachment to a regiment, and engagements as battles. It is unclear whether White’s goal in this particular story is to praise the modesty of soldiers or illustrate Waterloo mania, but Withers’ story presents an intriguing take on the decisiveness of the battle in the affairs of officers who fought there, and highlights the afterlife of the battle in satirical fiction.⁷⁸

Nights at Mess was generally well received, but was not as universally praised as *Sir Frizzle Pumpkin*. A year into its serialized run, *The Morning Post* closed their review of the latest issue of

⁷⁷ *Adventures of Sir Frizzle Pumpkin, Nights at Mess, and Other Tales*, 71-72.

⁷⁸ *Adventures of Sir Frizzle Pumpkin, Nights at Mess, and Other Tales*, 73-74, 77-78, 84.

Blackwood's with a note that “*Nights at Mess* are continued, but with no remarkable degree of spirit.”⁷⁹ The next month, however, they had changed their tune, and reported that the latest installment was “as lively and spirited as usual.”⁸⁰ *Nights at Mess*, when published as a whole alongside *Sir Frizzle Pumpkin* also received praise. The *Blackburn Standard* declared them “excellent stories, abounding in humorous incident and graphic description.”⁸¹ Despite the overall positive reception, however, there is no indication that any of the characters entered the popular lexicon as shorthand for their traits or conditions, as was the case with *Sir Frizzle Pumpkin*.

Shortly after *Sir Frizzle Pumpkin* and *Nights at Mess* were published in non-serialized form, Leigh Hunt's six canto poem, *Captain Sword and Captain Pen* appeared on the literary scene. Hunt was an intellectual and writer, who had been one of the co-founders of *The Examiner* and counted Keats, Shelley, Browning, and Tennyson as members of his circle. A radical, Hunt had been imprisoned from 1812-1814 for libeling the Prince Regent. Where he differed from many of Britain's literary radicals was that he refused to celebrate Bonapartism and armed revolution.⁸² Indeed, he was opposed to militarism in all its myriad forms, and Toryism, which he saw as the military's natural ally. Despite this, he worked in the War Office as a clerk and served as a private in one of the volunteer regiments that were raised to counter a potential French invasion of Great Britain in the first decade of the nineteenth century.⁸³ Since co-founding *The Examiner* in 1808, Hunt had edited a number of journals and was, when *Captain Sword* was released, editing the short-lived weekly *Leigh Hunt's London Journal*.

⁷⁹ The Magazines, *The Morning Post*, September 4, 1833.

⁸⁰ Periodical Literature, *The Morning Post*, November 3, 1834.

⁸¹ Literature &c., *The Blackburn Standard*, February 17, 1836, p. 6.

⁸² Hunt's 1814 work, *The Descent of Liberty*, celebrated Napoleon's defeat and exile to Elba, and was the first time he experimented with a symbolic conflict between two overarching figures, in that case False Glory and Real Glory.

⁸³ Rhodes Dunlap, “Leigh Hunt and the Two Captains: The Background of a Poem,” in *Captain Sword and Captain Pen*, Leigh Hunt (Iowa City: Friends of the University of Iowa Libraries, 1984), 6. See Matthew McCormack, *Embodying the Militia in Georgian England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015); Ian F. W. Beckett, “The Amateur Military Tradition Revisited,” in *Soldiering in Britain and Ireland, 1870-1850: Men of Arms*, eds. Catriona Kennedy and Matthew McCormack (Basingstone: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013): 219-235; Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707-1837* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), chapter 7.

Captain Sword and Captain Pen was published in 1835 by the same printer, Charles Knight, who produced *Leigh Hunt's London Journal*. The publication consisted of three parts, a brief advertisement or explicatory note, the poem itself, and a sixty-three-page postscript attacking “war and military statesmen.” The advertisement explains to Hunt’s readers that the poem “is the result of a sense of duty... during a great public crisis.”⁸⁴ The great public crisis was not, as one would expect from an explicitly anti-war poem, an imminent international conflict, but was instead a domestic political issue: the dismissal of Lord Melbourne’s Whig government by William IV and its replacement by a Tory government first under Wellington and then under Sir Robert Peel.⁸⁵

Captain Sword and Captain Pen is too generalized to have many direct references to Waterloo, but Hunt managed to include one towards the end of canto four. Captain Sword, fresh from a good night’s sleep after a ball, passes by the battlefield “where his friends lie lorn... And he hasteth a tear from his old grey eye.”⁸⁶ This is a direct reference to the popular tale of Wellington crying as he crossed the battlefield of Waterloo after his meeting with Blücher towards the end of the day.⁸⁷ Hunt confirmed this allusion in the 1849 edition of *Captain Sword and Captain Pen*, where he added extensive explanatory footnotes.⁸⁸ Several of these footnotes, most notably in the sections detailing the horrors of war, were drawn from *Battle of Waterloo*, published by John Booth in 1815, one of the first works available to the general public that attempted an overarching narrative of the battle.⁸⁹ Hunt does not use Waterloo as a weapon against Wellington, as Byron did, but instead acts as Captain Pen does in the climax of his poem: recruiting officers (or, in this case, their memories) to try to unseat Captain Sword.

⁸⁴ Hunt, *Captain Sword and Captain Pen*, vii.

⁸⁵ Dunlap, “Leigh Hunt and the Two Captains,” 9.

⁸⁶ Hunt, *Captain Sword and Captain Pen*, 26.

⁸⁷ There is evidence that Wellington wept at Waterloo, but it is much more likely he did it in private. See Rory Muir, *Wellington: Waterloo and the Fortunes of Peace, 1814-1852* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015), 82.

⁸⁸ Leigh Hunt, *Captain Sword and Captain Pen. The Third Edition. With a New Preface, Remarks on War, and Notes Detailing the Horrors on which the Poem is founded* (London: Charles Gilpin, 1849).

⁸⁹ *The Battle of Waterloo, Containing the Accounts Published by Authority, British and Foreign, and other Relative Documents, with Circumstantial Details, Previous and After the Battle, from a Variety of Authentic and Original Sources* (London: J. Booth, 1815).

The postscript that follows Hunt's poem seeks to do three things. First, it seeks to further demonstrate in prose the horrors of war that had already been artistically described in the poem itself. These are discussed in detail, and Hunt relies on reminiscences from veterans to shield himself from potential accusations of hyperbole. From there, Hunt moves on to the eventual abolition of war. Hunt believes that human progress will naturally drive civilizations in that direction but seeks to do what he (and Captain Pen) can to advance pacifism in the meantime. He points out the absurdity of war, arguing that it is merely his readers' societal programming that keeps them from seeing how ridiculous it is not only that countries solve their disagreements in the same way that two men in the street would, but that they dress their soldiers in uniform finery to do it. He suggests instead that, if two countries cannot solve a problem, they should take it to the head of an impartial third country, and points to the arbitration clause in the Jay Treaty between Great Britain and the United States as an example. Having dealt with war both specifically and generally, Hunt turns to the concept of military statesmen. He acknowledges their courage and skill, but questions why, purely because of their success in war, they should be welcomed into the halls of power during peace, when their training did nothing to prepare them for governing. "There never was a soldier, purely brought up as such... who did more for the world than was compatible with his confined and arbitrary breeding." Even worse, Hunt argues, is the fact that the military tends to produce men who value their own experience and military achievements above all others. "Soldiership," he maintains, "appears to have narrowed or hardened the public spirit of every man who has spent the chief part of his life in it." In his view, this not only meant that they saw conflict as a solution where others would reject it, but also that military men turned politicians tended to be conservative and reject reforms aimed at the betterment of the population as a whole. Considering the political crisis that inspired Hunt's work, it is clear that when he discusses military statesmen, he is mostly concerned with Wellington. Several times, he moves from discussing military statesmen in

general to Wellington in particular, questioning his claims as a reformer, and arguing that he is as unsuited to political leadership in an “intellectual age” as he is suited to generalship on the battlefield.⁹⁰

Captain Sword and Captain Pen received mixed reviews. *The Examiner*, unsurprisingly, lauded both the poem and the postscript. They praised the poem’s ability to elevate “the human heart and its hopes” in the midst of tragedy, while remarking that Hunt’s points on military statesmen were “said in a very masterly manner and will be read with deep and general interest.”⁹¹ In a review of Hunt’s collected poetical works, *The Times* remarked on his ability to apply “hilarity and buoyancy” to a “graver subject,” and took particular delight in his description of the steam printing press.⁹² Not everyone in the press was equally delighted with Hunt’s work, however. In their review of the work’s third edition, *The Morning Post* admitted that they “should have liked ‘Captain Sword and Captain Pen’ much better had they been unaccompanied either by the ‘few more first words,’ the ‘Preface,’ or the ‘Remarks on War.’” Hunt’s motives, they declared, were laudable, but “he is not a philosopher; he is a zealous disciple of the moral force school, but he is an indifferent reasoner.” The paper followed this rather damning statement with detailed criticism of some of Hunt’s ideas and his notes, before adopting to a more conciliatory tone when discussing the poem itself, which had, in their judgement, “almost attained perfection,” and boasted “elegance of diction, clearness of expression, and correctness of metre.”⁹³ *The Morning Chronicle* declared the poem itself “dazzling,” but while they “admire its brilliancy and are amazed at its force... it is sometimes so abrupt as to be almost unintelligible.” They also took issue with its unshrinking focus on its subject, suggesting that “in no work of 100 pages was there ever amazed so

⁹⁰ Hunt, *Captain Sword and Captain Pen*, 70-73, 82, 84, 87-88, 91.

⁹¹ The Literary Examiner, *The Examiner*, March 29, 1835.

⁹² Mr. Leigh Hunt’s Poetical Works, *The Times*, December 28, 1844, p. 6.

⁹³ Literature, *The Morning Post*, November 28, 1849, p. 6.

much horror,” and concluded that “it may be as well to criticize this work rather as an argument than a poem.”⁹⁴

As with *Sir Frizzle Pumpkin*, Hunt’s poem inspired the terms Captain Sword and Captain Pen to enter the popular lexicon, although sadly there is no evidence that anyone ever named a racehorse after either captain. In 1847, the *Hampshire Advertiser & Salisbury Guardian* praised William Grattan, a former lieutenant in the 88th Regiment of Foot (the Connaught Rangers) for his ability, in his recently published memoir, to “lament over the desolations and woes of war as well as exult over its glory and heroism. In this respect he effects a sort of compromise between Captain Pen and Captain Sword.”⁹⁵ During the Crimean War, a *Daily News* paean to the new trend of war correspondents declared them “the new alliance of Captain Sword and Captain Pen,” and laid the credit for Britain’s united home front at their feet.⁹⁶ Nor was this trend limited to Britain alone, the Canadian correspondent for the *New York Courier and Enquirer* (quoted in *The Morning Post*), reporting on the aftermath of the 1849 Montreal Riots, informed their readers that a military response now seemed unlikely, and that “everybody seems tacitly to acknowledge that is Captain *Pen*, not Captain *Sword*, who is to do whatever work is to be done.”⁹⁷

A few years after *Captain Sword and Captain Pen* was published, it was announced in the papers that *Sketches of Young Gentlemen*, a companion piece to the popular *Sketches of Young Ladies*, was being printed by Chapman and Hall.⁹⁸ *Sketches of Young Gentlemen*, although published anonymously, was the work of Charles Dickens, who had only just abandoned his pseudonym of “Boz” to place his own name on the first complete edition of *The Posthumous Papers of the Pickwick Club*. *Sketches of Young Ladies* and *Sketches of Young Gentlemen* (followed in 1840 by *Sketches of Young Couples*) are spiritual

⁹⁴ Captain Sword and Captain Pen, *The Morning Chronicle*, January 3, 1850.

⁹⁵ Adventures of the Connaught Rangers, *Hampshire Advertiser & Salisbury Guardian*, May 29, 1847, p. 7.

⁹⁶ London, *Daily News*, December 12, 1854.

⁹⁷ Affairs of Canada, *The Morning Post*, September 26, 1849.

⁹⁸ Multiple Advertisements, *The Morning Post*, February 3, 1838, p. 1.

successors to Dickens’ first success, *Sketches by Boz*, which had been published as a collection in 1836 after having appeared as individual sketches in a variety of newspapers and periodicals between 1833 and 1836.⁹⁹ *Sketches of Young Gentlemen* divides up the young male population of the British Isles into multiple groups, based either on personality traits or profession. It is the fourth group that Dickens focuses on that is of interest here: “The Military Young Gentleman.”

Because Dickens is deliberately focusing on the young, unbloodied junior officers that joined the army in the decades following Waterloo, his treatment of veterans is kinder than it otherwise could have been. Early on, he briefly takes aim at the notion of elitism in the army in general, suggesting to an acquaintance that “‘cracked’ regiments would be an improvement upon ‘crack,’ as being a more expressive and appropriate designation,” a suggestion that results in his conversational partner hurriedly excusing himself.¹⁰⁰ He soon returns to his specific targets, however, and provides an interesting contrast between these young bucks and their veteran superiors. At a command performance at the local theatre, Dickens describes the posturing of his subjects in some detail, but contrasts them with senior officers who have actually seen conflict. “What a contrast between [these subalterns], and that stage-box full of grey-headed officers with tokens of many battles about them, who have nothing at all in common with the military young gentlemen, and who – but for an old-fashioned kind of manly dignity in their looks and bearing – might be common hard-working soldiers for anything they take the pains to announce to the contrary!”¹⁰¹ Here the officer corps in general, and especially that portion of it which fought in the Peninsula and at Waterloo, are not the target of the satire, but instead are the author’s unknowing allies. Dickens had a fine eye for the absurd, and while it is clear from his remarks early in the chapter that the army in general met his criteria, he specifically

⁹⁹ Later “complete” editions of *Sketches by Boz* include the three further *Sketches* titles. See Charles Dickens, *Sketches By Boz: Illustrative of Every-day Life and Every-day People, Sketches of Young Gentlemen, Sketches of Young Couples, The Mudfog Papers, and Other Sketches* (London: Chapman & Hall, 1910), vol. II.

¹⁰⁰ Charles Dickens, *Sketches of Young Gentlemen* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1838), 23.

¹⁰¹ Dickens, *Sketches of Young Gentlemen*, 26.

spares the actual veterans and instead concentrates on the new generation who, inflated by youth or a desire to prove themselves against the men who had fought battles that were now household names, swaggered and postured in vain.

William Makepeace Thackeray shared Dickens’ disdain for posturing young soldiers, but his respect for soldiers who had seen action was mostly limited to poor officers and the rank and file. Thackeray considered the officer corps, and the army as a whole, “the most enormous Job of all our political institutions,” and was quite open in his disdain of it.¹⁰² We have already seen some of that disdain in his *Little Travels and Roadside Sketches*, discussed in the previous chapter, but it also pervaded his fiction, in this case *The Book of Snobs*.

Published as a collection in 1848, *The Book of Snobs* was first serialized as “The Snobs of England, by one of themselves” in *Punch* over a year between February 1846 and February 1847.¹⁰³ As with Dickens’ *Sketches*, Thackeray divides up the snobs of England into a number of sub categories, largely based either on occupation or location (country snobs and English snobs on the continent, for example). The military is by no means the author’s favorite target (club snobs are discussed over the course of eight chapters), but he does devote two chapters, early in the work, to the Army. The first of these is chapter nine – “On some military snobs,” which he opens by setting his sights firmly on the officer class, the duties of which, he maintains, “the very smallest intellect that ever belonged to mortal man suffice to comprehend.” Thackeray is more openly critical than Dickens, and immediately launches into a condemnation of the purchase system. He offers false praise for a system that allows a “budding Cornet, who is shaving for a beard” and “was flogged only last week because he could not spell... to command great whiskered warriors, who have faced all dangers of climate and battle.” While the

¹⁰² William Makepeace Thackeray, *The Book of Snobs* (London: Punch Office, 1848), 37.

¹⁰³ See Gordon N. Ray, “Thackeray’s ‘Book of Snobs,’” *Nineteenth-Century Fiction* 10, no. 1 (June, 1955): 22-33. While theoretically anonymous, *Vanity Fair*, which was being serialized at the same time, described him as “author of... the ‘Snob Papers’ in Punch.” W. M. Thackeray, *Vanity Fair* (London: Punch Office, 1847), cover.

absurdity of the system was not lost on Thackeray, it was its unfairness that most rankled. “Because he has money” he explained to his readers, the Cornet will be placed “over the heads of men who have a thousand times more experience and desert; and which, in the course of time, will bring him all the honours of his profession, when the veteran soldier he commanded has got no other reward for his bravery than a berth in Chelsea Hospital, and the veteran officer he superseded has slunk into shabby retirement, and ends his disappointed life on a threadbare half-pay.” In an example of the latter scenario, Thackeray explicitly associates those poor veteran officers with the Napoleonic Wars by naming his example “Peninsular Grizzle.” Grizzle, he informs us retires to a small country town and “occupies himself with the most desperate attempts to live like a gentleman, on the stipend of half a tailor’s foreman.” Meanwhile Grig, the young officer who had taken his place, rises “from rank to rank, skipping from one regiment to another, with an increased grade in each, avoiding disagreeable foreign service, and ranking as a Colonel at thirty;— all because he has money, and Lord Grigsby is his father.” In this comparison, Thackeray presents a different take on the comparisons of new unblooded officers and Peninsular and Waterloo veterans than Dickens had before him. Dickens highlighted the false braggadocio in the face of seasoned military competence, while Thackeray instead emphasized the pernicious side effects of purchase. It should also be noted that while Dickens’ junior officers are, to use a popular idiom, “all mouth and no trousers,” they seem perfectly willing to serve overseas if the army requires them to. Grig, on the other hand, deliberately exchanges into different regiments to avoid foreign service and any chance of seeing actual violence.¹⁰⁴

Thackeray is not content to present all veteran officers in a positive light, however, and he provides an alternative to the hard-done-by Peninsular Grizzle in the form of Lieutenant-General the Hon. Sir George Granby Tufto, K.C.B., K.T.S., K.H., K.S.W., &c., &c. Tufto is the picture of the successful soldier, “whose padded old breast twinkles over with a score of stars, clasps, and decorations.” Despite

¹⁰⁴ Thackeray, *Book of Snobs*, 36-37.

admitting that Tufto distinguished himself in multiple campaigns, Thackeray struggles to name his virtues. He is “a greater ass at sixty-eight than he was when he first entered the army at fifteen... he never read a book in his life, and... still writes with a school-boy hand... he is selfish, brutal, passionate, and a glutton.” The author suggests that another profession might have saved Tufto from this fate, but, as with the virtues, cannot think of a suitable alternative. “He was fit for none; too incorrigibly idle and dull for any trade but this, in which he has distinguished himself publicly as a good and gallant officer, and privately for riding races, drinking port, fighting duels, and seducing women.” And yet, thanks to his rank and service, he is welcome in society and even listened to on certain topics.¹⁰⁵

Thackeray closes the first chapter on military snobs with a defense of his own patriotism. Having acknowledged earlier in the chapter that the army, despite its jobbery, was successful thanks to the bravery of all Britons, even the dandies of the army (he reminds his readers that “the great Duke himself was a dandy once, and jobbed on, as Marlborough did before him”), he returns once again to the topic of fairness. It is not the army’s purpose or his country which he decries, but its systems. To illustrate this, he lays out the conditions under which he would serve. “When epaulets are not sold; when corporal punishments are abolished, and Corporal Smith has a chance to have his gallantry rewarded as well as that of Lieutenant Grig... I should not be disinclined to be a Major-General myself.” It is indicative of Thackeray’s self-identification as one of England’s snobs that he immediately promotes himself to Major General, and, after having lambasted Grig for not going abroad, makes his service conditional on Britain being at peace.¹⁰⁶

Chapter ten, simply called “Military Snobs,” is much more focused on individual examples than chapter nine. Its two main characters are Captain Rag, the “sporting military snob,” and Ensign Famish, the “larking’ or raffish military snob.” Captain Rag is a retired cavalry officer who runs with a very

¹⁰⁵ Thackeray, *Book of Snobs*, 36, 38.

¹⁰⁶ Thackeray, *Book of Snobs*, 37, 39.

horse set, scams and cheats his acquaintances, and “carefully avoids decent society.” He is the image of the roguish cavalry officer that would, in the wake of Lord Cardigan rising to notoriety and fame in the Crimea, become a staple of British popular culture. Rag is a bounder, but Thackeray’s portrayal of him leans more to his own flaws than those of the system that produced him. The character of Ensign Famish, on the other hand, allowed Thackeray to address the problem of absenteeism within the officer corps. Famish should be in India with his regiment, but is instead at home on sick leave. Any sympathy that that statement produced in the reader is immediately shattered by Thackeray’s description of Famish’s medical routine. “He recruits his health,” we are told, “by being intoxicated every night, and fortified his lungs, which are weak, by smoking cigars all day.” Famish’s mother, meanwhile, is convinced he goes to bed early and consults his physician daily and is determined to “have him exchanged into a dragoon regiment, which doesn’t have to go to that odious India.” Famish and his mother represent that portion of the British population who viewed the army as the ideal fashionable pastime, but not as a serious career. When a regiment was stationed in or near London, and their responsibilities were limited to parades and possibly the occasional police action, that attitude was unfortunate, but really only a danger to morale. When a regiment shipped out to one of Britain’s colonies, however, this type of thinking and the absenteeism that went with it often meant a shortage of officers when they were most needed.¹⁰⁷

Having detailed Rag and Famish’s interactions with each other and other portions of London society, Thackeray then lists a few other types of military snobs that he does not have the space to discuss at length. “In fact, Military Snobs are of such number and variety, that a hundred weeks of *Punch* would not suffice to give an audience to them.” Having preempted any accusations of incompleteness, Thackeray turns to another charge that he had already addressed in the last chapter: a lack of patriotic feeling. “Let no man, we repeat, charge *Mr. Punch* with disrespect for the Army in general – that gallant

¹⁰⁷ Thackeray, *Book of Snobs*, 39-41.

and judicious Army, every man of which, from F.M. the Duke of Wellington, &c., downwards... reads *Punch* in every quarter of the globe.” After this declaration, Thackeray describes several recent acts of gallantry in the First Anglo-Sikh War, praising, by name, Sir Harry Smith and Sir Henry Hardinge. He then explicitly exempts them from his criticism, declaring that “the men who perform these deeds with such brilliant valour, and describe them with such modest manliness – *such* are not Snobs. Their country admires them, their Sovereign rewards them, and *Punch*, the universal railer, takes off his hat says, Heaven save them!”¹⁰⁸

It is unclear whether Thackeray originally planned to include these two paragraphs of praise. None of the other sections end in this manner, but Thackeray was not entirely ignorant of the dangers of war, and shows, in other writings, a respect for the rank and file and soldiering as an abstract concept. There is no evidence that his first foray into military snobbery produced a public backlash that prompted this amelioration in the second, but it is possible that his editors at *Punch* insisted he soften his tone slightly. The most likely explanation is simply that he recognized the difference between the army’s system, which he despised, and the men who existed within it. Thackeray was self-aware enough to acknowledge that, despite all wearing the same uniform, those who had served courageously, such as Smith, Hardinge, and his fictional Peninsular Grizzle, should be separated from those who avoided service or bought their glory, such as Grig or Famish.

Art

One of the great ironies of Britain’s celebration of Waterloo was that battle paintings, one of the more obvious ways of commemorating such a victory, were almost entirely the province of the losing side. It had been Napoleonic France that had patronized the artists that had turned battle painting into a form of national propaganda, while in Britain, the lack of such a style was held up as proof of their

¹⁰⁸ Thackeray, *Book of Snobs*, 41-42.

superior culture.¹⁰⁹ The one exception to this rule were *exemplum virtutis* paintings such as Benjamin West’s *The Death of General Wolfe* (1770) or John Singleton Copley’s *The Death of Major Peirson* (1783). These works, which combined Renaissance styles and poses with eighteenth and nineteenth century notions of heroism and hero worship, were deemed acceptable by critics and were hugely popular with the public.¹¹⁰ There were attempts at more traditional battle paintings: Henry Alken, for example, exhibited his *Battle of Waterloo* at Messrs. S. and J. Fuller’s in Rathbone-place in 1816, and William Findlater’s *The Life Guards charging the Cuirassiers: The Battle of Waterloo* was part of the Royal Academy’s exhibition in 1818, but they failed to catch on outside of the popular print market.¹¹¹ The result of this was that the paintings we most associate with Waterloo, such as Elizabeth Thompson, Lady Butler’s *Scotland Forever!* (1881) and *The 28th Regiment at Quatre Bras* (1875) were not painted until the late nineteenth century, and are closer, chronologically, to John Singer Sargent’s *Gassed* (1918) than they are to Joseph Mallord William Turner’s *The Field of Waterloo* (1818).

Shortly after the battle, Robert Stewart, Viscount Castlereagh, then Leader of the House of Commons in Lord Liverpool’s Tory government, pushed through a vote allocating £500,000 for “the erection of a Waterloo monument, in which painting, sculpture, and architecture, were to have been united.”¹¹² That particular monument was never erected, however, thanks to the committee’s inability to settle on a design that also met with the approval of the Royal Academy.¹¹³ A thousand guinea prize for the best painting “on the subject of the battle of Waterloo” did go ahead, but failed to produce any

¹⁰⁹ J. W. M. Hichberger, *Images of the Army: The Military in British Art, 1815-1914* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988), 2.

¹¹⁰ Holger Hoock, *Empires of the Imagination: Politics, War, and the Arts in the British World, 1750-1850* (London: Profile Books, 2010), 94-96.

¹¹¹ *Battle of Waterloo*, *The Morning Post*, January 12, 1816, p. 1; *The Battle of Waterloo*, *The Morning Post*, March 23, 1816, p. 1; *The Exhibition of the Royal Academy, M. DCCCXVIII* (London: B. McMillan, 1818), 15. Findlater’s painting was relatively well received by the press. *The Fine Arts*, *The London Literary Gazette and Journal of Belles Lettres, Arts, Sciences, etc.*, March 20, 1819, 185.

¹¹² Frederic Wordsworth Haydon, ed., *Benjamin Robert Haydon: Correspondence and Table-Talk* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1876): 92.

¹¹³ Hichberger, *Images of the Army*, 11-12.

notable results, with *The Times* lamenting that the collection “betrays equal poverty of intellect and imagination in our native artists.”¹¹⁴ With prizes and competitions failing, the British public had to rely instead on privately funded pieces in the traditional style, such as David Wilkie’s *Chelsea Pensioners reading the Waterloo Dispatch*, which was commissioned in August 1816 by Wellington.

Nineteenth century British history and battle paintings, and their relation to both military and civilian society, is a topic that has received a gratifying amount of scholarly attention, and as such does not need to be addressed at length here.¹¹⁵ However, it is worth contrasting three notable works concerning Waterloo and the reactions they received: Turner’s *The Field of Waterloo*, Lawrence’s *Portrait of the Duke of Wellington, in the dress that he wore, and on the horse he rode at the battle of Waterloo*, and William Salter’s *The Waterloo Banquet, 1836*, none of which have received sufficient attention from scholars.¹¹⁶

Joseph Mallord William Turner was already a well-established artist when he left Britain in August 1817 to visit Waterloo. It was only his second time leaving Britain, and the fact that he chose Waterloo and the Rhine as opposed to Rome or one of the other traditional artist pilgrimages illustrates how totally Waterloo had come to dominate the public consciousness. In addition to the general societal pressure, Turner had recently finished reading the newly published third canto of Lord Byron’s *Childe*

¹¹⁴ The British Gallery, *The Times*, February 3, 1816, p. 3.

¹¹⁵ See, for example, Hichberger, *Images of the Army*; Hooch, *Empires of the Imagination*; Colley, *Britons*, chapter 9; Michael Paris, *Warrior Nation: Images of War in British Popular Culture, 1850-2000* (London: Reaktion Books, 2000); Nicholas Tromans, *David Wilkie: The People’s Painter* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007), chapter 4.

¹¹⁶ Turner’s *The Field of Waterloo* has been largely ignored in favor of his other work, perhaps thanks to its lack of success at the time. Only one article discusses Lawrence’s portraits of Wellington in detail, and that is chiefly interested in the relationship between painter and sitter. Susan Jenkins, “Sir Thomas Lawrence and the Duke of Wellington: A portraitist and his sitter,” *The British Art Journal* 8: 1 (Summer 2007): 63-67. The only article dedicated to Salter’s work examines it from a strictly militaria perspective. N. P. Dawnay & J. M. A. Tamplin, “The Waterloo Banquet at Apsley House, 1836, by William Salter,” *Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research* XLIX: 198 (Summer 1971): 63-76.

Harold's Pilgrimage, which made a compelling argument for visiting the area.¹¹⁷ Turner took with him as a guide Charles Campbell's *The Traveller's Complete Guide to Belgium and Holland*, which had that year been updated to include a guide to both the battle and the field of Waterloo.¹¹⁸ The guidebook also contained excerpts from Walter Scott's *The Field of Waterloo*, Robert Southey's *The Poet's Pilgrimage to Waterloo*, and Lord Byron's *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*, which fit nicely into Turner's inspirations for the trip.¹¹⁹ Turner walked the battlefield in the manner recommended by Campbell, and produced seventeen sketches, supplemented by anecdotes gleaned from the on-sight tour guides that, even in the span of two years, had become ubiquitous.¹²⁰ Upon his return to Britain, Turner set about turning the ideas contained in those seventeen sketches into larger pieces. The result was two water-colors, and the roughly five by seven-foot oil painting entitled *The Field of Waterloo*.

¹¹⁷ Franny Moyle, *Turner: The Extraordinary Life and Momentous Times of J.M.W. Turner* (New York: Penguin Press, 2016), 290.

¹¹⁸ Joseph Mallord William Turner, "Itinerary Rhine Tour Sketchbook [Finberg CLIX]", in Helena Bonett, Ysanne Holt, Jennifer Mundy, eds., *The Camden Town Group in Context*, Tate Research Publication, May 2012, <https://www.tate.org.uk/art/research/group/65801?project=2>, accessed 23 August 2018, CLIX 101; Charles Campbell, *The Traveller's Complete Guide through Belgium & Holland; Containing Full Directions for Gentlemen, Lovers of the Fine Arts, and Travellers in General: With a Sketch of a Tour in Germany* (London: Sherwood, Neely, and Jones, 1817), chapter IV.

¹¹⁹ Campbell, *The Traveller's Complete Guide through Belgium & Holland*, 62-64, 69.

¹²⁰ Joseph Mallord William Turner, "Waterloo and the Rhine Sketchbook," London, Tate Britain, D12733-D12749, Turner Bequest CLX 17a-CLX26.



Figure 4.3: Joseph Mallord William Turner, *The Field of Waterloo*, 1818, The Tate Gallery, London

The Field of Waterloo is a departure from every tradition of battle and commemorative painting. It shows the valley of Waterloo the night after the battle. The entire piece is oppressively dark, with only three sources of light: the burning Chateau Hougoumont, a distant flare, fired either to discourage looters or aid the Prussian Army's night chase of Napoleon, and the torch held by the women in the foreground. At first glance, there are only ten or twenty bodies on display, but a closer examination reveals that nearly the entire bottom left quarter of the painting is covered by bodies and the discarded detritus of war. The lack of illumination seems to provide a glimpse into the future of the fallen: forgotten, they will be absorbed by the earth. Turner envisioned the painting as an explicit indictment of the horrors of war, and signaled his intention by displaying it with a quote from *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*, which had done with verse what he was attempting with oils.

The Field of Waterloo made its public debut at the 1818 Royal Academy Exhibition, where it met with a mixed reception. The *Annals of The Fine Arts* dismissed it completely, stating that “before we referred to the catalogue we really thought this was the representation of a drunken hubbub on an

illumination night, and the host as far gone as his scuffling and scrambling guests, was, with his dame and kitchen wenches looking with torches for a lodger, and wondering what was the matter.”¹²¹ The *Literary Chronicle* was briefer but equally damning, decrying it as an “abortive attempt.”¹²² Even some of those who had visited the battlefield as Turner had were puzzled. Henry Crabb Robinson, who had walked the field two months after the battle, when it still bore some of the detritus Turner included, described the painting as “a strange incomprehensible jumble.”¹²³

In contrast, *The Repository of Arts* recommended it to their readers, arguing that “it possesses a strong claim to attention... there is a good deal of grandeur in the effect of this picture as a whole, and the executive parts are handled with care and attention.”¹²⁴ Even they admitted, however, that “*The Field of Waterloo*, in the catalogue, gives a name to the picture which the subject, in the manner it is handled, would not suggest to the spectator. It is more an allegorical representation of ‘battles magnificently stern array,’ than any actual delineation of a particular battle.”¹²⁵ In the more general press, *The Sun* praised it as “a terrific representation of the effects of war.”¹²⁶ *The Monthly Magazine* called it “affecting” and insisted that it would “be valued as long as [its] canvas endures.”¹²⁷

Unsurprisingly, *The Examiner*, the weekly paper co-founded by Leigh Hunt, declared it a “magical illustration of that principle of colour and clare obscure, which combines all their varieties of tint and strength in exhibiting... when the wives and brothers and sons of the slain come, with anxious eyes and agonized hearts, to look in Ambition’s charnel-house, after the slaughtered victims of legitimate and

¹²¹ Review of the Exhibition at the Royal Academy, *Annals of The Fine Arts, for MDCCCXVIII* (London: Sherwood, Neely, and Jones, 1819), III:299.

¹²² *Literary Chronicle*, June 22, 1818, quoted in Martin Butlin and Evelyn Joll, *The Paintings of J.M.W. Turner* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984), 105.

¹²³ Henry Crabb Robinson, *Diary, Reminiscences, and Correspondence of Henry Crabb Robinson*, Thomas Sadler, ed. (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Co., 1898), 387.

¹²⁴ Exhibition at the Royal Academy, *The Repository of Arts, Literature, Fashions, Manufacturers, &c.*, June 1, 1818, 365.

¹²⁵ Exhibition at the Royal Academy, *The Repository of Arts, Literature, Fashions, Manufacturers, &c.*, June 1, 1818, 365.

¹²⁶ *The Sun*, May 15, 1818, quoted in Butlin and Joll, *The Paintings of J.M.W. Turner*, 105.

¹²⁷ Varieties, Literary and Philosophical, *The Monthly Magazine*, June 1, 1818, 446-447.

illegitimate selfishness and wickedness.”¹²⁸ Despite this praise, Turner’s *The Field of Waterloo* did not sell.¹²⁹

Debuting at the same exhibition was Sir Thomas Lawrence’s *Portrait of the Duke of Wellington, in the dress that he wore, and on the horse he rode at the battle of Waterloo*.¹³⁰ This thirteen by eight foot equestrian portrait is representative of the more traditional British take on battle paintings – of the battle, but not depicting it.¹³¹ Wellington is portrayed mounted on his favorite horse, Copenhagen, dressed in a plain blue coat and cloak, white breeches, and polished black boots. He is holding a telescope and Copenhagen’s reins in one hand and is lifting his bicorn hat in the other. The background is dark and relatively anonymous, but Lawrence’s use of light hints that Copenhagen stands at the edge of a ridge, from behind which a column of smoke rises in a way that is evocative of battle without actually depicting it. The darkness of the background is challenged by brighter clouds in the top left segment, suggesting clearer skies just out of view. Copenhagen is facing that way, and Wellington lifts his hat towards the light as it illuminates his face, the great man of history leading his country out of the darkness of war and into the light.

Lawrence was the ideal choice for such a piece. An artistic prodigy from a remarkably early age, he was, in 1818, reaching near apogee of his meteoric rise. He had been appointed Painter-in-Ordinary to the court of George III in 1792 (at the age of 23), was elected a full member of the Royal Academy in 1794 (when he reached the required age of 25), was knighted in 1815 by his patron, the Prince Regent, and would be elected president of the Royal Academy in 1820.¹³² Throughout his career, he was

¹²⁸ Claire obscure is the French term for chiaroscuro. Royal Academy Exhibition, *The Examiner*, May 24, 1818.

¹²⁹ The other painting included in the exhibition, however, *Dort or Dordrecht: The Dort Packet Boat from Rotterdam Bealmed*, also a product of his trip to the continent, did sell, for a landmark 500 guineas. Moyle, *Turner*, 297, 299.

¹³⁰ *The Exhibition of the Royal Academy*, 12.

¹³¹ Kenneth Garlick, *Sir Thomas Lawrence: A Complete Catalogue of the Oil Paintings* (New York: New York University Press, 1989), 279.

¹³² For a detailed summary of his life and work, see Garlick, *Sir Thomas Lawrence*, 11-29.

commissioned to paint Wellington seven times, although the last one was left unfinished when Lawrence died in 1830.¹³³ Of those seven, the 1818 equestrian portrait is the largest, and, thanks to its association with Waterloo, has the closest ties to history painting, a genre that Lawrence always desired to master.¹³⁴ That desire, according to Benjamin West, Lawrence’s predecessor as president of the Royal Academy, only reinforced his portraiture. “Do not confound his pictures with mere portraits,” West admonished a friend, “painted as his are, they cease to be portraits in the ordinary sense; they rise to the dignity of history, and, like similar works of Titian and Vandyke, they may be said to be painted not alone to gratify friends and admirers in the present day, but rather for posterity.”¹³⁵

¹³³ Garlick, *Sir Thomas Lawrence*, 279-280.

¹³⁴ Garlick, *Sir Thomas Lawrence*, 18-19.

¹³⁵ D. E. Williams, *The Life and Correspondence of Sir Thomas Lawrence, Kt.* (London: Henry Colburn and Richard Bentley, 1831), II: 6-7.



Figure 4.4: Thomas Lawrence, *Portrait of the Duke of Wellington, in the dress that he wore, and on the horse he rode at the battle of Waterloo*, 1818, Private Collection, Earl of Bathurst

The painting was commissioned by Henry, Earl Bathurst, who held the office of Secretary of State for War and the Colonies from 1812 to 1827 and worked closely with Wellington in the final years of the Peninsular War and throughout the Waterloo campaign and the occupation of France. There is some indication that Wellington resented the time it took to sit for portraits, even those painted by

Lawrence, who he clearly liked.¹³⁶ He clearly shared West’s belief that Lawrence’s paintings were as much for posterity as the present, however, and determined as he always was to curate his reputation and legacy, he went out of his way to ensure the success of this particular painting. In addition to dedicating the time required for Lawrence’s sittings, Wellington loaned the artist the sword he had carried at Waterloo, which Lawrence used as a prop for the next twelve years.¹³⁷ Wellington also ensured that Lawrence had ample opportunities to properly capture Copenhagen, who at that time was in France with the Army of Occupation. Copenhagen was promptly dispatched across the channel, and Lawrence spent several mornings at Astley’s watching the Amphitheatre’s riding-master put him through his paces.¹³⁸ Lawrence and Wellington also exchanged letters to ensure Copenhagen’s tack was depicted accurately.¹³⁹

Lawrence’s hard work and attention to detail paid off, and the painting was very well received. The Duchess of Wellington relayed to Lawrence that the Duke thought it a better portrait than the one Lawrence had painted of Wellington for the Viscount Castlereagh in 1814.¹⁴⁰ David Wilkie, who saw the painting in January 1818 recorded that “it is one of those images of the Duke that is likely to supplant

¹³⁶ Wellington commissioned over £1500 worth of portraits from Lawrence and would routinely visit the artist’s studio. Wellington was also instrumental in aiding Lawrence on his European tour in 1818. Jenkins, “Sir Thomas Lawrence and the Duke of Wellington,” 66; John Timbs, *Anecdote Lives of William Hogarth, Sir Joshua Reynolds, Thomas Gainsborough, Henry Fuseli, Sir Thomas Lawrence, and J. M. W. Turner* (London: Richard Bentley & Sons, 1881), 293; Harriet Arbuthnot, *The Journal of Mrs. Arbuthnot, 1820-1832*, Francis Bamford & the Duke of Wellington, eds. (London: Macmillan & Co., 1950), II: 292, 347; Wellington to Lawrence, September 16, 1818, George Somes Layard, ed., *Sir Thomas Lawrence’s Letter-Bag* (London: George Allen, 1906), 133; Lawrence to Joseph Farington, September 17, 1818, Layard, *Sir Thomas Lawrence’s Letter-Bag*, 133-134 Elizabeth Croft, “Recollections of the Artist,” in Layard, *Sir Thomas Lawrence’s Letter-Bag*, 270.

¹³⁷ The “shabby looking old sabre” had been reclaimed from Lawrence’s studio shortly after his death. Croft, “Recollections of the Artist,” 287; Arbuthnot, *Journal*, II: 347; Lord Grantham to Archibald Keightley, September 13, 1831, Royal Academy Archive LAW/2/214.

¹³⁸ Lawrence made several sketches of Copenhagen, which were sold after the artist’s death. Croft, “Recollections of the Artist,” 262; Wellington to Lawrence, July 15, 1817, Royal Academy Archive LAW/2/213; Lawrence to Farington, July 31, 1817, Royal Academy Archive, LAW/2/217.

¹³⁹ Wellington to Lawrence, August 8, 1817, Royal Academy Archive LAW/2/219.

¹⁴⁰ Duchess of Wellington to Lawrence, July 8, 1817, Royal Academy Archive LAW/2/211; Garlick, *Sir Thomas Lawrence*, 279.

every other; and I should not be surprised if it were to become... common throughout the country.”¹⁴¹ *The Repository of Arts* praised the “great grandeur” of the painting, but reserved some criticism for Copenhagen’s “forced and unnatural position.”¹⁴² *The Examiner* had no such reservations, insisting that “the sentiment of the picture is so raised above the accustomed style of Portraiture, that we doubt whether we ought not to place it in the class of Poetry.”¹⁴³ Unsurprisingly, those who had failed to see the merits of Turner’s *Field of Waterloo* were won over by Lawrence’s more traditional piece. The *Annals of The Fine Arts*, agreed with *The Repository of Arts’* criticism of Lawrence’s depiction of Copenhagen, but declared the overall portrait “magnificent,” and “possessing many excellencies of colour, arrangement, drawing, and effect.”¹⁴⁴ By the same token Robinson closed his diary entry on the exhibition by declaring Lawrence’s work “a fine painting.”¹⁴⁵ The highest praise, however, came from Lawrence himself, who included the following inscription in Latin in the lower right corner of the painting: “Arthur, Duke of Wellington, how he carried himself in the famous Battle of Waterloo, with his uniform, arms, horse and saddlecloth, faithfully portrayed by Thomas Lawrence, knight, easily the foremost amongst the painters of his age in the Year of Salvation 1818.”¹⁴⁶

While both Turner’s and Lawrence’s paintings were darker than was traditional at that time, they are, as representations of Waterloo, diametric opposites.¹⁴⁷ Turner’s work, redolent with atmosphere, is almost apocalyptic in nature. It eschews the individual for the landscape. The Chateau Hougoumont, scene of some of the hardest fighting on the day, is nearly hidden in flame and smoke, while the soldiers who cover the field literally fade into the background. Lawrence’s equestrian portrait,

¹⁴¹ Timbs, *Anecdote Lives*, 294.

¹⁴² Exhibition at the Royal Academy, *The Repository of Arts, Literature, Fashions, Manufacturers, &c.*, June 1, 1818, 362.

¹⁴³ Royal Academy Exhibition, *The Examiner*, May 24, 1818.

¹⁴⁴ Review of the Exhibition at the Royal Academy, *Annals of The Fine Arts, for MDCCCXVIII* (London: Sherwood, Neely, and Jones, 1819), III:297.

¹⁴⁵ Robinson, *Diary, Reminiscences, and Correspondence*, 387.

¹⁴⁶ Garlick, *Sir Thomas Lawrence*, 279.

¹⁴⁷ Timbs, *Anecdote Lives*, 294.

in contrast, celebrates Wellington as the singular hero of the nation: a lone avatar of victory. He is remarkably clean, his white breeches unstained by the violence and chaos of one of nineteenth century Europe’s bloodiest battles; the implicit ridge in the background of the painting and his faithful Copenhagen serving to literally elevate him above the horror of war.

William Salter’s *The Waterloo Banquet, 1836*, completed in 1840, seeks to strike a balance between the interpretations of Turner and Lawrence. The painting-lined walls of Apsley House’s Picture Gallery are a far cry from the muddy valley of Waterloo, but the nearly 80 officers that surround Wellington belie any interpretation of the Duke as the sole hero of the field. While Wellington is centered in the work, the glory is shared between the red-coated veterans. At the same time, the enclosed nature of the setting implicitly limits that glory to the men in the room, maintaining their elite status and ownership of the victory.



Figure 4.5: William Salter, *The Waterloo Banquet, 1836*, 1840, Apsley House, London, ©Stratfield Saye Preservation Trust

According to anecdotal legend, Salter happened to be riding in Hyde Park on June 18th and caught a glimpse of the banquet through the large windows of the gallery. Immediately seeing the potential for a painting depicting the event, he applied to his patron, Lady Burghersh, who, fortuitously, was Wellington’s niece. She agreed to contact her uncle, who immediately refused, citing the complicated nature of the painting and Salter’s youth (he was in his early thirties at the time). Burghersh persisted, however, and eventually Wellington was persuaded.¹⁴⁸ Once he was convinced, Wellington took great interest in the painting and went out of his way to aid Salter and assure its success. He clearly saw it as an opportunity to present a more carefully curated view of his veterans to the British public. *The Times*, in their review of the painting, noted that “the noble owner of Apsley-house has furnished the artist with every facility.”¹⁴⁹ He granted Salter access to Apsley House’s Picture Gallery and collections of plate and china so that he could paint “the splendid plateau which ornaments the table, the furniture, and the pictures which adorn the noble apartment” from life, to guarantee their accuracy.¹⁵⁰ It is also safe to assume he encouraged Salter’s plan to paint individual studies of all the attendees before attempting the overall work, and his approval may have been one of the reasons why all but two of the 78 officers depicted in the painting sat for individual studies in uniform.¹⁵¹ In addition, Wellington turned a blind eye to the one glaring inaccuracy of the painting: the inclusion of several civilians, both male and female, standing by the Picture Gallery’s door. These included Salter himself and the proprietor of Salter’s gallery, F. G. Moon, along with Lady Burghersh and several of Wellington’s other female relatives.¹⁵² After the painting’s completion, but before it was exhibited, Wellington increased the public interest in the painting by visiting the artist’s studio with several fashionable friends

¹⁴⁸ John Timbs, *Wellingtonia: Anecdotes, Maxims, and Characteristics of the Duke of Wellington* (London: Ingram, Cooke, and Co., 1852), 134-135.

¹⁴⁹ The Picture of the Waterloo Banquet, *The Times*, May 7, 1841, p. 5.

¹⁵⁰ The Picture of the Waterloo Banquet, *The Times*, May 7, 1841, p. 5.

¹⁵¹ Although every individual that was included had a vested interest in a good likeness. The two not painted from life were Earl Bathurst and Lord Robert Manners. Our Weekly Gossip, *The Athenæum*, May 1, 1841, 342; Dawnay & Tamplin, “The Waterloo Banquet at Apsley House, 1836, by William Salter.”

¹⁵² Dawnay & Tamplin, “The Waterloo Banquet at Apsley House, 1836, by William Salter,” 63, fig. 6.

to inspect the work, which was reported in *The Times’* Court Circular.¹⁵³ This visit inspired another one by Prince Adolphus, Duke of Cambridge and his son, Prince George, which was also reported and no doubt encouraged further excitement.¹⁵⁴

The excitement was justified. *The Morning Post* declared the finished work “splendid,” while *The Athenæum* commended Salter, “who has embodied a scene that Posterity will regard with interest even greater than ours.”¹⁵⁵ *The Times* was perhaps the most effusive, informing its readers that it was “a picture of very rare merit,” before praising Salter for his skill. It is not an easy feat to depict a banquet with over 80 guests “without the heads being distorted or twisted on the shoulders... without forcing [the subjects] into attitudes, and torturing the limbs to a subserviency of his effects.”¹⁵⁶ “The picture is strictly an historical one,” *The Times* concluded, “and will long remain a document of one of the greatest events in modern history. The subject is one that interests every Briton, and has been treated by the artist in the way it deserves.”¹⁵⁷ *The Times’* prediction that the painting’s subject would interest the general populace proved correct. The six foot, two inches by eleven feet painting, along with the portrait sketches, were exhibited for over a month in Threadneedle Street, and were sufficiently popular that the proprietor of the space, F. G. Moon, took advantage of the anniversary of Waterloo to move the exhibition to a more centrally-located gallery on Regent Street in St. James’s for a week.¹⁵⁸ It was also immediately announced that there would be an engraving of the piece that would be sold to the general public.¹⁵⁹ The full painting, along with the studies, was exhibited again for the thirtieth anniversary of

¹⁵³ Court Circular, *The Times*, February 2, 1841, p. 5.

¹⁵⁴ Court Circular, *The Times*, April 8, 1841, p. 3.

¹⁵⁵ Mr. Salter’s Waterloo Banquet Picture, *The Morning Post*, June 19, 1841; Our Weekly Gossip, *The Athenæum*, May 1, 1841, 342.

¹⁵⁶ The Picture of the Waterloo Banquet, *The Times*, May 7, 1841, p. 5.

¹⁵⁷ The Picture of the Waterloo Banquet, *The Times*, May 7, 1841, p. 5.

¹⁵⁸ The Waterloo Banquet Picture, *The Times*, June 18, 1841, p. 12; Mr. Salter’s Waterloo Banquet Picture, *The Morning Post*, June 19, 1841; The Waterloo Banquet Picture, *The Times*, June 19, 1841, p. 4; The Waterloo Banquet Picture, *The Times*, June 26, 1841, p. 4.

¹⁵⁹ The Picture of the Waterloo Banquet, *The Times*, May 7, 1841, p. 5; Dawnay & Tamplin, “The Waterloo Banquet at Apsley House, 1836, by William Salter,” 63

Waterloo in 1845.¹⁶⁰ The individual studies also garnered some interest. They were roughly twenty by seventeen inches and were mostly three-quarter length portraits. Two sets were made – one for Salter’s reference and for display with the completed piece, and one so that each sitter could buy their own sketch.¹⁶¹ A single study of Major-General Lygon, C.B. appeared in the 1842 Royal Academy Exhibition, where it was lamented that Salter had not contributed more work.¹⁶²

In 1846, William Greatbach finished the engraving of the piece and Moon promptly started printing them. Prices ranged from £15, 15s. for the rarer pre-lettered proofs to £10, 10s. for the standard print, and each print included a key, so that each person present could be identified.¹⁶³ Sales of the twenty four and half inch by forty four inch engraving were good, and were no doubt helped by *The Times*’ repeated praise.¹⁶⁴ The paper reported that “the general effect is spirited, it possesses the energy of truth, and is wholly devoid of the scenic absurdities of theatrical representation and exaggerated outline, although some awkwardness in the positions of the guests could not be avoided. The engraving is in the line manner, and is brilliant, flowing, and defined.”¹⁶⁵ Rare proofs of the engraving became popular collector’s items, and several art auction notices over the next few years specifically mention them.¹⁶⁶ Despite the interest in the engravings, the original painting remained unsold until 1852, when it was purchased by a Mr. Mackenzie, a friend of Salter’s.¹⁶⁷ It remained in the Mackenzie family until the

¹⁶⁰ The notices for this brief exhibition were cleverly placed directly above the notices for the popular Waterloo Fete at Vauxhall Gardens. Waterloo Banquet, *The Times*, June 17, 1845, p. 5; Waterloo Banquet, *The Times*, June 18, 1845, p. 4.

¹⁶¹ Dawnay & Tamplin, “The Waterloo Banquet at Apsley House, 1836, by William Salter,” 64-65.

¹⁶² The Royal Academy Exhibition, *The Times*, May 6, 1842, p. 9.

¹⁶³ The Waterloo Banquet at Apsley House subscription pamphlet, Yale Center for British Art, New Haven, Rare Books and Manuscripts, ND497.S44 W38 1846 Box; Dawnay & Tamplin, “The Waterloo Banquet at Apsley House, 1836, by William Salter,” 65.

¹⁶⁴ Dawnay & Tamplin, “The Waterloo Banquet at Apsley House, 1836, by William Salter,” 65.

¹⁶⁵ The Waterloo Banquet, *The Times*, April 6, 1846, p. 6.

¹⁶⁶ See Sales by Auction, *The Times*, June 5, 1847, p. 10; Sales By Auction, *The Times*, December 22, 1847, p. 8; Sales by Auction, *The Times*, August 30, 1849, p. 8.

¹⁶⁷ Dawnay & Tamplin, “The Waterloo Banquet at Apsley House, 1836, by William Salter.” 65.

mid-twentieth century, when the original purchaser’s grandson, a Major, bequeathed it to the current Duke of Wellington.¹⁶⁸

All of the works discussed here illustrate the presence of army officers and the Battle of Waterloo in the cultural fabric of Britain. Some of these works, such as Astley’s hippodrama, *The Battle of Waterloo*, Lawrence’s equestrian portrait of Wellington, or Salter’s *The Waterloo Banquet, 1836*, sought to celebrate the individual and collective achievements of June 18th, 1815, and reinforce both Waterloo’s position in Britain’s zeitgeist and Britain’s position in nineteenth century geopolitics. In contrast, Leigh Hunt’s *Captain Sword and Captain Pen* and Turner’s *The Field of Waterloo* emphasized the horrors, rather than the glories, of war, implicitly or explicitly arguing against the militarization of the state. The other works considered here are less ambitious in their scope, seeking to highlight the absurdities within military culture, rather than military culture itself. For James White’s *Sir Frizzle Pumpkin, K.C.B.* and *Nights at Mess* and Dickens’ *Sketches of Young Gentlemen*, is it enough to lampoon officers’ behavior in general, in the process highlighting the tension that existed between the military and civilian spheres. For Thackeray, however, *The Book of Snobs* was an opportunity to satirize the extremes and injustices of the military class system, comparing rich and poor officers while reminding his readers of near-impossibility of an enlisted soldier being granted a commission. It should come as no surprise that Wellington and the army’s senior officers took exception to the criticisms of the system they thrived in and defended and took whatever opportunities they could to balance these criticisms with more positive representations. Their encouragement of and participation in Astley’s *The Battle of Waterloo*, Lawrence’s *Portrait of the Duke of Wellington*, or Salter’s *The Waterloo Banquet, 1836*, despite the inaccuracies and liberties of the works, can be traced to this impulse.

¹⁶⁸ It is currently on display in the public rooms of Apsley House. The collection of the single studies is in the possession of the National Portrait Gallery.

As the previous four chapters have demonstrated, Waterloo became a significant part of Britain’s culture in the decades following the victory. Different aspects of Waterloo celebration and commemoration were curated by different groups within British society, ranging from artists and writers to middle-class tourists. The veteran officers who fought in the battle participated in these efforts in various ways, authoring memoirs and lending their time and patronage to performances and artistic representations. Certain events (such as the Waterloo Banquet) were exclusively military in their identity and composition, but the majority were either mixed or spearheaded by non-military interests. Despite some tensions between the military and civilian spheres, the officers did not go out of their way to contest this shared or national ownership of Waterloo.

As noted in the discussion of memoirs in Chapter I, many veteran officers viewed Waterloo as (an albeit significant) part of their longer military service, rather than the all-important victory it became in Britain’s creation myth. The next three chapters examine some of the career paths pursued by officers who fought in the battle. With continued military, political, and imperial service, these veterans could shape their own relationship with Britain and their social circles and did not have to rely on their ownership of Waterloo for their identities. While some could never fully distance themselves from their military service (such as Sir John Colborne, Baron Seaton) and others crafted civilian identities heavily based on Waterloo (Sir Francis Bond Head), the majority were simply too busy getting on with their lives to engage in the kind of total war campaign it would have required to wrest control of Waterloo back from its shared national ownership.

Two other points are worth noting here, as they may have led to officers not wanting to go out of their way to identify with Waterloo. First, for many of those officers, Waterloo was a pyrrhic victory: by finally ending the threat of Napoleonic France, they allowed Britain to significantly reduce the size of its army and the funding allocated to it. The victory therefore ended the “good old days” of service in the Iberian Peninsula that had been rendered even more roseate by the power of nostalgia. Second, as

will be demonstrated by the next three chapters, Waterloo (and traditional European campaign) service may not have been the advantage many thought it would be in political or imperial office, nor did it, on the home front, exempt officers from criticism leveled at their choices or behaviors. For a number of officers, therefore, it may have seemed preferable to place Waterloo firmly in the past and simply get on with their lives, whether that meant staying in the army (as discussed in the next chapter), entering politics (Chapter VI), or once again leaving Britain to engage in imperial service (Chapter VII).

Chapter V: The Army at Home

In the aftermath of the Battle of Waterloo and the three-year occupation of France, several of the victorious allies' militaries continued to enjoy a prominent place in their nation's political, social, and cultural spheres. Prussia remains the prime example of this, where, in response to military defeats at the hands of Napoleon's veterans in the first decade of the nineteenth century and the Prussian army's subsequent revenge of those defeats in the second decade, the military was fully incorporated into society, politics, and education to the point where Voltaire's oft quoted and possibly apocryphal statement that "where some states have an army, the Prussian army has a state" was truer of nineteenth-century Prussia than it was a century before.¹ The British military, like those of its continental allies (and France), experienced an increase in support and attention during the quarter century of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars.² In the peace that followed, however, the army's role in Britain itself was slowly relegated to the social and cultural spheres, resulting in a Britain that still enjoyed military spectacle and commemoration without the "militarization" of the nation that is sometimes associated with the absolutist great powers.³

¹ For more on the relationship between the Prussian military and the state, see Gordon A. Craig, *The Politics of the Prussian Army 1640-1945* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964); Peter Paret, *The Cognitive Challenge of War: Prussia 1806* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009); Isabel V. Hull, *Absolute Destruction: Military Culture and the Practices of War in Imperial Germany* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2005).

² See Kevin Linch and Matthew McCormack, eds. *Britain's Soldiers: Rethinking War and Society, 1715-1815* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2014); Alan Forrest, Karen Hagemann, and Jane Rendall, eds., *Soldiers, Citizens and Civilians: Experiences and Perceptions of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars, 1790-1820* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009); Kevin Linch, *Britain and Wellington's Army: Recruitment, Society and Tradition, 1807-1815* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011); Matthew McCormack, *Embodying the Militia in Georgian England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015); Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707-1837* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009). For the increase in interest during the second half of the nineteenth century, see Michael Paris, *Warrior Nation: Images of War in British Popular Culture, 1850-2000* (London: Reaktion Books, 2000). For the French case, see David A. Bell, *The First Total War* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2007).

³ The term "militarization" can be seen as problematic even in the continental setting: As Geoff Eley has demonstrated there is a notable difference between the army's place in the nineteenth-century nation and society and militarization as defined by social theorists. Geoff Eley, "Some thoughts on German Militarism," in *Militär und*

The gradual nature of this transition, especially in comparison to the almost immediate cutting of the army's budget, was a response to a lack of civilian infrastructure and a surplus of soldiers. This is best seen in the army, militia, and yeoman cavalry's role as both local and national governments' most notable line of defense against increasing unrest caused by the post-war economic depression, the passage of the first controversial corn laws, and demands for the reform of the House of Commons.⁴ In the absence of well-organized territorial police forces, and with both a large standing army and a militia and yeomanry system, the use of troops as police forces would have seemed a logical step, especially to a Tory government with a fresh memory of the Napoleonic Wars, who saw the threat of another French Revolution in every march and assembly. However, the vocal criticism of the size of Britain's standing army and its use against domestic unrest, especially in the case of the St. Peter's Fields or "Peterloo" Massacre in 1819, illustrates that the British public would not tolerate the military's permanent assumption of such a role. With the establishment of unarmed civilian police forces starting in 1829, the military transitioned to a more ceremonial and social role within Britain itself, while reserving its use of actual military force for when it was overseas.

In the face of this public criticism of its numbers and peacetime functions, the army retreated into a more comfortable position, where its interactions with the civilian sphere were social and cultural, rather than based in the army's actual function. In this, the army echoes the shift in the role and duties

Militarismus in der Weimarer Republik, eds. Klaus-Jürgen Müller and Eckardt Opitz (Düsseldorf: Droste, 1978): 223-235.

⁴ For the rise of unrest in those years and the reasons why, see Colley, *Britons*, chapter 8; Clyve Jones, ed., *A Short History of Parliament* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2009); Peter Jupp, *The Governing of Britain 1688-1848: The Executive, Parliament and the People* (London: Routledge, 2006); Glyn Williams and John Ramsden, *Ruling Britannia: A Political History of Britain, 1688-1988* (London: Longman, 1990); Norman Chester, *The English Administrative System 1780-1870* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981); E.A. Smith, *The House of Lords in British Politics and Society, 1815-1911* (London: Longman, 1992); Philip Harling, *The Waning of 'Old Corruption': The Politics of Economical Reform in Britain, 1779-1846* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996); Michael Bentley, *Politics Without Democracy: Great Britain, 1815-1914* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1985); Malcolm Chase, *1820: Disorder and Stability in the United Kingdom* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2015); E. P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class*, New York: Vintage, 1966); Harold Perkin, *Origins of Modern English Society* (London: Ark, 1969).

of the monarchy as explored by David Cannadine.⁵ Cannadine argues that it was only once the British monarchy abdicated any attempt to actually govern Britain via direct or influential action that it became possible for it to find its place in British tradition and society, and in the process became enormously popular. He places that change after 1877, with its heyday in the Edwardian era (1901-1914). This chapter will argue that the army, and especially its officer corps, preempted their monarchs in this but achieved virtually the same results. By identifying the army more with its spectacle and social functions, and less with its traditional role as the arm of the state, the army won a place within polite society and preserved its cultural influence, even as it, as the monarch would, abdicated its collective political influence.⁶

This trend further explains why veteran officers were willing to work with artists and producers as discussed in Chapter IV. In the face of the replacement of direct political and military power with indirect social and cultural power, many turned to cultural patronage. This was not only an attempt to preserve their portion of the shared ownership of Waterloo, but also to counter emerging claims on Waterloo from radicals and satirists who identified the battle as representative of both the army and the conservative state, and sought to co-opt it to further their own goals.

This chapter will begin, somewhat paradoxically, in northern France, where from 1815 until 1818 roughly 10,000 British troops took part in the allied Army of Occupation. For those troops, their three-year assignment in France allowed them to transition from a wartime army to a peacekeeping

⁵ David Cannadine, "The Context, Performance and Meaning of Ritual: The British Monarchy and the 'Invention of Tradition', c. 1820-1977," in *The Invention of Tradition*, eds. Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 101-164.

⁶ A few scholars, most notably Scott Hughes Myerly, have argued that public parades, reviews, and mock battles still encouraged the preservation of order, and that these spectacles were designed to act as a psychological deterrent against unrest; providing a non-violent way to demonstrate the overawing power that had been deliberately engineered into the British Army's precision drill and fine uniforms. Scott Hughes Myerly, *British Military Spectacle: From the Napoleonic Wars Through the Crimea* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1996); Dominique Gaulme and François Gaulme, *Power & Style: A World History of Politics and Dress* (Paris: Flammarion, 2012).

force and, in several ways, set the standard for the army's social interactions in peacetime. It will then examine the welcome waiting for troops returning to Britain either immediately after Waterloo in 1815 or three years later after the Army of Occupation departed France. This welcome took two very different forms, with many regiments being feted in various towns, even as Whitehall and the army's High Command were significantly reducing the numbers of active servicemen. It will then explore the army's role as a police force, discussing their actions at Peterloo in 1819 and their role in Ireland, as well as some of the criticisms prompted by those actions. Following that, it will briefly examine the foundation of civilian police forces in the 1820s that largely relegated the army to a social and cultural role. Finally, this chapter will discuss some of those social interactions with the general public, in the form of reviews, balls, and performances, before concluding with the popular criticisms of the army, some of which arose out of those social interactions and others that were more general in nature.

Within months of the battle of Waterloo, over a million allied troops had marched into France. The Duke of Wellington's 80,000 British and Hanoverian troops and Prince Blücher's Prussians, now reinforced and numbering 250,000, were joined by 250,000 Austrians, 200,000 Russians, and 110,000 troops of the Germanic states, led by Bavaria and Württemberg. To this was added the staffs, guards, and retinues of the Emperor of Austria, the Tsar of Russia, the King of Prussia, the other allied sovereigns, and Viscount Castlereagh, the British Foreign Secretary, all of whom descended on Paris to celebrate their victory and decide the fate of Europe.⁷ For the rest of the summer of 1815, Paris once again served as the social capital of Europe, playing host to reviews, parades, balls, and elaborate

⁷ *The Battle of Waterloo, Containing the Series of Accounts Published by Authority, British and Foreign, with Circumstantial Details, previous, during, and after the Battle, from a Variety of Authentic and Original Sources, with Relative Official Documents, Forming an Historical Record of the Operations in the Campaign of the Netherlands, 1815. By a Near Observer*, 7th ed. (London: J. Booth and T. Egerton, 1815), 260; Diary of Lord R. E. H. Somerset Commonly Called Lord Edward Somerset, 1815-1817, Bodleian Library, University of Oxford, Oxford, UK, MS Eng.Hist.2.140, Entry for July 10, 1815, p. 17.

military displays.⁸ These military events were not just for the enjoyment of the sovereigns and the gratification of the participants; they also served as a warning to the people of France of the military might they would face if they rejected the House of Bourbon for a third time. As such, they were not overly popular with the residents of Paris. Their audiences came, instead, from the visitors who flocked to Paris from the rest of Europe, anxious to see the treasures Napoleon had looted from Europe and the grandeur of the former imperial capital before the allied armies repatriated the national treasures and humbled the monuments to French victory.⁹

While Paris grudgingly welcomed its visitors and played host to these events, the plenipotentiaries of the allied powers and France were negotiating what would become the 1815 Treaty of Paris.¹⁰ The treaty, which was signed on November 20, 1815, reduced France's borders back to where they had been in 1790 and demanded that they pay an indemnity to the various allies that totaled 700

⁸ Lieutenant Colonel Cadell describes a massive review and parade that took place on July 24th, 1815 along the Champ Elysées, and an event in August where Wellington used all the British troops to demonstrate his 1812 victory at Salamanca for the allied sovereigns. Major General Lord Somerset describes several levees and reviews, and also mentions the Salamanca demonstration. When Walter Scott visited Waterloo and Paris, he attended a dinner given by Lord Cathcart in honor of Czar Alexander I and witnessed a review of Russian troops in the Place de la Concorde. Charles Cadell, *Narrative of the Campaigns of the Twenty-Eighth Regiment Since Their Return from Egypt in 1802* (London: Whittaker & Co., 1835), 240-242; Diary of Lord R. E. H. Somerset, entries for July 14, 16, 22, 24, 30, 31, August 9, September 10, 22, all 1815, pp.17-21; Paul O'Keeffe, General Introduction to *Scott on Waterloo*, by *Walter Scott* (London: Vintage Books, 2015), 10-12.

⁹ Scott visited the Louvre and recorded in his 1816 anonymous epistolary work *Paul's Letters to his Kinsfolk* that many of the statues had already been loosened or removed from their plinths in preparation for being shipped back to their country of origin. Walter Scott, *Paul's Letters to his Kinsfolk*, in *Scott on Waterloo*, 227. The Horses of Saint Mark, which Napoleon had looted from St. Mark's Basilica in Venice in 1797 and incorporated into the Arc de Triomphe du Carrousel, were removed by British engineers from the top of the Arc and returned to the Austrian Emperor. O'Keeffe, General Introduction, 13. See also Maude Lowry Cole and Stephen Gwynn, eds., *Memoirs of Sir Lowry Cole* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1934), 179. Not all the art was being repatriated. Somerset records that the Château de Malmaison's version of Jacques-Louis David's *Napoleon Crossing the Alps* (1801) (the second of five versions of the painting made) had already been removed by Blucher. It now resides in the Charlottenburg Palace in Berlin. Diary of Lord R. E. H. Somerset, entry for July 24, 1815, p. 18.

¹⁰ The Congress of Vienna had also engendered a significant amount of balls and celebratory events. See Brian Vick, *The Congress of Vienna: Power and Politics after Napoleon* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2014); Adam Zamoyski, *Rites of Peace: The Fall of Napoleon and the Congress of Vienna* (New York: Harper Perennial, 2007); David King, *Vienna, 1814: How the Conquerors of Napoleon Made Love, War, and Peace at the Congress of Vienna* (New York: Harmony, 2008). For a more geopolitical and security studies examination of Vienna and the Congress system, see Beatrice de Graaf, Ido de Haan, and Brian Vick, eds., *Securing Europe After Napoleon: 1815 and the New European Security Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019).

million francs. In addition, France would demolish certain of its own fortifications and pay for the construction of new defensive works for the countries that bordered it. Finally, and perhaps most significantly, an international force of 150,000 men would occupy portions of France close to its borders for up to five years, under the overall command of Wellington, who would be based first in Paris and later in Cambrai (on the Dutch/Belgian border), along with a garrison of 10-12,000 British troops.¹¹ This occupying army would hold several key towns and fortresses, and would be paid for and supplied by the French.¹² Several scholars have made the case that this international effort represents the first modern military occupation, and the case can even be made that, in its goals, it bears a closer resemblance to twentieth century peacekeeping operations than it does to the traditional imperially-motivated occupations of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.¹³

While all of the nationalities involved in the Army of Occupation were relatively disciplined, the British government in particular desired that their soldiers comport themselves well, as it was clear to Castlereagh that Britain would need France as an ally to balance the post-war emergence of the Holy

¹¹ General Frimont would command the Austrian troops, General Woronzow the Russians, General Gneizenau the Prussians, and Wellington the British, as well as being in overall command of the entire force. *The Battle of Waterloo*, 260; Diary of Lord R. E. H. Somerset, entry for April 18, 1816, p. 31.

¹² *The Battle of Waterloo*, 260.

¹³ Christine Haynes' work is particularly valuable in this context and is the first to explore the social and cultural side of the occupation in detail. Her interests lie, however, with the more day-to-day experience of the occupation, and she only briefly touches on the grand reviews discussed in some detail below. See Christine Haynes, *Our Friends the Enemies: The Occupation of France after Napoleon* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2018). For further details and interpretations on this, see Thomas Dwight Veve, *The Duke of Wellington and the British Army of Occupation in France, 1815-1818* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1992); Peter M. R. Stirk, *A History of Military Occupation from 1792 to 1914* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2017); Peter M. R. Stirk, *The Politics of Military Occupation* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009); David M. Edelstein, *Occupational Hazards: Success and Failure in Military Occupation* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2008). For military occupations before 1815 see Roy A. Prete and A. Hamish Ion, eds., *Armies of Occupation* (Waterloo: Wilfred Laurier University Press, 1984); Ralph Ashby, *Napoleon Against Great Odds: The Emperor and the Defenders of France, 1814* (Santa Barbara: Praeger, 2010); Luke Reynolds, "The Shadow of the Flag: Military Occupation & Military Modernization in the British Army," (MA Thesis, Hunter College, City University of New York, 2011). Of course, not all peacekeeping occupations are peaceful. See Carol Harrington, "Governing Peacekeeping: the Role of Authority and Expertise in the Case of Sexual Violence and Trauma," *Economy and Society* 35, Issue 3 (2006): 346-380; Eyal Weizman, *The Least of All Possible Evils: Humanitarian Violence from Arendt to Gaza* (London: Verso, 2011).

Alliance of the absolutist powers of Prussia, Austria, and Russia.¹⁴ To that end, he also advocated for and achieved a relatively reasonable treaty. Wellington supported Castlereagh's ambitions and vision of a European balance of power, support that was perhaps best demonstrated by the fact that he advocated for the withdrawal of the Army of Occupation after three years instead of the original five and was instrumental in negotiations that lowered France's indemnity.¹⁵

This softening of relations between Britain and France was reflected in the experience of the Army of Occupation. "In place of real battles," the *Caledonian Mercury* reported from the continent, "we have now the more harmless amusement of sham-fights, and dinners and balls generally conclude the evening's entertainment."¹⁶ Lieutenant Colonel Jonathan Leach, who was stationed in France with the Rifle Brigade throughout the occupation, agreed, noting in his memoir that "the three following years passed by the army of occupation in Cambrai, Valenciennes, and other towns and villages in that part of France furnished no materials of consequence for journalizing."¹⁷ The Army, in theory, was supposed to act as a deterrent against another rise of Bonapartist feeling while also shoring up support for Louis XVIII. Instead, it found itself engaged in lazy garrison duty, stationed in towns in the winter and large camps in the summer.¹⁸ Leach summed up the near holiday atmosphere of those years in his memoir, *Rough Sketches of the Life of an Old Soldier*:

Those who were fond of field-sports indulged in them to their hearts' content... game was very plentiful, and a finer country for coursing is no where to be found. There were several packs of fox-hounds and harriers belonging to different divisions of the army, and greyhounds without number. At Valenciennes we had races frequently, and some decent nags found their way out

¹⁴ See Henry Kissinger, *A World Restored: Metternich, Castlereagh and the Problems of Peace 1812-1822* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1973); Henry Kissinger, *Diplomacy* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1994).

¹⁵ Rory Muir, *Wellington: Waterloo and the Fortunes of Peace, 1814-1852* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015), 114-116.

¹⁶ *Caledonian Mercury*, November 2, 1818.

¹⁷ The three battalions of the 95th Rifles were merged into the Rifle Brigade in 1816. Jonathan Leach, *Rough Sketches of the Life of an Old Soldier: During a Service in the West Indies; at the Siege of Copenhagen in 1807; in the Peninsula and the South of France in the Campaigns from 1808 to 1814, with the Light Division; in the Netherlands in 1815; including the Battles of Quatre Bras and Waterloo: With a Slight Sketch of the Three Years Passed by the Army of Occupation in France, &c. &c. &c.* (London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, and Green, 1831), 400.

¹⁸ Leach, *Rough Sketches of the Life of an Old Soldier*, 400-401; Diary of Lord R. E. H. Somerset.

from England. Champagne, Burgundy, Claret, and other orthodox fluids, were abundant; and the greater part of the army would willingly have protracted their stay a dozen years longer in those quarters.¹⁹

The Army of Occupation found this idyllic existence punctuated not by police actions, but by public grand reviews. These reviews were popular across all the nationalities involved in the occupation and, as invitations were usually sent out to the commanders of the other national forces, allowed for some interaction among the various high commands.²⁰

The first grand review of the British portion of the Army of Occupation occurred on October 22, 1816 outside of Denain, near the Dutch border, and served as the culmination of Wellington's general inspection of the entire Army of Occupation.²¹ As with the reviews that occurred in the immediate aftermath of the surrender of France in 1815, these reviews proved to be significant events, which were covered by the papers in Britain and attracted international guests. *The Morning Post* reported that the Dukes of Kent and Cambridge were in attendance, while *The Morning Chronicle* noted that Cambrai, the closest major town to Denain, was "crowded with Generals and superior Officers of all nations, and numbers of strangers, who flock thither from all quarters; it is not possible to procure lodging there."²² The scene was deliberately made more martial by Wellington, who issued a general order "prohibiting the officers of the army to appear in public out of uniform."²³

On the day of the review itself, the road from Cambrai to Denain was "thronged by the dawn of day," and filled with the "continual rattle of wheels and smacking of whips."²⁴ After the traditional inspection and review by the generals and their guests, the army split and, in maneuver, recreated first

¹⁹ Leach, *Rough Sketches of the Life of an Old Soldier*, 401.

²⁰ See Private Correspondence, *Caledonian Mercury*, May 30, 1816; Colman, Sept. 14, *The Morning Chronicle*, September 25, 1816; Brussels, Oct. 11, *The Morning Chronicle*, October 18, 1816; Foreign Intelligence, *The Morning Post*, May 21, 1817; *The Morning Post*, August 17, 1818.

²¹ Brussels, Oct. 11, *The Morning Chronicle*, October 18, 1816.

²² The Grand Review, *The Morning Post*, October 30, 1816; Flanders Mail, *The Morning Chronicle*, October 26, 1816.

²³ London Mails, *The Cheltenham Chronicle and Gloucestershire Advertiser*, September 19, 1816, p. 1.

²⁴ Grand Review, *The Morning Post*, November 4, 1816.

the Battle of Waterloo and then the Battle of Denain, which had taken place on the same field in 1712.²⁵ Wellington took on the role of Marshal Villars while General Count Woronzow, the commander of the Russian portion of the Army of Occupation, represented Prince Eugene. As the *Caledonian Mercury* put it, “it was singular to see Russians, Danes, Saxons, English, and Hanoverians maneuvering in profound peace round the column erected by order of Louis XIV.”²⁶ These maneuvers were “executed with a precision and rapidity that excited the admiration of crowds of spectators,” but more excitement was to come.²⁷ After portions of the army that occupied France had recreated one of the country’s most significant victories, the British force split in two and engaged in “a grand sham fight,” with “the Cavalry & Infantry Staff Corps, with two troops of Horse, & one Brigade of Foot Artillery, commanded by Sir George Scovell, represent[ing] the Enemy’s Army.”²⁸ The day closed with a “grand dinner given by the Duke of Wellington,” followed by a “ball to a splendid assemblage, in the Freemason’s-Hall” hosted by “the Noble Dukes” and attended by “the principal officers of the armies of occupation, and the most distinguished ladies of their nations.”²⁹ The ball was interrupted at midnight by a supper for 60 guests, after which the dancing continued until the company broke up at three in the morning.³⁰ There were also several satellite events that took place around the review, taking advantage of the assemblage of notables. The 3rd Battalion of the 1st Regiment of Foot (Royal Scots), for example, seized on the presence of their Colonel, the Duke of Kent, and threw a grand dinner in honor of his birthday on November 2nd, which was also covered in the British press.³¹

²⁵ Grand Review, *The Morning Post*, November 4, 1816.

²⁶ Dutch Mail, *Caledonian Mercury*, November 7, 1816.

²⁷ The Army, *The Morning Post*, November 5, 1816.

²⁸ Diary of Lord R. E. H. Somerset, entry for October 22, 1816, p. 35; Dutch Mail, *Caledonian Mercury*, November 7, 1816

²⁹ The Grand Review, *The Morning Post*, October 30, 1816; Grand Review, *The Morning Post*, November 4, 1816.

³⁰ The Grand Review, *The Morning Post*, October 30, 1816.

³¹ *The Bury and Norwich Post*, November 27, 1816; Entertainment at Valenciennes, *The Derby Mercury*, November 28, 1816.

This review and battle proved to be such a success that it became a regular thing. On September 6, 1817, the King of Prussia, who was travelling through France incognito as the Count de Ruppin, inspected the British, Danish, and Hanoverian contingents outside of Valenciennes, although, because the “ground was still partially covered with corn,” there were no elaborate maneuvers.³² A month later, the British held another review, this time attended by the Prince of Orange and the Duke of Kent.³³ In addition to the royal guests, the review attracted the commanders of the Russian, Prussian, and Austrian contingents, while the “martial appearance, and the discipline of the troops, excited the admiration of the numerous spectators.”³⁴ As had happened a year before, the review was used as an excuse for social events, and *The Morning Chronicle* reported that Wellington “has given several magnificent entertainments.”³⁵ The lure of these events wasn’t purely social however; they allowed the commanders of the various national contingents of the Army of Occupation to present a unified front in a non-threatening way. As the *Caledonian Mercury* noted, “it has been observed on these occasions, that the best understanding prevails between the different commanders.”³⁶ Nor was this cooperation limited to the high command. The 1817 reviews continued what the 1816 Grand Review had started, allowing officers of all ranks from across the coalition to interact.³⁷

In another boon to Castlereagh’s efforts to ally France with Britain, French civilians seem to have found entertainment in other, less professional British military pastimes. In July 1816, a two-day race meet was organized at Valenciennes, “under the patronage of the English army of occupation, then quartered in that vicinity,” and was advertised in papers as far away as Aix-la-Chapelle (Aachen).³⁸ An

³² Foreign Intelligence, *The Examiner*, August 31, 1817; Postscript, *Royal Cornwall Gazette, Falmouth Packet & Plymouth Journal*, September 13, 1817; London, *The Morning Post*, September 15, 1817.

³³ London, *The Salisbury and Winchester Journal*, October 13, 1817, p. 4.

³⁴ Dutch Mail, *Caledonian Mercury*, October 27, 1817.

³⁵ *The Morning Chronicle*, October 24, 1817.

³⁶ Dutch Mail, *Caledonian Mercury*, October 27, 1817.

³⁷ Brussels, Oct. 11, *The Morning Chronicle*, October 18, 1816.

³⁸ The English at Valenciennes in 1816, *The United Service Journal and Naval and Military Magazine* (London: Henry Colburn, 1829), I: 321.

English visitor who traveled to the races found Valenciennes “crowded to excess” with “English, French, Germans, Prussians, Russians, Flemings, and Dutch, in every possible variety of costume” and gripped with “racing mania.”³⁹ In addition to the general populace, the races also attracted their fair share of aristocrats, including an unnamed French Count and the Marquis of Worcester, driving a four-in-hand owned by Wellington.⁴⁰ Not to be outdone, officers of the cavalry and Second Infantry Division organized a four-day race meet on the Terrein Militaire outside of St. Omer in June 1817. Major General Lord Edward Somerset, who commanded the Army of Occupation’s First Brigade of Cavalry, was delighted to attend and recorded in his diary that the races “afforded remarkable good sport. A vast number of carriages, & a large concourse of people on horseback & on foot assembled daily on the course, which made a very gay appearance, & the meeting passed off to universal satisfaction.”⁴¹ Unsurprisingly, given the success of the first meeting, a second one was soon scheduled, and two months later, Somerset once again found himself in St. Omer. The second meeting again “afforded excellent sport” and “was equally well attended with the first,” with “a large concourse of spectators... daily on the course.”⁴² This time Somerset makes particular mention of the delight of French spectators, recording that “the French people appeared to take much amusement in the races.”⁴³

Perhaps the most telling indication of the lack of perceived threat enjoyed by the Army of Occupation was the fact that some officers brought their wives and families over from Britain for almost the entire three-year period. It is true that some wives followed their husbands’ regiments into the field throughout the Napoleonic Wars, but it was rarer for children to join them.⁴⁴ In early December, 1815,

³⁹ The author found the town so crowded that an innkeeper demanded three guineas for a room, and he ended up sleeping in the dining room, wrapped in his cloak and using his portmanteau as a pillow. The English at Valenciennes in 1816, I: 321-322.

⁴⁰ The English at Valenciennes in 1816, I: 322-323.

⁴¹ Diary of Lord R. E. H. Somerset, entry for June 24, 1817, p. 39.

⁴² Diary of Lord R. E. H. Somerset, entry for August 11, 1817, p. 41.

⁴³ Diary of Lord R. E. H. Somerset, entry for August 11, 1817, p. 41.

⁴⁴ See Jennine Hurl-Eamon, *Marriage and the British Army in the Long Eighteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014); Charles Esdaile, “Women in the Peninsular War,” in *Wellington Studies V*, ed. C.M.

less than a month after the signing of the Treaty of Paris that officially created the Army of Occupation, Somerset arrived back in France after a short visit to Britain, with his wife, Lady Louisa Augusta Somerset, their then four children, and enough horses, carriages, and baggage that it took the better part of a day to unload the whole party from the Sailing Packet *The Lord Sidmouth*.⁴⁵ For the next few years, Somerset's family followed him as the First Cavalry Brigade moved around northern France, usually renting a chateau outside of whatever town the Brigade found itself in.⁴⁶ Somerset even felt sufficiently sanguine to leave his family in France for over two weeks when he returned to London to attend Parliament.⁴⁷

Somerset's somewhat blasé outlook aligned with the prevalent attitude in Britain at the time. France was already regaining its place as one of the preeminent destinations for British tourists, who were anxious to visit the country that had been barred to them by war for nearly a quarter of a century.⁴⁸ In July 1816, *The Times* carried a translated story from the *Gazette de France* that reported that "many English of distinction continue to arrive in Paris. A great number take apartments in Paris, or country houses, for the whole of the fine season." They came, the *Gazette* informed its readers with some satisfaction, "to study our manners, our customs, our language, our urbanity, and our arts, and do so like good neighbors, sincerely reconciled."⁴⁹ For many of these tourists, despite the lure of French manners and arts, the presence of British soldiers proved a welcome taste of home on their travels. A

Woolgar (Southampton: Hartley Institute, University of Southampton, 2013):91-143; F. C. G. Page, *Following the Drum: Women in Wellington's Wars* (London: André Deutsch Ltd., 1986).

⁴⁵ They would have three more children between 1817 and 1821. Diary of Lord R. E. H. Somerset, entries for December 10-13, 1815, p. 24

⁴⁶ See, for example, Diary of Lord R. E. H. Somerset, entries for September 10 and October 4, 1817, pp. 41-42.

⁴⁷ Diary of Lord R. E. H. Somerset, entries for January 26 and February 14, 1817, p. 38.

⁴⁸ British visitors to France increased 37% between 1815 and 1819, from 13,832 to 19,038. Haynes, *Our Friends the Enemies*, 176, and 175-181; Richard Mullen and James Munson, *The Smell of the Continent: The British Discover Europe* (London: Macmillan, 2009), chapters 2 & 3. The Somersets had at least one guest during their time in France, who journeyed to the Continent "for the benefit of her health." Diary of Lord R. E. H. Somerset, entry for September 25, 1817, p. 42.

⁴⁹ French Papers, *The Times*, July 10, 1816, p. 2.

visitor to Valenciennes in 1816 found his “heart beat quicker at the sight of the red coats, white pantaloons, and glossy caps of my brave countrymen, who were encamped without the ramparts. I cannot express the pride I felt at their clean, soldier-like appearance, and fine manly persons.”⁵⁰

Marianne Baillie, who toured portions of Europe in 1818, was delighted to find “English sentinels on duty at the drawbridges of [Cambrai], and an encampment of the same troops just beneath its walls.”⁵¹

Baillie and her party encountered several regiments of the Guards, as well as the Rifle Brigade, and was pleased to report that “all the men looked clean, bright, and cheerful, and most of them were decorated with Waterloo medals. Our hearts sensibly warmed at the sight of the well-remembered countenance of our countrymen,” she recalled, and she “could not but be forcibly struck with the superiority of appearance and deportment displayed by our English officers.”⁵² Her opinion was reinforced by “every where [having] the gratification of hearing praises of the orderly, quiet, and moderate behaviour of the British regiments.” The keeper of the post-house of Ardres, where they breakfasted several days after leaving Cambrai, informed them “that the behaviour of the British troops had been most exemplary, and that they would be missed and regretted by some among the natives.”⁵³ Despite this sentiment, Baillie notes that the majority of the population could not wait for the Army of Occupation to depart, a view she had some sympathy with. “How would John Bull have writhed and raged with shame and grief,” she asked her readers, if French soldiers had stood guard on British towns?⁵⁴

The majority of the French population got their wish. The occupation of France, and the Army of Occupation necessitated by it, came to an end in 1818, two years before the 1820 deadline agreed upon in the Treaty of Paris. With Napoleon safely in St. Helena, France devoting all of its energy to recovering

⁵⁰ The English at Valenciennes in 1816, I: 321.

⁵¹ Marianne Baillie, *First Impressions on a Tour Upon the Continent in the Summer of 1818, Through Parts of France, Italy, Switzerland, the Borders of German, and a Part of French Flanders* (London: John Murray, 1819), 349-350.

⁵² Baillie, *First Impressions*, 350. Baillie refers to the Rifle Brigade by their old name, the 95th Rifles.

⁵³ Baillie, *First Impressions*, 357.

⁵⁴ Baillie, *First Impressions*, 350.

from over two decades of war, and growing pressure from Louis XVIII and the French government to remove the Army of Occupation (and the bill that came with it), Wellington made the case to the allies that a continued occupation would weaken, rather than strengthen, the new French government that had been put in place after the defeat of Napoleon. Accordingly, the formal agreement of withdrawal was signed at the Conference of Aix-la-Chapelle on October 9, 1818, and, after a final Grand Review attended by both the Emperor of Russia and the King of Prussia, the army broke up for its various homeward journeys.⁵⁵ All British troops were back on home soil by the agreed-upon deadline of November 30.⁵⁶

Regiments returning from France, whether immediately after the battle of Waterloo or after serving in the Army of Occupation, found a warm welcome across Britain. In 1816, *The Morning Post* reported on the impromptu parade created by the return of the 1st Regiment of Foot Guards (soon to be christened the Grenadier Guards) to their barracks in London, led by the Duke of York.⁵⁷ The arrival of the 1st Battalion of the 42nd (Royal Highland) Regiment of Foot in Newark “acted like electricity on the inhabitants,” who put on kilts and went out to cheer the soldiers.⁵⁸ A collection was immediately started to furnish each private soldier with a shilling, and an impromptu ball was announced for that night, where “the assembly was numerous, and the Officers seemed highly gratified with the marks of attention this spontaneously shewn them by the inhabitants.”⁵⁹ The 42nd were again feted in East Linton two months later, where “the officers were hospitably entertained... and a liberal allowance of bread,

⁵⁵ *The Morning Chronicle*, October 29, 1818; *Caledonian Mercury*, November 2, 1818; Valenciennes, Oct 21, *The Salisbury and Winchester Journal*, November 2, 1818, p. 2.

⁵⁶ Thomas Dwight Veve, “Wellington and the Army of Occupation in France, 1815-1818,” *The International History Review* 11, no. 1 (February 1989), 106-107.

⁵⁷ *The Morning Post*, January 23, 1816.

⁵⁸ *Jackson's Oxford Journal*, February 3, 1816.

⁵⁹ *Caledonian Mercury*, February 3, 1816.

beer, and the national beverage of whisky was furnished by the inhabitants to the soldiers.”⁶⁰ The 92nd (Gordon Highlanders) received an equally warm welcome in Berwick, where “they were hailed with a merry peal, and 50*l.* previously collected, was delivered by the Mayor to the Lieutenant-Colonel, to be distributed among his men.”⁶¹ This trend continued for more than a year. When two troops of the 2nd Dragoons (Scots Greys) arrived in Richmond in August 1817, “the inhabitants greeted their arrival by the ringing of bells and every other demonstration of joy, and testified their gratitude by providing an elegant dinner for the officers at the Town-Hall, with equal entertainment for the men,” both of which carried on late into the night.⁶²

While the greeting of soldiers with cheering crowds and free meals tailed off a few years after Waterloo, several papers kept their columns devoted to military news and largely used them to report on peaceful troop movements. The *Caledonian Mercury* is one of the best examples of this, probably because of the number of Scottish regiments and Scotsmen serving in non-Scottish regiments in the British Army. In 1825 it reported on the arrival of the 79th Regiment of Foot (Cameron Highlanders) in Quebec to relieve the 37th (North Hampshire) Regiment of Foot, and a year later excerpted the *Brighton Paper’s* lamenting of the imminent exodus of the 17th Royal Lancers, “the liberal and polished conduct of the officers, and the orderly behavior of the subordinates, will occasion their departure to be regarded with one common feeling of regret.”⁶³ *The Caledonian Mercury* were not alone in this however, and reports of regimental arrivals and departures can be found in a variety of the papers throughout the decades following Waterloo.⁶⁴

⁶⁰ *Caledonian Mercury*, March 23, 1816.

⁶¹ *Caledonian Mercury*, September 12, 1816.

⁶² *The York Herald, and General Advertiser*, August 23, 1817

⁶³ The Army, *Caledonian Mercury*, November 28, 1825; The Army, *Caledonian Mercury*, March 18, 1826.

⁶⁴ See, for example, Winchester, June 13, *The Morning Post*, June 13, 1825; The Army, *The Times*, November 9, 1830, p. 4.

Despite this warm welcome, British soldiers returning home from France found a changing country. Britain was experiencing its first prolonged peace for nearly a quarter of a century, and its relationship with the army changed as a result. The most obvious sign of this was seen in the army's size and expenditure. Six months after Waterloo, *The Bury and Norwich Post* reported with approval that 40,000 soldiers would be dismissed, hailing the move as "considerable progress... towards the permanent military peace establishment."⁶⁵ Four months later, *The Derby Mercury* noted that every cavalry regiment was to be reduced by two troops, saving over £50,000 a year.⁶⁶ Others were horrified that it was only a reduction of 40,000. Charles Williams' satirical print, *The British Atlas, or John Bull Supporting the Peace Establishment* (Figure 5.1), also published in 1816, highlighted what precisely Britain was paying for.⁶⁷ John Bull is depicted in rags, his pockets stuffed full of unpaid bills while a crenelated fortress, labeled "Standing Army of 130,000 men [and] a numerous & extravagant Military Staff" and stuffed full of soldiers and cannon rests oppressively upon his shoulders. At his feet lie papers covered in the details of further military expenses while, at the top of the fortress (and positioned above the royal standard of the House of Hanover), sits neither George III or the Prince Regent, but Louis XVIII, his gouty legs swathed in wrappings, his throne surmounted with the white flag and gold fleur-de-lis of the House of Bourbon, and clutched in his hand the cross of Roman Catholicism. The double message was clear: why is Britain bankrupting itself for either the preservation of the French king or to fund a standing army that would soon bring it to its knees? Others saw the same sinister motive: a letter appeared in *The Morning Chronicle* in December 1817 demanding to know why, "notwithstanding the lapse of two years and a half since the battle of Waterloo, the reductions in the army have been very

⁶⁵ *The Bury and Norwich Post: Or, Suffolk, Norfolk, Essex, Cambridge, and Ely Advertiser*, January 24, 1816.

⁶⁶ *The Derby Mercury*, April 11, 1816.

⁶⁷ Charles Williams, *The British Atlas, or John Bull Supporting the Peace Establishment*, 1816, London, The British Museum, BM Satires 12786, 1868,0808.8321.

trifling” and suggesting that Whitehall was using the army as the foundations for a “Military Government.”⁶⁸



⁶⁸ The Army. Letter to the Editor, *The Morning Chronicle*, December 20, 1817. Nor was the author alone, see Rory Muir, “A Hero’s Welcome: Attitudes to Wellington and the Army, 1814-23,” in *Wellington Studies* V: 210-223.

Figure 5.1: Charles Williams, *The British Atlas, or John Bull Supporting the Peace Establishment*, 1816, London, The British Museum, BM Satires 12786, 1868,0808.8321.

Despite the government's possible authoritarian tendencies, those 40,000 were only the first casualties of a longer trend: in 1815, the British Army numbered 233,952, thirteen years later, in 1828 it had been reduced to less than half that, with a full complement of 102,539, and by 1838 it had shrunk to 87,993. The reduction in the army's budget was even more extreme: in 1815, it was £43 million, in 1820 £10.7 million, only a quarter of what it had been five years earlier, and by 1836 it was under £8 million.⁶⁹ Veterans of Waterloo were not immune to this reduction. By the time the Army of Occupation returned to Britain, nearly one fifth of the officers who had survived Waterloo were on half pay or had left the army.⁷⁰

The core organizational unit of Britain's army was the regiment, and half pay was an inevitable byproduct of that form of organization. Officers on half pay were officers who still held their commissions but were not serving in a regiment. This meant they were, in many ways, in administrative limbo, and because they could not be deployed, the British government decided they should not earn their full wage, but only half of it.⁷¹ In addition to the monetary disadvantage, half pay officers also suffered from social drawbacks. The regiment was not only the core organizational unit of the British army, it was also the core social unit. One's regiment was one's home and identity within the army. It dictated where you were sent, how other soldiers regarded you, and even what your uniform looked like. It became such a crucial part of British army life that scholars have made the case that the regiment played a part in the creation of the British nation, as regimental identities superseded regional ones

⁶⁹ Peter Burroughs, "An Unreformed Army? 1815-1868" in *The Oxford History of the British Army*, eds. David G. Chandler and Ian Beckett (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), 163-164.

⁷⁰ See the database found at <https://www.lukealreynolds.com/who-owned-waterloo>; Charles Dalton, *The Waterloo Roll Call with Biographical Notes and Anecdotes* (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1904).

⁷¹ The one notable exception to this were staff appointments. Staff officers, even if unattached to a regiment, received full pay, as theirs was one of the only jobs in the army that was completely independent from a regiment.

within the army.⁷² For officers, the regimental mess was the social hub within the regiment, fulfilling at least some of the duties of lodging house, restaurant, and gentleman's club all rolled into one.⁷³ Funded by the officers themselves, the mess arranged their food and entertainment, and sometimes their lodgings. Larger regiments often contained multiple battalions, each of which, at least on paper, was supposed to be composed of six to ten companies of 100 men.⁷⁴ When the size of the army was reduced following the Napoleonic Wars, this was achieved by the disbanding second and third battalions within regiments, thus significantly reducing the number of men in uniform while preserving the history and traditions of regiments, some of which had over a century of proud service. The majority of the officers who found themselves on half pay in the years following Waterloo were officers who were unlucky enough to have been serving in battalions that were disbanded.

The significant reduction in the size of the army, combined with the peculiarities of the British army's promotion system, resulted in an almost immediate stagnation within the officer corps.⁷⁵ The

⁷² It should be noted, however, that regimental identities were often regional in nature, most notably in the case of the Highland and Irish regiments. Even within the English regiments, with the exception of the Guards and the Rifles, almost every regiment was associated with a county. For the importance of the regiment on the unification of Britain, see Penelope J. Corfield, *Power and the Professions in Britain 1700-1850* (London: Routledge, 1995), 193; Colley, *Britons*. The argument has also been made in regard to an American identity amongst the Colonial Militias during and after the Seven Years' War. See Fred Anderson, *A People's Army: Massachusetts Soldiers & Society in the Seven Years' War* (Williamsburg: Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1984).

⁷³ Edward Coss has argued that, for enlisted men, their six-man mess, which marched, camped, ate, and fought together, had the same effect. Edward Coss, *All for the King's Shilling: The British Soldier Under Wellington, 1808-1814* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2010).

⁷⁴ Ten full strength companies were a rarity on active service. The 2nd Battalion of the 3rd Foot Guards and the 1st Battalion of the 52nd (Oxfordshire) Regiment of Foot were the only British battalions at Waterloo that had over 1000 men active.

⁷⁵ For that stagnation, and especially on its institutional impact, see Cecil Woodham-Smith, *The Reason Why* (London: Constable, 1953); Asa Briggs, *The Age of Improvement, 1783-1867* (Harlow: Pearson, 1959); Edward Spiers, *Army and Society, 1815-1914* (London: Longman, 1980); John Strawson, *Beggars in Red: The British Army, 1789-1889* (Barnsley: Pen & Sword Military Classics, 2003); R. L. V. French Blake, *The Crimean War* (London: Leo Cooper, 1971); Correlli Barnett, *Britain and Her Army, 1509-1970: A Military, Political, and Social Survey* (London: Allen Lane, 1970); Denis Judd, *Someone Has Blundered: Calamities of the British Army in the Victorian Age* (London: Arthur Baker Ltd., 1973). For a different view, see Hew Strachan, *Wellington's Legacy: The Reform of the British Army, 1830-1854* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984); Hew Strachan, *From Waterloo to Balaclava: Tactics, Technology, and the British Army, 1815-1854* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985); Jeremy Black, *Western Warfare 1775-1882* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2001); Jeremy Black, *European*

British Army, with the exception of its artillery and engineering arms, handled promotion of its officers through a purchase system, where rank was openly bought. A young gentleman who wished to obtain a commission in the Army either attended the Royal Military College at Sandhurst or applied directly to the Commander in Chief through the Military Secretary, stating whether they were willing to purchase their commission or not.⁷⁶ Once in the Army, promotion could be purchased all the way up to Lieutenant Colonel, as long as certain required periods were spent at each rank. The payment for the first commission (Ensign in foot regiments, Cornet in horse) went to the government, but payments for promotion went to the previous holder of that commission. When an officer retired (“sold out” was the term used then) or was promoted, his commission was offered, in order of seniority, to those of the rank below who had expressed interest in promotion. More rapid advancement could be had by purchasing higher commissions in other regiments, thus jumping the queue by moving diagonally. Promotion without purchase, while technically possible, was strictly based on seniority and was limited to commissions whose holders had died or had been promoted out of the purchasable ranks (to Major General). The peace ushered in by the Battle of Waterloo and the Treaty of Paris slowed this already long process to a crawl, where it was coupled with the humiliation of watching those younger (and sometimes less militarily suitable) rising rapidly by purchase.⁷⁷

Warfare: 1660-1815 (London: UCL Press, 1994); Peter H. Wilson, “European Warfare 1815-2000,” in *War in the Modern World since 1815*, ed. Jeremy Black (New York: Routledge, 2003).

⁷⁶ The Royal Military College had been moved from High Wycombe in 1812. Those who wished to join the Guards or the Household Cavalry had to apply directly to those regiments, as their colonels still retained patronage when it came to first commissions.

⁷⁷ Peacetime also reduced the opportunities for bypassing the system. In war, brevet promotions were often awarded as rewards for gallant service or as necessities in times of crisis. These promotions increased an officer’s army rank, but not his regimental rank. In peacetime, with the strict regimental system in full effect, army rank diminished in importance compared to regimental rank.

Within a year of Waterloo, cavalry that had seen action on June 18th were deployed in several areas of Britain in response to unrest, and many regiments who had returned home in the immediate aftermath of the battle found themselves called upon to undertake more peacekeeping in Britain than their compatriots in the Army of Occupation across the Channel.⁷⁸ While the military being called out in the face of protests and marches was too common an occurrence in the years between Waterloo and the formation of Britain's police forces to cover all of these actions, one particular event is worth discussing for the coverage it received, the effect it had on the public's view of the army, and its connection to Waterloo: the St. Peter's Field Massacre.⁷⁹ The massacre, which occurred in central Manchester on August 16, 1819, was almost immediately christened the Peterloo Massacre by James Wroe, editor of *The Manchester Observer*, who deliberately created the portmanteau of St. Peter's Field and Waterloo to tie the massacre to the army's great victory, then only four years old.⁸⁰

Because Peterloo has been sufficiently discussed by scholars, it is not necessary to go into detail about what occurred that day.⁸¹ In brief, however, between 60,000 and 80,000 people gathered in St. Peter's Fields for a meeting organized by the Manchester Patriotic Union, the highlight of which was to

⁷⁸ *Royal Cornwall Gazette, Falmouth Packet & Plymouth Journal*, May 18, 1816; *The Bury and Norwich Post*, May 22, 1816; Riots in Suffolk, *Caledonian Mercury*, May 23, 1816; *The Morning Post*, November 8, 1816.

⁷⁹ For other examples, see the Blanket March and Katrina Navickas, *Protest and the Politics of Space and Place, 1789-1848* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016), chapter 2; R. J. White, *Waterloo to Peterloo* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1968).

⁸⁰ Manchester Political Meeting, *The Manchester Observer*, August 21, 1819, p. 7.

⁸¹ See Navickas, *Protest and the Politics of Space and Place*, chapter 3; Robert Poole, *Return to Peterloo*, (Manchester: Manchester Center for Regional History, 2014); Robert Poole, "The March to Peterloo: Politics and Festivity in Late Georgian England," *Past & Present* 192 (August 2006): 109-153; Michael Lobban, "From Seditious Libel to Unlawful Assembly: Peterloo and the Changing Face of Political Crime c1770-1820," *Oxford Journal of Legal Studies* 10, no. 3 (Autumn, 1990): 307-352; Robert Reid, *The Peterloo Massacre* (London: Heinemann, 1989); Robert Walmsley, *Peterloo: The Case Reopened* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1969); Ronald Read, *Peterloo: The Massacre and its Background* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1958); Ian Herson, *Riot! Civil Insurrection from Peterloo to the Present Day* (London: Pluto Press, 2006). There will be several histories published this year in honor of the bicentenary, including Robert Poole, *Peterloo: The English Uprising* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019).

be a speech by Henry Hunt, a well-known and slightly flamboyant orator with radical views.⁸² The purpose of the meeting was to call for parliamentary reform, fueled in Manchester by the economic depression and increasingly poor labor conditions and wages.⁸³

The meeting was explicitly designed to be peaceful in nature. The various bands on the field greeted Hunt's arrival with openly patriotic and loyalist tunes such as "God Save the King" and "Rule Britannia."⁸⁴ One observer recalled that parties travelling to the meeting had "more the appearance of a large village party going to a merry making than that of a body of people advancing to the overthrow of the government of their country," and even *The Times* noted that those gathered "demeaned themselves becomingly" and that cries of "'let us keep peace and order'" greeted the appearance of 300-400 special constables, to whom "not the slightest insult was offered."⁸⁵ The inclusion of several Phrygian or liberty caps adorning flag staffs and the presence of the black flag of the Saddleworth, Lees, and Mossley Union which proclaimed, among other slogans "Equal Representation or Death" and "Taxation without Representation is Unjust and Tyrannical," however, convinced the local magistrates that they were witnessing an attempt at the violent overthrow of order, and they promptly called for military aid. That aid came in the form of the Manchester and Salford Yeomanry, the Cheshire Yeomanry, the 15th Hussars (the King's), the 31st (Huntingdonshire) Regiment of Foot, the 88th Regiment of Foot (Connaught Rangers), and a troop of the Royal Horse Artillery.⁸⁶ Having drawn up a warrant for the arrest of Hunt and a few of the other speakers and ordered the Riot Act to be read, the magistrates

⁸² Hunt's penchant for white hats led to them being adopted as a symbol of radical reform. See James A. Epstein, *Radical Expression: Political Language, Ritual, and Symbol in England, 1790-1850* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), 94-95, 115, 199n115.

⁸³ Weavers had seen their pay plummet to a third of what it had been 15 years earlier, while spinners had lost a third of their pay in the same period. Hernon, *Riot*, 22.

⁸⁴ Read, *Peterloo*, 131.

⁸⁵ An Observer, ed., *Peterloo Massacre, Containing a Faithful Narrative of the Events which preceded, accompanied, and followed the fatal Sixteenth of August, 1819*, 3rd edition (Manchester: James Wroe, 1819), 57; Express From Manchester, *The Times*, August 19, 1819, p. 2.

⁸⁶ Read, *Peterloo*, 127-129.

ordered yeomanry to disperse the crowd, and then ordered the 15th Hussars in to reinforce the yeomanry, when the crowd's panic was mistaken for resistance.⁸⁷ The result was fifteen deaths, largely from sabering, trampling, or both, and several hundred injuries.⁸⁸

The reaction was immediate. The government closed ranks behind the magistrates and the military. William Hulton, chairman of the Lancashire and Cheshire Magistrates proclaimed "the extreme forbearance of the military" in a letter to Henry Addington, 1st Viscount Sidmouth, then Home Secretary.⁸⁹ Sidmouth responded by praising the "soldiery, all of whom behaved with the greatest spirit and temper," while the Prince Regent expressed "his approbation and high commendation of the conduct of the magistrates and civil authorities... as well as of the officers and troops, both regular and yeomanry cavalry, whose firmness and effectual support of the civil power preserved the peace of the town."⁹⁰ Nor was their support limited to words. Parliament passed the Six Acts shortly after Peterloo, outlawing military drill for non-municipal or government organizations, banning gatherings of more than fifty people without permission from a local authority, giving magistrates the ability to search private property for weapons, and strengthening the laws that were used to control newspapers and authors.⁹¹ In addition, when Thomas Redford, who had been severely wounded in the shoulder by a yeomanry saber took four members of the Manchester and Salford Yeomanry to court on assault charges, the government paid for the four yeomen's (successful) defense.⁹²

⁸⁷ It is unclear how many of the crowd actually heard the Riot Act, but there is no way even a majority of them did. Read, *Peterloo*, 132-140.

⁸⁸ The military casualties were 67 men struck by stones or sticks and 20 horses injured. G. M. Trevelyan, "The Number of Casualties at Peterloo," *History* 7, issue 27 (October 1922): 200-205; Read, *Peterloo*, 140.

⁸⁹ Hulton to Sidmouth, quoted in Reid, *The Peterloo Massacre*, 191.

⁹⁰ George Pellew, *The Life and Correspondence of the Right Honble Henry Addington, First Viscount Sidmouth* (London: John Murray, 1847), III:261; B. Bloomfield to Sidmouth, Pellew, *Life and Correspondence of Sidmouth*, III:262.

⁹¹ For how authors such as Hone dealt with the new publishing and libel laws, see Marcus Wood, *Radical Satire and Print Culture, 1790-1822* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), chapter 3.

⁹² In honor of his acquittal, the Manchester and Salford Yeomanry presented Captain Hugh Birley, the leading defendant, with a new saber inscribed "in testimony of their esteem for him as a soldier and a gentleman." Joyce Marlow, *The Peterloo Massacre* (London: Rapp and Whiting, 1970), 197-198.

Nor was the government alone in this – just as *The Morning Post* had praised the “uncommon moderation” of the 15th Hussars while quelling a riot in Birmingham in November 1816, so they and other conservative papers praised the regiment’s actions (along with the other military forces present) again in the aftermath of August 16, 1819.⁹³ “The peaceable and well disposed, the constituted civil authorities of the realm, are to be aspersed, while the infatuated and daring agitators, whose wild and seditious schemes have placed the country in jeopardy, are to be held up as martyrs of military execution” lamented *The Morning Post*, in an editorial that also praised the military for their forbearance in not employing their firearms alongside their sabers.⁹⁴ The *Manchester Chronicle* joined in celebrating the military for not using pistols and muskets, while noting that the meeting “had every appearance of military array, and were totally unlike that of a body of people met for deliberation,” and claiming that the cavalry only used the swords in “the duty of self-preservation... but in very few instances to cut.” They closed their coverage with a collection of testimonials from authorities under the heading “thanks to the military for their humane and forbearing conduct on Monday last.”⁹⁵ Not content with reports from fellow conservative papers, *The Cheltenham Chronicle and Gloucestershire Advertiser* went straight to the source and published letters from members of the Manchester and Salford Yeomanry that proudly declared “at last the Champions of Reform have thrown aside the mask, and their diabolical purpose is no longer concealed. Revolution!!”⁹⁶

⁹³ *The Morning Post*, November 8, 1816.

⁹⁴ On the Proceedings at Manchester, *The Morning Post*, August 20, 1819.

⁹⁵ *Wheeler’s Manchester Chronicle*, excerpted in The Late Proceedings at Manchester, *The Morning Post*, August 24, 1819.

⁹⁶ Dreadful Riot at Manchester, *The Cheltenham Chronicle and Gloucestershire Advertiser*, August 19, 1819, p. 3.



Figure 5.2: George Cruikshank and Thomas Tegg, *Massacre at St. Peter's or "Britons strike home"!!!*, 1819, London, The British Museum, BM Satires 13258, 1876,0510.980.

It was the military that received the largest portion of the public's, the radicals', and the reformers' ire in the wake of Peterloo. Despite the actions of the magistrates and their increasingly explicit support from Whitehall and St. James's, uniformed cavalrymen riding over civilians became the iconic image of the massacre. Sir Francis Burdett, the radical MP for Westminster, held up the massacre as proof of the dangers of a standing army while print makers leapt to contrast the military's actions with their traditional patriotic associations.⁹⁷ The satirical printmaker George Cruikshank immortalized the Manchester and Salford Yeomanry as butchers in his famous print, *Massacre at St. Peter's or "Britons strike Home"!!!* (Figure 5.2), by depicting them wearing the traditional over-sleeves and

⁹⁷ Trial of Sir Francis Burdett in *Report of State Trials, New Series*, ed. John Macdonell (London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office, 1988), 1:53.

sharpening steels of that trade on their uniforms and wielding bloody axes, rather than sabers (a reference not only to their actions but also to the yeomanry's traditional class of recruit).⁹⁸

Unsurprisingly, the reform and radical press seized on the name Peterloo to permanently associate the massacre with the army's greatest triumph.⁹⁹ "It is rumoured," James Wroe reported in the article where he first coined the portmanteau, "that orders have been sent to an eminent artist for a design, to be engraved for a medal, in commemoration of Peter Loo Victory," an obvious reference to the Waterloo medal, which had been issued in 1816 to all who took part in the battle.¹⁰⁰ In 1821, the radical writer and publisher William Hone and Cruikshank produced a potential design for the medal in their parody broadsheet *A Slap at Slop and the Bridge-Street Gang* (figure 5.3). The medal featured a border of skulls and crossbones and at its center a faceless member of the Manchester and Salford Yeomanry, again with the accoutrements of a butcher over his uniform, raising an axe to strike down a kneeling and begging protester, while another body lay at his feet. In the description that accompanied their design Hone and Cruikshank further strengthened the Waterloo connection by suggesting the medals would be cast from brass produced by melting down the trumpet of Edward Meagher, the Manchester and Salford Yeomanry's trumpeter, just as campaign medals were sometimes made from the metal of captured cannons.¹⁰¹ The proposed medal also drew connections between the working

⁹⁸ The alternative title of Cruikshank's piece was also satire – Britons Strike Home! was the name of a popular patriotic song composed by Henry Purcell in 1695, and which had been a staple of popular culture throughout the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars. George Cruikshank and Thomas Tegg, *Massacre at St. Peter's or "Britons strike home"!!!*, 1819, London, The British Museum, BM Satires 13258, 1876,0510.980. For other examples, see George Cruikshank and S. W. Fores, *The Manchester Heroes*, 1819, London, The British Museum, BM Satires 13266, 1862,1217.556; J. Lewis Marks, *The Massacre of Peterloo! Or a Specimen of English Liberty*, 1819, London, The British Museum, BM Satires 13260, 1935,0522.11.106. For the use of Britons Strike Home! in popular culture, see James Gillray and Hannah Humphrey, *Buonaparte, 48 Hours After Landing*, 1803, London, The British Museum, BM Satires 10041, 1851,0901.1121.

⁹⁹ Waterloo was also used by radicals during the Chartist movement in the 1840s. See Barbara Barrow, "'The Waterloo of Democracy against Despotism: Chartist Internationalism and Poetic Repetition in the *Labourer*, 1847-48," *Victorian Periodicals Review* 48, no. 4 (Winter 2015), 511-530.

¹⁰⁰ Manchester Political Meeting, *The Manchester Observer*, August 21, 1819, p. 7.

¹⁰¹ William Hone and George Cruikshank, *A Slap at Slop and the Bridge-Street Gang*, 1821, London, British Library, 806.k.1.(124.).

class protestors and African slaves by explicitly referencing the antislavery medallions that had become popular across the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century Atlantic World.¹⁰² The pose of the kneeling protester begging for mercy on the Peterloo Medal echoes that of the slave on Wedgewood's original design, and it bore the same question on its reverse that was often found on the medallions, "Am I not a man and a brother?" here answered "No!... you are a poor weaver!"¹⁰³

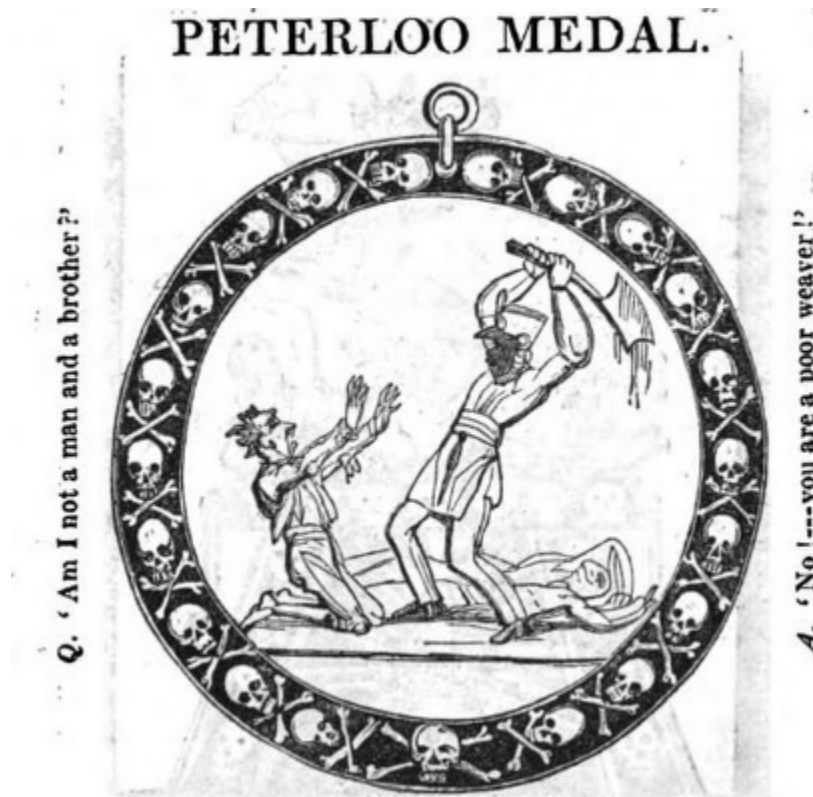


Figure 5.3: Hone and Cruikshank's proposed design for a Peterloo Medal. William Hone and George Cruikshank, *A Slap at Slop and the Bridge Street Gang* (London: William Hone, 1822), 36.

Hone and Cruikshank's most pointed commentary, however, was not the medal but a parody of the various monuments to Waterloo that were being proposed. Peterloo, Hone informs his readers in *A*

¹⁰² See Mary Guyatt, "The Wedgewood Slave Medallion: Values in Eighteenth-Century Design," *Journal of Design History* 13, no. 2 (2000): 93-105. Marcus Wood has argued that it equally could have been a criticism of abolitionists, who were often lambasted by radicals for using slavery as a way of ignoring the poor conditions present in their own country. "how it was read," he concludes, "would finally have depended upon the political sympathies of the viewer." Marcus Wood, *Blind Memory: Visual Representations of Slavery in England and America, 1780-1865* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), 171-172.

¹⁰³ William Hone and George Cruikshank, *A Slap at Slop and the Bridge-Street Gang*, 1821, London, British Library, 806.k.1.(124.).

Slap at Slop and the Bridge-Street Gang, “has been called a *battle*, but erroneously; for, the multitude was *unarmed*, and made no resistance to the heroes *armed*; there was no contest – it was a *victory*; and has accordingly been celebrated in triumph.”¹⁰⁴ The monument is therefore simply titled *Victory at Peterloo* (Figure 5.4), in honor of an “event... more important in its consequences than the Battle of Waterloo.”¹⁰⁵ The monument takes the form of a traditional equestrian statue of another faceless member of the Manchester and Salford Yeomanry (identified by the “MYC” above a crown and the initials “GR” on the saddle cloth), with his saber raised to cut down into the mother and infant who, along with several other civilians, are being trampled by his horse’s hooves. The plinth is decorated with 15 skulls to represent the massacre’s casualties and is flanked by shackles to mark those who were arrested and imprisoned in the aftermath. The sides of the plinth were to be decorated with “the names of the officers and privates successfully engaged... the names of the persons killed, and of the six hundred maimed and wounded in the attack and pursuit; also the names of the captures, who are still prisoners in His Majesty’s goals; with the letter of thanks, addressed to the victors, by His Majesty’s Command.”¹⁰⁶ The plinth’s final side was decorated with a crown surrounded by knives and bayonets, all pointing outwards to symbolize the traditionally feared relationship between the monarchy and the military. Along the bottom an inscription simply read “Manchester, August 16. 1819.”¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁴ William Hone and George Cruikshank, *A Slap at Slop and the Bridge Street Gang* (London: William Hone, 1822), 35.

¹⁰⁵ Hone and Cruikshank, *A Slap at Slop*, 35.

¹⁰⁶ By 1821, when *A Slap at Slop and the Bridge-Street Gang*, the Prince Regent had ascended to the throne as George IV. Hone and Cruikshank, *A Slap at Slop*, 35.

¹⁰⁷ George Cruikshank and William Hone, *Victory of Peterloo*, 1821, London, The British Museum, BM Satires 14209, 1870,1008.1321.3.



Figure 5.4: George Cruikshank and William Hone, *Victory of Peterloo*, 1821, London, The British Museum, BM Satires 14209, 1870,1008.1321.3.

As with the event itself, the social and cultural response to Peterloo has received extensive scholarly attention, especially in the fields of literary satire and print culture.¹⁰⁸ George Cruikshank and William Hone's proposed design for the Peterloo Medal has also been discussed by scholars of slavery and abolition, due to its references to the Wedgewood antislavery medallion.¹⁰⁹ All of these works recognize the connection between Waterloo and Peterloo, but the scholarship has so far lacked a close reading of those connections, most notably in their historical contexts. Instead, these works focus on the evolution of satire in British illustration and both poetical and prose writing. Others have placed them in the context of either Hone's or Cruikshank's work and lives, to illustrate the trajectories of their careers and political views. Placing commemorations of Peterloo, both unironic and satirical, in the wider context of Britain's relationship to its army and to Waterloo, allows us to not only gauge their impact more effectively, but also to judge that impact on both the audience (the civilian sphere) and its intended target (the army).

Part of the Waterloo comparison was brought on by the yeomanry itself, which sought explicitly to capture the flags being carried by groups of reformers as if they were French eagles. John Tyas, a reporter from *The Times* who was standing near to Hunt when he was arrested noted that, once Hunt was arrested "a cry was made by the cavalry, 'Have at their flags.' In consequence, they immediately dashed not only at the flags which were in the wagon, but those which were posted among the crowd, cutting most indiscriminately to the right and to the left in order to get at them."¹¹⁰ The treatment of radical banners as enemy colours continued after the massacre. They were displayed proudly as trophies

¹⁰⁸ See Wood, *Radical Satire and Print Culture*, 205-214; John Gardener, *Poetry and Popular Protest: Peterloo, Cato Street and the Queen Caroline Controversy* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 63-64; Steven E. Jones, "To Go Down, Bound: William Hone and the Materiality of Print Culture," in *Nature, Politics, and the Arts: Essays on Romantic Culture for Carl Woodring*, ed. Hermione de Almeida (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2015), 63-69.

¹⁰⁹ Wood, *Blind Memory*, 171-172; Marcus Wood, "Emancipation Art, Fanon, and the 'Butchery of Freedom,'" in *Slavery and the Cultures of Abolition: Essays marking the Bicentennial of the British Abolition Act of 1807*, eds. Brychan Carey and Peter J. Kitson (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2007), 34-35.

¹¹⁰ Express From Manchester, *The Times*, August 19, 1819, p. 2.

by those who had taken them and, when Hunt was escorted to Manchester's New Bailey Prison, "the staffs of two of Hunt's banners were carried in mock procession before him" as if he was a captured general being paraded through a victorious capital.¹¹¹ The comparison was also made verbally on both sides. Anne Jones, who lived near St. Peter's Field reported hearing a Special Constable exclaim "with great triumph... 'This is Waterloo for you,— this is Waterloo.'"¹¹² More damning is the case of John Lees, a weaver and a veteran of the Royal Artillery who had fought at Waterloo and who was sabered, trampled, and beaten, and who died from his wounds nearly three weeks later.¹¹³ Five days before he died, Lees told a friend that he had been in more danger at Peterloo than at Waterloo: "at Waterloo there was man to man, but there it was downright murder."¹¹⁴

Legitimate commemorations of Peterloo also resembled certain aspects of Waterloo commemoration, albeit on a much smaller scale. As with Waterloo, the anniversary became significant in certain circles, and was commemorated every year in Manchester. These commemorations usually took the form of a procession to St. Peter's Fields and a peaceful meeting on the site of the massacre.¹¹⁵ The 1830 anniversary was particularly noteworthy, as it marked the return of Henry Hunt to Manchester, where he addressed a crowd of between 40,000 and 50,000, this time without interruption, before serving as the guest of honor at an anniversary dinner at the Salford Town Hall.¹¹⁶

¹¹¹ Read, *Peterloo*, 140; Express From Manchester, *The Times*, August 19, 1819, p. 2.

¹¹² An Observer, *Peterloo Massacre*, 178. The line was incorporated into another satirical print, *The Massacre of Peterloo! Or a Specimen of English Liberty* where a constable who is choking a man while trampling on a woman declares "What a glorious day! This is our Waterloo!" J. Lewis Marks, *The Massacre of Peterloo! Or a Specimen of English Liberty*, 1819, London, The British Museum, BM Satires 13260, 1935,0522.11.106.

¹¹³ He served as a driver in Lieutenant Colonel Robert Bull's Troop. *The Waterloo Medal Roll Compiled from the Muster Rolls* (Dallington: The Naval and Military Press, 1992), 90.

¹¹⁴ Coroner's Inquest on Lees, *The Times*, September 30, 1819, p.3.

¹¹⁵ First Anniversary of the Peterloo Massacre, *Liverpool Mercury*, August 25, 1820; Peterloo, *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser*, August 18, 1832, p.2; The Peterloo Massacre, *The Manchester Times and Gazette*, August 19, 1837; Great Meeting at Manchester on the Field of Peterloo, *The Morning Chronicle*, August 20, 1838; Peterloo, *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser*, August 17, 1839, p. 4.

¹¹⁶ Mr. Hunt at Manchester, *The Sheffield Independent*, and *Yorkshire and Derbyshire Advertiser*, August 21, 1830; Mr. Hunt, *The Lancaster Gazette and General Advertiser*, August 21, 1830.

Despite more conservative papers choosing to report these commemorations as dangerous and seditious gatherings, there appears to have been little to no contact between these meetings and the authorities, and what contact there was proved peaceful.¹¹⁷

Physical tokens of commemoration were also relatively common. Several actual Peterloo Medals were produced, probably to be sold to raise funds for the benefit of the day's victims, and there is evidence that Hunt carried one for several years.¹¹⁸ Unsurprisingly, it bears little resemblance to the satirical design proposed by Hone and Cruikshank, and instead shows the cavalry riding through the crowd, sabers aloft. A similar image, although larger in scale, was produced on commemorative handkerchiefs, which featured readable banners among the crowd and a decorative border listing the demands of the reformers and radicals who had gathered on August 16th.¹¹⁹ Finally, as with Waterloo, Peterloo attracted its share of literary commemorations, ranging from Hone's 1819 satirical children's pamphlet, *The Political House that Jack Built* to Percy Bysshe Shelley's *The Masque of Anarchy*.¹²⁰

In addition to providing support for the civil authority in Britain, the army fulfilled a role somewhere between an army of occupation and a police force throughout Ireland. Ireland was, thanks to the 1800 Act of Union, technically part of Britain, but in many ways it still more closely resembled a

¹¹⁷ In 1839 a Colonel Wemyss and Mr. Maude, a magistrate, approached the crowd to ask why they were assembled and were told that "they were in the habit of meeting on Peterloo every year, to commemorate the 'massacre' there; but that they intended no harm." The authorities did not feel the need to intervene, and the meeting broke up peacefully around 9pm. State of the Manufacturing Districts, *The Times*, August 20, 1839, p. 5. For conservative criticism and scare-mongering, see Signs of the Times, *Berkshire Chronicle*, August 21, 1830, p. 3; Manchester, Aug. 17, *The Standard*, August 19, 1833, p. 1; Agitation at Manchester, *The Standard*, August 18, 1836; Peterloo, *The Standard*, August 19, 1839.

¹¹⁸ Peterloo Commemorative Medal, Manchester, People's History Museum, NMLH.2018.197; Medal, 1819, London, The British Museum, M.5625; Awful Event!!, *The Morning Post*, March 29, 1830; Philip Attwood and Felicity Powell, *Medals of Dishonour* (London: British Museum Press, 2009), 65.

¹¹⁹ A Representation of the Manchester Reform Meeting Dispersed by the Civil and Military Power. Augt. 16th. 1819, 1819, London, The British Museum, 1893,0106.39. For other examples of ephemera, see Hunt and Liberty Beaker, 1819, London, The British Museum, 2009,8031.1; Peterloo Commemorative Jug, Manchester, People's History Museum, HMLH.1995.91.3.

¹²⁰ William Hone, *The Political House that Jack Built* (London: William Hone, 1819); Percy Bysshe Shelley, *The Masque of Anarchy* (London: Edward Moxon, 1832); Wood, *Radical Satire and Print Culture*, chapter 5; Gardner, *Poetry and Popular Protest*, chapter 4.

colonial possession than it did one of the countries that made up Great Britain.¹²¹ In 1821, there were eight regiments of cavalry and twenty four of infantry stationed in Ireland, the same number as were stationed in the Mediterranean, the Caribbean, and British North America combined.¹²² If a regiment was lucky enough to be stationed in Dublin, their duties would mostly resemble those of a regiment garrisoned in a relatively peaceful English city. Outside of Dublin and the Pale, however, regiments would be split up into troops or companies to patrol wide areas of the countryside. Lieutenant Colonel Charles Cadell's *Narrative of the Campaigns of the Twenty-Eight Regiment* describes several such expeditions, most notably in connection with the 1830 Terry Alt uprising in Galway and Clare. His command, which consisted of two companies of the 28th (North Gloucestershire) Regiment, a squadron of the 8th Hussars (King's Royal Irish), and the 6th (Inniskilling) Dragoons, was based in the town of Gort in southern Galway and "experienced some of the most unpleasant and harassing duty in which troops can be engaged, having had to perform continued day and night marches of sixteen and eighteen hours," in pursuit of what Cadell dismissed as "the unfortunate and deluded peasantry."¹²³

Cadell and the 28th Regiment conducted themselves with enough discipline to earn the thanks of the Marquis of Anglesea, then Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. Not all regiments were as disciplined, however. The 7th Dragoon Guards (The Princess Royal's) spent so long separated that, when called together for an inspection, they proved incapable of the formation riding demanded by Major General Sir Colquhoun Grant, which prompted Grant to call for the forced retirement of seven of the regiment's officers.¹²⁴ Cadell's *Narrative* is illustrative of just how often troops stationed in Ireland were moved around the country. In the four years that the 28th Regiment were in Ireland, the entire regiment or

¹²¹ For a general history of Ireland in this period, see Paul Brew, *Ireland: The Politics of Enmity, 1789-2006* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009); W. E. Vaughan, *A New History of Ireland Volume V: Ireland Under the Union, I: 1801-1870* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2010).

¹²² Present Stations of the British Army, *The Times* January 4, 1821, p. 4.

¹²³ Cadell, *Narrative of the Campaigns of the Twenty-Eighth Regiment*, 250.

¹²⁴ The 7th Dragoon Guards, *The Morning Chronicle*, April 6, 1824.

portions of it were stationed in Cork, Galway, Mayo, Gort, Dublin, Laois, Kildare, Wicklow, Fermoy, back to Cork, and finally Limerick.¹²⁵ Most of these moves were not in response to explicit unrest, but were instead to show the flag or fulfill other roles such as “that most disagreeable of duties, – the protection of tithe proctors.”¹²⁶ Lieutenant Colonel Jonathan Leach, in his *Rough Sketches of the Life of an Old Soldier*, sums up the Rifle Brigade’s duties in Ireland as “still-hunting, white boy hunting, and guarding county jails,” and is much more effusive about his time as part of the Army of Occupation in France than he is about his service in Ireland.¹²⁷

As with Peterloo, the army’s actions and mere presence in Ireland generated criticism. In March 1835, questions were asked in the House of Commons about the army’s conduct during the general election that had taken place earlier that year, with several MPs associated with the Irish Repeal Association noting the tension that existed between British soldiers and Irish civilians.¹²⁸ In addition to political motivations, there were also objections based on cost. In 1849 a speaker at a meeting in Leeds agitating for financial reform claimed that there were more armed men in Ireland than there had been British troops at Waterloo and demanded to know why British citizens were paying for it.¹²⁹

While no action was taken in the immediate aftermath of Peterloo, and the army continued to be used to break up riots into the 1820s, the passage of the Metropolitan Police Act in 1829 and the establishment of other police forces on the same model in the following years marked the beginning of the end for military policing on the island of Great Britain.¹³⁰ The Metropolitan Police might have been

¹²⁵ Cadell, *Narrative of the Campaigns of the Twenty-Eighth Regiment*, 249-250, 254, 270.

¹²⁶ Cadell, *Narrative of the Campaigns of the Twenty-Eighth Regiment*, 270.

¹²⁷ Leach, *Rough Sketches of the Life of an Old Soldier*, 400-401, 406.

¹²⁸ House of Commons debate on the employment of the military during Irish elections, March 12, 1835, Hansard, Vol. 26, Columns 903-908.

¹²⁹ Financial Reform, *The Times*, April 14, 1849, p. 8.

¹³⁰ For post Peterloo examples of the military being used for riot control, see Leach, *Rough Sketches of the Life of an Old Soldier*, 406; Anecdote of a Scots Grey and a Collier, *The Bath Chronicle*, August 1, 1822, p. 2; Riot at

established sooner, except that there was resistance from those who assumed that, as with the continental (and Irish) paramilitary gendarmeries that had been established, any and all modern police forces would be authoritarian in nature.¹³¹ While the Metropolitan Police was a civilian force, and one, crucially, that wasn't armed with bladed weapons or firearms, its organization and recruiting policies still gave critics of a military police force pause, to the point where the *Weekly Dispatch*, a pro-reform paper, declared that the newly-formed Metropolitan Police was a "military body employed in civil duties" and dubbed the new constables "police soldiers."¹³²

The Metropolitan Police Force was the brain-child of Sir Robert Peel, who finally pushed through the act creating the force when he was Home Secretary in the Duke of Wellington's government. Peel envisioned a force that would prevent crime through a system of beats and patrols while also providing the necessary organized manpower to quell unrest and preserve both order and property. He realized that while a centralized force was the ideal tool to counteract radicalism, Britons would never accept a military force permanently fulfilling that role. The solution, therefore, was a force that was palpably civilian in appearance and armament, but that benefited from military organization and discipline, and answered, through the Home Secretary, to Parliament. To this end, he placed at the head of the force two Joint-Commissioners, Lieutenant Colonel Charles Rowan, a veteran of the Peninsular War and

Norwich, *The Standard*, June 16, 1827, p. 1. For an overall history of the policing in Britain, see, Drew D. Gray, *Crime, Policing and Punishment in England, 1660-1914* (London: Bloomsbury, 2016); Clive Emsley, *The English Police: A Political and Social History* (London: Routledge, 1996); Clive Emsley, *The Great British Bobby: A History of British Policing from the 18th Century to the Present* (London: Quercus, 2009); Charles Reith, *A New Study of Police History* (Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1956). For a detailed examination of the police's role when it came to public order and disturbances, see Iain Channing, *The Police and the Expansion of Public Order Law in Britain, 1829-2013* (New York: Routledge, 2015). For the recent historiography on both British and Irish policing, see Anastasia Dukova, *A History of the Dublin Metropolitan Police and its Colonial Legacy* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), chapter 1.

¹³¹ Emsley, *The Great British Bobby*, 13; J. T. Lyman, "The Metropolitan Police Act of 1829: An Analysis of Certain Events Influencing the Passage and Character of the Metropolitan Police Act in England," *Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology, and Police Science* 55:1 (March 1964): 141-154. For gendarmeries, see Clive Emsley, *Gendarmes and the State in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999).

¹³² *Weekly Dispatch*, October 4, 1829. Emsley notes that more clippings from the *Weekly Dispatch* were sent from the Commissioners to their Superintendents to demand explanations than any other paper. Emsley, *The Great British Bobby*, 307 n8.

Waterloo, and the civilian barrister Richard Mayne. Mayne, whose title was technically Second Joint Commissioner, took responsibility for the legal side of the new force, while Rowan, who held the title of First Joint Commissioner (although he always insisted that he and Mayne were equals) dedicated himself to its organization and subsequent discipline. Considering the task ahead, the creation of two Joint-Commissioners was probably a wise decision, but it did not stop *The Times* from criticizing the new police plan for increasing government patronage.¹³³

Peel's insistence on a military man as First Joint Commissioner goes some way to explain the fears of many that the Metropolitan Police would be paramilitary.¹³⁴ It didn't help that military men serving as Commissioners were allowed, by special dispensation from the Commander-in-Chief, to retain their military rank, despite the fact that, as the *Morning Chronicle* pointed out, continuing to hold the rank of Colonel would render Rowan "ineligible to hold his present appointment."¹³⁵ In a letter from Sir Robert Peel to the Commissioners outlining his proposed force, Peel described a rank and command structure remarkably similar to that of an infantry battalion at the time, although he proposed to pay police constables three times what ordinary soldiers received.¹³⁶ Peel firmly believed that veterans of good character, especially NCOs, made the best policemen, and encouraged their recruitment.¹³⁷ Policemen were drilled in a military manner, divided into companies rather than divisions, and unmarried constables lived in barracks.¹³⁸ Their uniforms combined civilian top hats with military-cut blue coats, complete with high collars and silver buttons, while the 1850s saw a brief paranoia emerge

¹³³ *The Times*, quoted in Mr. Peel's Police Bill, *The Standard*, April 17, 1829.

¹³⁴ Robert Peel to Mr. Gregory, May 29, 1829, Charles Stuart Parker, ed., *Sir Robert Peel from his Private Papers* (London: John Murray, 1899), II:114.

¹³⁵ The New Chief Police Commissioner, *Morning Chronicle*, July 27, 1829.

¹³⁶ Robert Peel to the Commissioners, July 20, 1829, London, National Archives, MEPO 2/10768, 3, 5.

¹³⁷ Lyman, "The Metropolitan Police Act of 1829," 149; Emsley, *The Great British Bobby*, 44; Police, *The Times*, December 1, 1823, p. 3.

¹³⁸ Emsley, *The Great British Bobby*, 5, 43.

that the blue coats of the police would have the same effect on cooks and serving girls as the red coats of soldiers did.¹³⁹

The belief that the Metropolitan Police benefited from some military expertise and thinking extended beyond Peel himself and across party lines. When Rowan retired in 1850, Mayne, now with 20 years' experience in policing, expected to be made sole commissioner (a position he would hold from 1855 to 1868), instead, the then Home Secretary Sir George Grey, a career Whig politician who had never served in the military, decided that Peel's view was correct, promoted Mayne to First Joint Commissioner, and another Peninsular and Waterloo veteran, Captain William Hay, as Second Joint Commissioner. The two did not get along, to the point where their animosity began damaging the police force's reputation, and when Hay died in 1855, Mayne took over as Solo Commissioner until his death in 1868.

Despite the outwardly military aspects of the Metropolitan Police and the criticisms of reformers, its foundation in 1829 can, in retrospect, be seen as the beginning of the army's relegation to a purely social and cultural role within Britain itself. Increasingly, it was the police who were called out to deal with protests, meetings, marches, and riots while the army was not needed except in extreme circumstances, such as the Newport Rising and other events of the Chartist Movement.¹⁴⁰ In 1832, when the Duke of Wellington was attacked on the anniversary of Waterloo, it was not the army, of which he

¹³⁹ It is worth noting that there are still similarities in dress uniform between the Metropolitan Police and the British Army, while the insignia of commissioner is almost identical to that of an army general. Emsley, *The Great British Bobby*, 9, 39.

¹⁴⁰ For a sampling of examples, see *The Berkshire Chronicle*, November 13, 1830, p. 2; Riots at Dundee, *Berrow's Worcester Journal*, April 14, 1831; Exeter Police, *Woolmer's Exeter and Plymouth Gazette*, May 23, 1835, p. 4; Riot at Birmingham, *The Bristol Mercury*, July 13, 1839. For the Newport Rising and Chartism, see Malcolm Chase, *Chartism: A New History* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007); Dorothy Thompson, *The Dignity of Chartism*, ed. Stephen Roberts (London: Verso, 2015).

was the most prominent avatar, that came to his aid, but the Metropolitan Police, 100 of whom subsequently escorted him back to Apsley House.¹⁴¹

The best illustration of the civilian bona fides of the Metropolitan Police and the other British police forces can be found in Ireland. In 1836 the Dublin Metropolitan Police were founded, based on the civilian model of the London Metropolitan Police.¹⁴² The Dublin Metropolitan Police were not, however, the first modern police force in Ireland. They were predated by the Irish Constabulary (renamed the Royal Irish Constabulary in 1867), founded in 1822.¹⁴³ The Irish Constabulary was a paramilitary gendarmerie, very much in the continental model. They wore uniforms of rifle green and black, complete with epaulettes and black leather shakos, echoing both the style and colors of the Rifle Brigade, the constables carried carbines, and their officers wore swords. Their concern was less preventing everyday crime and more keeping the peace, and they were explicitly charged with countering armed rebellions, agrarian and industrial protests, and even sectarian uprisings.¹⁴⁴ From 1857 on they inherited the duties of revenue collection and extended their functions into other aspects of civil life, but were still more focused on keeping the peace in its broad definition than what would be recognized today as community policing.

¹⁴¹ "Attack upon the Duke of Wellington," *Bristol Mercury*, June 23, 1832; Letter to the Editor, *The Times*, June 19, 1832, p. 3.

¹⁴² For the history of the Dublin Metropolitan Police, see Dukova, *A History of the Dublin Metropolitan Police*; Jim Herlihy, *The Dublin Metropolitan Police* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2001).

¹⁴³ Queen Victoria granted the Irish Constabulary permission to use the prefix "Royal" in recognition of the force's success in putting down the 1867 Fenian Rising. For a general history of the Royal Irish Constabulary, see John D. Brewer, *The Royal Irish Constabulary: An Oral History* (Belfast: Queen's University of Belfast, 1990); Jim Herlihy, *The Royal Irish Constabulary: A Short History and Genealogical Guide with a select list of medal awards and casualties* (Dublin: Open Air, 2016).

¹⁴⁴ For an analysis of the military dress, organization, and purpose of the Irish Constabulary, see Herlihy, *The Royal Irish Constabulary*, chapter 3.

The one role in which the army as a whole did not receive extensive criticism or resistance was as part of the social fabric of Britain. When the officer corps set aside its role as the arm of the state and instead mixed with “the ton,” they not only found the positive welcome they’d experienced immediately after Waterloo, but also discovered that they could preserve their status and influence among those that “mattered.” There were, of course, exceptions, as the cases of the 10th (Prince of Wales’s Own) Hussars and the extreme military dandies discussed below demonstrate, but the social crimes that led to their castigation and ridicule would have had the same result if the perpetrators had never donned a uniform in their life. In short, it was their behavior that was objectionable, and the fact that they were officers was of secondary concern.

The smaller size of the officer corps and the increasing monetary constraints placed on both entering and advancing meant that its demographics more closely matched those of the civilian sphere it interacted with socially, especially in the capital.¹⁴⁵ The army officer corps’ social position and method of advancement also made it the ideal tool for those who sought status to match their wealth. The purchase system allowed for the exchanging of money for rank, in every definition of the word. Just as the money exchanged for a commission bought command and responsibility, it also purchased respectability and position. While some connection to good society was often necessary to obtain a commission (especially in the more elite regiments), once a commission could be obtained, all that was required to rise in military (and, concomitantly, societal) rank was the expenditure of time and money.¹⁴⁶ To this social allure must be added the aesthetic one of relatively fit and healthy young men clad in striking uniforms, a combination that guaranteed that a regiment arriving in a British town would be greeted with delight by at least the younger portion of respectable society. The social and romantic

¹⁴⁵ Between 1780 and 1830, the percentage of officers coming from the landed gentry doubled. P. E. Razzell, “Social Origins of Officers in the Indian and British Home Army: 1758-1962,” *The British Journal of Sociology* 14:3 (September 1963), 253, table 7.

¹⁴⁶ Anthony P. C. Bruce, *The Purchase System in the British Army, 1660-1871* (London: Royal Historical Society, 1980), 44-45.

draw of the military and especially of young officers in “regimentals” during the Napoleonic Wars has been explored not only in the works of Jane Austen and her contemporaries but also by modern scholars, and that allure did not end at Waterloo.¹⁴⁷

Some of these social occasions took the same form in Britain that they had in France, and reviews, field days, and military exercises were popular among regiments stationed in Britain and Ireland.¹⁴⁸ These served two purposes. First, they encouraged training and ensured that the army remained at a certain level of military readiness, despite the vast differences in conditions between life in home barracks and life on campaign. Second, they provided a crucial way for the army to interact not only with superior officers who would observe and inspect, but also with the general public, who regarded reviews as a free form of entertainment. These events varied in size from single regiment field days to grand reviews which encompassed cavalry, infantry, and artillery. Although the volume of coverage often changed depending on the significance of the event, most received at least some mention in the press. For smaller reviews, a sentence or two was deemed sufficient, while larger affairs, or any graced by a member of the royal family, received multiple column inches.¹⁴⁹ If a review rated significant coverage, mention was almost always made of the spectators. A royal review on Hounslow Heath in 1817 drew “visitors on the field to behold the review... numerous beyond description; they

¹⁴⁷ See Hurl-Eamon, *Marriage and the British Army in the Long Eighteenth Century*; Louise Carter, “Scarlet Fever: Female Enthusiasm for Men in Uniform, 1780-1815,” in *Britain’s Soldiers: Rethinking War and Society*, 155-179; Tim Fulford, “Sighing for a Soldier: Jane Austen and Military Pride and Prejudice,” *Nineteenth-Century Literature* 57, no. 2 (September 2002): 153-178; Linch, *Britain and Wellington’s Army*; McCormack, *Embodying the Militia in Georgian England*; John E. Cookson, “Regimental Worlds: Interpreting the Experience of British Soldiers during the Napoleonic Wars,” in *Soldiers, Citizens and Civilians*, 23-42; Catriona Kennedy, “From the Ballroom to the Battlefield: British Women and Waterloo,” in *Soldiers, Citizens and Civilians*, 137-156. For examples in Jane Austen’s work, see *Pride and Prejudice*.

¹⁴⁸ Naval reviews were also popular in ports and along the coasts. See, for example, Encouragement to Pilots, *Royal Cornwall Gazette, Falmouth Packet & Plymouth Journal*, May 2, 1818; *The Morning Chronicle*, May 6, 1818.

¹⁴⁹ For smaller notifications, see The 7th Dragoon Guards, *The Morning Chronicle*, April 6, 1824; *The Morning Chronicle*, August 20, 1824; Miscellaneous, *Trewman’s Exeter Flying Post or Plymouth and Cornish Advertiser*, June 23, 1825. For larger or royal reviews, see Royal Review on Hounslow Heath, *Caledonian Mercury*, July 31, 1817; The Army, *The Morning Post*, August 28, 1824.

consisted chiefly of pedestrians from London, and gentlemen in carriages from the neighboring districts. Among the equipages from London, we observed the Lord Mayor, the Lady Mayoress and family, in a landau drawn by four grey horses.”¹⁵⁰ A review in Dublin’s Phoenix Park in 1824, enlivened by a sham battle on a smaller scale than those seen during the occupation of France, was attended by “a vast number of carriages... in many of them were Ladies of rank and fashion” who contributed significantly “to the gay scene.”¹⁵¹ The popularity of such events could be a double-edged sword, however. In 1816 rumors of a grand review marking the first anniversary of Waterloo drew thousands to Wimbledon Common. When it became clear that there was no review planned, “some of the populace, vexed at the disappointment, set fire to the Heath,” and cavalry had to be dispatched from the city “to disperse the infuriated multitude” “and prevent any further violence.”¹⁵²

Reviews and mock battles were not the only ways that soldiers interacted with polite society. This was especially true of the more fashionable regiments. The regiments of the Guards and the Household Cavalry, being largely based in and around London, made regular appearances at society events.¹⁵³ The 2nd (Coldstream) Regiment of Foot Guards, and their band, were in high demand at royal functions, including various courts and inspections.¹⁵⁴ Not to be outdone, the band of the 2nd Regiment of Life Guards gave occasional concerts for fashionable London. In 1824, the 2nd Regiment of Life Guards paraded from their barracks in London west to Inglefield Green, where they participated in a “grand field-day.” As part of this the regimental band positioned itself “on the long walk, where a great deal of company attended to hear them.”¹⁵⁵ In June of the following year, *The Morning Post* reported a two-

¹⁵⁰ Royal Review on Hounslow Heath, *Caledonian Mercury*, July 31, 1817.

¹⁵¹ The Army, *The Morning Post*, August 28, 1824.

¹⁵² Postscript, *The Cheltenham Chronicle and Gloucestershire Advertiser*, June 20, 1816, p. 3; *Hereford Journal*, June 26, 1816, p. 4; Pleasure Boats, *The Morning Chronicle*, June 14, 1816.

¹⁵³ Present Stations of the British Army, *The Times* January 4, 1821, p. 4.

¹⁵⁴ Court Circular, *The Times*, November 23, 1830, p. 3; Court Circular, *The Times*, September 10, 1836, p. 4; Court Circular, *The Times*, January 19, 1838, p.5.

¹⁵⁵ *The Morning Chronicle*, August 20, 1824.

hour afternoon concert given by the band on the north side of the terrace at Windsor Castle, which was “most numerously attended by the most fashionably dressed strangers,” enjoying “this delightful promenade.”¹⁵⁶

The proximity of the Household Cavalry and the Guards to the Sovereign gained them several direct and indirect benefits. They were often the last regiments to have their numbers reduced by peacetime cuts, and had their pick of the best recruits.¹⁵⁷ During the seven years of his reign, William IV hosted the annual dinner of the Nulli Secundus Club at St. James’s Palace.¹⁵⁸ The Nulli Secundus Club, founded in 1783, is a dining club for current and former commissioned officers in the 2nd (Coldstream) Regiment of Foot Guards.¹⁵⁹ The King had never served in the Army, and seems to have hosted the dinners specifically to celebrate the Coldstream Guards and the Club. The location was also an honor, as William IV’s reign was marked by the transfer of the majority of royal events from St. James’s Palace to Buckingham Palace, and only the most formal or significant events were still held at St. James’s.¹⁶⁰ As with Wellington’s Waterloo Banquets discussed in chapter III, the press took note of the Nulli Secundus Dinner, reporting on who attended, how they were dressed, the plate and decorations used, and what music was provided by the band of the Coldstream Guards.¹⁶¹ After William IV’s death and the ascendancy of his niece, Victoria, the Nulli Secundus Club moved its annual dinner to the Clarendon

¹⁵⁶ Windsor, June 18, *The Morning Post*, June 20, 1825.

¹⁵⁷ “Considerable observation is also excited by the circumstance of there not having been hitherto any diminution in the establishment of officers in the three regiments of Foot Guards.” The Army. Letter to the Editor, *The Morning Chronicle*, December 20, 1817

¹⁵⁸ Nulli Secundus, or “Second to none” is the motto of the Coldstream Guards. John Foster George Ross-of-Bladensburg, *A History of the Coldstream Guards, From 1815 to 1895* (London: A. D. Innes & Co., 1896), 92, 429-435.

¹⁵⁹ For its origins and history, see Daniel MacKinnon, *Origin and Services of the Coldstream Guards* (London: Richard Bentley, 1833), II: 30, 373-377.

¹⁶⁰ The transfer to Buckingham Palace was completed and codified by William IV’s successor, Victoria I.

¹⁶¹ Court Circular, *The Standard*, August 2, 1830; Court Circular, *The Times*, May 23, 1831, p. 2; Weekly Diary, *Leamington Spa Courier*, May 26, 1832, p. 2; The King’s Grand Dinner, *The Morning Post*, May 27, 1833; His Majesty’s Levee, *The Morning Chronicle*, May 15, 1834; Fashionable World, *The Morning Post*, July 23, 1835; *The Standard*, June 16, 1836, p. 1. The 1837 dinner, which was scheduled for April 26th, was postponed due to William’s failing health. He died on June 20, 1837.

Hotel but kept its royal connection in the form of the attendance of Prince Adolphus, Duke of Cambridge.¹⁶² While the press continued to note the dinner, it did not rate the level of coverage it had received while under the direct patronage of the king.

Waterloo service also played a small but noticeable role in both social interactions and the popular press's coverage of them. A Waterloo connection often merited particular mention, and sometimes even justified a story where there wasn't one otherwise. *The Morning Post* was delighted to note in their coverage of Margate's 1817 Master of Ceremonies' Ball that the dancing was "led off by the gallant Captain Grey (who had the misfortune to lose his right arm at the memorable battle of Waterloo)."¹⁶³ This trend continued into the 1820s, with the *Leicester Journal* noting with approval a visit paid in Oakham by a division of the 2nd Dragoons (Scots Greys) on their way to Ireland to Colonel Edward Cheney who, as a major, "so gallantly led them on in the memorable battle of Waterloo."¹⁶⁴ "After being liberally regaled," the *Leicester Journal* reported, "the men took their leave by giving three hearty cheers. The officers remained to dine with the gallant Colonel."¹⁶⁵

Not all regiments' conduct in society enjoyed the positive coverage the Coldstream Guards Nulli Secundus Club, the 2nd Regiment of Life Guards' Band, or the 2nd Dragoons (Scots Greys) received. In 1824, the 10th (Prince of Wales's Own) Hussars came under fire from the popular press due to their behavior. The 10th Hussars were an elite regiment known for their lavish lifestyle and dress. From 1796 until 1820, the Prince Regent, the future George IV, had been their colonel, and had implemented such

¹⁶² It appears that the 1838 dinner did not occur, possibly out of respect for William IV. Dinner Parties, *The Morning Post*, July 4, 1839; Court Circular, *The Standard*, May 8, 1840; Court Circular, *The Standard*, May 16, 1843, p. 1; Court Circular, *The Morning Chronicle*, July 3, 1847; Court Circular, *The Standard*, May 30, 1849, p. 1.

¹⁶³ Margate, Sept. 30, *The Morning Post*, October 2, 1817.

¹⁶⁴ Cheney was third in command of the 2nd Dragoons (Scotch Greys) at Waterloo, but both of his superior officers were wounded on the field.

¹⁶⁵ *Leicester Journal* extracted in *The Army, Caledonian Mercury*, March 18, 1826.

elaborate uniforms that the regiment earned the nickname “the Prince’s dolls.”¹⁶⁶ They were also the regiment in which George “Beau” Brummel served, and from whose uniform he developed the style that would become his trademark.¹⁶⁷ Even after George IV’s ascension to the throne and his replacement as regimental colonel by Charles Vane, Baron Stewart and, from 1822, 3rd Marquess of Londonderry, they considered themselves a “sacred cohort” and zealously guarded the privilege of “recruiting entirely among themselves” like a gentleman’s club, a practice the Commander-in-Chief refused to acknowledge.¹⁶⁸ When the Duke of York, then Commander-in-Chief, approved the transfer of one Cornet William Battier to the regiment without consulting them, the 10th retaliated by effectively blackballing him. They ignored their new comrade, and withheld “the marks of courtesy, which, in a civilized society, are considered due to a gentleman and stranger.”¹⁶⁹ Having “made every effort at conciliation, consistent with what he owed himself as a gentlem[a]n,” Battier applied for leave and, being granted it, was summarily thrown out of the mess (despite having paid his dues) by the Marquess of Londonderry.¹⁷⁰ The case is somewhat complicated by the fact that Battier was not, by all accounts, a very competent cavalryman and eventually fought a duel with Londonderry (see Chapter VI), but despite this, the popular press united behind him in their condemnation of the behavior of the regiment.¹⁷¹

“There seems but one feeling throughout the country with respect to the conduct of Lord Londonderry, and the officers of the 10th Hussars,” *The Morning Chronicle* declared in a follow up piece, two weeks after they broke the original story, “we are not going too far, when we say, that there never was a case

¹⁶⁶ John Mollo, *The Prince’s Dolls: Scandals, Skirmishes and Splendours of the First British Hussars: 1793-1815* (London: Leo Cooper, 1997), 135. See also Isaac Robert Cruikshank and S. W. Fores, *The Dandy Tailor, planning a new Hungry Dress*, 1819, London, The British Museum, BM Satires 13237, 1868,0808.8446.

¹⁶⁷ Even with an inheritance of over £20,000, Brummel struggled to keep up with the spending habits of the regiment. John Doran, *Habits and Men, with Remnants of Record Touching the Makers of Both* (London: Richard Bentley, 1855), 380.

¹⁶⁸ Doran, *Habits and Men*, 380; The Tenth Royal Hussars, *The Morning Chronicle*, March 10, 1824.

¹⁶⁹ The Tenth Royal Hussars, *The Morning Chronicle*, March 10, 1824.

¹⁷⁰ The Tenth Royal Hussars, *The Morning Chronicle*, March 10, 1824.

¹⁷¹ *The Edinburgh Annual Register, for 1824* (Edinburgh: James Ballantyne and Co., 1825), 172-176, 183-184.

on which such complete unanimity of opinion prevailed.”¹⁷² That unanimity of opinion was confirmed as further details of the 10th Hussars’ behavior emerged. “There is not a frequenter of our Theatre, or any other place of public amusement,” remarked *The Dublin Evening Mail*, “that has not been annoyed and disgusted with the rude and insolent behaviour of those ungentleman-like officers.”¹⁷³ Their behavior at the theatre and other gatherings drove Major General Sir Colquhoun Grant, commander of the Dublin garrison, to ban them from “places of public amusement.”¹⁷⁴ Even in the midst of these scandals, Waterloo service held some sway. In a supplementary article describing the further poor behavior of several officers of the 10th at a ball, *The Morning Chronicle* noted that only six of the regiment’s officers had fought at Waterloo, “the rest hav[ing] entered the service since the peace.”¹⁷⁵ The implication was clear: the lion’s share of the blame for this behavior should fall on the unbloodied new officers, while the Waterloo service of the veterans earned them if not exculpation then at least the benefit of the doubt.

¹⁷² Tenth Hussars, *The Morning Chronicle*, March 23, 1824.

¹⁷³ *The Dublin Evening Mail* quoted in Tenth Hussars, *The Morning Chronicle*, March 23, 1824.

¹⁷⁴ Tenth Hussars, *The Morning Chronicle*, March 23, 1824. See also The Tenth, *The Morning Chronicle*, April 6, 1824.

¹⁷⁵ The Tenth, *The Morning Chronicle*, April 6, 1824. Two satirical cartoons were produced, lampooning the 10th’s behavior at the ball. See Isaac Robert Cruikshank and John Fairburn, *Arrogance, (or Nonchalance) of the Tenth Retorted*, 1824, London, The British Museum, BM Satires 14642, 1868,0808.8610; George Cruikshank and John Fairburn, *Drilling 1/10th of the Military in the Manual Exercise – or a Dancing Lesson to the Tune of Whack Row de Row*, 1824, London, The British Museum, BM Satires 14649, 1868,0808.8607.



Figure 5.5: Charles Williams and John Fairburn, *The Cornet Battery Opened on the Tenth*, 1824, London, The British Museum, BM Satires 14648, 1868,0808.8613.

The behavior of the 10th, and their belief in their own elite status, can be seen as one of the major drawbacks of both the purchase and the regimental system. Despite the Duke of York's relatively neutral response to the scandal, some in the popular press saw it as an opportunity for him, in his capacity as Commander-in-Chief, to bring the more independently-minded regiments under his centralized control.¹⁷⁶ This was highlighted by an 1824 satirical print (Figure 5.5) that depicts the Duke of York and his military secretary, Sir Herbert Taylor, looking on in approval as Battier opens fire on the 10th with a blunderbuss labeled "public press." "Between you and I," the Duke of York comments, "I'm glad they have caught it." "They used to bully us," Taylor replies, "but I think this will tame them!"¹⁷⁷ The

¹⁷⁶ *The Edinburgh Annual Register, for 1824* (Edinburgh: James Ballantyne and Co., 1825), 172-176, 183-184.

¹⁷⁷ Charles Williams and John Fairburn, *The Cornet Battery Opened on the Tenth*, 1824, London, The British Museum, BM Satires 14648, 1868,0808.8613.

purchase system as a whole also received some criticism. During the House of Commons' Committee of Supply debate over the 1832 Army Estimates, De Lacy Evans, then a Colonel, insisted that the purchase system had resulted in too much inexperience in command. "The higher ranks of the army," he informed his colleagues

were filled up in a most improper manner, so that thirty or forty regiments were now commanded by men who had seen little, if any, service. In his opinion the command of regiments ought not to be open to purchase by Majors who happened to have plenty of money in their pockets. That system was, however, carried on. In a recent instance, there had been a young officer appointed to the command of a cavalry regiment when there were many older and more experienced and very able officers, who were anxiously applying, but in vain, at the Horse Guards to obtain their commands.¹⁷⁸

At that point, however, De Lacy Evans was an outlier, and the purchase system had far more defenders than critics, both in military and civilian circles. It allowed talented young men, if they possessed sufficient wealth, to rise quickly. Without purchase, for example, Wellington would never have risen to field officer rank in time to obtain the command in the Peninsula. For Parliament, the purchase system effectively placed a buffer between the army and the direct patronage and control of the monarch. It had been the purchase system, some argue, that had prevented James II and VII from packing the officer corps with his Catholic allies in the late seventeenth century, thus ensuring that the largely Protestant army would side with William of Orange in the Glorious Revolution.¹⁷⁹ The financial arguments were also compelling, especially to a country that was trying to reduce the cost of its army after the Napoleonic Wars. The purchase system removed the need for any form of pension for officers, as the proceeds of selling one's final commission were supposed to provide for retirement.¹⁸⁰

¹⁷⁸ House of Commons Committee of Supply debate on Army Estimates, March 28, 1832, Hansard, Volume 11, column 1039.

¹⁷⁹ Corfield, *Power and the Professions*, 191.

¹⁸⁰ This also meant that officers on half pay were in a tricky position, as unattached commissions were of significantly less value, thus reducing an officer's potential pension if he decided to sell out.

The most compelling argument, and the one that highlighted Britain's priorities when it came to its land-based military forces, combined political and financial reasoning. The salaries of officers, especially junior ones, were extremely low, too low to live on considering the expense of the mess system.¹⁸¹ The purchase system guaranteed that those who became officers could afford it, that they were, in the words of Wellington, "men of fortune and character, men who have some connection with the interests and fortunes of the country."¹⁸² It prevented the British Army from becoming a mercenary Army – with all the political instability associated with that term – and saved the British exchequer from having to pay its officers a living wage. In short, it guaranteed that the command of the Army stayed in the hands of the right people who could be counted on in moments of social or political upheaval but did not cost anything near the upkeep of a continental force.¹⁸³

The insistence upon independence by elite regiments, whether in the form of informal approval of new officers as practiced by the 10th, or the more codified patronage of the Household Cavalry and the Guards, where the regiment's colonel still had absolute say over who was granted a first commission, was in part a response to the double-edged sword of the purchase system.¹⁸⁴ While it is true that the purchase of commissions ensured that those with money, and thus a presumed inherent interest in the preservation of the status quo, rose to power in the army, money alone was no longer a guarantee of respectability in nineteenth century Britain. Because the officer corps retained its social status, it became a way for those with newly-minted wealth to purchase respectability for their heirs.

¹⁸¹ Evidence of Colonel Charles Stuart, June 20, 1856, *Report of the Commissioners Appointed to Inquire into the system of Purchase and Sale of Commissions in the Army; With Evidence and Appendix* (London: George Edward Eyre and William Spottiswoode, 1857), 126.

¹⁸² Quoted in R. E. Scouller, "Purchase of Commissions and Promotions," *Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research* 62:252 (Winter 1984), 221.

¹⁸³ A mercenary force, officered by adventurers rather than gentlemen, "could not be depended upon, and in time of civil convulsion there might be some danger of its becoming the instrument of a future Cromwell or Napoleon." *Remarks Upon the System of Purchase in the Army, the Proper Organization of the Staff, and the Promotion of Serjeants by a Colonel of Infantry* (London: James Bain, 1856), 13.

¹⁸⁴ Bruce, *The Purchase System*, 42.

While some regiments welcomed new blood, others, usually cavalry or Guards regiments, became even more elitist in their outlook. Once again, the case of Cornet Battier and the 10th Hussars is illustrative. In his letter to *The Morning Chronicle*, Battier highlights the efforts he went to demonstrate his standing to the regiment, urging the Lieutenant Colonel of the regiment to make “every inquiry into his character as a gentleman, his family, and his circumstances.”¹⁸⁵ Had he not been a gentleman, his letter implies, the behavior of the officers of the 10th would have been fully justified, but instead it was unacceptable because he was a gentleman.

While certain regiments of the army had always enjoyed elite social status, that status usually supplemented, rather than replaced, their standing as crack fighting regiments. The Coldstream Guards, for all that they enjoyed London barracks and the pleasures of the Nulli Secundus Club, had fought their way through the Peninsular War and had been central to the defense of the Chateau Hougomont at Waterloo, while the 1st and 2nd Life Guards were both involved in the charge of the British Heavy Cavalry at Waterloo and lost almost half their number in the battle.¹⁸⁶ In the years following Waterloo, however, regiments sought new visual ways to display and preserve their elite status. Hussar regiments enshrined in their regulations the requirement that all officers grow a mustache, a move that *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* decried as a dangerously foreign “dandyism” that was “inevitably incongruous and coxcombish when pasted on an English countenance.”¹⁸⁷ As uniforms became more elaborate, so too did the criticism. “If Englishmen have beaten their enemies without the help of mustaches and beards, cuirasses and enormous conical caps, blue coats, and lace enough on one of them to eat up the fortune

¹⁸⁵ The Tenth Royal Hussars, *The Morning Chronicle*, March 10, 1824.

¹⁸⁶ For a discussion of British cavalry losses at Waterloo, see Alessandro Barbero, *The Battle: A New History of Waterloo*, trans. John Cullen (New York: Walker & Co., 2006), 142-143.

¹⁸⁷ Military Uniforms, *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, No. CXXXIV, Vol. XXIII (January, 1828): 92-93; Myerly, *British Military Spectacle*, 149. See also John H. Rumsby, “‘Of No Small Importance’: A Social History of the Cavalry Moustache c. 1790-c. 1860,” *Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research* 96:386 (Autumn 2018): 152-168.

of a younger son," *Blackwood's* insisted, "let us do without those absurdities, and fight with clean faces, and limbs clothes in the same colour in which Marlborough rode over the field at Blenheim."¹⁸⁸

This trend further added to the financial burdens of obtaining a commission, as officers had to pay for and supply their own uniforms. The cost of these varied. Captain William Ogilvy, late of the 52nd (Oxfordshire) Regiment of Foot, spent over £150 on his uniforms, boots, and caps in 1816 when he exchanged into the Cape Corps, which was in no way a sartorially elite regiment.¹⁸⁹ By 1828, *Blackwood's* estimated the cost of outfitting an officer with regimentals at £500, and dismissed the result of this expense as rendering "the British soldier [unfit] for anything but a dandy."¹⁹⁰ Because every officer was responsible for their own uniforms, many officers, especially those who had purchased their commissions after Waterloo, used elaborate accessories and extreme cuts and styling to disguise their lack of proven martial prowess. Unsurprisingly, the officers who embraced these sartorial excesses became favorite targets of Britain's satirical printmakers.

¹⁸⁸ Military Uniforms, *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, No. CXXXIV, Vol. XXIII (January, 1828): 94. Britain was not alone in their horror in this case, the French press derided their own military dandies, christened "Calicots." See Peggy Davis, "Montagnes Russes and Calicot: Print Culture and Visual Satire in Restoration Paris," *Historical Reflections/Réflexions Historiques* 44, no. 3 (December 2018): 8-28; Christine Haynes, "The Battle of the Mountains: Repatriating Folly in France in the Aftermath of the Napoleonic Wars," *Historical Reflections/Réflexions Historiques* 44, no. 3 (December 2018): 50-70; Haynes, *Our Friends the Enemies*, chapter 6.

¹⁸⁹ William Ogilvy to Walter Ogilvy, February 12, 1816, Edinburgh, National Records of Scotland, GD16/34/383.

¹⁹⁰ Military Uniforms, *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, No. CXXXIV, Vol. XXIII (January, 1828): 93.



Figure 5.6: William Heath and S. W. Fores, *Military Dandies or Heroes of 1818*, 1818, Chicago, Art Institute of Chicago, 1928.1227.

William Heath's *Military Dandies or Heroes of 1818* (Figure 5.6), published by S. W. Fores is a prime example of the ridicule these military dandies earned.¹⁹¹ It depicts eight officers of different regiments promenading and talking to each other, all in extravagant uniforms with exaggerated details. All have very tight waists and wear incredibly high collars and/or stocks, which in several cases are pushing their heads back at uncomfortable angles. Two of the cavalry officers are in thigh-high riding boots, which widen at the top to an absurd degree, while two of the officers, an infantryman and a

¹⁹¹ William Heath and S. W. Fores, *Military Dandies or Heroes of 1818*, 1818, London, The British Museum, BM Satires 13059, 1935,0522.7.199. For further examples, see William Heath and S. W. Fores, *Military Parade*, 1820, London, The British Museum, BM Satires 14078, 1935,0522.7.217; Charles Williams and Thomas Tegg, *Vagaries of Nature and Art or Curiosities of the Parade 1818*, London, The British Museum, BM Satires 13058, 1935,0522.7.156; George Cruikshank and George Humphrey, *Ancient Military Dandies of 1450 – Sketch'd by permission from the Originals in the Grand Armory at the Gothic Hall Pall-Mall. Modern military dandies – of 1819 – Sketch'd without permission from the Life*, 1819, London, The British Museum, BM Satires 13202, 1935,0522.7.200.

lancer wear an overly large shako and czapka respectively, each with a very high plume. All of the officers boast inflated bulging pigeon breasts, tight sleeves, and overly padded shoulders, all forms of traditional visual shorthand used to connote dandyism, and often particularly associated with military dandies.¹⁹² The artist also tacitly feminized the officers by highlighting their thighs and buttocks as well as their exaggerated postures. This gendered depiction not only further emphasizes the connections with civilian dandies (whose portrayals were also often feminine-coded), but also encourages comparisons with the explicitly masculine-coded representations of soldiers and veterans that became popular during the Napoleonic Wars.¹⁹³ That comparison is strengthened by the title of the piece, *Military Dandies or Heroes of 1818*, which invites the viewer to contrast these dandies, the “Heroes of 1818” with the heroes of the recently ended war.¹⁹⁴

Despite the potential for ridicule when taken to extremes, fashion was one area where the military had a lasting impact on British society.¹⁹⁵ Beau Brummell’s tenure with the 10th Hussars and the regiment’s influence on his civilian style has already been mentioned, but he was not the only celebrity imitated by Britain’s fashionable set. In the aftermath of Waterloo, patriotic gentlemen added a new

¹⁹² See Thomas Moore, “Journal of Sir Valentine Sleek, a Colonel in the -----, and Finished Dandy,” in *Replies to the Letters of the Fudge Family in Paris* (London: Pinnock and Maunder, 1818), 162; Unknown artist and Thomas Tegg, *Lacing a Dandy*, 1819, Chicago, Art Institute of Chicago, 1928.1226.

¹⁹³ Vic Gatrell, *City of Laughter: Sex and Satire in Eighteenth-Century London* (New York: Walker & Company, 2006), 354-356. For gender and masculinity during the war, see See Catriona Kennedy, “John Bull into Battle: Military Masculinity and the British Army Officer during the Napoleonic Wars,” in *Gender, War and Politics: Transatlantic Perspectives, 1775-1830*, eds. Karen Hagemann, Gisela Mettele, and Jane Rendall (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010): 127-146; Neil Ramsay, *The Military Memoir and Romantic Litterary Culture, 1780-1835* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011); Neil Ramsay, “‘A Real English Soldier’: Suffering, Manliness and Class in the Mid-Nineteenth-Century Soldiers’ Tale,” in *Soldiering in Britain and Ireland, 1750-1850: Men of Arms*, eds. Catriona Kennedy & Matthew McCormac (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012): 136-155; Stefan Dudink and Karen Hagemann, “Masculinity in politics and war in the age of democratic revolutions, 1750-1850,” in *Masculinities in Politics and War: Gendering Modern History*, eds. Stefan Dudink, Karen Hagemann and John Tosh (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004): 3-21. For representations of soldiers in British cartoons and caricature during the war, see David Kunzle, *The Early Comic Strip: Narrative Strips and Picture Stories in the European Broadsheet from c.1450 to 1825* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973), 378-388.

¹⁹⁴ Only one of the officers wears the Waterloo medal, the Life Guard officer at the center of the piece.

¹⁹⁵ See Myerly, *British Military Spectacle*, especially 148-150; Anne Hollander, *See Through Clothes* (New York: Avon Books, 1978), 474.

type of footwear to their wardrobe: the Wellington boot. Wellington boots were modified versions of Hessian boots, knee-high leather boots decorated with ornamental tassels and sometimes braid along the top, that were worn over breeches or trousers. Wellington had commissioned them from his shoe and bootmaker for the Waterloo campaign, instructing them to make him a pair of Hessian boots with an even top, a slightly shorter leg, and without the decoration, so that they could be worn either inside or outside of legwear.¹⁹⁶ Hessian boots had been popular with both military and civilian dandies, but from 1815 on, they were abandoned by the British population in favor of the footwear that bore the name and approval of their new national hero.¹⁹⁷ As an 1847 history of boots and shoes put it, “the Wellington is unquestionably the most gentlemanly thing of its kind, and all the attempts...to rival it, most signally fail.”¹⁹⁸

¹⁹⁶ Matthew McCormack, “Boots, Material Culture and Georgian Masculinities,” *Social History* 42, no. 4 (2017): 475; “The Street Companion; or the Young Man’s Guide and the Old Man’s Comfort, in the Choice of Shoes,” in *The London Magazine and Review*, January 1, 1825, 75-76; John O’Sullivan, *The Art and Mystery of the Gentle Craft, Being an Essay on the Practice and Principles of Boot and Shoe Making, and Cutting* (London: Mr. Mason, 1834), 14; Wellington to George Hoby, April 11, 1815, quoted in Elizabeth Longford, *Wellington: The Years of the Sword* (New York: Harper and Row, 1969), 409. Wellington boots were made in leather until the 1850s, when vulcanized rubber was invented, from then on, the utilitarian and waterproof rubber wellington boot increased in popularity, eventually totally eclipsing the leather original.

¹⁹⁷ The term “Wellington boots” first appeared in advertising in 1814, but the popularity of the term exploded following Waterloo. Advertising and Notices, *The Norfolk Chronicle and Norwich Gazette*, November 5, 1814. In February of 1815, a letter-writer to *Cobbett’s Weekly Political Register* lamented the social airs of the country’s large farmers, providing as one example “the young gentleman, the farmer’s son, instead of thick high shoes well studded with hobnails, with a smock frock, and carter’s whip on his shoulder, now sports his military-cut-upper-coat of superfine, lined with silk, his Wellington boots, his jimmy rattan, and his bit of blood.” Cheap Corn, *Cobbett’s Weekly Political Register* February 25, 1815; “The Reformed Dandy: A True Story,” in *The Repository of Arts, Literature, Fashions, Manufactures, &c.* VI, no. 35 (November 1, 1818): 282. This trend was even more marked in Prussia, where Wellington demi-boots, Wellington slippers, and Prince Blucher demi-boots became popular in the immediate aftermath of Waterloo. Fashions for November, *Wright’s Leeds Intelligencer*, November 6, 1815; Berlin Fashions, *Royal Cornwall Gazette, Falmouth Packet & Plymouth Journal*, November 11, 1815; Parisian Fashions, *The Cheltenham Chronicle and Gloucestershire Advertiser*, January 14, 1819, p.4. Among certain circles, they remained associated with the military. An article in *Cobbett’s Weekly Political Register* refers to officers as “flashy blades in whiskers and in Wellington-boots.” To the Lord Chancellor, *Cobbett’s Weekly Political Register*, June 9, 1821. In modern scholarship, Christopher Breward declared them “a virtual national costume after the victory of Waterloo.” Christopher Breward, “Men in Heels: From Power to Perversity,” in *Shoes: Pleasure and Pain*, ed. Helen Persson (London: V&A Publishing, 2015), 137.

¹⁹⁸ J. Sparkes Hall, *The Book of Feet: A History of Boots and Shoes* (New York: William H. Graham, 1847), 125.

Men were not alone in aping the styles of Napoleonic heroes; military influence can also be seen in women's fashion. In the late 18th century, it became fashionable for society ladies to commission female versions of the uniforms of the regiments their husbands commanded.¹⁹⁹ By the Napoleonic Wars, military touches had crept into more general fashion. The pelisse, a short, fur trimmed (or lined) jacket worn over the left shoulder of hussar uniforms was adopted into women's wear, where it was lengthened and worn as a coat. It retained touches of its military origins until the 1830s, however, in its frogging, braid trim, and occasional fur lining.

As military dress continued to influence fashion, so the allure of military men in uniform continued into the peace as well. This is illustrated by the silver fork genre of novels, popular from the 1820s through the 1840s, which aped Jane Austen's style, and were often set in the later years of the regency. These novels continued the literary trend of attractive officers, and can be seen equally as representative of the views of their readers as Austen was of hers.²⁰⁰ In Benjamin Disraeli's *Henrietta Temple, a Love Story* (1837), the hero, Ferdinand Armine, a captain in the Guards, who receives "the universal admiration" traditionally lavished on a "young hero in his regimentals," is forgiven for somewhat scandalous behavior with women because of his looks and his association with a "crack regiment."²⁰¹ "Captain Armine has been very wild, very wild indeed; a little of the roué," a lady notes in the second volume, "but then such a fine young man, so very handsome, so truly distinguished, as Lady Bellair says, what could you expect?"²⁰² In Lady Charlotte Bury's *The History of a Flirt, Related by Herself*, which appeared three years after *Henrietta Temple*, the narrator compares her antipathy for

¹⁹⁹ See the portrait of Lady Worsley by Sir Joshua Reynolds, Leeds, Harewood House.

²⁰⁰ See Edward Copeland, *The Silver Fork Novel: Fashionable Fiction in the Age of Reform* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012); Cheryl A. Wilson, *Fashioning the Silver Fork Novel* (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2012); Alison Adburgham, *Silver Fork Society: Fashionable Life and Literature from 1814 to 1840* (London: Constable, 1983); John Sutherland and Veronica Melnyk, *Rouge Publisher: The Prince of "Puffers" – the Life and Works of the Publisher Henry Colburn* (Brighton: Edward Everett Root Publishers Co, Ltd., 2018).

²⁰¹ Benjamin Disraeli, *Henrietta Temple, A Love Story* (London: Henry Colburn, 1837), I: 112, 120.

²⁰² Disraeli, *Henrietta Temple*, II: 164-165.

two eligible men she spurned to her delight in her near-engagement to a younger son without prospects, largely because of his military rank: “how had I chafed under my engagement with Mr. Ellis, because my heart was not in the matter! How had I turned from Brereton, whom I once certainly loved, because my heart rejected him in gaiters and grey pantaloons! Here was a man, courted in the world, admired, accomplished, a man of birth, of connexion, and in a dragoon regiment! – how very different must my sentiments and feelings be!”²⁰³ The same trope can also be found in Charles Dickens’ early work. In the same theatre scene in his *Sketches of Young Gentlemen* (1838) discussed in chapter IV, Dickens describes the jockeying by older matrons to gain the company of young officers for their daughters:

Three young ladies, one young man, and the mama of the party, receive the military young gentleman with great warmth and politeness, and in five minutes afterwards the military young gentleman, stimulated by the mama, introduces the two other military young gentlemen with whom he was walking in the morning, who take their seats behind the young ladies and commence conversation; whereat the mama bestows a triumphant bow upon a rival mama, who has not succeeded in decoying any military young gentlemen, and prepares to consider her visitors from that moment three of the most elegant and superior young gentlemen in the whole world.²⁰⁴

The popularity of grand reviews and sham battles indicates that the average British subject was comfortable with the army’s performative role, even if they saw opportunities for ridicule in the extremes of dress and attitude adopted by certain officers and regiments. The army’s place as an ornament of society was also welcomed, and the ongoing reporting of the army’s activities can be seen as proof that the public remained interested, at least to a certain extent, in those activities. However, for all that the public delighted in the presence of Waterloo veterans at balls or, as we have seen in previous chapters, celebrated the anniversary of that victory with gusto, they were quick to criticize

²⁰³ Lady Charlotte Campbell Bury, *The History of a Flirt, Related by Herself* (London: Henry Colburn, 1840), II: 144.

²⁰⁴ Charles Dickens, *Sketches of Young Gentlemen* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1838), 27.

when the army stepped over certain boundaries, whether those oversteps took the form of a regiment flouting Whitehall's centralized control, increased spending, or when the army fulfilled its role as a police force with unnecessary brutality. This balance is further illustrated by the case of those officers who entered politics, discussed in detail in the next chapter. The general British public had no objection to officers serving in the House of Commons, but that may well have been because those officers never formed a united front on any but minor issues, and because service was no guarantee of success at the hustings. Had the army functioned as a unified conservative political power bloc, as they did in Prussia, the British public may have objected more strenuously, but the only time British soldier-politicians united, it was over minor matters such as the outfitting of the army with new winter clothing.

Chapter VI: From Barracks to Backbenches: Waterloo's Veterans in Politics

As regiments returned from Waterloo and the Army of Occupation, over 50 veteran officers followed the Duke of Wellington's example and entered politics.¹ For some, ennobled either by birth or by deed, this was as simple as taking their seats in the House of Lords. Others sought election and exchanged their scarlet uniform coats for the green benches of the House of Commons. The Waterloo Members of Parliament (MPs) were politically diverse, ranging from avid Reformers to Ultra-Tories, and spent more time divided by party than united by past experiences.

Scholars have, in recent years, started to examine the permeability of the military and civilian domains in late eighteenth and nineteenth century Britain, starting with the incorporation of the military and war into new national identities, and extending along lines inspired by social, cultural, and gender history.² The conjunction of the military and political spheres predates the more general acceptance of the army into society. John Churchill, 1st Duke of Marlborough, and Britain's most successful land general until Wellington, moved freely between the military and political spheres in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century, while Robert Clive, whose victories in India in the mid-

¹ See Appendix C.

² The origins of this movement can probably be credited to Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707-1837* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009); See also J.W.M. Hichberger, *Images of the Army: The Military in British Art, 1815-1914* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988); Alan Forrest, Karen Hagemann, and Jane Rendall, eds., *Soldiers, Citizens and Civilians: Experiences and Perceptions of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars, 1790-1820* (Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, 2009); Kevin Linch, *Britain and Wellington's Army: Recruitment, Society, and Tradition, 1807-1815* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011); Kevin Linch and Matthew McCormack, eds., *Britain's Soldiers: Rethinking War and Society, 1715-1815* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2014); Catriona Kennedy & Matthew McCormack, eds., *Soldiering in Britain and Ireland, 1750-1850: Men of Arms* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012); Matthew McCormack, *Embodying the Militia in Georgian England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015); Jennine Hurl-Eamon, *Marriage & The British Army in the Long Eighteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014).

eighteenth century are often credited with beginning Britain's domination of the subcontinent, returned to England and entered the House of Commons.³

The social backgrounds of eighteenth and nineteenth century MPs and army officers were similar enough that there was always overlap in the membership of the two institutions, and it was not remarkable for officers to simultaneously hold commands in regiments and seats in Parliament. Scholars have concluded that more than 400 army officers served in Parliament between 1790 and 1820, a number that rises to 1000 if militia and yeomanry officers are included.⁴ In the years after Waterloo, the changes in the British army's size and deployment resulted in there being more former and current army officers present in the country than in the previous quarter-century of war. This did not correlate to an increase in military MPs, however. A total of 67 Waterloo officers served in Parliament between the surrender of the French in 1815 and the stepping down of the last of that group in 1874.⁵ Of these, 21 returned from Waterloo to either inherited or newly-created seats in the House of Lords, while the rest were elected to seats in the House of Commons.⁶ Of those, six would be, as the official Parliamentary rolls put it, "called to the Upper House" during their political tenure.⁷ Those 67 represent less than 4% of the 1,770 commissioned men who survived Waterloo, and even if they had all served at the same time,

³ See Richard Holmes, *Marlborough: England's Fragile Genius* (London: Harper Collins, 2008); C. Brad Faught, *Clive: Founder of British India* (Washington: Potomac Books, 2013).

⁴ Rory Muir, "Politics and the Peninsular Army," in *Wellington Studies IV*, ed. C.M. Woolgar (Southampton: Hartley Institute, University of Southampton, 2008).

⁵ Sir John Stepney Cowell-Stepney, Liberal MP for Carmarthen, did not seek reelection in the 1874 election, and died three years later. Charles Dalton, *The Waterloo Roll Call with Biographical Notes and Anecdotes* (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1904), 109-110; *Members of Parliament* (London: By Order of the House of Commons, 1878), II: 489, 509.

⁶ There is no indication that all of them took their seats in the House of Lords. In addition, a number of those ennobled in their own right held curtesy titles or Irish peerages before Waterloo, which did not permit them to sit in Lords. List of Peers Created After Waterloo & Crimea, July 9, 1919, London, National Archives, LCO 2/2566.

⁷ *Members of Parliament*, II: 265.

which they did not, they would have made up a fraction above a tenth of the House of Commons' 658 seats.⁸

Veteran officers who entered politics hoping for a quiet retirement were disappointed. The four decades between Waterloo and the Crimean War were some of the most divisive in British political history, with several pitched political battles (Catholic Emancipation, the Great Reform Act, and the Corn Laws) taking place. Those conflicts, and the acrimonious nature of British party politics that they contributed to, significantly weakened the retirement position of the Waterloo MPs as a group. In the more authoritarian mainland European countries, officer veterans of the Napoleonic Wars functioned as a single block to preserve their interests and privileges.⁹ In Britain, by contrast, officer MPs were split by party on the great issues of the day. As a result, when they did unite, it was often unsuccessful: they fought a failing rearguard action throughout the period on military funding and education, and only managed to work together to preserve the army's policies of corporal punishment and flogging.

Several of the Waterloo MPs sought to gain a political advantage by identifying themselves with that battle and other British victories during elections; although, as the percentage of Waterloo officers who became MPs demonstrates, meritorious military service alone was not enough to gain a seat in the House. While service on its own could not sway the electorate of Britain, it did open up other political paths. There were several administrative positions, such as Master-General of the Ordnance, which were held almost exclusively by military men, and were, despite the notable lack of elections, at least somewhat political in nature. Other positions, such as the Commissioner of the Metropolitan Police discussed in the previous chapter, were deemed, unofficially, to require military expertise.

⁸ Dalton, *Waterloo Roll Call*. The 1832 Reform Act did not change the number of MPs, only redistribute some of them.

⁹ See, for example, Dominic Lieven, *The Aristocracy in Europe 1815-1914* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993).

These two factors go some way towards explaining why Waterloo veterans did not make a more concerted effort to challenge the nationalization of Waterloo ownership. The fact that the British officer corps did not possess the unity of purpose demonstrated by their continental counterparts illustrates that, even if they had wanted to contest a wider sense of ownership, they lacked the post-war organization and united clout to do so. Simultaneously, the reality that association with Waterloo alone did not provide the social cachet required to embark on or advance a political career indicates that many veterans may have considered the possible rewards from winning the battle over ownership simply not worth fighting for.

will explore two different avenues of post-military political advancement – election to Parliament and appointment to unelected offices. It will also briefly explore the use of appointments within Parliament to produce ministerial government and the power contained within it. It should be noted that, even though this is a work exclusively dedicated to officers, in these particular cases that exclusivity is not a matter of focus but of inevitability. Political advancement of serving military personnel, whether by election or appointment, was exclusively for officers. There were sinecures and military appointments for the rank-and-file, but they lacked political clout. As for electoral politics, Horse Guards had no problem with an officer holding both a commission in the army and a seat in Parliament, but, in 1833, tried to discharge a soldier in the Grenadier Guards simply for attending political meetings.¹⁰ For the Army, politics were only welcome in the Officer's Mess.

Parliament

¹⁰ Although it is extremely unlikely that the soldier would have met the requirements for the franchise. Letter from Colonel Sir J. Woodford to Arthur Wellesley, first Duke of Wellington, requesting the Duke's opinion on an enclosed communication sent to the Secretary of State, Home Department, concerning a soldier of the Third Battalion, Grenadier Guards, who has been attending political meetings, 8 January 1833, Wellington Papers, University of Southampton, WP2/1/36-38.

For officers in Parliament, both former and serving, there was an order of priorities. Whatever loyalty veterans felt to the military and their commander (and many of them had served under Wellington for a decade), that loyalty was not enough to trump loyalties to their borough, party, or country.¹¹ Although there was no unified military interest or bloc in Parliament, exploring the actions and influence of officer-MPs still sheds light on the priorities of officer veterans as a whole in post-Waterloo Britain. To do this, this chapter will first examine several soldier-politicians of the age: the Conservative Field Marshal Sir Henry Hardinge, the Liberal General Sir George de Lacy Evans, the reform-minded independent Colonel Thomas Henry Hastings Davies, the conservative Lord Edward Somerset, and the failed Parliamentarian Captain Rees Howell Gronow. It will then discuss certain political debates that were either of interest to the country in general (Catholic Emancipation, the 1832 Reform Act) or more specifically to the army (the annual army estimates, the abolition or preservation of flogging). Finally, it will explore the military influence on politics through the lens of the new historiography on ministerial government, concentrating on the appointment of ministers and patronage.

There are three points worth noting at this stage. The first is that this chapter makes no attempt to summarize or explore the entire scope of nineteenth century British politics. Its interest lies with those veterans of Waterloo who chose to involve themselves with those politics, and the causes they championed and opposed.¹² The second is the reform and abolition of the purchase system, which was touched on in the previous chapter. Because almost all of the serious efforts to reform the purchase

¹¹ This is worth noting consider the extensive work done on the impact of combat and adverse conditions on the ties between soldiers. For the period in question, see Edward Coss, *All for the King's Shilling: The British Soldier Under Wellington, 1808-1814* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2010); John Keegan, *The Face of Battle: A Study of Agincourt, Waterloo, and the Somme* (New York: Penguin Books, 1983); Fred Anderson, *A People's Army: Massachusetts Soldiers and Society in the Seven Years War* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1984).

¹² For a political history of this period, see Clive Jones, ed., *A Short History of Parliament* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2009); Peter Jupp, *The Governing of Britain 1688-1848: The Executive, Parliament and the People* (London: Routledge, 2006); Glyn Williams and John Ramsden, *Ruling Britannia: A Political History of Britain, 1688-1988* (London: Longman, 1990); Norman Chester, *The English Administrative System 1780-1870* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981); E.A. Smith, *The House of Lords in British Politics and Society, 1815-1911* (London: Longman, 1992).

system occurred after the Crimean War, it is outside the purview of this dissertation, and will therefore not be discussed.¹³

The final point is the Duke of Wellington himself. Wellington's post-1818 career is the archetype of the nineteenth century soldier turned politician, and we can safely assume that the individuals explored in this chapter drew at least some inspiration from his career. Wellington returned from France in 1818 a national hero and served a variety of political and military roles until his death in 1852. He held, at one point or another, the offices of Prime Minister, Leader of the House of Lords, Commander-in-Chief, Foreign Secretary, Home Secretary, and Secretary of State for War and the Colonies. A lifelong Tory, Wellington championed Catholic Emancipation, staunchly opposed Reform, and served as the backbone of his party (although not always its head), until shortly before his death. Historians have, until the present generation, concentrated largely on Wellington's active military career. In comparison, those works that focus on his political activities are few in number, and have never been as popular.¹⁴ Works that have tried to encompass both, as Philip Guedella noted, tend to "falter" after Waterloo, as the narrative "dies away in a desultory stream of anecdote."¹⁵ In recent years, however, there has been a reappraisal of Wellington's political achievements, transforming him from "a politically naïve, public-

¹³ For the history and eventual reform of the purchase system, see Anthony P. C. Bruce, *The Purchase System in the British Army, 1660-1871* (London: Royal Historical Society, 1980); Michael Glover, "The Purchase of Commissions: A Reappraisal," *Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research* 58:236 (Winter 1980), 223-235; R. E. Scouller, "Purchase of Commissions and Promotions," *Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research* 62:252 (Winter 1984), 217-226.

¹⁴ See, for example, Gordon Corrigan, *Wellington: A Military Life* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2006); Richard Holmes, *Wellington: The Iron Duke* (London: Harper Collins, 2003); Arthur Bryant, *The Great Duke* (London: Harper Collins, 1971); Susan Buchan, *The Sword of State: Wellington After Waterloo* (London: Houghton Mifflin, 1928). For examples of those works that do concentrate on his career post-1815, see Neville Thompson, *Wellington After Waterloo* (London: Routledge, 1986); Rory Muir, *Wellington: Waterloo and the Fortunes of Peace, 1814-1852* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015); R. E. Foster, *Wellington and Waterloo: The Duke, the Battle and Posterity 1815-2015* (Gloucestershire: Spellmount, 2014); Longford, *Wellington: Pillar of State*.

¹⁵ Philip Guedella, *The Duke* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1931), ix.

spirited servant of the Crown, to a shrewd and capable party leader... far more complex... than the stiff, ingenuous hero of Victorian memory.”¹⁶

Besides being the archetype for post-military political service in general, Wellington also provides an excellent example of how to convert success in one into success in the other. His political views were of great advantage to him here, as a Tory government had been in power throughout his time in the Peninsula, benefiting from his successes and allowing him to form crucial partnerships.¹⁷ In addition, thanks to his multiple titles, Wellington did not have to run for Parliament, but merely take his place in the House of Lords. These factors combined to allow him to return home directly into a cabinet position: Master-General of the Ordnance in Lord Liverpool’s Tory government, a position he occupied almost until he assumed the office of Prime Minister in 1828. Wellington’s political and personal influence throughout his life remained significant, and he does play a role in several of the events and political careers examined in this chapter. However, as Wellington is perhaps the one Waterloo veteran to have been fully examined by scholars, he will not play a central role in this chapter, but instead serve as background to those individuals previously mentioned.¹⁸

Political Veterans

Field Marshal Sir Henry Hardinge, 1st Viscount Hardinge, followed the Duke of Wellington’s lead in career and politics. Born the 3rd son of the Reverend Henry Hardinge, Rector of Stanhope, he was

¹⁶ Muir, *Wellington: Waterloo and the Fortunes of Peace*, x-xi.

¹⁷ Most notably with Robert Stewart, Viscount Castlereagh, see Adam Zamoyski, *Rites of Peace: The Fall of Napoleon and the Congress of Vienna* (New York: Harper, 2008); Henry Kissinger, *A World Restored: Metternich, Castlereagh and the Problems of Peace 1812-1822* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1954); Luke A. L. Reynolds, “Shadow of the Flag: Military Occupation and Military Modernization in the British Army” (M.A. thesis, Hunter College, City University of New York, 2011), chapter 3. Those partnerships were not, it should be noted, always easy to build or preserve. Joshua Moon, *Wellington’s Two-Front War: The Peninsular Campaigns, at Home and Abroad, 1808-1814* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2011).

¹⁸ For further details on Wellington’s political career, the new standard work is Muir, *Wellington: Waterloo and the Fortunes of Peace*. Several older works are also worth investigating, most notably Elizabeth Longford, *Wellington: Pillar of State* (New York: Harper, 1972), John Severn, *Architects of Empire: The Duke of Wellington and his Brothers* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2007), and C. M. Woolgar, ed. *Wellington Studies III* (Southampton: Hartley Institute, University of Southampton, 1999).

educated at Durham School before entering the army as an Ensign in the Queen's Rangers in 1799 at the age of 14. Five years later, thanks to a series of promotions by purchase, he was a captain in the 57th (West Middlesex) Regiment of Foot. In 1806 he was sent to the relatively new Staff College, then located at the Antelope Inn in High Wycombe, whose stated purpose was to train future commanders and staff officers through a two-year course. Hardinge emerged in 1808 and saw action in Portugal at Rolica, Vimeiro, and in Spain at Corunna, where he was by Sir John Moore's side when the latter was fatally struck by a cannon ball in the left breast. In the aftermath of that campaign and the early months of Wellington's arrival in the Peninsula, he was promoted to Major and appointed deputy-quartermaster-general in the Portuguese Army. He served throughout the Peninsular War and was present at several of the major battles of that campaign, rising to command the Portuguese Brigade in Wellington's army in the 1814 invasion of France. Having gained a reputation within the British army as a diplomatic soldier and an excellent liaison, he was attached to Blücher's staff in the Prussian army in 1815 as a brigadier and lost his left hand at the Battle of Ligny in Waterloo Campaign. He remained with the Prussian Army throughout the occupation and returned to Britain in 1818.¹⁹ In 1820 he sought election as the MP for the City of Durham, the main town in his home county. He stood as the Tory candidate, and local papers' description of him as "a gallant officer" suggest he highlighted his military service in order to win over voters.²⁰ His election bid was successful, and he served as the MP for Durham for the next ten years.

Two aspects of Hardinge's Durham elections are worth exploring in detail as they are circumstances shared by most of the Waterloo MPs. The first is Hardinge's friendship with Charles, Lord Stewart, also known as Lord Londonderry and, after 1822, the 3rd Marquess of Londonderry, which is

¹⁹ Dalton, *Waterloo Roll Call*, 97; David J. Howlett, 'Hardinge, Henry, first Viscount Hardinge of Lahore (1785–1856)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2013, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/12271>.

²⁰ General Election, *Caledonian Mercury*, February 19, 1820, Issue 15362.

illustrative of the type of influential connection enjoyed by several Waterloo MPs.²¹ The second is Hardinge's relationship with Durham itself, which highlights a form of loyalty worth exploring.

Hardinge and Londonderry enjoyed a close friendship, forged during their joint service through all six years of the Peninsular War, although Londonderry was not present at Waterloo, instead serving with his half-brother, Lord Castlereagh, at the Congress of Vienna.²² The strength of their friendship can be judged by the fact that Hardinge acted as Londonderry's second in a duel with Cornet Battier in 1823, despite the tenuous legality and obvious conflict of interest of the duel (see Chapter V).²³ The duel caused some trouble for Hardinge, who was criticized in the press and threatened with a horsewhip in Westminster.²⁴ This friendship, thanks in part to incidents such as the duel, came to the attention of the radical press, who identified it as a classic example of what reformer William Cobbett termed "Old Corruption."²⁵ Londonderry had extensive influence in Durham, and *The Standard* reported that "the alleged influence of the Marquis of Londonderry upon the return of members for the city" was hotly debated at electoral meetings.²⁶ Hardinge certainly acted in his friend's interest on occasion. In 1825, during a debate over the proposed Tees and Weardale Railway, Hardinge informed the house that he opposed the bill as the line ran too close to Londonderry's estate.²⁷ Three years later, Alexander Robertson, one of the directors of the East India Company (a company that was perfectly familiar with "Old Corruption"), ran against Hardinge in the 1828 election on an anti-corruption platform. Robertson and his supporters accused Londonderry of "alleged interest... upon the return of members [of

²¹ Charles Stewart inherited the marquessate from his half-brother Robert Stewart, more traditionally known as Viscount Castlereagh, upon the latter's suicide in 1822. He adopted his wife's name of Vane by royal license in 1829.

²² Adam Zamoyski, *Rites of Peace*.

²³ Archibald Alison, *The Lives of Lord Castlereagh and Sir Charles Stewart, the Second and Third Marquesses of Londonderry with annals of contemporary events in which they bore a part* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons, 1861), 3:268-269.

²⁴ Varieties - Mr. Battier, *Liverpool Mercury*, May 28, 1824, Issue 679.

²⁵ Philip Harling, *The Waning of 'Old Corruption': The Politics of Economical Reform in Britain, 1779-1846* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 1.

²⁶ Durham City Election, *The Standard*, February 5, 1828, Issue 224.

²⁷ Imperial Parliament, *The Morning Chronicle*, March 5, 1825, Issue 17436.

Parliament] for the city of Durham,” claiming that Durham had materially suffered from Londonderry’s active opposition to George Canning’s coalition government.²⁸ It is significant that none of the criticism touched on the military nature of Hardinge and Londonderry’s friendship, and there was no suggestion that corruption and jobbery were any better or worse, clad in military scarlet than civilian black.

Robertson’s campaign was not successful, either thanks to Londonderry’s influence or genuine support for Hardinge, who won the election by the significant margin of 289 to 76.²⁹ This news, *The Morning Post* reported, was greeted by “loud and long-continued cheers,” before “Sir Henry was immediately chaired round the city.”³⁰ He later held a celebratory dinner for his friends and supporters at the Waterloo Inn, an establishment chosen, it is safe to assume, to further reinforce Hardinge’s connection with that victory.

Hardinge’s decisive result, and the way it was celebrated, also highlights his relationship to Durham and the importance of local loyalties to at least some Waterloo MPs. Hardinge, as has been noted, was born in the county of Durham, and was educated in the city’s oldest school. His connections to the county and city were so strong that even when he was representing the rotten Cornwall borough of Newport during the early debates on the Great Reform Act in 1831 he rose to defend Durham’s representation. “He had,” he informed his fellow MPs, “represented the city of Durham for several years in that House, and he should be anxious, in the present struggle for Representatives, to obtain as large a share for that county, being closely connected with it, as was consistent with justice.”³¹ This loyalty to county is often overlooked in military histories, but should not be discounted. The geographical associations of British army regiments (the 52nd Oxfordshire, the 27th Inniskilling, or the 62nd Wiltshire, to give three examples) were not an administrative convenience, but instead represented (ideally) the main recruiting grounds and headquarters of the regiment. The result was a strand of county loyalty

²⁸ Durham City Election, *The Standard*, February 5, 1828, Issue 224.

²⁹ Elections, *The Morning Post*, February 11, 1828, Issue 17833.

³⁰ Elections, *The Morning Post*, February 11, 1828, Issue 17833.

³¹ House of Commons debate, August 5, 1831, Hansard Vol. 5, Column 855-856.

that was not only woven through both military and civilian life, but also, as recent scholarship has demonstrated, crossed and sometimes eliminated that divide.³² It is therefore conceivable that for some Waterloo MPs, the possibility of serving their county as well as their country added an additional motivation to the other benefits of Parliamentary service.

Hardinge served as MP for four separate boroughs during his 24-year career in the lower house. From 1820 to 1830 he represented, as mentioned, the City of Durham. From 1830-1831 and 1831-1832 he represented the two rotten boroughs of St. Germans and Newport, respectively, before they were both abolished by the 1832 Reform Act. From 1832 to 1844 he represented the Cornwall borough of Launceston, and from 1846 to his death in 1856 he sat in the House of Lords as Viscount Hardinge. Throughout his career he maintained conservative views and aligned himself first with the Tory and later the Conservative party. He spoke on a variety of issues in the house, but he was always at his most voluble on military issues. He also went out of his way to continue to be identified with both Wellington and Waterloo, as demonstrated by his attendance at various dinners and his presence on and support of Wellington's 1827 tour of northern England.³³

General Sir George de Lacy Evans presents an interesting contrast to Hardinge. Born in Limerick, he was educated at the Woolwich Military Academy before volunteering in 1806 for the 22nd (Cheshire) Regiment, who gave him an ensigncy a year later. He saw service in India, before exchanging into the 3rd Light Dragoons to serve in the Peninsular War. After being present at the majority of battles in that conflict, he was sent to America in 1814, where he served as quartermaster general for Major General

³² Jennine Hurl-Eamon, "Son, Husband, Brother, and Townsman: Connections Between Military and Civilian Worlds in Eighteenth-Century Britain" (paper presented at the annual meeting of the Society for Military History, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada, April 14-17, 2016).

³³ Sir Robert Peel Amongst the Money-Mongers, *Cobbett's Weekly Political Register*, May 16, 1835, Issue 7; The Duke of Wellington's Reception at Stockton, *The Morning Post*, September 28, 1827, Issue 17719; The Duke of Wellington's visit to Newcastle, *The Morning Chronicle*, October 2, 1827, Issue 18112; Visit of the Duke of Wellington to the City of Durham, *The Morning Post*, October 6, 1827, Issue 17726; The Duke of Wellington: Visit of His Grace to Stockton, *The Standard*, October 8, 1827, Issue 121.

Robert Ross at the Battle of Bladensburg and the burning of Washington. He was wounded at the Battle of New Orleans and returned to Europe in time to serve as an Aide-de-Camp (ADC) to Major General Sir William Ponsonby at Quatre Bras and Waterloo. From 1835 to 1837 he commanded the volunteer British Legion in support of the liberal Queen Isabella II of Spain in the First Carlist War and, despite being in his sixties, commanded the 2nd Division of the British Army during the Crimean War.³⁴ His extensive military career is particularly interesting considering his political reputation – he made no secret of his belief in reform, and one of his biographers went so far as to christen him the “Radical General.”³⁵

De Lacy Evans served in Parliament for nearly 40 years. In 1830 and from 1831 to 1832 he represented Rye; from 1833 to 1841 and 1846 to 1865, he was one of the two MPs for Westminster. Despite being the seat of British government, Westminster had a reputation for electing radicals, and when de Lacy Evans retired in 1865, it was widely rumored that the Conservative Party would not even campaign, as they were “not willing to waste their energies on such a wild constituency.”³⁶ His support for the 1832 Reform Act will be discussed below, but his support for other reform measures is worth mentioning. He was against the Corn Laws, going so far as to speak publicly on the subject at anti-Corn Law dinners and gatherings.³⁷ Even more radically, as early as 1850 he introduced into Commons an amendment to the franchise that would have given the vote to every man who paid income tax “or was assessed to the poor-rate upon not less than £5 annual value,” as long as they had been residing and paying in that location for over a year.³⁸ Despite continuing in an active-service capacity within the British army long after Hardinge, de Lacy Evans did not go out of his way to be identified with Waterloo.

³⁴ Dalton, *Waterloo Roll Call*, 19-20, 275-276; Edward M. Spiers, ‘Evans, Sir George de Lacy (1787–1870)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/8960>.

³⁵ Edward M. Spiers, *Radical General: Sir George de Lacy Evans, 1787-1870* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1983).

³⁶ London Correspondence, *Trewman’s Exeter Flying Post or Plymouth and Cornish Advertiser*, February 15, 1865, Issue 5152.

³⁷ Anti-Corn Law Dinner, *The Bristol Mercury*, January 4, 1840, Issue 2600.

³⁸ Imperial Parliament, *Lloyd’s Weekly Newspaper*, July 14, 1850, Issue 399.

He did maintain a pro-military stance, defending the regular army in a debate over the Militia Bill in the run up to the Crimean War, and encouraging Britain to use her power in ways that would be “beneficial to popular liberty.”³⁹ That military activity and stance did not come without a price; while his radical colleagues stayed silent on his day-to-day allegiances, he was criticized by the *Morning Chronicle* for his absence from Parliament due to the Crimea, and it was reported that he returned from the conflict in poor health.⁴⁰

Colonel Thomas Henry Hastings Davies is a classic example of the wealthy gentry soldier. The eldest son of Thomas Davies, Advocate-General of the East India Company, Davies began his military career as an ensign in the 52nd (Oxfordshire) Regiment of Foot in 1804. By 1808 he had purchased his Lieutenancy and Captaincy, and in 1809 exchanged into the 1st Foot Guards. He served throughout the Peninsular war and at Waterloo with that regiment and was later appointed Lieutenant Colonel of the *Chasseurs Britanniques* and Colonel of the 6th Dragoons.⁴¹ Davies’ involvement in politics began in 1818 when he contested the Worcester City election. He emerged victorious, but not without cost – the *Morning Chronicle* estimated his election spending to be over £10,000.⁴² He represented Worcester for a total of 20 years – from 1818 to 1834 and again from 1837 until he retired in 1841.

Davies’ military record was brought up on both sides during his initial campaigning. When nominated for the position, his seconder “point[ed] him out as a man of family and independent fortune, &c. particularly adverting to the part he took in the memorable battle of Waterloo” and concluding that Davies’ “services on that great day... entitled him to the respect and protection of his

³⁹ Imperial Parliament, *Lloyd’s Weekly Newspaper*, May 9, 1852, Issue 494; Affairs of Portugal, *Lloyd’s Weekly Newspaper*, July 11, 1847, Issue 242.

⁴⁰ Missing Representatives, *Morning Chronicle*, September 30, 1856, Issue 28007.

⁴¹ Dalton, *Waterloo Roll Call*, 101; Sylvanus Urban, *The Gentleman’s Magazine* (London: John Bower Nichols and Son, 1847), 310-311.

⁴² General Election, *Morning Chronicle*, May 26, 1818, Issue 15309.

countrymen.”⁴³ Davies’ service appears to have been a regular theme with his other campaigners, for his opponent took issue with it and attacked Davies on the stump, admitting that he had not been at Waterloo, but saying if he had he would not have “made a parade of his conduct, as it best became men to be silent on their own merits.”⁴⁴ Davies, for his part, denied “such an act of vanity,” and did not go out of his way to mention his military service directly on the campaign trail. He did allude to it, however, to counter accusations that he was untested (“the best criterion of a man’s conduct for the future was to examine how he had conducted himself during the past”), to excuse his blunt manner of speaking, and with some legitimacy, to point out that “with regard to his loyalty, he trusted that the circumstances of his holding his different commissions in the army for fourteen years would sufficiently satisfy every one that he sincerely loved his King.”⁴⁵ As a final gesture to those worried about his service, and in an interesting contrast with de Lacy Evans, Davies resigned his active commission before running for Parliament. It should be noted however, that his stated reason for this was because of the dual demands on his time, not his loyalty, as he insisted that “my commission as an officer in the Guards never could have affected my independence.”⁴⁶

Davies took his loyalty and service to Worcester seriously, enjoying the same kind of local connection as Hardinge. He purchased, in 1822, the estate of Elmley Castle, roughly 13 miles from Worcester, and lived there for the rest of life.⁴⁷ He was a regular figure at civic gatherings, such as feasts and county meetings, as well as any and all political gatherings.⁴⁸ He qualified, in 1825, and subsequently served, as a magistrate.⁴⁹ He represented Worcester’s interests in the House, pushing for

⁴³ *The Late Elections* (London: Bensley and sons for Pinnock and Maunder, 1818), 414.

⁴⁴ *The Late Elections*, 414-415.

⁴⁵ *The Late Elections*, 418; Dinner to Colonel Davies & Mr. Robinson, *Barrow’s Worcester Journal*, January 22, 1835, Issue 6889.

⁴⁶ *The Late Elections*, 414.

⁴⁷ *A History of the County of Worcester* (London: Victoria County History, 1913), Volume 3, 338-346.

⁴⁸ Worcester Civic Feast, *Morning Post*, October 14, 1825, Issue 17104; Worcester County Meeting, *Barrow’s Worcester Journal*, November 10, 1831, Issue 6722.

⁴⁹ Worcester, *Morning Post*, October 26, 1825, Issue 17114.

the reform and repeal of the Corn Laws and at one point calling for a Parliamentary Committee to enquire into Worcester's failing glove trade.⁵⁰ While it is difficult to judge his popularity outside of his political supporters, the fact that he was unopposed in five out of the eight elections he was involved in does suggest that Worcester's electorate were happy with him.⁵¹

Within the confines of Westminster, Davies' loyalties are also worth examining, as they are more complicated than they would appear. He was in favor of Catholic Emancipation, against the Corn Laws, and voted for the 1832 Reform Bill.⁵² He was a member of the Fox Club and Brooks's Club, both Whig/Liberal strongholds.⁵³ The press largely identified him with that side of politics: the *Bradford Observer* described him as a "staunch Liberal," the *Leeds Mercury* referred to his well-known "liberal principles," and even the Supplement to the radical *Black Book* described him as "a valuable member."⁵⁴ Despite this, Davies saw himself as an independent, voting his conscience rather than any party line, and coming under criticism when he did not vote as an ideal "Liberal Reformer."⁵⁵ Despite voting consistently with the Whigs and later Liberals, he did not formally declare any party loyalty.⁵⁶ He denounced "Radical Agitators" in favor of men of reform principles "whose wish was to preserve and improve our institutions," while being "for reduction of influence of the crown."⁵⁷ Davies was relatively vocal in the house, with records of him speaking over one hundred times on a variety of both civilian

⁵⁰ House of Commons Debate, May 5, 1826, *Historic Hansard*, Vol. 15, Column 949-950; *Essex Standard*, February 4, 1832, Issue 57.

⁵¹ *Gentleman's Magazine* 1847, 310-311.

⁵² House of Commons Debate, May 5, 1826, *Historic Hansard*, Vol. 15, Column 949-950; House of Commons Debate, February 15, 1825, *Historic Hansard*, Vol. 12, Column 521-522; R.B. Mosse, *The Parliamentary Guide: A Concise Biography of the Members of Both Houses of Parliament, Their Connections, Etc.* (London: A.H. Baily & Co, 1837), 154.

⁵³ Anniversary of Mr. Fox's Birth, *Morning Chronicle*, January 25, 1819, Issue 15518; R. Thorne, ed., *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons 1790-1820* (London: Secker and Warburg, 1986), Volume I, 572.

⁵⁴ The General Election, *Bradford Observer*, July 27, 1837, issue 182; General Election – Nominations, *Leeds Mercury*, July 29, 1837, Issue 5405; *The Black Book. Supplement to the Black Book; or Corruption Unmasked!!* (London: John Fairburn, 1823), Vol. II: 150.

⁵⁵ The King's Speech, *Ipswich Journal*, February 9, 1833, Issue 4951; Worcester, *Morning Post*, January 7, 1835, Issue 19995.

⁵⁶ Thorne, *Commons 1790-1820*, I:572.

⁵⁷ Dinner to Colonel Davies & Mr. Robinson, *Berrow's Worcester Journal*, December 20, 1832, Issue 6780; *Supplement to the Black Book*, II: 150.

and military issues. His position as a staunch critic of military spending made him a fixture of the Army Estimates debates, and his contributions to those will be discussed below.

The final soldier-politician examined in detail in this section is Lord Edward Somerset, the third son of Henry Somerset, 5th Duke of Beaufort and older brother of Fitzroy Somerset, Wellington's military secretary and later Baron Raglan.⁵⁸ Lord Edward Somerset was a career cavalry officer, who joined the 15th Light Dragoons in 1793 and rose, by 1800, to the rank of Lieutenant Colonel. He commanded the 4th Dragoons in the early years of the Peninsular War, before his conduct at Salamanca won him promotion to Major General and command of the Hussar Brigade for the remainder of that conflict. He served as an aide-de-camp for both the Duke of York and King George III and commanded the Household Brigade at Waterloo. He remained with the Army of Occupation in France after the war, before eventually returning to England.⁵⁹

Somerset matched his long military career with a long political one, representing Monmouth from 1799 to 1802, Gloucestershire from 1803-1831, and Cirencester from 1834-1837. Following his family tradition (his father was a friend of William Pitt the Younger), he was conservative in outlook, and while he rarely spoke in Parliament, he tended to vote the Tory line. He voted against Catholic Emancipation, and on one of the rare occasions when he spoke in the House, distanced himself from an 1831 petition from Gloucester, which he was required to present, and which supported reform, stating "he could not concur in the prayer of the petition, being of opinion that the measure, if carried into effect, would be subversive of the Constitution."⁶⁰ What makes Somerset notable is the extensive chronological overlap between his military and political service. His diary from his time with the Army of Occupation in France records four separate trips to London between 1815 and 1817, one explicitly for a

⁵⁸ His full name was Lord Robert Edward Henry Somerset.

⁵⁹ E. M. Lloyd, 'Somerset, Lord (Robert) Edward Henry (1776–1842)', rev. John Sweetman, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/26014>.

⁶⁰ House of Commons Debate, March 24, 1831, *Historic Hansard*, Vol. 3, Column 860. <http://hansard.millbanksystems.com/commons/1831/mar/24/reform-petitions>

vote in Parliament.⁶¹ If Somerset can be taken as representative of a well-off officer representing a “safe” family seat, then it is safe to assume that soldier-politicians made at least some effort to fulfill the duties of both their offices.

It is also briefly worth mentioning Captain Rees Howell Gronow, the eldest son of a Welsh gentry family, educated at Eton where he was an intimate of Percy Shelley. After Eton he entered the Grenadier Guards (then simply the 1st Regiment of Foot Guards) and served in Spain and later at Quatre Bras and Waterloo. He remained in the army until 1821 when he sold his commission.⁶² In 1831 he unsuccessfully contested Great Grimsby. A year later he succeeded in being elected for Stafford, but the election was declared void due to extensive bribery. He tried for Stafford again in the next election but was defeated. This string of defeats is intriguing, especially for a man who, despite constant financial troubles, ran in the highest levels of society and was described as a contemporary of George “Beau” Brummell.⁶³ His unsuccessful Parliamentary bids, despite his good looks, charm, and service, demonstrate that association with Waterloo was not enough, on its own, to win an election: the voters of Britain required more of their candidates than a Waterloo Medal.

Parliamentary Battles

Having explored the political careers of five of the Waterloo MPs, this chapter will now examine five of the significant debates of the day. Two of these, Catholic Emancipation (1829) and the Great Reform Act (1832) were of great interest not only to Parliament but also to the general population. The other three, the annual Army estimates, British involvement in the First Carlist War, and the abolition or

⁶¹ Diary of Lord R. E. H. Somerset, 1815-1817, Bodleian Library Special Collections, Bodleian Library, University of Oxford.

⁶² Dalton, *Waterloo Roll Call*, 103.

⁶³ Christopher Hibbert, ed., *Captain Gronow: His Reminiscences of Regency and Victorian Life 1810-1860* (London: Kyle Cathie Ltd., 1991); Christopher Hibbert, "Gronow, Rees Howell (1794–1865), writer." *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004, <http://www.oxforddnb.com.i.ezproxy.nypl.org/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-11654>.

preservation of flogging, were much more focused on the military, although they attracted their fair share of outside attention.

The debate about Catholic Emancipation, which culminated in the Roman Catholic Relief Act of 1829, took place during the first premiership of the Duke of Wellington, and it is his support that is widely credited with forcing it through. There is some academic debate over why Wellington changed his mind on Catholic Emancipation. Recent work has suggested that the reversal was purely pragmatic and based on growing popular support.⁶⁴ Others have credited Wellington's older brother, Richard, 1st Marquess Wellesley, and his pro-emancipation stance while Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland.⁶⁵ There is also a popular belief that Wellington's position changed while leading his army (which contained a large contingent of Irish Catholics) in Portugal and Spain. What is of interest here, however, is not his motivation but his means of securing victory. The battle for Catholic Emancipation was not fought in the House of Commons, where a majority supported the idea, but in the House of Lords, which put Wellington, rather than his ally Sir Robert Peel, in the front line. Wellington made a number of speeches on the subject, and not a single one makes mention of the number of Irish Catholics present in the armed forces (at the time over 40% of the British Army was Irish), nor their crucial contribution to British victories on the continent.⁶⁶ His focus, instead, was on the increasing popular support for the Act, and the simultaneously escalating danger of ignoring popular opinion. Passage of the Act would, as he argued in the House of Lords on April 8, 1829, "produce tranquility, and ... prevent the effusion of blood

⁶⁴ Although it should be noted that growing popular support, and indeed his brother's support in the Act did much less to sway the Duke on reform three years later. Muir, *Wellington: 1814-1852*, 124-125, 220-227; Mosse, *The Parliamentary Guide*, xiii.

⁶⁵ Michael D. De Michele, "Richard Colley Wellesley: An Anglo-Irish Advocate of Catholic Emancipation," *American Benedictine Review* 21:7 (1970): 254-267

⁶⁶ Edward Coss' *British Soldier Compendium*, which compiles the complete records of 14 infantry regiments, 4 cavalry regiments, and a selected pool of artillery battalions puts the percentage of Irishmen serving at 29.58%. Coss, *All For the King's Shilling*, 244-247; Arthur Wellesley, Duke of Wellington, *The Speeches of the Duke of Wellington in Parliament*, ed., John Gurwood (London: John Murray, 1854), I:173-312; Richard Holmes, *Redcoat: The British Soldier in the Age of Horse and Musket* (London: Harper Collins, 2001), 55, 59.

in Ireland.”⁶⁷ It is with this argument, rather than any reference to military matters, that Wellington secured the passage of the Act. In the aftermath of Catholic Emancipation, the conservative elements of both houses split. Charles Gordon-Lennox, Wellington’s former staff-member and ADC, led the Ultra-Tories out of their traditional alliance with the Tories and into a new one with Earl Grey’s Whigs, with whom they formed a coalition after the fall of Wellington’s government in 1830.⁶⁸ The Ultras had been formed specifically to counter Catholic Emancipation, and it was Wellington’s ability to push the bill through that convinced them that reform was needed.

The 1832 Great Reform Act, formally known as the Representation of the People Act, provides another example of the Waterloo MPs aligning with personal and party loyalties rather than acting as a single block. The 1837 *Parliamentary Guide*, which provided biographical data on the members of both houses, along with their voting history on several significant issues, shatters any lasting impression that Wellington’s generalship continued beyond the official end of the war. Of the nineteen Waterloo veterans voting on the Great Reform Act, seven joined Wellington to vote no (six in Commons and one in Lords), while eleven voted for the Act (nine in Commons, two in Lords). The voting breaks down largely along party lines, with the exception of Gordon-Lennox, who threw the Ultras behind the Whigs and reform, and Henry Paget, 1st Marquess of Anglesey, who, as a Canningite Tory, was in the process of moving from the Tories to the Whigs.⁶⁹ A note should be made here of Rowland Hill, at that time 1st Baron Hill, who held both a seat in the House of Lords and the appointment of Commander-in-Chief of

⁶⁷ Wellesley, *The Speeches of the Duke of Wellington*, 291.

⁶⁸ R.W. Davis, “The Duke of Wellington and the Ultra Peers,” in Woolgar, ed., *Wellington Studies III*; D.G.S. Simes, “A Long and Difficult Association: the Ultra Tories and ‘the Great Apostate,’” in Woolgar, ed., *Wellington Studies III*.

⁶⁹ The vote breakdown was as follows: For in Commons: John George Lennox, Arthur Hill, Francis Russell, George de Lacy Evans, John Byng, Charles Fitzroy, Richard Weyland, Thomas Henry Hastings Davies, George Anson. For in Lords: Charles Gordon Lennox, Duke of Richmond, Henry Paget, Marquess of Anglesey. Against in Commons: Horace Beauchamp Seymour, Colquhoun Grant, William Tyrwhitt Drake, Edward Kerrison, Henry Hardinge, Beaumont Hotham. Against in Lords: Arthur Wellesley, Duke of Wellington, John James, Earl Waldergrave. Mosse, *The Parliamentary Guide*, vii-xiv, 127-236; Second Reading of the Reform Bill, *Hampshire Advertiser*, December 24, 1831, Issue 440; The Reform Bill, *Manchester Times and Gazette*, December 24, 1831, Issue 167.

the Forces.⁷⁰ A long-term and trusted friend and subordinate of Wellington, Hill had taken over as Commander-in-Chief when Wellington became Prime Minister in 1828. Wellington had seen nothing wrong with combining the most powerful civilian and military offices in his person, and it was only political intervention that persuaded him to announce Hill as his military successor.⁷¹ Whether it was his memory of that proto-scandal or a rare belief in the further separation of active command and government, Hill abstained from voting on the Reform Act.⁷²

We now turn to those Parliamentary debates concerned with military issues: Army estimates, the First Carlist War, and flogging. Neither of these have the same chronological focus as either Catholic Emancipation or Reform. The Army estimates had to be passed annually, and, as flogging was not eliminated from the British Army until 1868, the debates on it in this period mark a series of failed attempts to ban its practice earlier.⁷³

As the Napoleonic Wars receded into memory, the budget allocated for the British Army did the same, dropping from £43 million in 1815 to £10.7 million in 1820 to below £8 million by 1836.⁷⁴ Davies, who was first elected in 1818, was a prominent figure in these early debates, and soon established himself as the most vocal military opponent to an inflated army budget. An 1821 internal Tory memo on the opposition puts Davies alongside Thomas Creevey, Henry Grey Bennet, and Joseph Hume, three of the Commons' most famous radicals.⁷⁵ Creevey, Bennet, and Hume's views of the military and its expenditure can best be summed up in the 1827 Army estimates debate, where Hume declared that he

⁷⁰ He was later elevated to Viscount Hill.

⁷¹ Henry Heath and S. W. Fores, *The Double Dealer*, 1828, London, The British Museum, BM Satires 15509, 1868,0808.8848; Richard Gaunt, "Wellington in petticoats: the Duke as Caricature," in Woolgar, ed., *Wellington Studies IV*.

⁷² Mosse, *The Parliamentary Guide*, x.

⁷³ House of Commons Debate, January 28, 1913, Historic Hansard Vol. 47, Column 1158.

http://hansard.millbanksystems.com/commons/1913/jan/28/flooding#S5CV0047P0_19130128_HOC_73

⁷⁴ Peter Burroughs, "An Unreformed Army? 1815-1868" in *The Oxford History of the British Army*, eds. David G. Chandler and Ian Beckett (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), 163-164.

⁷⁵ Lord Harrowby to Lord Castlereagh, March 8, 1821, quoted in D. R. Fisher, ed., *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons 1820-1832* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

“objected in the strongest manner to the great amount of the army. He objected to it in a constitutional sense; he objected to it in point of expense; and because he did not think it necessary to the exigencies of the country.”⁷⁶ While it is safe to say that Davies did not object to the Army as a whole on constitutional grounds, he objected strenuously to its inefficiency and waste. In one of his first contributions to the Army estimates debates, Davies demonstrated how, by expanding regimental and battalion size while shrinking the number of regiments, Horse Guards would save £120,000 without reducing the military effectiveness of the Army. To fully investigate this level of waste, he proposed to refer “the entire military and colonial expenditure to a select committee,” a plan which was ultimately unsuccessful.⁷⁷

When it came to the Army’s budget, however, Davies was the exception. The voices of almost all of Waterloo’s veteran-MPs were united against military budget cuts. The preservation of military effectiveness, at home and especially abroad, was a favorite argument of those who sought to preserve or even raise the Army’s budget. Hardinge, in the 1841 debate, insisted that

the army estimates of the present year did not go far enough. The pressure on the troops, in consequence of the increased duties in the colonies, had become much greater within the last few years. He was satisfied, if the system was not soon altered, the pressure would become so great on the battalions of the line; as to deteriorate the character of the army, and within a short time it would be in such a state as to prevent its giving the requisite relief to the colonies.⁷⁸

Those who demanded a reduction in army size and expenditure due to European peace, the pro-military faction argued, were ignoring Britain’s increased colonial demands. Sir Hussey Vivian, a Liberal MP who would have sat across the aisle from Hardinge, joined forces with him in this debate, noting “under the present system, colonial service bore very hard on the soldiers of the British army; that system was not

⁷⁶ House of Commons Debate, February 19, 1827, *Historic Hansard*, Vol. 16, Column 575.
<http://hansard.millbanksystems.com/commons/1827/feb/19/army-estimates>

⁷⁷ *Berrow’s Worcester Journal*, May 9, 1833, Issue 6800.

⁷⁸ House of Commons debate on Army Estimates, March 5, 1841, *Historic Hansard* Vol. 56, Column 1374.
http://hansard.millbanksystems.com/commons/1841/mar/05/supply-army-estimates#S3V0056P0_18410305_HOC_69

one calculated to meet the great demand on the British army in consequence of the great increase of our Colonies, the increase of the army had not kept pace with the increase of the duties they were required to perform.”⁷⁹

On average, Parliament approved the Army estimates as they were presented by the government, and amendments added in the house, whether to increase or decrease the allotted funds, were unsuccessful.⁸⁰ This does not mean, however, that the Parliamentary debates should be dismissed out of hand. They presented, for various members, the opportunity to express disappointment or approval as well as to put forward their own ideas. In addition, if Horse Guards and the government could agree on one thing, it was that they did not want the full weight of Parliamentary and, through that, the public, to focus on certain aspects of the estimates. On May 8, 1833, Hardinge wrote to Wellington to introduce Edward Elice, a clerk in the War Office who had been given the unenviable job of reworking the Foot Guards pay scheme so that the Guards would be satisfied with a budget “which would bear public examination in the House of Commons.”⁸¹ The result was a fine bit of financial reorganization that kept the Guards on almost the same footing while not raising any questions in Commons.⁸²

Military education was another favorite topic of complaint on both sides of the aisle. In 1832 Hardinge lamented how little was allotted to the Royal Military College, observing that the £2638. 11s

⁷⁹ House of Commons debate on Army Estimates, March 5, 1841, *Historic Hansard* Vol. 56, Column 1392. http://hansard.millbanksystems.com/commons/1841/mar/05/supply-army-estimates#S3V0056P0_18410305_HOC_69

⁸⁰ See, for example, House of Commons Debate on Army Estimates, February 25, 1828, *Historic Hansard* Vol 18, Columns 664-669. http://hansard.millbanksystems.com/commons/1828/feb/25/army-estimates#S2V0018P0_18280225_HOC_28; House of Commons Debate on Army Estimates, March 27, 1835, *Historic Hansard* Vol 27, Columns 315-357. http://hansard.millbanksystems.com/commons/1835/mar/27/supply-army-estimates#S3V0027P0_18350327_HOC_17; House of Commons Debate on Army Estimates, February 27, 1843, *Historic Hansard* Vol 66, Columns 1358-1376. http://hansard.millbanksystems.com/commons/1843/feb/27/army-estimates#S3V0066P0_18430227_HOC_60

⁸¹ Hardinge to Wellington, 8 May, 1833, Wellington Papers, Hartley Library, University of Southampton, WP2/4/10.

⁸² Edward Elice to Wellington, 31 December, 1833, Wellington Papers, WP2/7/90.

1d. allocated to the institution was less than a tenth of the £30,000 spent by France and the United States.⁸³

In addition to warnings that the Army would not be able to keep up with Britain's colonial obligations, the Waterloo MPs raised objections that would begin to sound very familiar to anyone investigating the British Army's conduct in the Crimea in years to come. In 1841, Vivian, then Master-General of the Ordnance, complained that he did not have sufficient funds to fully equip the army with new percussion arms, which were in all ways superior to the flintlock muskets that the British infantry had been carrying for over a century.⁸⁴ The Waterloo MPs also supported calls for warm weather clothes, especially for those troops in extreme climates such as Upper Canada.⁸⁵ These points and objections made by the Waterloo MPs provide some interesting insight into the common explanation that the decline in British arms in the nineteenth century was due to the fact that no one cared.⁸⁶ Some did care, but their fellow MPs valued a tighter purse over a well-equipped army.

Another issue that partially transcended party lines was British involvement in the First Carlist War. The First Carlist War was a civil war that took place in Spain between 1833 and 1840. It was fought between the supporters of Isabella II, her regent Maria Christina, and their liberal vision for Spain's monarchy on one side, and the supporters of Carlos de Borbón, the brother of the previous king and an

⁸³ House of Commons debate on Army Estimates, April 4, 1832, Historic Hansard Vol. 11, Column 1282. http://hansard.millbanksystems.com/commons/1832/apr/04/supply-army-estimates#S3V0011P0_18320404_HOC_72

⁸⁴ The greatest advantage of percussion cap weapons being that they would fire in all weathers – a significant improvement over flintlock weapons which could be rendered useless by precipitation. House of Commons debate on Army Estimates, March 5, 1841, Historic Hansard Vol. 56, Columns 1391-1392. http://hansard.millbanksystems.com/commons/1841/mar/05/supply-army-estimates#S3V0056P0_18410305_HOC_69

⁸⁵ House of Commons debate on Army Estimates, March 22, 1839, Historic Hansard Vol. 46, Columns 1125, 1131. http://hansard.millbanksystems.com/commons/1839/mar/22/supply-army-estimates#S3V0046P0_18390322_HOC_5

⁸⁶ See Hew Strachan, *From Waterloo to Balaclava: Tactics, Technology, and the British Army, 1815-1854* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985); Hew Strachan, *Wellington's Legacy: The Reform of the British Army, 1830-54* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984); and John Strawson, *Beggars in Red: The British Army, 1789-1889* (Barnslet: Pen & Sword Military Classics, 2003).

advocate of absolutist monarchy on the other.⁸⁷ Britain and France, both constitutional monarchies, supported Isabella II. France sent its recently established Foreign Legion, while Britain lent its naval, economic, and industrial clout. While Britain did not technically send troops, it did suspend the Foreign Enlistment Bill and allowed the formation of the British Auxiliary Legion, which was largely made up of volunteers from army regiments, supported by serving members of the Royal Artillery and the Engineers.⁸⁸ It was this pseudo-involvement that caused some debate in Parliament. The Tory Marquess of Londonderry, a veteran of the Peninsular War, led the opposition, rising on several occasions in the House of Lords to question the wisdom, cost, and even legitimacy of Britain's support, and highlighting the dangers to the Legion by reading out Carlos de Borbón's promise that "All strangers above noticed who shall fall into our hands shall, after time being given them to perform their religious duties, be instantly shot."⁸⁹ There he was met by an cross-party alliance of the Whig Viscount Melbourne, then

⁸⁷ At the heart of Carlos de Borbón's claim was the fact that his brother, Ferdinand VII, had allied with the Cortes Generales to overturn Spain's historic Salic Law, which forbade women from inheriting the throne. Had the law not been overturned, he would have been Ferdinand's legal heir. For more on the war and its causes, see Mark Lawrence, *Spain's First Carlist War, 1833-40* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014).

⁸⁸ For a detailed history of the British Auxiliary Legion, see Martin Robson, "'Strangers, Mercenaries, Heretics, Scoffers, Polluters': Volunteering for the British Auxiliary Legion in Spain, 1835" in *Transnational Soldiers: Foreign Military Enlistment in the Modern Era*, eds. Nir Arielli and Bruce Collins (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012): 181-201; Edward M. Brett, *The British Auxiliary Legion in the First Carlist War 1835-1838* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2005); Moises Enrique Rodriguez, *Under the Flags of Freedom: British Mercenaries in the War of the Two Brothers, the First Carlist War, and the Greek War of Independence (1821-1840)* (Lanham: Hamilton Books, 2009), part 2. For a history of the Foreign Enlistment Bill, see Nir Arielli, Gabriela A. Frei, and Inge Van Hulle, "The Foreign Enlistment Act, International Law, and British Politics, 1819-2014," *The International History Review* 38:4 (2016): 636-656.

⁸⁹ House of Lords debate on Volunteers to Spain, July 2, 1835, Hansard Vol 29, Column 169.

<https://hansard.parliament.uk/Lords/1835-07-02/debates/48542b37-dd28-4cdb-9eef-7192bc14b7af/VolunteersToSpain>. See also House of Lords debate on Foreign Affairs – Spain, June 1, 1835, Hansard Vol 28, <https://hansard.parliament.uk/Lords/1835-06-01/debates/3fa5f253-c30f-4fa6-81b4-6d7e17007932/ForeignAffairs%E2%80%94Spain>; House of Lords debate on Foreign Affairs – Spain, June 2, 1835, Hansard Vol 28, Columns 338-339, <https://hansard.parliament.uk/Lords/1835-06-02/debates/6491d632-e33a-4056-85f6-65797d9c4d4f/ForeignAffairs%E2%80%94Spain>; House of Lords Debate on Spain – Order in Council, June 15, 1835, Hansard Vol 28, Columns 779-781, <https://hansard.parliament.uk/Lords/1835-06-15/debates/fff4c284-0a64-4679-ba4c-61333cbc0695/Spain%E2%80%94OrderInCouncil>; House of Lords Debate on the Civil War in Spain, February 12, 1836, Hansard Vol 31, Columns 312-324, <https://hansard.parliament.uk/Lords/1836-02-12/debates/435816e0-2088-49e2-98cd-fdd87857b092/TheCivilWarInSpain>. In fact, both sides treated prisoners poorly and often executed them, sometimes torturing them first. See Charles William Thompson, *Twelve Months in the British Legion by an Officer of the Ninth Regiment* (London: John Macrone, 1836), 129.

Prime Minister, and Wellington, then Leader of the Opposition in the House of Lords.⁹⁰ The alliance continued in the House of Commons. Given de Lacy Evans' role as the first commander of the British Auxiliary Legion, it should come as no surprise that he was in favor of it. What is more surprising is that Hardinge, a stalwart Tory and long-term friend of Londonderry, rose on at least one occasion to defend de Lacy Evans and the honor of the British soldiers who had joined the Legion.⁹¹

While party lines broke down somewhat over the issues of Army estimates and the First Carlist War, the subject of flogging eliminated them completely. During a debate on the subject in 1836, when de Lacy Evans was in Spain, his testimony on the subject and leadership style were brought up as an example by those who sought to abolish or at least curtail the practice.⁹² It was Hardinge who leapt to defend flogging, citing his own experience in the Peninsula and insisting, in a speech encompassing eight columns of Hansard, "that it was impossible to dispense with corporal punishments on service without endangering the efficiency of the army."⁹³ He recalled his time with the 57th Foot, a regiment whose behavior off the battlefield earned them so many lashes "that in Portugal they went by, and were known under, the nick-name of the 'steel-backs,'" but when on the field of battle "never did he see men, under circumstances of such peril and danger, conduct themselves with more bravery or

⁹⁰ House of Lords debate on Foreign Affairs – Spain, June 2, 1835, Hansard Vol 28, Columns 338-339, <https://hansard.parliament.uk/Lords/1835-06-02/debates/6491d632-e33a-4056-85f6-65797d9c4d4f/ForeignAffairs%E2%80%94Spain>; House of Lords Debate on Foreign Affairs – Spain, August 26, 1835, Hansard, Vol 30, Columns 980-1002, <https://hansard.parliament.uk/Lords/1835-08-26/debates/3d8148a2-2f26-47df-a95a-1af9e05b856b/ForeignAffairs%E2%80%94Spain>; House of Lords Debate on War in Spain, March 18, 1836, Hansard Vol 32, Columns 387-400, <https://hansard.parliament.uk/Lords/1836-03-18/debates/339abe50-8f37-4cc3-b513-5aeccd61cf52/WarInSpain>.

⁹¹ House of Commons debate on Affairs of Spain – Orders in Council, June 24, 1835, Hansard Vol 28, Columns 1177-1178, <https://hansard.parliament.uk/Commons/1835-06-24/debates/fff6a1ee-6525-4e1c-8c1d-ada2a2299edd/AffairsOfSpain%E2%80%94OrdersInCouncil>. Hardinge also defended de Lacy Evans' actions while in command of the Legion in Spain. See House of Commons Debate on Affairs of Spain, April 17, 1837, Hansard Vol 37, Columns 1329-1353, <https://hansard.parliament.uk/Commons/1837-04-17/debates/3affd5a7-2ec7-43c1-b51a-2a431c9eedea/AffairsOfSpain>.

⁹² House of Commons debate on the Mutiny Bill, April 13, 1836, Historic Hansard Vol 32, Columns 942-954. http://hansard.millbanksystems.com/commons/1836/apr/13/military-flogging#S3V0032P0_18360413_HOC_49.

⁹³ House of Commons debate on the Mutiny Bill, April 13, 1836, Historic Hansard Vol 32, Column 1000. http://hansard.millbanksystems.com/commons/1836/apr/13/military-flogging#S3V0032P0_18360413_HOC_49.

heroism.”⁹⁴ He then contrasted the 57th of the Peninsula with the 57th of the 1820s who, under a colonel who did not flog, had fallen apart.⁹⁵ Hardinge then drew on the testimony of Wellington and several other generals, before concluding “how could any man in the face of such testimony come to the conclusion, that it was possible to do without [corporal punishment]?” His passion was successful, and he carried the day with a majority of 117 votes. Eight of the Waterloo MPs were in the house that night (out of fourteen serving at that point), four of them Whigs and four Tories, and all of them voted with Hardinge.⁹⁶ This rare moment of unanimity for the military block was not due to Hardinge’s leadership or loyalty to Wellington, but was, in all likelihood, brought on by shared experiences of command and remembrances of moments where corporal punishment seemed the only option. Even de Lacy Evans had stated to an investigative commission that the British army, while it could do without flogging at home, required it abroad.⁹⁷

While many officers disagreed over how often and how severely corporal punishment should be employed, one of the views that united them, and that may explain the moment of unanimity discussed above, was their belief that Parliament, and the civilian government in general, should not interfere in this strictly military matter. This view can be seen in the report of the 1836 Royal Commission on Military Punishments, which noted, in regard to the limits of power placed on commanding officers, “we cannot help thinking that it would be desirable to vest greater discretion than is at present permitted...

⁹⁴ House of Commons debate on the Mutiny Bill, April 13, 1836, Historic Hansard Vol 32, Column 1003. http://hansard.millbanksystems.com/commons/1836/apr/13/military-flogging#S3V0032P0_18360413_HOC_49.

⁹⁵ House of Commons debate on the Mutiny Bill, April 13, 1836, Historic Hansard Vol 32, Column 1003. http://hansard.millbanksystems.com/commons/1836/apr/13/military-flogging#S3V0032P0_18360413_HOC_49.

⁹⁶ Hardinge was the only Waterloo veteran who spoke, although several other military men voiced their support for corporal punishment. House of Commons debate on the Mutiny Bill, April 13, 1836, Historic Hansard Vol 32, Columns 1009-1112. http://hansard.millbanksystems.com/commons/1836/apr/13/military-flogging#S3V0032P0_18360413_HOC_49.

⁹⁷ House of Commons debate on the Mutiny Bill, April 13, 1836, Historic Hansard Vol 32, Column 1001. http://hansard.millbanksystems.com/commons/1836/apr/13/military-flogging#S3V0032P0_18360413_HOC_49.

in the commanding officers of regiments.”⁹⁸ Along the same lines of arbitrary limitations, the Commission also objected to the suggestion that the Army’s power to resort to corporal punishment should be limited by geographical location. “The abolition of the power of awarding corporal punishment... in the British Islands and the Colonies, and during peace, and the retention of the power of inflicting that punishment when the Army is on service and in the field appears to us... manifestly unjust.”⁹⁹ The Commission also goes to some lengths to note the differences in behavior, character, and outlook between the civilian and military worlds. “A great proportion of military offences,” observed the Commission report, “would not, in themselves, be considered moral crimes, although highly dangerous to the discipline and efficiency of the Army, and consequently to the country.” Corporal punishment would sometimes be required in such cases, “but it cannot be said that its object is the moral reform of the individual; and... this constitutes a great difference between offenders against the military and civilian law.”¹⁰⁰ The military, therefore, while responsible to the civilian powers, could not be judged by civilian standards when it came to crime and punishment.

It is worth noting that civilians outnumbered military men on the commission by four to three (all three of the military men were veterans of both Waterloo and the Peninsula).¹⁰¹ This had been a sticking point when the Commission was announced, with Thomas Slingsby Duncombe, radical MP for Finsbury informing the government in Parliament that “if the Commission were composed entirely of military men, it would be very far from satisfactory to the country.”¹⁰² If either side of the issue was looking for a quick answer, they were disappointed. The commission took years to report, using that

⁹⁸ *Report from His Majesty’s Commissioners for inquiring into the System of Military Punishments in The Army* (London: W. Clowes and Sons for His Majesty’s Stationary Office, 1836), xi. Hereafter cited as *1836 Commission on Military Punishment*.

⁹⁹ *1836 Commission on Military Punishment*, xxii.

¹⁰⁰ *1836 Commission on Military Punishment*, xii.

¹⁰¹ Lieutenant General Sir James Kempt, Lieutenant General Sir Edward Barnes, and Major General Sir Thomas Reynell. *1836 Commission on Military Punishment*, v.

¹⁰² House of Commons debate on Military Flogging, July 23, 1834, Historic Hansard Vol 25, Column 374. <http://hansard.millbanksystems.com/commons/1834/jul/23/military-flogging>

time to interview British soldiers of all ranks from Wellington to several privates in the Guards, officers in the Royal Marines, the French Army, and several civilian experts. Beyond the conclusions already quoted, the Commission determined that, while all efforts should be made to avoid corporal punishment whenever possible, and further efforts should be made to provide positive behavior reinforcement as well as negative, the threat of flogging was still necessary, and the government was not doing the army any favors by interfering.¹⁰³

Despite the presence of a number of Waterloo MPs in the House of Commons, only a few, such as Hardinge, Davies, de Lacy Evans, and Vivian spoke with any regularity. Inactivity, however, was not limited to old soldiers, but was common across all parties and both houses. The *Morning Chronicle*, in an exposé of truant MPs, lamented “on the whole, it appears that hon. Legislators have still many things to learn, and much labour to undergo, before they can claim credit for a faithful performance of their delegated duties.”¹⁰⁴ In addition to deference and sloth, there is another possible explanation for Parliament’s silent majority, which will be discussed in more detail in the next section: the rise of ministerial control.

Cabinet Appointments

In the second half of the twentieth century, a historiographical debate emerged on the long-term importance of the Great Reform Act, with some arguing that the act did not move Great Britain appreciably closer to democracy, and others maintaining its importance, both at the time and historically.¹⁰⁵ One of the side products of this debate was a new understanding of the rise of ministerial control and the reduction of the rights and privileges of private members (those MPs who did not hold

¹⁰³ 1836 *Commission on Military Punishment*, xxii-xxiii.

¹⁰⁴ Missing Representatives, *Morning Chronicle*, September 30, 1856, Issue 28007.

¹⁰⁵ John A. Phillips and Charles Wetherell, “The Great Reform Act of 1832 and the Political Modernization of England,” *The American Historical Review* 100: 2 (April 1995): 411-436; Hugh Berrington, “Partisanship and Dissidence in the Nineteenth-Century House of Commons,” *Parliamentary Affairs* 21 (1968): 338-374; Valerie Cromwell, “The Victorian Commons, 1832-1884,” in *The House of Commons: Seven Hundred Years of British Tradition*, eds. Robert Smith and John S. Moore (London: Smith’s Peerage, 1996).

ministerial positions).¹⁰⁶ This was achieved largely through new rules relating to petitions and the establishment of Order Days, when government business and proposed legislation took precedence. This section takes the rise of ministerial control and applies it to the Waterloo MPs, examining what governmental positions veterans of the battle held in addition to their seat in Parliament. By far the most common government appointments held by Waterloo veterans were military and civilian colonial posts, which will be discussed in the next chapter.

Ministerial appointments are commonly made by the Prime Minister and, with certain exceptions, were drawn from their own party or coalition.¹⁰⁷ Ministerial appointments are, therefore, an excellent way to judge bias and patronage within the government. The Waterloo veterans are remarkably under-represented in domestic ministerial appointments, with a few exceptions. Even Wellington, who was more likely to appoint military men than any other Prime Minister of the period, only had three in a cabinet of sixteen. The only ministerial role held consistently by military men throughout this period was the Master-General of the Ordnance, which was occupied by some eight veterans (six of whom were Waterloo veterans), between 1819 and 1855.¹⁰⁸ The Master-General was responsible for the artillery and engineers, along with supplies and the various other logistical and support networks required by an army in the field. The Master-General was not subordinate to the other role traditionally held by a serving officer or veteran, Commander-in-Chief of the forces, although they were expected to work together. For four of the Waterloo MPs, Master-General of Ordnance was their only ministerial appointment. It should be noted that the Master-General of the Ordnance, even though it was a ministerial appointment, did not require its holder to be a Member of Parliament, although the appointee only sat on the cabinet if he was also a serving Member of Parliament. The

¹⁰⁶ See especially Peter Fraser, "The Growth of Ministerial Control in the Nineteenth-Century House of Commons," *The English Historical Review* 75:296 (July 1960): 444-463.

¹⁰⁷ The classic exceptions being the 1806 Ministry of All the Talents and Britain's government throughout World War II.

¹⁰⁸ The position remained empty between 1855 and 1904.

Commander-in-Chief, no matter who held the position, was not a ministerial appointment nor a member of the cabinet. There is no record of any objection to a soldier in this period being appointed Master-General, which is unsurprising considering both the lack of objection to military politicians in general and the exclusively military focus of the role. There is, however, a record of the army objecting to the rank of an appointee. Charles Gordon-Lennox was offered the position when Earl Grey formed a Whig government in 1830, but the offer was withdrawn when senior army officers objected to a mere half-pay lieutenant colonel being placed in charge of the Ordnance.¹⁰⁹ Despite being a political appointment, it seems the army considered the Master-General of the Ordnance to be a military post, and one requiring a certain rank.¹¹⁰ In contrast to the Master-General, the other cabinet post whose role was completely military in focus, the Paymaster of the Forces, was not held by a veteran between the Battle of Waterloo and its abolition in 1836. That the Paymaster of the Forces was an exclusively civilian role speaks to one of the actual foci of paranoia when it came to the British government: the abuse of funds.

In 1827, there was a brief attempt to reform the command structure of the army and bring it more under the control of the cabinet. George Canning, then Prime Minister, proposed the abolition of the office of Commander-in-Chief. The duties of that office would be taken over by a newly created post: Military Secretary to the Minister of War.¹¹¹ The title caused a great deal of confusion, as there already was a Military Secretary to the Commander-in-Chief.¹¹² That position had originally been intended as simply a private secretaryship but had evolved to encompass responsibility for almost all the

¹⁰⁹ F. M. L. Thompson, 'Lennox, Charles Gordon-, fifth duke of Richmond and fifth duke of Lennox (1791–1860)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/16453>.

¹¹⁰ All the other veterans who held the post were General Officers.

¹¹¹ G. C. Moore Smith, *The Life of John Colborne, Field-Marshal Lord Seaton, G.C.B., G.C.H., G.C.M.G, K.T.S., K.St.G., K.M.T., &c., Compiled from his Letters, Records of his Conversations, and Other Sources* (London: John Murray, 1903), 251-252.

¹¹² H. A. Bruce, ed., *Life of General Sir William Napier, K.C.B.* (London: John Murray, 1864), I:306-307.

army's personnel management.¹¹³ Canning's scheme never came to fruition, as he died before he could formalize his plans, and the scheme was dropped by his successor, Lord Goderich. There is no record of what Wellington or other senior officers thought of the idea, but there is some evidence that some mid-level officers approved of it, at least in theory.¹¹⁴

Three Waterloo veterans held cabinet positions other than Master-General of the Ordnance. Wellington, in addition to serving as Prime Minister from 1828-1830 and again briefly in 1834, served as Foreign Secretary from 1834-1835 and Minister without Portfolio from 1841-1846. There is no indication that his military service informed his time in these positions any more than his political experience did, although his appointment to the position of Foreign Secretary in itself allowed a thaw in the relations with the autocratic powers of Eastern Europe. Those powers had been horrified by the actions of the previous liberal government, and having the familiar and reassuringly aristocratic Wellington as the outward face of the new government went some way to mollifying them. Beyond that, however, Wellington judged the government was not stable enough for any radical changes, and thus largely steered the same line as his liberal predecessor.¹¹⁵ In addition to his relatively brief service in these roles, he served as Leader of the House of Lords for all Tory governments from his own in 1828 until 1846. Hardinge served as Secretary at War for the 1828-1830 Wellington government, working alongside fellow Peninsular War veteran Sir George Murray, who held the position of Secretary of State for War and the Colonies.¹¹⁶ The Secretary at War was not always a cabinet-level position, but it was under Wellington. Whether that is indicative of some form of patronage or merely Wellington's priorities is debatable. Gordon-Lennox, having been deemed unsuitable by the army for Master-General

¹¹³ The position still exists

¹¹⁴ Smith, *The Life of John Colborne*, 252.

¹¹⁵ Muir, *Wellington: Waterloo & the Fortunes of Peace*, 443-446.

¹¹⁶ The Secretary at War ran the War Office and held responsibility over the administration and organization of the army, but not wider military policy. It was considered subordinate to the Secretary of State for War and the Colonies. In 1854 the office was split into two, one for war and one for the colonies, at which point the Secretary of State for War absorbed the office of the Secretary at War.

of the Ordnance, was instead made Postmaster-General, a position he held for four years (1830-1834). While there is a temptation to dismiss the Postmaster-General as lacking a military connection, the Royal Mail, like the Metropolitan Police discussed in the previous chapter, enjoyed some ties to the military, while Gordon-Lennox's experiences in military command meant the Post Office's structure would be at least somewhat familiar. Postmen, in addition to being organized on roughly military lines, were uniformed and functioned inside a hierarchy, while the guards that rode with the mail coaches and on the mail trains (which started the year Gordon-Lennox took office) were largely veterans.¹¹⁷

Other Appointments

Almost all ministerial roles came with further appointments and positions, in the gift of and responsible to the minister, sometimes with Parliamentary oversight and sometimes fully autonomous. The vast majority of these positions, in the choice of the individuals who filled them, their duties, or both, were political. Waterloo veterans were a popular choice for a few of these appointments, but, as in the cabinet, their potential positions were almost always at least somewhat military in nature. Waterloo veterans were involved in the creation and running of the police forces of London, Durham, and Ireland; they served as High Sheriffs and Magistrates; and as the Government Inspector of Prisons for Scotland.¹¹⁸ Four former regimental surgeons served as the Inspector General of Hospitals, one as

¹¹⁷ The mail coach guards were usually ex-cavalrymen, due to their skill and comfort in the saddle. Duncan Campbell-Smith, *Masters of the Post: The Authorized History of the Royal Mail* (London: Allen Lane, 2011).

¹¹⁸ Those involved in the Metropolitan Police are discussed in Chapter V. James Wemyss, 2nd Dragoons (Scots Greys) served as High Constable of Durham and first commander of the Durham police; General James Shaw-Kennedy, 43rd Regiment of Foot and Assistant Quartermaster General at Waterloo organized the Royal Irish Constabulary; Gerald FitzGibbon, 23rd Regiment of Foot served as Sub-Inspector of the Royal Irish Constabulary. James Stewart-Moore, 11th Light Dragoons, Daniel Tighe, 1st Foot Guards, and Edward Richard Northey, 52nd Regiment of Foot (Light Infantry), all served as High Sheriffs. Richard Leyne, 73rd Highland Regiment of Foot served as a Stipendiary Magistrate. John Kincaid, 95th Rifles, served as Government Inspector of Prisons for Scotland.

Deputy Inspector General, and the commander of the Royal Horse Artillery at Waterloo went on to become director of the Royal Laboratory.¹¹⁹

Military men also found opportunities in court appointments. The title of Gold Stick, which originated as the monarch's permanent physical bodyguard, became a court position and was shared by the colonels of the 1st and 2nd Regiments of Life Guards and the Royal Horse Guards (The Blues).¹²⁰ The title of Silver Stick, the deputy of the Gold Stick, was likewise shared between the Lieutenant Colonels of the same regiments. Richard Rush, Minister Plenipotentiary from the United States, recalled the preponderance of military men at a general levee at the Court of Carlton House, residence of the Prince Regent, in 1818: "The opening of the doors was the signal for the commencement of the general levee. I remained with others to see it. All passed, one by one, before the Prince, each receiving a momentary salutation... There were from forty to fifty generals; perhaps as many admirals, with throngs of officers of rank inferior... It was so that my inquiries were answered. All had 'done their duty'; this was the favourite praise bestowed."¹²¹ Wellington took up the same themes of service seven years later in a letter to Sir Herbert Taylor, then Military Secretary at Horse Guards. "I write you one line upon the list of aides de camp to His Majesty... there are two officers omitted of really the highest distinction... the former has lost his arm and has been frequently wounded... [the latter] was Assistant Quartermaster General during the war in the Peninsula and highly distinguished... he performed the duty of Quartermaster General on the march to Paris and while the army remained at Paris, and was Deputy Quartermaster General... of the army of occupation in France."¹²² In addition to formal appointments, most officers of the Household Cavalry and Guards were informal members of the Court and its social

¹¹⁹ Sir James Robert Grant, MD, Inspector & Commander of the Medical Staff at Waterloo; Thomas Draper, Surgeon, Medical Staff; John F. Clarke, Assistant Surgeon, 51st Regiment of Foot (Light Infantry); Arthur Stewart, Surgeon, 71st Highland Regiment of Foot; Isaac Robinson, Surgeon, 16th Light Dragoons; Lieutenant Colonel Sir Augustus Frazer, Royal Horse Artillery.

¹²⁰ The Royal Horse Guards were elevated to the position of Household Cavalry by George IV upon his ascendancy to the throne in 1820, at least in part as a reward for their service at Waterloo.

¹²¹ Richard Rush, *A Residence at the Court of London* (London: Richard Bentley, 1833), 85-86.

¹²² Wellington to Sir Herbert Taylor, May 18, 1825, Wellington Papers, University of Southampton, WP1/819/5

circle. That association went both ways, as traditionally boys who served as pages to the King and Queen were appointed ensigns in the Guards when they turned 16.¹²³

While the courts of George IV and William IV had a surplus of courageous soldiers, the most prevalent form of royal acknowledgement for military service took the form of honors and promotions. On June 22, 1815, The day after Major Henry Percy delivered the news of the victory to the Prince Regent and the same day Wellington's dispatch was published in *The London Gazette Extraordinary*, the future George IV nominated and appointed Major-General Sir James Kempt to be Knight Grand Cross of the Order of the Bath (GCB), taking the place of Lieutenant-General Sir Thomas Picton, who had died on the field at Waterloo. Kempt was not alone. Three other Major-Generals were appointed Knights Commander of the Order of the Bath (KCB), while an astonishing 119 officers were made Companions of the Order of the Bath (CB).¹²⁴ An examination of the list of those appointed and the muster rolls from the battle reveal that every officer of the rank of Major or above who had commanded their regiment or battalion at some point during the battle received a CB, unless they already had a CB, a KCB, or a GCB.¹²⁵ The Prince Regent also issued instructions that fifty-two Majors who had distinguished themselves in the battle were to be given the army rank of Lieutenant Colonel, while thirty-six Captains were to receive army promotions to Major, with all of these commissions dated June 18, 1815.¹²⁶ Twenty one peerages were also created to honor Waterloo veterans in the six months following the battle, although every single one of the newly created peers already held a lower (or Irish) title.¹²⁷

¹²³ Statement by Lord Fitzroy Somerset concerning the nomination of the King's and Queen's pages to commissions in the Guards, 4 January 1833, Wellington Papers, University of Southampton, WP2/1/11.

¹²⁴ *The Battle of Waterloo, containing the series of accounts published by authority, British and foreign, with circumstantial details, relative to the battle, from a variety of authentic and original sources, with connected official documents, forming an historical record of the operations in the campaign of the Netherlands, 1815*, 8th Edition (London: John Booth, 1816), 168-169.

¹²⁵ A number of British officers were also inducted into the chivalric orders of Austria, Russia, the Netherlands, and Bavaria. *The Battle of Waterloo*, 168-173; Dalton, *Waterloo Roll Call*.

¹²⁶ This included thirteen officers in the King's German Legion. *The Battle of Waterloo*, 167.

¹²⁷ List of Peers Created After Waterloo, 1919, London, National Archives, LCO 2/2566.

Over ten per cent of Waterloo's veterans in Parliament held ministerial appointments during their careers, and there is no evidence that Fleet Street or the British public were more likely to criticize them for their military service than they were for their actions in Parliament. Whether they emphasized their military service and connections or not, they were regarded as politicians, and were judged accordingly. In 1832, two years after the end of the Wellington Ministry, the radical press in Britain published a new edition of *The Extraordinary Black Book*, a 672-page book exploring, in remarkable detail, government expenditure, activity, and above all corruption and abuses. The end of that book contains a list of "placemen, pensioners, sinecurists, compensationists, and other grantees."¹²⁸ The list is extensive and most individuals are merely listed along with their positions and the amounts (Charles Rowan, for example, has a one-line entry noting his salary as First Joint Commissioner).¹²⁹ A few particularly offensive (to the editor) individuals have paragraphs listing their crimes and corruptions. The Duke of Wellington's is one of the longest, with the critique taking up a full page and a half of closely printed text. In lively style, it touches on Wellington's foreign and domestic policy, his individual politics and his aristocratic background, before concluding with a "fervent prayer that he will never again be premier of England."¹³⁰ What is entirely absent from this diatribe, however, is any mention of the Wellington's military service, nor is there a hint that the radicals fear him because of the military threat he represents. He is judged as an aristocrat and a politician and he is feared and despised because of his actions in those roles, not because he dared to cross the civilian-military line.

The existence of such a line may have been unspoken, but it was clear to everyone. During their hearings, the 1836 Commission on Military Punishments considered the boost to morale and good

¹²⁸ *The Extraordinary Black Book: An Exposition of Abuses in Church and State, Courts of Law, Representation, Municipal and Corporate Bodies; With a Précis of the House of Commons, Past, Present, and to Come* (London: Effingham Wilson, 1832), xxviii.

¹²⁹ *The Extraordinary Black Book*, 566.

¹³⁰ *The Extraordinary Black Book*, 583-585.

behavior if “a large proportion of the officers of Customs and Excise, of police, and messengers in public departments, should be taken from the ranks of the army.”¹³¹ They concluded that “there can be no doubt that if here, as in Prussia, the Army were the high road to all offices, [it would be much improved]; but we are far from believing that the feeling of this country is military enough to admit of its being made so.”¹³² In fact, as has been noted, a significant percentage of the Metropolitan Police were veterans, but to codify that with a formal incentives program would overstep the Army’s bounds. The Duke of Wellington was the only individual to rise high enough to fully escape. His success in multiple positions, however, was the exception rather than the rule. In reality, even those who appeared to match Wellington’s rise, such as Hardinge, did so within British society’s unspoken rules for military veterans. On the political side, that meant only certain ministerial appointments, such as Master-General of the Ordnance and Secretary at War, a few non-elected positions, and court appointments.

Britain may not have employed the same techniques as the other allied nations in re-absorbing its veteran officers, but it did have one noteworthy advantage over mainland nations: a significant empire. That empire, despite the British habit of extensively using native troops and allies, required extensive British military manpower. It was the empire that absorbed the majority of the Waterloo veterans who sought further advancement, either continuing their career as military officers, or taking government-appointed positions throughout the colonies. Positions which, in contrast to appointments at home, were dominated by current and former soldiers, and where the nation welcomed, rather than limited, their service.

¹³¹ *1836 Commission on Military Punishment*, xxi.

¹³² *1836 Commission on Military Punishment*, xxi.

Chapter VII: Waterloo Abroad: Waterloo Veterans as Colonial Governors

In August 1828, a constitutional meeting in Upper Canada adopted a five-page petition of grievances concerning the government of their colony. The petition was addressed to Viscount Goderich, who the petitioners believed was still Prime Minister. In fact, they received word shortly after dispatching the petition that the Duke of Wellington had taken over from Goderich. This unfortunate accident of timing resulted in Britain's premier soldier-politician of the century receiving a petition that declared, in the strongest possible language, the "total ineptitude of military men for the civil rule in this Province."¹ While the petition's statements were limited to Upper Canada, Wellington may have taken the criticism to be general. This may explain why the British government never fully considered the petition. Poor timing aside, the petitioners were correct in their supposition that the military seemed over-represented in the government of the colony. All four formally appointed Lieutenant Governors since the colony's founding in 1791 had been army officers.

This glut of military men illustrates a popular belief in Britain in general and the halls of power in particular, that military men were somehow better suited to positions in colonial governments than they were to political positions within Britain itself. With this belief came a corollary, that military men were better suited to colonial governorships than civilians. This belief is borne out by the numbers: between 1815 and 1850, 73% of Governors and Lieutenant Governors appointed by the British government had served in the military.² In Upper Canada, 88% of Lieutenant Governors were military men.³ The general consensus held that military training was a distinct advantage when it came to the governorships of

¹ Petition Adopted at a Constitutional Meeting, August 15, 1828, London, National Archives, CO 42/390, 102.

² The notable exceptions to this are postings that were in the gift of the East India Company, where civilians outnumbered military men, often by a significant margin. David P. Henige, *Colonial Governors from the Fifteenth Century to the Present* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1970), 73-196. See Appendix E.

³ Henige, *Colonial Governors*, 105.

certain colonies. There was no real evidence to back up this widely-held belief; there were competent and incompetent civilian governors, as there were competent and incompetent military governors. The only real advantage that a military man would have had over a civilian would be if he was called upon to lead troops himself. As there were always military officers in a colony, that precaution was not necessary. In addition, as we will see, there were times when a Governor or Lieutenant Governor leading troops was a liability, despite any military background.

Despite its dominant position in Britain's cultural memory of the Napoleonic Wars, a Waterloo Medal did not outweigh wider military service when it came to the appointment of military governors. This echoes the emphasis placed on the totality of service in the military memoirs discussed in Chapter I and may also help explain why many officers were more concerned with their overall military (and regimental) identity than they were with preserving exclusive ownership of Waterloo. This may have been an inadvertent benefit to the Colonial Office, as Waterloo was the archetype of the European set-piece battle and thus the direct antithesis to the vast majority of military experience in the imperial context.

Contrary to the preference for military men to be assigned to such posts, this chapter will argue that British military training before and during the Napoleonic Wars did not prepare officers to assume gubernatorial positions, and when an appointment worked, it was due to the individual's own talents, rather than those bestowed by a scarlet coat. To illustrate this, this chapter will consider the careers of three Waterloo veterans who served as Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada. Sir Peregrine Maitland, Lieutenant Governor of Upper Canada (1818-1828), Governor of Nova Scotia (1828-1834), Commander in Chief of the Madras Army (1836-1838), and Governor of the Cape Colony (1844-1847); Sir John Colborne, later Baron Seaton, who served as Lieutenant Governor of Guernsey (1821-1828), Lieutenant Governor of Upper Canada (1828-1836), Acting Governor General of British North America (1837-1838), Commander in Chief of British North America (1836-1839), and High Commissioner of the Ionian Islands

(1843-1849); and finally, Sir Francis Bond Head, who served as Lieutenant Governor of Upper Canada from 1836 until 1838.

Waterloo and their overall military service had a different impact on the rest of their careers for each of these three men. Maitland commanded the 1st Brigade at Waterloo, but it was his class preconceptions and the totality of his service which blended seamlessly in his quarter-century association with the Brigade of Guards that shaped his post-war career, and especially his responses to the various pressures and crises that are an integral part of colonial administration and high command. Colborne served longer in active duty than Maitland, and like him, forged a strong bond with a particular regiment (in Colborne's case the 52nd (Oxfordshire) Regiment of Foot). For Colborne, however, it was his overall military service that dictated both his identity and how he behaved in a colonial situation. Where Maitland was a Guards officer, Colborne was a line infantry officer, and his association with various light infantry units gave him a certain flexibility of mind that Maitland lacked. Head spent less than half the time in active service than his two predecessors. For him, Waterloo outweighed the rest of his service, and he used his presence there as a rhetorical tool to justify his positions and indirectly to demand what he felt were the rightful rewards for his service.

Located in what is today Southern Ontario, the Province of Upper Canada was created by the Constitutional Act of 1791, which formalized its separation from the Province of Lower Canada, and established it as a destination for Loyalist refugees from the newly created United States.⁴ Because of this original settlement, London regarded Upper Canada as a bulwark of "Britishness" and a necessary counterweight to the francophone population of Lower Canada, New France until the 1763 Treaty of

⁴ See Gerald M. Craig, *Upper Canada: The Formative Years, 1784-1841* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), chapter 1; Maya Jasanoff, *Liberty's Exiles: American Loyalists in the Revolutionary World* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2012), 198-209.

Paris. Despite the province's role as one of the anchors of British North America, Upper Canada was not unified or easy to govern. The same act that created Upper Canada granted Houses of Assembly, elected by the citizenry, to both provinces. Any legislation passed by one of these houses was then put before an appointed Legislative Council and the Lieutenant Governor. This caused friction, as the subjects of the two provinces saw their Houses of Assembly as analogous to the Houses of Parliament, and sought the same level of autonomy, not feasible without a complete overhaul of the colony's political structure.⁵

The Legislative Council stood in direct opposition to the reforming interests of the House. The Council was dominated by the Family Compact, an informal association made up of the provincial administration's senior members. Largely based in the province's capital, York (renamed Toronto in 1834), and extremely conservative, the Compact controlled almost all of the patronage in Upper Canada, and ensured that only the "right" people were appointed to positions. As the richest and most powerful men in the province, they regarded their positions on the Council as not only their right, but as inherited sinecures. In addition to their political and social conservatism, their determination to keep the power and wealth of Upper Canada in the hands of a few meant that they alienated the newly elected radicals, rural interests, and the province's moderates.⁶

The nature of Upper Canada's founding and its status as a settler colony brought with it its own tensions. There was friction among the original loyalist families, new British immigrants, and settlers from the United States. In the wake of the American Revolution, the War of 1812, and the Napoleonic Wars, Britain saw potential threats in both the francophone population of Lower Canada and the increasing number of American immigrants, many of whom were more republican in outlook and moved

⁵ Many of the reformers wanted the Lieutenant-Governor replaced with an elected governor, inspired by the US's State Governors. Craig, *Upper Canada*, 206. Michael Mann, *A Particular Duty: The Canadian Rebellions 1837-1839* (Wilton, Salisbury: Michael Russell (Publishing) Ltd., 1986), 13.

⁶ See Craig, *Upper Canada*, chapter 4.

north out of self-interest rather than any loyalty to the crown. London therefore tasked its Lieutenant-Governors with ensuring that that British North America remained, in fact, British. There were also equally treacherous religious questions: large numbers of those loyalists had been from Protestant dissenter churches, joined by Methodist immigrants from England and Wales, and Presbyterians from Scotland. Residents of Lower Canada who decided to try their hand in their newer sister province were largely Roman Catholic, as were immigrants from Ireland and portions of Scotland. The ruling elite, however, were firmly Anglican, and were determined to follow the expressed wishes of the crown (if not parliament) to encourage that Anglicanism went from a minority religion to the dominant and perhaps even official religion of the province.⁷

Sir Peregrine Maitland

Sir Peregrine Maitland was neither a well-known nor particularly well-regarded veteran of Waterloo. With the exception of a single Ph.D. dissertation from the 1960s, there is almost no scholarly work focused explicitly on him.⁸ As with most colonial governors, he is discussed in works dedicated to the colonies he governed, or in chapters of more thematic histories.⁹ His later career has received more attention than his first appointments, courtesy of several histories of the Cape Frontier War of 1846-47, which he played a prominent role in starting.¹⁰

⁷ *Report from the Select Committee on the Civil Government of Canada* (Quebec: Re-Printed by Order of the House of Assembly of Lower Canada, 1829), 7-8; Craig, *Upper Canada*, 178-179; Censuses of Canada 1665-1871, Statistics Canada, www.statcan.gc.ca, accessed 25 March, 2018.

⁸ F. M. Quealey, "The Administration of Sir Peregrine Maitland, Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada, 1818-1829" (Ph.D. diss., University of Toronto, 1968).

⁹ Craig, *Upper Canada*; Mark Francis, *Governors and Settlers: Images of Authority in the British Colonies, 1820-60* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1992); Aileen Dunham, *Political Unrest in Upper Canada 1815-1836* (Toronto: The Carleton Library, 1963); Thomas Peace, Jim Clifford, and Judy Burns, "Maitland's Moment: Turning Nova Scotia's Forests into Ships for the Global Commodity Trade in the Mid-Nineteenth Century," in *Moving Natures: Mobility and the Environment in Canadian History*, eds. Ben Bradley, Jay Young, Colin M. Coates (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2016), 27-54..

¹⁰ Basil Le Cordeur and Christopher Saunders, *The War of the Axe, 1847* (Johannesburg: Brenthurst Press, 1981); John S. Galbraith, *Reluctant Empire: British Policy on the South African Frontier, 1834-1854* (Berkeley: University of

Born in Hampshire in 1777, Maitland was the epitome of the British landed gentry. His father was Thomas Maitland, squire of Shrubs Hall, New Forrest, while his mother, Jane, was the daughter of General Edward Matthew and the granddaughter of Peregrine Bertie, 2nd Duke of Ancaster and Kesteven.¹¹ In 1792, Maitland obtained an ensigncy in the 1st Foot Guards and served with that elite regiment throughout the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars, including in Flanders and at Ostend, Vigo, Corunna, Walcheren, and Cadiz. He rose to the rank of Major-General in 1813, and commanded the regiment for much of the later portion of the Peninsular War, notably at Bidossa, Nivelles, the Nive, Bayonne, Bidart, and the passage of the Ardour. At Quatre Bras and Waterloo, he was entrusted with the command of the 1st Brigade of Guards, and was thus in indirect command of his old regiment when it won the right to call itself the Grenadier Guards. His command at Waterloo earned him his KCB, and he further cemented his new position with his marriage to his second wife, Lady Sarah Lennox, at Wellington's headquarters in Paris.¹² Maitland's marriage to Lady Sarah Lennox further enforced his beliefs and preferences, while guaranteeing that he would have a partner who could set the correct tone and function as an unquestionable social arbiter in any situation. Lady Sarah was the second daughter of Charles Lennox, 4th Duke of Richmond, and when he was appointed Governor General of British North America in 1818, he arranged for his son-in-law to come with him as Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada.

Maitland's career, up until 1818, had been tailor-made to reinforce his personal and political conservatism. His parents were perfect examples of England's land-owning gentry, with family and social

California Press, 1963); William Miller Macmillan, *Bantu, Boer, and Briton: The Making of the South African Native Problem* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963); J. Milton, *The Edges of War: A History of Frontier Wars (1702-1878)* (Cape Town: Juta, 1983).

¹¹ All biographical details are from John Benyon, "Maitland, Sir Peregrine (1777–1854)", *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/17830>, accessed 22 June 2016; Hartwell Bowsfield, "Maitland, Sir Peregrine," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 8, University of Toronto, 2003, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/maitland_peregrine_8E.html, accessed 15 April, 2018.

¹² His first wife, the Hon. Harriet Louisa Crofton, whom he had married in 1803, died in 1805.

connections to the aristocracy and the military. Indeed, his maternal grandfather, General Edward Mathew, might have served as a model for Maitland's peregrinations: he rose from ensign to colonel in the 2nd (Coldstream) Foot Guards, acted as an aide de camp to George III, commanded the Brigade of Guards in the American Revolutionary War, and finally, having been made a full general, served as commander-in-chief in the West Indies and Governor of Grenada.¹³ Maitland's 26 years with the Guards ensured his familiarity with, and preference for, the company of the more polished social elites, while guaranteeing that he would champion the preservation of Britain's traditional military and social structures and hierarchies. It also gave him a relatively strong military education, but one that was hamstrung by its unwavering dedication to traditional military doctrine. Maitland therefore lacked the training in military flexibility and informal warfare that even Sir John Colborne, who had served under Sir John Moore and commanded the more independently-minded 52nd Light Infantry, had received on the job.

The final crucial detail of Maitland's personality was a restrained but unshakable piety and dedication to the Church of England as both a religious and a social institution, in the best tradition of Britain's Anglican ruling elite. Maitland brought with him to Upper Canada and subsequent appointments a strong conviction that conservatism should be not just a personal belief system but a guiding light for shaping political and imperial institutions, a confidence in his own traditional military education and experience, and a deep-seated faith in all facets of Anglicanism. These three core beliefs shaped his actions while in office, and were crucial to both his successes and his failures.

Maitland arrived in York in August 1818, two and a half months after being appointed Lieutenant-Governor.¹⁴ He found a colony dissatisfied with the status quo, but hopeful that his

¹³ Mathew was also Jane Austen's brother's father-in-law, and may have served as the inspiration for the character of General Tilney in *Northanger Abbey*.

¹⁴ John Benyon, "Maitland, Sir Peregrine (1777–1854)", *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/17830>, accessed 22 June 2016;

appointment would usher in much needed changes. In anticipation of his arrival, a convention of representatives selected by township meetings met in York and adopted an address to him (and another to the Prince Regent, which Maitland was asked to forward). That address informed Maitland that the convention was unhappy with the behavior of both the Legislative Council and the House of Assembly, and requested both an early election and a general investigation into the overall state of the colony.¹⁵ The Convention was not a radical body: roughly half of its members were proud loyalists, and several of the delegates were magistrates. Nevertheless, it was to be disappointed. Maitland frowned upon any attempt to circumnavigate the chain of command. In addition, the term “convention” had unwelcome echoes of republicanism, especially in a colony with extensive American immigration. Far from reprimanding the Legislative Council, he closed ranks with them, forging an alliance with the Family Compact that would last throughout his tenure. He also refused to accept the petitions submitted to him by the convention, and when the Assembly met two months after his arrival, he pushed through a law banning political conventions altogether.¹⁶

Maitland was, in a few ways, an effective Lieutenant-Governor. He saw the need to encourage immigration into the colony, especially of those loyal to Britain, and was the first Lieutenant-Governor to attempt to reform the procedures surrounding land-grants. He also took steps to combat absenteeism and artificially inflated land prices.¹⁷ For every laudable decision he made, however, Maitland alienated the colonists with a poor or petty one. He personally refused the land grant applications of anyone who had been present at the 1818 convention, and he made it clear that his decision was based purely on his

Hartwell Bowsfield, “Maitland, Sir Peregrine,” *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 8, University of Toronto, 2003, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/maitland_peregrine_8E.html, accessed 15 April, 2018.

¹⁵ Address to Sir Peregrine Maitland, July 9, 1818, London, National Archives, CO 42/377, 56; Craig, *Upper Canada*, 97.

¹⁶ Craig, *Upper Canada*, 96-97.

¹⁷ Gilbert C. Paterson, *Land Settlement in Upper Canada, 1783-1840* (Toronto: King’s Printer, 1921), 132-133; Craig, *Upper Canada*, 132-133.

disapproval of their politics.¹⁸ He was extremely narrow minded, especially when it came to judging “soundness” or the “right people.” At one point late in his tenure he dismissed a petition in a communiqué to London on the basis that only one member of the organizing committee was in any way a gentleman, while the rest were neither “known [n]or received in the society of gentlemen here.”¹⁹ He also had an extreme dislike of being bypassed, and believed that all communications from Upper Canada to official circles in London should go through him. A cursory examination of one of the most significant issues of his time in office – the alien question – illustrates this.

The alien question was how Upper Canada and its government referred to the debate over citizenship, political participation, and naturalization. At the heart of this debate were two questions for the governments of Upper Canada and Great Britain: who could own land, and who could vote and participate in politics. On the first of these, Maitland and the Legislative Council saw eye-to-eye with London. Secure land ownership was a basic tenet of British toryism, and Maitland went out of his way to reassure colonists that their land grants were safe.²⁰ The question of franchise and participation in politics was more divisive. As more and more American immigrants began to run for office, it became clear that they were natural allies of the more radical and reforming members of the House of Assembly, and so the more conservative elements of the population sought to limit their access to political power.²¹ Despite the insistence of the Council, and especially the Compact, however, the Assembly made it clear that it felt that American birth or even former American citizenship should not be a bar to public service in the colony.²² A variety of solutions and compromises were tried over the

¹⁸ Maitland’s decision in this case was overturned by Bathurst, once an address from the Assembly presented London with the facts of the case. Paterson, *Land Settlement in Upper Canada*, 132-133.

¹⁹ Maitland to Murray, September 18, 1828, London, National Archives, CO 42/384, 148-162.

²⁰ Maitland to Lord Dalhousie, October 2, 1820, London, National Archives, CO 42/365, 218; Craig, *Upper Canada*, 115.

²¹ Craig, *Upper Canada*, 115-117.

²² Journals of the Legislative Assembly of Upper Canada, 1821-22, in Alexander Fraser, *Eleventh Report of the Bureau of Archives for the Province of Ontario* (Toronto: T. Wilgress, 1915), 7-9, 37, 53, 152-153.

next few years, but it slowly became apparent that neither side would compromise. With the legislation deadlocked, it became necessary to appeal to Whitehall.

Two very different viewpoints reached London in early 1827. From Maitland came official correspondence, requesting Lord Bathurst, then Colonial Secretary, and the Colonial Office obtain from Parliament a ruling on the matter, preferably in line with the Council's conservative position, which he argued was acceptable to the majority of the American-born population.²³ That assertion was called into question by the near-simultaneous arrival of Robert Randall, a Virginia-born member of the Upper Canada Assembly, carrying a petition urging Bathurst to push for a less stringent approach than the one championed by Maitland. Either the petition or Randall's eloquence succeeded; Maitland received orders from Bathurst instructing the Assembly and the Legislative Council to pass a new law that would naturalize anyone who had received a land grant, held public office, taken the oath of allegiance, or had arrived in the colony before 1820. Those who arrived after 1820, and were not covered by one of the other conditions, would be eligible for naturalization after they had been residents for seven years.²⁴ Maitland and the Legislative Council had no choice but to put this new bill before the Assembly, and accept it when it overwhelmingly passed, but they did not try to hide their irritation with both the state of affairs and London. Maitland felt that London had undermined his position by seeing Randall, accepting the petition, and thus accrediting an irregular means of communication. While his claim that Whitehall acted without giving him the opportunity to respond to a petition that depicted his administration negatively had some merit, one cannot imagine Whitehall was too keen on his implicit

²³ Maitland to Bathurst, March 3, 1827 in Arthur G. Doughty and Norah Story, eds., *Documents Relating to the Constitutional History of Canada, 1819-1828* (Ottawa: J. O. Patenaude, 1935), 356-362.

²⁴ Goderich to Maitland, July 10, 1827 in Doughty & Story, *Documents*, 363-366.

belief that any and all communication between the capital and colony should be channeled across the Lieutenant-Governor's desk.²⁵

Outside of the legal approaches explored by Maitland and the legislative council, there was another solution to the geopolitical worries that were the foundations of the alien question: to encourage British immigration into Upper Canada to balance out the American influence. Maitland expressed his preferences for settlement by the right people in a letter to Bathurst: "the speedy settlement of the Colony however desirable is a secondary object compared to its settlement in such a manner as shall best secure its attachment to British Laws and Government."²⁶ At first glance, Maitland and the council had an ideal ally in the quest for an overwhelmingly British and loyal Upper Canada in the form of the Canada Company, founded in 1825 by John Galt, a Scottish novelist, to encourage immigration into the colony. Entitled by royal charter to purchase crown reserves, the Canada Company sold these to immigrants at low rates, while also providing passage to the province and the tools needed to build homes and cultivate the land. Instead of embracing the Company (as Maitland's successors would) Maitland and the council regarded Galt, and therefore the Company, with suspicion. For Maitland, that suspicion arose from two factors. First, Galt conducted his own correspondence with London, and even with the Colonial Office, which Maitland regarded as both a breach of etiquette and a possible threat.²⁷ Second, Galt's high-spirited and enthusiastic personality, coupled with his independent mind and work as a novelist led Maitland to dismiss him as unsound.²⁸ It was only after the

²⁵ Maitland to Goderich, October 2, 1827, London, National Archives, CO 42/381, 370-377; Craig, *Upper Canada*, 121-123.

²⁶ Maitland to Lord Bathurst, March 7, 1826, London, National Archives, CO 42/377, 10.

²⁷ Cheryl M. Wahl, "The Business of Settlement: Land Companies and Colonization in the British Empire, ca. 1800-1850" (PhD diss., Graduate Center, City University of New York, 2012), 28, 32.

²⁸ Craig, *Upper Canada*, 135-138; Wahl, "Business of Settlement," 43.

company's directors came round to Maitland's view and removed Galt from his position that Maitland and the council started working with the Canada Company.²⁹

As his tenure went on, the residents of Upper Canada became less and less impressed with their Lieutenant-Governor. His open involvement with the conservative cause, and especially the Compact, began to lose him friends. The Family Compact was not overly popular with reformers, some moderates, and the rural populations. Rather than viewing the Compact as one side in the political divide of the colony, Maitland threw his lot entirely in with them, thus permanently damaging his credibility as an impartial adjudicator. It can also be argued that Maitland relied too heavily on them. Maitland did not like York, and spent more time at his country residence of Stamford Park, three miles west of Niagara Falls, than he did in the capital.³⁰ During these absences, he relied on his Family Compact-allied colleagues on the Legislative Council to cover his day-to-day responsibilities.³¹ The unfortunate nature of this relationship became so obvious that when, after his defeat on the alien question, Maitland toured the province to drum up support for his administration, accusations were made in the Assembly that the Family Compact had manufactured the tour, either for propaganda purposes or simply to "manage" the Lieutenant-Governor.³²

It must have come as a great relief to all, even Maitland himself, when he was reassigned to Nova Scotia in November of 1828. He left behind a lasting political legacy: his staunch conservatism and

²⁹ Wahl, "Business of Settlement," 43-46.

³⁰ Stamford Park was a little under 100 miles from York, by road, and somewhat less than that if one took a boat across the west end of Lake Ontario.

³¹ The August 1828 petition complained of "the almost constant absence of your Majesty's representative from his seat of government," Petition Adopted at a Constitutional Meeting, August 15, 1828, London, National Archives, CO 42/390, 102; Craig, *Upper Canada*, 201; John Benyon, "Maitland, Sir Peregrine (1777-1854)", Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/17830>, accessed 22 June 2016; Hartwell Bowsfield, "Maitland, Sir Peregrine," Dictionary of Canadian Biography, vol. 8, University of Toronto, 2003, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/maitland_peregrine_8E.html, accessed 15 April, 2018.

³² Hartwell Bowsfield, "Maitland, Sir Peregrine," Dictionary of Canadian Biography, vol. 8, University of Toronto, 2003, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/maitland_peregrine_8E.html, accessed 15 April, 2018.

alliance with the Family Compact had proved to be the ideal rallying cry for the newly organized reforming interests that came to dominate the Assembly right before his departure.³³ It was not only radicals, however, that held him in contempt. Early in 1829 the Assembly voted on an address formally expressing dissatisfaction with Maitland and his administration: the astonishing vote of 37 to 1 for the motion, in a time of deep political conflict, illustrates the level of animosity the former Lieutenant-Governor left in his wake.³⁴

Maitland arrived in Nova Scotia in late November 1828, where he was sworn in not only as Lieutenant-Governor, but also as Commander-in-Chief of the Atlantic region. Almost immediately, Maitland's particular brand of conservatism was felt in the colony's capital of Halifax. A great deal of the capital's social scene took place on Sundays, with a popular garrison parade forming the central core, and an open market catering to supplementary needs. Maitland immediately and publicly denounced the market and, by walking to church with his family instead of participating in the parade, eliminated it. In a few areas, Maitland's behavior indicated that he had learned a few lessons from his acrimonious decade in Upper Canada: he attempted to remain politically neutral during prolonged disagreement over sectarian education in 1831 and 1832. In addition, when it became clear in 1831 that the colony had no place to settle the 4,000 immigrants that were expected that year, Maitland ordered lands prepared on the neighboring island of Cape Breton at the Crown's expense, and made sure they were ready in time to receive their new tenants. In other matters, however, his behavioral patterns remained the same. His habit of leaving his work to his subordinates resulted in him being condemned by Halifax's political set as apathetic. Just as he had often absented himself from York and retired to Stamford Park for his health, he spent his second winter as Lieutenant-Governor not in Halifax but in the West Indies.³⁵

³³ Craig, *Upper Canada*, 188-196.

³⁴ Hartwell Bowsfield, "Maitland, Sir Peregrine," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 8, University of Toronto, 2003, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/maitland_peregrine_8E.html, accessed 15 April, 2018.

³⁵ Maitland left Nova Scotia in October 1829 and returned in June 1830.

Maitland's health finally drove him to return to England in October 1832. He remained Lieutenant-Governor until July 1834, but he never returned to Canada, instead choosing to leave day-to-day affairs in the hands of his acting governor and conduct important affairs of state via correspondence.³⁶

Acknowledging that his health would be better served by a warm climate, and perhaps eager to return to the straightforwardness of military command after a decade and a half in political roles, Maitland accepted the post of Commander-in-Chief of the British Army in Madras in 1836. Maitland's 17-month tenure in Madras was relatively uneventful until his own resignation cut it short on February 1, 1838. Maitland's decision to resign can be traced directly to his religious beliefs. Maitland objected to a decision by the Court of Directors of the East India Company that Company troops should provide guards of honor to religious festivals and events, and should mark their respect for such ceremonies with formal salutes.³⁷ This policy, Maitland argued, went against the religious neutrality that the Company's agents had long maintained was the key to stable Company rule. This, he maintained, had to go beyond just toleration to a formal policy that "in everything connected with their ceremonies and rites, the natives should be left to themselves," a policy which, he asserted, would result in the government being "morally strengthened in a very considerable degree."³⁸ Maitland also argued that it was unfair to the soldiers of other religions to force them not only to attend, but also to participate in these ceremonies. Underneath these arguments, however, were objections based not on political reason or the sympathy of a senior officer, but prejudice. Maitland was unhappy that any "connection of the Madras Government with the idolatrous worship is to be continued," and even questioned why the Company had abolished the practice of Suttee when it insisted on continuing this respect for religious

³⁶ Hartwell Bowsfield, "Maitland, Sir Peregrine," Dictionary of Canadian Biography, vol. 8, University of Toronto, 2003, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/maitland_peregrine_8E.html, accessed 15 April, 2018.

³⁷ Maitland to the Chairman of the Court of Directors, February 1, 1838, Ottawa, Library and Archives Canada, MG24 A 35 1, 1-7.

³⁸ Maitland to the Chairman of the Court of Directors, February 1, 1838, Ottawa, Library and Archives Canada, MG24 A 35 1, 5.

customs at the cost of the comfort and morals of the Company's soldiers.³⁹ The directors and the Company's London staff had not anticipated such a heated and extensive objection to an order they felt was routine but, rather bemused, accepted Maitland's resignation and replaced him with Sir Jasper Nicolls, an officer with more experience on the subcontinent.⁴⁰

After Madras, Maitland returned to England for six years. For five of those six years, he held no position, which may have either been a reflection of his health, or of how he was regarded in military and political circles. In 1843 he was appointed to the position that was supposed to be the capstone of his career: Governor of the Cape Colony. Maitland arrived in the Cape in March 1844 and, as he had done in both Upper Canada and Nova Scotia, made a positive first impression, most notably by formalizing how meetings of the Legislative Council should be called, and codifying an annual meeting, every April.⁴¹ It should come as no surprise that he was an immediate favorite among the colony's missionary population, who were delighted with their new Governor's personal piety.⁴² Maitland retained many of the same habits that had marked his two Lieutenant-Governorships, most notably a lackadaisical work ethic and a reliance on his subordinates. It soon became clear to perceptive observers in both London and Cape Town that Maitland's colonial secretary, John Montagu, was writing most of his dispatches.⁴³

Of even greater concern, at least to those who stopped to think about it, was that when Maitland did produce his own dispatches, they were inferior to Montagu's and were, in the words of

³⁹ Maitland to the Chairman of the Court of Directors, February 1, 1838, Ottawa, Library and Archives Canada, MG24 A 35 1, 1, 6.

⁴⁰ East India Trading Company Revenue Department to Governor-General of India in Council, October 18, 1837, Ottawa, Library and Archives Canada, MG24 A 35 1, 7-9; India Revenue Department to Governor-General of India in Council, August 8, 1838, Ottawa, Library and Archives Canada, MG24 A 35 1, 10-11.

⁴¹ George E. Cory, *The Rise of South Africa* (Capetown: Struik, 1965), IV: 373

⁴² William Shaw, *The Story of my Mission in South-Eastern Africa* (London: Hamilton, Adams, and Co., 1860), 171; Galbraith, *Reluctant Empire*, 166-168.

⁴³ Galbraith, *Reluctant Empire*, 165.

James Stephen, Under-Secretary for the Colonies, “entirely wanting in that force of mind and will which the occasion required.”⁴⁴ Earl Grey, who became Secretary of State for War and Colonies (and James Stephen’s direct superior) in 1846, agreed, confiding in Lord John Russell, the Prime Minister, that Maitland had never been “a man of any great ability.”⁴⁵ Had Maitland been in charge of a relatively peaceful colony, such as Nova Scotia, this would have been less of a problem, but the Cape Colony was not a stable place. Maitland had to balance the contradictory interests of several groups. There were the white settlers, who wanted land and protection, largely at the expense of the Xhosa peoples; there were missionaries, who wanted smaller amounts of land, the freedom to preach and convert, and protection both for themselves and their converts; finally, there were the Xhosa themselves, who saw the cultural and religious aggression of the missionaries and the physical aggression of the settlers as nearly equal threats.⁴⁶ In addition to these local tensions, Maitland had to contend with a British government in London which had charged him with conceiving a new, more effective border system, and who desired safety and stability, but preferably without a large expenditure of money or soldiers.⁴⁷

After several months considering a variety of possible border system reforms, Maitland concluded that significant modifications needed to occur. The changes Maitland proposed were directly in line with what the expansionist settlers wanted, and were guaranteed to antagonize the more bellicose native peoples. He announced that the previous treaties, known as the Stockenström treaties, were to be abolished, and that the native peoples would now accept a new series of treaties unilaterally

⁴⁴ James Stephen to Earl Grey, August 18, 1846, quoted in Galbraith, *Reluctant Empire*, 165, n42. Stephen, it is worth noting, was instrumental in implementing Britain’s abolition of slavery in 1833 and was Virginia Woolf’s grandfather.

⁴⁵ Grey to Lord John Russell, August 19, 1846, London, National Archives, PRO 30/22/5.

⁴⁶ See Galbraith, *Reluctant Empire*; T. R. H. Davenport, *South Africa: A Modern History* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987); Monica Wilson and Leonard Thompson, eds., *The Oxford History of South Africa* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969).

⁴⁷ Galbraith, *Reluctant Empire*, 167, 174-175; Duke of Wellington to Grey, December 3, 1846, London, National Archives, WO 1/440.

imposed on them by the colonial government.⁴⁸ The Maitland treaties reinstated the patrolling of native lands by colonial military forces. In a gift to his missionary allies, the new treaties required native peoples and their chiefs to protect and respect those among them that converted to Christianity and wished to move nearer to the missions.⁴⁹ Several stipulations remained the same but their meanings changed with this new unilateral approach. The results of these new policies were predictable. White settlers and missionary circles were ecstatic. The *Grahamstown Journal* praised Maitland's "decision, far-sightedness, and independency."⁵⁰ The Xhosa, on the other hand, were convinced that Maitland's attitude matched the red uniform he wore, and viewed the new treaties as tantamount to a declaration of war.⁵¹ They gathered their strength and began to plan.

Even at this point, Maitland might have held the fragile frontier situation together had he listened carefully, moderated his tone, and set aside some of his ideas about the Xhosa chiefs. He lacked sufficient military force to actually impose his treaties in the face of anything beyond token opposition: his entire command comprised fewer than 2,800 men: 2,477 infantry and 293 cavalry, of which fewer than 1,600 were on the frontier itself.⁵² Instead of resorting to diplomacy, Maitland decided to "act on the fear and sense of interest of the Chiefs; to overawe them into keeping good faith with the Government for their own sakes."⁵³ Those chiefs who Maitland spoke so glibly of overawing had, between them, some 70,000 warriors, including a mounted elite of 7,000 armed with muskets.⁵⁴ Later in the century, technology would balance out such disparity in forces, but at this point, thanks to budget

⁴⁸ The former Lieutenant-Governor, Andries Stockenström, had negotiated the previous treaties with the active participation of the native peoples, and they severely limited white settlement.

⁴⁹ For the differences between the two treaties, see Colonial Office minute on Maitland to Stanley, December 7, 1844, London, National Archives, CO 48/245; Galbraith, *Reluctant Empire*, 169-170.

⁵⁰ *Grahamstown Journal*, September 26, 1844, quoted in Galbraith, *Reluctant Empire*, 168.

⁵¹ Eric A. Walker, *A History of Southern Africa* (London: Longmans Green, 1957), 227; Henry Calderwood to the Directors of the London Missionary Society, cited in Galbraith, *Reluctant Empire*, 168-170.

⁵² Fitzroy Somerset to Herman Merivale, July 12, 1851, London, National Archives, WO 1/447; Maitland to Stanley, November 17, 1845, London, National Archives, CO 48/254.

⁵³ Maitland to Stanley, November 17, 1845, London, National Archives, CO 48/254.

⁵⁴ Galbraith, *Reluctant Empire*, 171.

cuts, Maitland's men carried almost exactly the same equipment that they had three decades earlier.⁵⁵ The explanation for Maitland's confidence in the face of such overwhelming odds can be found in his view of the Xhosa people: they were not warriors, but were simply "an uncivilized race, greedy for cattle, and equally unscrupulous."⁵⁶ Tensions continued to mount for the next few months. Raids, which had decreased immediately after the dissemination of the new treaties, increased again as it became clear Maitland just didn't have the men to properly patrol the entire eastern frontier. The tensions exploded into open war in March 1846.

Over the first few months of what became known as the War of the Axe, or the Seventh Xhosa War, it became clear that numbers and local knowledge would prevail over notions of superior discipline and civilization, as almost universally, Xhosa forces advanced while colonial forces retreated.⁵⁷ As the war dragged on observers in Cape Town and London realized that this sort of irregular border war of attrition was beyond the military skill of Maitland, whose experience was entirely based on the formal, pitched battles of European conflicts. Finally, in September 1846, with no end of the conflict in sight, Earl Grey recalled Maitland from South Africa. Grey's letter of recall leans heavily on Maitland's age as an excuse. "We have no longer to provide for the discharge of duties chiefly demanding the exercise of mature and practiced wisdom," Grey explained, "but for the discharge of duties to which the unimpaired energies, physical as well as mental, of no very advanced time of life are indispensable."⁵⁸ What is implicit in the letter, however, is that that state of war was Maitland's own doing, and in a remarkably short span of time. "When in the year 1843, you were selected for the Government of the

⁵⁵ Nor was their gear significantly superior to that carried by the Xhosa elite. Hew Strachan, *From Waterloo to Balaclava: Tactics, Technology, and the British Army, 1815-1854* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985); Hew Strachan, *Wellington's Legacy: The Reform of the British Army, 1830-54* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984); Daniel R. Headrick, *The Tools of Empire: Technology and European Imperialism in the Nineteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981).

⁵⁶ Maitland to Stanley, November 17, 1845, London, National Archives, CO 48/254.

⁵⁷ The one exception being June 7, 1846, when Lieutenant Colonel Henry Somerset, commander of the Cape Mounted Rifles and a Waterloo veteran, defeated a force on the Gwangu.

⁵⁸ Grey to Maitland, September 16, 1846, Ottawa, Library and Archives Canada, MG24 A 35 1, 2, 1.

Cape of Good Hope, the Colony was in a state of profound peace,” Grey, reminded Maitland. The “and look where we are now” was left unsaid, but still heard by all.⁵⁹

Maitland returned to Britain and was made a Knight Grand Cross of the Order of the Bath in 1852.⁶⁰ Despite this honor, however, he never held another command, and questions were asked in the House of Lords regarding his competence in South Africa.⁶¹ Despite holding three imperial and one military office after Waterloo, Maitland never learned to see past his own prejudices or temper his beliefs and opinions with diplomacy. As a result, while he was greeted in each appointment by a populace hopeful for change and reform, he invariably made conservative choices and almost always left his post under a cloud, making life harder for whoever succeeded him. Nor was he forgotten. In 1848, two full decades after he had last set foot in Upper Canada, a Kingston paper crowed over his fall. Maitland, the *British Whig* reminded its readers, was “the most arbitrary Lieut. Governor of Upper Canada... It must be gratifying to those who suffered from his despotism, even at this late time of day, to know, that his career is ended. Many months ago he was removed from the Government of the Cape of Good Hope, for incapacity.”

Sir John Colborne

Among his peers, Sir John Colborne was ranked as nearly Wellington’s equal. Sir Harry Smith stated that he had learned more from six months under Colborne’s direct command “than in all the rest of my shooting put together.”⁶² Sir William Napier, the soldier turned military historian, described him

⁵⁹ Grey to Maitland, September 16, 1846, Ottawa, Library and Archives Canada, MG24 A 35 1, 2, 1-2.

⁶⁰ John Benyon, “Maitland, Sir Peregrine (1777–1854)”, Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/17830>, accessed 22 June 2016.

⁶¹ Sir Peregrine Maitland, *British Whig*, May 27, 1848, p. 2.

⁶² Sir Harry Smith to Sir John Colborne, March 2, 1832, quoted in G. C. Moore Smith, *The Life of John Colborne, Field-Marshal Lord Seaton, G.C.B., G.C.H., G.C.M.G, K.T.S., K.St.G., K.M.T., &c., Compiled from his Letters, Records of his Conversations, and Other Sources* (London: John Murray, 1903), vi.

as “a man of singular talents for war” in his *History of the Peninsular War*.⁶³ Indeed, the entire Napier family seemed to admire him: in 1843, Sir William Napier’s brother, Sir Charles Napier, named Colborne as one of only three British soldiers alive who could competently command a force of 100,000 men in battle, while Sir George Napier declared that, “except for the Duke of Wellington, I know no officer in the British Army his equal.”⁶⁴ Given this, it is surprising how little scholarly work exists that covers his career. The only biographical treatment was published in 1903 and was clearly written for a popular audience.⁶⁵ He makes appearances in histories of the territories he governed and of the conflicts where he commanded troops but has received nowhere near the attention of some of his fellow generals.⁶⁶

Born in Hampshire in 1778, Colborne was educated at Christ’s Hospital, London, and Winchester College.⁶⁷ After having been involved in the great school rebellion of 1793, his stepfather obtained for him, via the interest of the Earl of Warwick, a commission as an ensign in the 20th Regiment of Foot.⁶⁸ Despite eventually rising to the rank of Field Marshal, this was the only rank Colborne ever purchased – a significant achievement at the time. After serving as a junior officer in a number of campaigns, Colborne was gazetted major and appointed military secretary to Sir John Moore. He served Moore in Sweden and throughout the ill-fated Corunna campaign, and was promoted to Lieutenant Colonel thanks to the general’s dying wish. He liaised with the Spanish army for several months before rejoining

⁶³ William Napier, *History of the War in the Peninsula and in the South of France* (New York: Redfield, 1856), III: 89.

⁶⁴ The other two named by Sir Charles were Wellington and Sir William Napier. Sir Charles Napier to Baron Von Orlich, June 25, 1843, quoted in H. A. Bruce, ed., *Life of General Sir William Napier K.C.B.* (London: John Murray, 1864), II: 185; George Thomas Napier, *The Early Military Life of General Sir George T. Napier K.C.B.*, ed. W. C. E. Napier (London: John Murray, 1886), 185.

⁶⁵ Smith, *Life of Colborne*.

⁶⁶ See Francis, *Governors and Settlers*; Mann, *A Particular Duty*; Eleni Calligas, “Lord Seaton’s Reforms in the Ionian Islands, 1834-8: A Race with Time,” *European History Quarterly* 24, issue 1 (January 1994): 7-30.

⁶⁷ All biographical details taken from A. A. D. Seymour, “Colborne, John, first Baron Seaton (1778–1863),” *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/5835>, accessed 22 June 2016; Smith, *Life of Colborne*; “Lord Seaton and his Regiment,” *The Christian Remembrancer*, Vol. 54 (London: John & Charles Mozley, 1867), 239-285; Alan Wilson, “Colborne, John, Baron Seaton,” *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 9, University of Toronto, 2003, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/colborne_john_9E.html, accessed March 22, 2018.

⁶⁸ See David Turner, *The Old Boys: The Decline and Rise of the Public School* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015), 54-56.

the British army, now commanded by Sir Arthur Wellesley, the future Duke of Wellington. After a stint commanding the Second Battalion of the 66th and occasionally assuming temporary command of a brigade he exchanged into the first battalion of 52nd (Oxfordshire) Regiment of Foot (hereafter 1/52nd) in July 1811. He would command the 1/52nd, with breaks for medical leave, until they returned to Britain at the end of the military occupation of France in 1818.

The 1/52nd, with Colborne at their head, were an integral part of Wellington's elite Light Division, and distinguished themselves at the battles of Ciudad Rodrigo, Nivelles, the Nive, Orthez, and the siege of Toulouse.⁶⁹ After France's surrender in 1814, Colborne was appointed as an aide-de-camp to the Prince Regent, promoted to brevet colonel, and received the Peninsular Gold Cross with three clasps and, after its reorganization in January 1815, a KCB. When Napoleon escaped from Elba and embarked on his 100 Days Campaign, Colborne was appointed as military secretary to the Prince of Orange, who held command of the British forces stationed in the Netherlands. He was reunited with the 1/52nd upon their arrival in Flanders. Colborne and the 1/52nd further distinguished themselves at Waterloo, where they played a crucial part in the defeat of the Imperial Guard.⁷⁰ The 1/52nd stayed in France for three years as part of the allied army of occupation, before shipping home in 1818.

Colborne's official association with the 1/52nd ended in 1818. In 1821, he was given his first civil (and arguably imperial) posting as Lieutenant-Governor of the island of Guernsey. Colborne's tenure in Guernsey is often overshadowed by his subsequent actions in Canada, and in truth, the seven years he

⁶⁹ The 52nd also fought at Badajoz and Vittoria, and were part of the reserve at Salamanca, when Colborne was on medical leave in Britain.

⁷⁰ Arthur Bryant, *The Age of Elegance: 1812-1822* (London: Collins, 1950), 249; Albert A. Nofi, *The Waterloo Campaign: June 1815* (Cambridge: De Capo Press, 1998), 248. The role of the 52nd in the defeat of the Imperial Guard has been much debated in certain circles. See William Leeke, *The History of Lord Seaton's Regiment, (The 52nd Light Infantry,) at the Battle of Waterloo* (London: Hatchard, 1866), chapter VI; Nigel Sale, *Wellington's Waterloo Secret: How the 52nd Light Infantry beat Napoleon* (Oxford: The Alden Group, 2005); Huw Davies, *Wellington's Wars: The Making of a Military Genius* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012), 241; Rory Muir, *Wellington: Waterloo and the Fortunes of Peace, 1814-1852* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015), 78.

spent on the Channel Island were relatively peaceful, but they illustrate that the civil priorities he demonstrated in his later career were already in place. Colborne favored direct involvement over benign neglect, and engaged in projects to improve communications, agriculture, and infrastructure. His chief interests, however, were Anglicanism and education, and he indulged both by spearheading a plan by George Le Boutillier, a local, to rehabilitate Elizabeth College, founded in 1563 and serving in the nineteenth century as one of the few protestant grammar schools accessible to the children of the island. Colborne made what immediate changes he could, and then charged a committee with devising a plan for the full reform of the institution. By the time Colborne left Guernsey in 1828, rather than local families sending their sons to France or Britain for schooling, the Royal College of Elizabeth, as it was then known, was attracting students from Britain.⁷¹

After Guernsey, Colborne was offered and turned down the governorship of Trinidad before accepting the post of Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada. In addition to the Canadian political challenges (which had been exacerbated by Maitland's tenure), Colborne had to contend with issues originating in London. Thanks to turbulent politics at home, he would spend roughly half of his time as Lieutenant-Governor with a hostile Whig ministry in Whitehall, who regarded him as Wellington's friend, fellow soldier, and hand-picked gubernatorial choice. That same turbulence meant that Colborne received orders from six different Secretaries of State for War and the Colonies during his eight-year tenure, each with their own agendas and convictions. The passing of Catholic Emancipation in 1829, one of the reasons for the rise of the Whigs in 1830, added new complications to the religious situation locally and highlighted what a political minefield the legislation of faith could be. Colborne thus found himself in a very difficult position when he arrived in York in the Fall of 1828. Even those who welcomed Colborne and viewed his appointment positively had expectations. "We cannot conceal from your

⁷¹ V. G. Collenette, *Elizabeth College: 1563-1963* (Guernsey: The Guernsey Press, 1963), 17-20; John Jacob, *Annals of Some of the British Norman Isles Constituting the Bailiwick of Guernsey* (Paris: J. Smith, 1830), I: 343-408.

Excellency without a sacrifice of candour," a written welcome from the Loyal and Patriotic Society of Upper Canada informed him, "that there are many very important subjects which have deeply affected the feelings of the people."⁷²

Colborne, who viewed himself as a Conservative, but a "reasonable one," did his best to toe a central line and, if possible, stay above politics.⁷³ Overall, he achieved his goal of neutrality, and carried out his duties competently, but a few of his choices made the delicate situation in Upper Canada even worse. Although he was a competent administrator, he was not a sufficiently skilled politician:

Colborne's involvement with Anglicanism and the clergy reserves are the most telling example of this. Unlike Wellington, who effectively sacrificed his party on the altar of union with the passing of Catholic Emancipation, Colborne sacrificed unity for Anglicanism in a misguided attempt to follow his own convictions and a selective reading of orders. Colborne's military instincts both helped and hindered him in this. He was instinctually good at the part of his job that concerned the defense of his province, and the experience of running a regiment or a brigade stood him in good stead when it came to colonial bureaucracy. On the other hand, his assumption that the politicians he worked with would be as loyal as the 1/52nd cost him some goodwill, and his confidence in his own abilities led him to communicate with London far less than the Colonial Secretaries would have preferred.⁷⁴

Colborne immediately set about repairing some of the damage Maitland had caused by repositioning the office of the Lieutenant-Governor as a neutral arbiter.⁷⁵ He separated himself from the

⁷² To His Excellency, Sir John Colborne K.C.B., lieutenant governor of Upper Canada and major general commanding His Majesty's Forces therein, &c. &c. &c., Loyal and Patriotic Society of Upper Canada, 1828, Baldwin Collection, Toronto Reference Library, 1828.York.sb.

⁷³ Colborne to Sir Henry George Ward, September 20, 1849, quoted in Smith, *Life of Colborne*, 341.

⁷⁴ Although one explanation offered for his relative silence is the number of men who held the office of Colonial Secretary during those years. Craig, *Upper Canada*, 177-178, 224; Peter Burroughs, *The Canadian Crisis and British Colonial Policy, 1828-1841* (London, Edward Arnold, 1972), 55-56, 76-77.

⁷⁵ New York Papers have arrived, *The Times*, February 12, 1829, p. 2; Alan Wilson, "Colborne, John, Baron Seaton," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 9, University of Toronto, 2003, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/colborne_john_9E.html, accessed March 22, 2018.

Family Compact, and began to alter the makeup of the Legislative Council to be more in line with the demographics and interests of the province.⁷⁶ Once he had demonstrated his commitment to this new impartiality, he gained sufficient support among moderates to embark on both his own agenda and London's, starting with the question of Keeping Upper Canada loyal to Britain. Drawing on both his years in the army and his experience in Guernsey (an island that, by its geographical location, was torn between Britain and France), Colborne settled on an aggressive plan of immigration into Upper Canada. Militarily, this would ensure a sufficient loyal population for the defense of the Province, both as a support network and as militia. Politically, increased immigration from the British Isles would balance out the two internal demographic threats from the French and the Americans and turn Upper Canada into "a really British colony."⁷⁷ Backed by the House of Assembly moderates and his evolving Legislative Council, Colborne did all he could to encourage settlement from Britain, supporting local immigration societies and providing aid and a variety of incentives.⁷⁸

In addition to legislative support, Colborne worked closely with the Canada Company. Their motto, "the country does not alter the race," perfectly summed up Colborne's ambitions for Upper Canada's loyalty, and he worked far closer with them than Maitland had.⁷⁹ The address sent to him by the Commissioners of the Company upon his departure from Upper Canada thanked him "for the uniform attention which your Excellency has ever shewn to our Official Communications, and [his] readiness to carry into full effect all the engagements entered into by His Majesty's Government with

⁷⁶ A Long Unprofitable Debate, *The Times*, August 15, 1838, p. 5; Craig, *Upper Canada*, 177, 196.

⁷⁷ Colborne to R. W. Hay, November 25, 1832, London, National Archives, CO 42/394, 177-178.

⁷⁸ See, for example, Colborne to Adam Fergusson, October 31, 1830, Sir John Colborne Papers. Library and Archives, Canada, MG24, A40, vol. 3, 499-503 (hereafter LAC Colborne Papers); John Savery Brock to Colborne, May 24, 1831, LAC Colborne Papers, vol. 3, 564-566; A. C. Buchanan to Colborne, January 3, 1832, LAC Colborne Papers, vol. 4, 663-671; Colborne to A. C. Buchanan, January 25, 1832, LAC Colborne Papers, vol. 4, 697-701; W. Booth to Colborne, May 26, 1832, LAC Colborne Papers, vol. 4; John Ewart and William Atkinson to Colonel William Rowan, December 19, 1835, LAC Colborne Papers, vol. 6, 1523; Provincial Parliament of Upper Canada, *Kingston Chronicle*, January 15, 1831, p. 3; Speech of His Excellency, *Kingston Chronicle*, February 4, 1832, p. 2.

⁷⁹ Robert C. Lee, *The Canada Company and the Huron Tract, 1826-1853: Personalities, Profits and Politics* (Toronto: Natural Heritage Books, 2004), 10.

the Canada Company,” and acknowledged that his efforts had smoothed their interactions with local governments.⁸⁰ While immigration was open to all, Colborne went out of his way to encourage immigrants of higher rank than most. He prioritized “ex-officers of the army and navy, who have quitted the service... young surgeons, Church of England clergymen, private gentlemen, sons of respectable persons at home, [and] graduates of the colleges.”⁸¹ The efforts were so successful that the population of Upper Canada rose nearly 50% between 1830 and 1833 alone, and, according to census data, it roughly doubled over the course of Colborne’s eight-year Lieutenant-Governorship.⁸²

Alongside his efforts to encourage immigration, Colborne prioritized education. King’s College, now the University of Toronto, had been founded the year before he arrived, thanks to extensive lobbying by John Strachan, Archdeacon of York and a member of both the Legislative Council and the Family Compact. Colborne refused to prioritize King’s, and indeed used his position as *ex officio* chancellor to suspend work on the college, insisting that Upper Canada was not yet sufficiently developed to support an institution of higher education.⁸³ That decision caused a feud with Strachan and helped to further emphasize the separation between the new Lieutenant-Governor and the Family Compact.⁸⁴ Instead, Colborne drew on his experiences with Elizabeth College in Guernsey and his own alma mater, Winchester College, and in 1829 founded the Upper Canada College (UCC), a secondary prep school on the English public school model. Determined to stop the stream of Upper Canadian

⁸⁰ *Addresses, Presented to His Excellency Major General Sir John Colborne, K.C.B. Lieut. Governor of Upper Canada, on the Occasion of his Leaving the Province* (Toronto: R. Stanton, 1836), 11.

⁸¹ *Canada in the Years 1832, 1833, and 1834. Containing Important Information and Instructions to Persons Intending to Emigrate Thither in 1835 by an Ex-Settler* (Dublin: Philip Dixon Hardy, 1835), 23; see also Colborne to Fitzroy Somerset, April 15, 1829, LAC Colborne Papers, vol. 3, 323-324.

⁸² Craig, *Upper Canada*, 228; Samuel Butler, *The Emigrant’s Hand-Book of Facts, Concerning Canada, New Zealand, Australia, Cape of Good Hope, &c.* (Glasgow: W.R. M’Phun, 1843), 20; From 186,488 in 1828 to 374,099. Censuses of Canada 1665-1871, Statistics Canada, www.statcan.gc.ca, accessed 25 March, 2018.

⁸³ Craig, *Upper Canada*, 185.

⁸⁴ R. W. Hay to Colborne, December 4, 1828, LAC Colborne Papers, vol. 2, 186-188; Colborne to R. W. Hay, March 31, 1829, LAC Colborne Papers, vol. 2, 297-301; Colborne to Sir George Arthur, June 20, 1839, LAC Colborne Papers, vol. 22, 6768-6773.

children being sent to American schools, Colborne stocked UCC with elite, Anglican scholars, disproportionately drawn from Cambridge, recruited by Colborne's contacts at home and lured to York by large salaries and free housing.⁸⁵

Upper Canada College, despite questions of financing and condemnations of elitism, became a success and still celebrates Colborne's birthday every year. Colborne's efforts on behalf of his other passion, Anglicanism, however, were nowhere near as successful. Beyond his deep-seated personal beliefs, Colborne, like many, considered the encouragement of the Anglican faith as a further reinforcement of the British loyalties of the colony, and acted to encourage its spread. If examined in this light, most of his programs have tinges of Anglicanism. The professionals he recruited from Britain to form a new class of gentlemen farmers were likely to be Anglicans, and UCC was firmly grounded in the Church of England. In 1835, however, he took to direct action. Drawing his inspiration (and justification) from the Constitutional Act of 1791 and several vague orders from London, he designated 15,000 acres for clergy reserves and allocated a further 6,600 acres of crown lands to establish 44 Anglican rectories across the province.⁸⁶ The religious and political leadership of the dissenter Protestant and Catholic churches in Upper Canada could agree on very few things, but first among them was that this was making a minority religion the official religion of the province in all but name, and that was unacceptable. The Presbyterian Church Synod issued a seven resolution response, declaring "their deep sense of the wrong thus inflicted on them," and protesting "an act so injuriously affecting their just rights, and hereby avow their determination to seek redress by all legal and constitutional means," and encouraging others to do the same.⁸⁷ The action effectively shattered Colborne's working coalition, and

⁸⁵ Richard B. Howard, *Upper Canada College, 1829-1979: Colborne's Legacy* (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1979), 12-15.

⁸⁶ 57 were planned, but only 44 were ever created. Craig, *Upper Canada*, 235; *Kingston Chronicle*, February 4, 1832, p. 2; William Bettridge, B. D., The Church in Canada, *The Times*, August 2, 1838, p. 3; Earl Durham, *Report on the Affairs of British North America* (London: J. W. Southgate, 1839), 76-80.

⁸⁷ The Synod of Canada, *Chronicle & Gazette*, September 21, 1836, p. 2.

he was suddenly faced with criticisms from radicals, reformers, and moderates alike. Lord Durham, who arrived in Canada in 1838 with a commission to ascertain the causes of the 1837 rebellions, concluded that Colborne's actions "completely changed the aspect of the [religious] question," and were "the chief predisposing cause of the recent insurrection," that remained "an abiding and unabating cause of discontent."⁸⁸

Despite the furor in Upper Canada, Colborne's heavy-handedness made surprisingly little impact in Britain. Of the many column inches dedicated to discussing the various Canadian questions in *The Times*, only one letter to the editor in this period really discussed religion, and that argued that Colborne had not gone far enough.⁸⁹ It may have come a surprise to the British public then, when, in 1836, Lord Glenelg, then Secretary of State for War and the Colonies, censured Colborne so strongly that Colborne resigned, rather than wait for the inevitable recall from London.⁹⁰ The immediate cause of Glenelg's determination to remove Colborne was not, in fact, the religious question, but the efforts of William Lyon Mackenzie, an Upper Canadian radical who had clashed with Colborne throughout his Lieutenant-Governorship.⁹¹ Mackenzie had journeyed to Britain in the early 1830s, seeking to bypass Colborne and appeal directly to the imperial parliament. A natural ally of Britain's own radicals, he met and corresponded regularly with Joseph Hume, with whom he shared the hope that a "crisis... is fast approaching in the affairs of the Canadas... which will terminate in independence and freedom from the baneful domination of the mother country"⁹² Mackenzie, despite his outspoken beliefs, convinced

⁸⁸ Durham, *Report on the Affairs of British North America*, 76-77.

⁸⁹ William Bettridge, B. D., The Church in Canada, *The Times*, August 2, 1838, p. 3.

⁹⁰ Which was issued, after Colborne's resignation, but before news of that resignation reached London. Smith, *Life of Colborne*, 261.

⁹¹ See Craig, *Upper Canada*, chapter 11.

⁹² Letter from Joseph Hume to William Lyon Mackenzie, March 29, 1834, *The Celebrated Letter of Joseph Hume, Esq., M.P. to William Lyon Mackenzie, Esq., Mayor of Toronto* (Toronto: G. P. Bull, 1834), 5.

Glennelg and the Whig majority that he was an unbiased expert on Canadian affairs, and convinced them that new, reforming leadership was required.⁹³

Colborne served as Lieutenant Governor of Upper Canada for eight years. Despite his missteps, he achieved a significant number of advances and his policies helped double the population of the province. He was sufficiently popular that, upon word of his resignation/recall, he received over 60 pages of addresses of thanks, and his departure from Toronto became an impromptu parade.⁹⁴ And yet, it took only a few mistakes and the actions of a politician so radical, he would, a year later, lead the Upper Canada Rebellion, to convince a Whig parliament that he was unfit to continue as Lieutenant Governor. Even *The Times* considered this odd, noting in April of 1836 that “there is not throughout the whole colonial empire of Great Britain a gentleman qualified to discharge the most important trusts, whether civil or military, with greater firmness, integrity, ability, or discretion, than this Lieutenant-Governor, whom the Whigs have recalled because he did not suit their purposes.”⁹⁵ This was the political bias against former soldiers in action: soldiers were more acceptable in political appointments in the empire than they were in comparable positions at home. Even then, however, they were under a closer scrutiny and experienced less support in civilian positions than they did in military ones. To illustrate this, we must now turn to the second half of Colborne’s career in Canada – where he was placed in what London viewed as his “correct” place – a military role.

In May 1836, Colborne was in New York, waiting to take ship back to the United Kingdom, when word reached him that he had been appointed Commander-in-Chief of the forces in British North

⁹³ Smith, *Life of Colborne*, 261; Alan Wilson, “Colborne, John, Baron Seaton,” *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 9, University of Toronto, 2003, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/colborne_john_9E.html, accessed March 22, 2018.

⁹⁴ *Addresses, Presented to His Excellency Major General Sir John Colborne*; William Kingsford, *The History of Canada: Canada Under British Rule* (Toronto: Rowsell & Hutchison, 1898), X:338; An Account From Upper Canada, *The Times*, April 2, 1836, p. 4.

⁹⁵ An Account From Upper Canada, *The Times*, April 2, 1836, p. 4.

America.⁹⁶ He returned to Canada, this time to Montreal, and took up his duties. Aware of the threat of rebellion, although personally of the belief that it would come to nothing, Colborne saw it as his duty to make sure both Upper and Lower Canada were prepared should the worst occur. He ensured that militias were up to standard, repaired the gates of Quebec, and provisioned garrisons with sufficient sleighs and snowshoes in the event of a winter campaign.⁹⁷ All that preparation stood him in good stead when the first rebellion began in Lower Canada in early November 1837.

The Canadian Rebellions of 1837 and 1838 have been written about in sufficient detail that they need not be discussed at length here.⁹⁸ Unrest in Lower Canada stemmed from British authorities, both in London and Montreal, refusing to address roughly the same political concerns as those Upper Canada, combined with French-identified *Canadiens* fearing that British immigration and further anglicization would lead to the loss of their way of life. The violent revolution itself began on November 6th, 1837, when 26 members of the Patriote movement, the most popular and vocal of the *Canadien* organizations, resisted arrest by British forces. The Patriotes claimed an early victory at Saint-Denis, but were then beaten in quick succession at Saint-Charles and Saint-Eustache.⁹⁹ The establishment of martial law in various parts of British North America and the arrival of more regular troops from the United Kingdom (including two regiments from the Brigade of Guards) ended any serious threat to British rule. The rebels, however, taking full advantage of the periodic escape offered by the US border and of support from sympathetic Americans, continued an on-and-off-again conflict in rural border

⁹⁶ Return of Sir John Colborne to Canada, *Chronicle & Gazette*, June 1, 1836, p. 2.

⁹⁷ We have Received, viâ New York, Montreal Papers, *The Times*, December 18, 1837, p. 4; Alan Wilson, "Colborne, John, Baron Seaton," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 9, University of Toronto, 2003, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/colborne_john_9E.html, accessed March 22, 2018.

⁹⁸ See Mann, *A Particular Duty*; Allan Greer, *The Patriots and the People: The Rebellion of 1837 in Rural Lower Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003); Joseph Schull, *Rebellion: The Rising in French Canada, 1837* (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1996); Maxime Dagenais and Julien Mauduit, eds., *Revolutions Across Borders: Jacksonian America and the Canadian Rebellion* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2019); Michel Ducharme, "Closing the Last Chapter of the Atlantic Revolution: The 1837-38 Rebellions in Upper and Lower Canada," *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* 116:2 (October, 2006): 413-430.

⁹⁹ We are Now in the Heart of Daily and Important Discussions, *The Times*, January 24, 1838, p. 5.

areas for almost a year (known colloquially as the Patriot War).¹⁰⁰ Armed conflict in British North America officially came to an end at the Battle of Windsor on December 4th, 1838, where a combined British, Upper Canadian, and American force defeated the last of the “Patriots,” who had by then lost nearly all support on both sides of the border.

The Rebellions offered Colborne a way to redeem himself from the mistakes of his Lieutenant-Governorship, especially in the eyes of London. The change in the coverage of him in the press is striking. He received very little attention during his years as Lieutenant Governor, and when he or Upper Canada is mentioned, it is often thanks to the printing of letters sent from Canada or the reprinting of extracts from North American newspapers.¹⁰¹ Once the rebellions started, however, he became a fixture in Britain’s press, as several papers realized that printing extracts from his despatches was the easiest way to update their readers on the situation in British North America.¹⁰² Part of this increase in coverage is simply due to the Rebellions being bigger news than a peaceful colony, but, in addition to the volume, the tone of the coverage of Colborne goes from neutral to positive. *The Times* reassured its readers that “Sir John Colborne knows well how to handle the resources, both civil and military, of the Canadas,” while the *Liverpool Mercury* described him as an “able and gallant commander.”¹⁰³

¹⁰⁰ One of the more noteworthy clashes being a Royal Naval raid eventually christened the Caroline Affair, the legal ramifications of and resultant treaty serve as the basis and test in international law for the principle of a preemptive strike. See Kenneth R. Stevens, *Border Diplomacy: The Caroline and McLeod Affairs in Anglo-American-Canadian Relations, 1837-1842* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1989); Howard Jones, *To the Webster-Ashburton Treaty: A Study in Anglo-American Relations, 1783-1843* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1977).

¹⁰¹ See New York Papers have arrived, *The Times*, February 12, 1829, p. 2; Colonial Intelligence, *Morning Post*, December 25, 1834, p. 2; To the Editor of the Times, *The Times*, January 14, 1835, p. 2. *The Standard* at one point reported that Colborne’s despatches had been received, but that “none of these... contain any news of public interest.” Despatches have been received this morning, *The Standard* May 14, 1829, p. 2.

¹⁰² See Affairs of Canada, *Morning Chronicle*, January 6, 1838; Supplements to the London Gazette, *Leeds Mercury*, January 27, 1838, p. 4; News from Canada, *Leeds Mercury*, February 3, 1838, p. 6; Canada, *Morning Chronicle*, April 14, 1838;

¹⁰³ An Account from Upper Canada, *The Times*, April 2, 1836, p. 4; It Ought to Give the Country Cordial Satisfaction, *The Times*, April 3, 1838, p. 5; Lord Durham, *Liverpool Mercury*, December 7, 1838, p. 6.

There was an even more significant shift in tone along political lines when the British government appointed Lord Durham as Captain General and Governor-in-Chief of British North America, charging him to “inquire into, and... adjust all questions depending in the said provinces of Lower and Upper Canada, or either of them, respecting the Form and Administration of the Civil Government thereof respectively.”¹⁰⁴ The conservative press, led by *The Times*, sought to completely discredit Durham, who they saw as a dangerous radical, while the more progressive papers, such as the *Morning Chronicle*, leapt to his defense. Colborne, who had served as acting Governor General before Durham’s arrival and was confirmed in the position after Durham’s sudden departure, found himself in the middle of this battle. *The Times* promoted Colborne to the beau ideal of a colonial administrator, and then used him as a yardstick by which Durham, inevitably, would fail. Colborne was described to their readers as an “able officer and administrator” “not given to the tawdry acts of popularity-hunting” with fine judgement and ten years of experience with Canadian society – a “good stiff military administrator” of exactly the type British North America needs.¹⁰⁵ Durham, by contrast, was dismissed as “a personage who knows not half so much as any clerk in the Colonial-office,” “arrogan[t] of temper, greed[y] for] power, and mulish of will,” who sought “to have his vanity flattered” by the trappings of his “predatory mission” as he “let the impatience of infant despotism burst the common bounds of both decency and prudence.”¹⁰⁶

For the progressive press, Colborne was less obviously a prop, but they did go out of their way to demonstrate that he and Durham worked well together and seemed to regard each other with at

¹⁰⁴ Commission, *Report on the Affairs of British North America, from the Earl of Durham, Her Majesty’s High Commissioner* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1839), 4.

¹⁰⁵ It is to be hoped that the country will not pass over, *The Times*, July 9, 1838, p. 4; Lord Durham having by this time landed on the soil of England, *The Times*, November 29, 1838, p. 4; It Ought to Give the Country Cordial Satisfaction, *The Times*, April 3, 1838, p. 5.

¹⁰⁶ It Ought to Give the Country Cordial Satisfaction, *The Times*, April 3, 1838, p. 5; We rejoice to see that our stanch and able contemporary, the Standard, *The Times*, April 6, 1838, p. 4; It is to be hoped that the country will not pass over, *The Times*, July 9, 1838, p. 4; Morning Newspapers, *The Standard*, July 19, 1838.

least a modicum of respect. They referred extensively to a letter from the Reverend John Yonge, Colborne's brother in law, refuting the claims made in *The Times* and *The Standard*, and dismissing them as characteristic of the utter disregard of truth which characterizes the Tory press."¹⁰⁷ *The Examiner* was particularly effective at highlighting the exaggeration of the conflict between Colborne and Durham by publishing an account of Durham's farewell dinner, where the outgoing Governor-General lavished praise on a number of the military men he had worked with in the colony who were the "distinguished heroes of the memorable field of Waterloo," and singled out Colborne to declare "his exalted opinion of the talents of his distinguished friend, and the sincere regard and affection he entertained for him." Sentiments that were greeted with "much applause."¹⁰⁸

Durham's opinion seems to have been a common one. Colborne left British North America in October of 1839, and his departure was marked by an outpouring of tributes from across Canada.¹⁰⁹ Upon his return to Britain, he was elevated to the peerage as Baron Seaton.¹¹⁰ Along with that peerage came a message from Queen Victoria to Parliament, urging them to award Colborne a pension of £2,000 a year for three lifetimes.¹¹¹ The House of Lords was the first to address the motion, where it was brought up by the Whig Prime Minister Viscount Melbourne. Melbourne provided a brief summary of Colborne's career before discussing his actions in Canada. Glossing over his resignation/recall as Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada, Melbourne praised not only Colborne's generalship, but also his diplomacy when dealing with Durham, noting "he acted in a manner which did honour to the service, in performing the duty required of him, without regard to personal considerations, or to circumstances

¹⁰⁷ The Tory press and Lord Durham, *Liverpool Mercury*, August 3, 1828; Lord Durham and Sir John Colborne, *Morning Chronicle*, July 25, 1838; Lord Durham and Sir John Colborne, *Morning Chronicle*, August 2, 1838.

¹⁰⁸ The Canadas, *The Examiner*, December 2, 1838.

¹⁰⁹ Public Meeting, *Chronicle & Gazette*, October 16, 1839, p. 2.

¹¹⁰ For clarity, this paper will continue to refer to his as Colborne.

¹¹¹ The House of Lords received a great many petitions, *The Times*, March 31, 1840, p. 4; House of Lords Debate, March 27, 1840, *Historic Hansard*, Vol. 53, Columns 163-166.

which might by others be considered humiliating.”¹¹² Wellington, then Leader of the Opposition in the House of Lords, seconded Melbourne’s motion and the statements made with it. Finally, the Duke of Richmond rose to inform the chamber that it had been an enormous comfort to him, when he first heard of the Canadian rebellions, that the commander of the 1/52nd in the Peninsula was then in command of the troops in Canada, and closed his remarks by stating that Colborne had “a greater claim upon the country for his services than any man alive.”¹¹³ The motion then moved to the House of Commons, where it once again received cross party support, marked by the rare cooperation of Lord John Russell and Sir Robert Peel, while Sir Henry Hardinge insisted that Colborne’s behavior set “out to the officers of the army the brightest example.”¹¹⁴ Unsurprisingly, the motion passed by a large majority in both houses and Colborne received his pension.

Parliament turned to Colborne during the debate on Durham’s report and the future of Canada. Durham advocated for the unification of Canada and the implementation of a moderate responsible government, and while he was not in favor at the time, London had to do something, and his suggestions were their best bet. When consulted, Colborne suggested a slight modification of Upper Canada’s counties that would result in a balance of 42 members for each of the two provinces in the new legislature. Despite reluctance in certain Whig quarters to accept Colborne’s suggestions, his modified plan eventually won out, and was put into place in 1840.¹¹⁵ Colborne continued to take an interest in Canada’s affairs, and was a fixture in House of Lords debates concerning the colony, doing his best to stop several bills that impacted and eventually abolished the clergy reserves that had caused him so much trouble in 1835.¹¹⁶

¹¹² House of Lords Debate, March 27, 1840, *Historic Hansard*, Vol. 53, Column 164.

¹¹³ House of Lords Debate, March 27, 1840, *Historic Hansard*, Vol. 53, Column 166

¹¹⁴ House of Commons Debate, March 30, 1840, *Historic Hansard*, Vol. 53, Column 240.

¹¹⁵ Ged Martin, *The Durham Report and British Policy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972), 48.

¹¹⁶ Alan Wilson, “Colborne, John, Baron Seaton,” *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 9, University of Toronto, 2003, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/colborne_john_9E.html, accessed March 22, 2018.

From 1843 until 1849, Colborne served in his last colonial appointment, as Lord High Commissioner of the Ionian Islands, a post he had been seeking since 1837.¹¹⁷ Here he was criticized for not being military enough and for granting constitutional concessions rather than putting down uprisings.¹¹⁸ Colborne, *The Times* explained to its readers, had “committed the error – the natural and pardonable error – of overlooking a first offence, in the hope that lenity would supply the place of harshness, and gratitude anticipate the effects of terror.”¹¹⁹ It was left up to his successor, Sir Henry Ward, to root out this insurrection. There is a certain irony in this, as Ward was a civilian who, thanks to his military predecessor’s “unrevengeful policy,” was forced into “the painful necessity of inaugurating his reign in blood.”¹²⁰ Despite his refusal to behave like a stereotypical British military colonial governor, Colborne remained closely identified with the army in people’s minds, and was appointed to several military roles after his return from the Ionian Islands including command of the Chobham Training Camp, Gold Stick, and command of the forces in Ireland. For all of these honors and associations, however, his departure from British North America for the last time in 1839 illustrates that, no matter what he did, he could not escape the image of himself held in the public consciousness. As his ship pulled away from Montreal’s docks, returning him to England after more than a decade in the colony, most of it spent in civilian, rather than military roles, one last shout went up from the crowd gathered to see him off: “One cheer more,” an anonymous voice demanded, “for the Colonel of the 52nd!”¹²¹

Sir Francis Bond Head

¹¹⁷ Colborne to Rev. John Yonge, May 22, 1837, quoted in Smith, *Life of Colborne*, 277. For his tenure in the Ionian Islands, see Calligas, “Lord Seaton’s Reforms in the Ionian Islands.”

¹¹⁸ Smith, *Life of Colborne*, 331-343.

¹¹⁹ There can, we think, be very little doubt, *The Times*, November 5, 1849, p. 4.

¹²⁰ There can, we think, be very little doubt, *The Times*, November 5, 1849, p. 4.

¹²¹ Walter Henry, *Trifles from my Port-Folio, or Recollections of Scenes and Small Adventures During Twenty-Nine Years’ Military Service in the Peninsular War and Invasion of France, the East Indies, Campaign in Nepal, St. Helena During the Detention and Until the Death of Napoleon, and Upper and Lower Canada* (Quebec: William Neilson, 1839), II: 229.

Sir Francis Bond Head was the third and last of Upper Canada's Waterloo Governors, and the one who served the shortest tenure, from January 1836 to early 1838. While almost all of the small amount of scholarship dedicated to him focusses on his international activities, what renown he acquired in his own lifetime came neither from his military nor colonial service, but from his own pen. Head was an enthusiastic author with a lively, albeit not very polished, style, which included a penchant for capitalizing random words, sometimes several times in one sentence. He penned several memoirs along with essays, articles, and biographies. He dedicated significantly more time and ink to his own life than scholars have, as his half a dozen memoirs easily outweigh, in volume, the single biography and handful of articles that have been written about him.¹²² This imbalance is a telling indication of Head's personality and is consistent with his lifelong belief that he had been treated unfairly by his peers and the British government. In reality, any bias that did exist in Whitehall against him was not the result of conspiracy or prejudice, but a perfectly natural response to Head's incompetence and arrogance. Head's corpus is an attempt to counter this by demonstrating that his actions were not only justifiable, but were correct. What is of particular interest is that, on multiple occasions, he uses his military service as an implicit justification for his actions. This takes the form of oblique reminders of his service and "expertise" to demonstrate the wisdom of his actions and his entitlement to hold his position because of his service. While this makes Head's writings entertaining to read in hindsight, it also presents a problem. There are periods of Head's career (his time in South America being the most obvious

¹²² Sydney W. Jackman, *Galloping Head: The Life of the Right Honourable Sir Francis Bond Head, bart., P.C., 1793-1875, Late Lieutenant Governor of Upper Canada* (London: Phoenix House, Ltd., 1958); James A. Gibson, "The 'Persistent Fallacy' of the Governors Head," *The Canadian Historical Review* 19:3 (September 1938): 295-297; Goldwin Smith, "Sir Francis Bond Head: A Foot-Note," *The Canadian Historical Review* 19: 3 (September 1938): 297-300; Helen Taft Manning and John S. Galbraith, "The Appointment of Francis Bond Head: A New Insight" *The Canadian Historical Review* 42:1 (March 1961): 50-52; Sean T. Cadigan, "Paternalism and Politics: Sir Francis Bond Head, the Orange Order, and the Election of 1836," *Canadian Historical Review* 72:3 (September 1991): 319-347; Theodore Binnema and Kevin Hutchings, "The Emigrant and the Noble Savage: Sir Francis Bond Head's Romantic Approach to Aboriginal Policy in Upper Canada, 1836-1838," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 39:1 (Winter 2005):115-138; Kevin Hutchings and Blake Bouchard, "The Grave-Robber and the Paternalist: Anna Jameson and Sir Francis Bond Head among the Anishinaabe Indians," *Romanticism* 18:2 (July 2012): 165-181.

example) where historians have very little to go on besides his own work. Head's motivations, priorities, and somewhat cavalier attitude to the truth, make him an unreliable narrator, leaving us with unanswered questions.

Born in Kent on January 1, 1793 to James Roper Head, a political radical, and Frances Anne Burges, who had connections to the Scottish aristocracy, Head seems to have enjoyed a relatively normal childhood until 1808, when financial troubles caused his father to flee to Portugal and Head to abandon his private schooling.¹²³ In 1809 Head entered the Royal Military Academy, Woolwich and emerged two years later as a commissioned second lieutenant in the Engineers.¹²⁴ He served in Malta until 1814 and was part of the relatively small complement of engineers present at Waterloo. He remained in France until 1818, when he was transferred to Edinburgh. He married his cousin, Julia Valenza Somerville, sister of the seventeenth Baron Somerville, in 1816. He gained a small degree of fame in 1824 by successfully demolishing some of the ruins of the Great Fire of Edinburgh using explosives, an achievement that brought him to Wellington's notice.¹²⁵ In the aftermath of that success, his cousin, aware that Head sought a better paying position, suggested he apply to the newly created Rio Plata Mining Association, who were looking for supervisors for their planned operations in what is now Argentina. The salary of £1000 per annum, paid expenses, and the chance of a more exciting life all appealed to Head, who applied immediately, and was accepted, possibly on the strength of his achievement in Edinburgh. He retired from active military service, although he remained on the army lists as a half pay captain and was promoted to major in 1828.¹²⁶

¹²³ All biographical details are from Ged Martin, "Head, Sir Francis Bond, first baronet (1793–1875)", Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/12807>, accessed 22 June 2016; S. F. Wise, "Head, Sir Francis Bond," in Dictionary of Canadian Biography, vol. 10, University of Toronto, 2003, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/head_francis_bond_10E.html, accessed June 5, 2018.

¹²⁴ His commissioning date was May 1, 1811, and he was promoted to first lieutenant twelve days later.

¹²⁵ Jackman, *Gallop Head*, 38.

¹²⁶ Jackman, *Gallop Head*, 39.

Head arrived in South America in late July 1826 and spent less than a year riding all around the country before concluding that logistics and a lack of precious metals in most mines made the entire enterprise untenable.¹²⁷ The Rio Plata Mining Association was one of a number of ill-fated companies that failed due to a complete lack of local and technical knowledge, paired with institutional arrogance. The British mining boom in the new South American republics is a perfect example of what scholars have termed “informal empire,” where a state uses independent actors and corporations paired with significant investment and business connections to influence the policy of another state.¹²⁸ This strategy allowed Britain more influence in South America than a strict reading of the Monroe Doctrine would imply, but it came with certain pitfalls, and the Rio Plata Mining Association fell directly into one. The directors, who were businessmen, not engineers, assumed that mining knowledge was universal, and that conditions in a Chilean gold mine would be identical to a Cornish copper mine or a Welsh coal pit.¹²⁹ Unfortunately, while this informal imperial situation came with the same arrogance and insularity that marked traditional imperialism, it did not come with the ability to fix it. The result was a number of companies broken by their own incompetence and unfortunate conditions on the ground in South America.¹³⁰

¹²⁷ Jackman, *Galloping Head*, 42; Francis Bond Head, *Rough Notes Taken During Some Rapid Journeys Across the Pampas and Among the Andes* (London: John Murray, 1826); Francis Bond Head, *Reports Relating to the Failure of the Rio Plata Mining Association, Formed Under an Authority Signed by his Excellency Don Bernardino Rivadavia* (London: John Murray, 1827).

¹²⁸ The theory was first codified in John Gallagher and Ronald Robinson, “The Imperialism of Free Trade,” *Economic History Review* 2, vol. VI, no. 1 (1953): 1-15. It was later expanded in P. J. Cain & A. G. Hopkins, “Gentlemanly Capitalism and British Expansion Overseas I: The Old Colonial System, 1688-1850,” *Economic History Review* 2, vol. XXXIX, no. 4 (1986): 501-525; P. J. Cain & A. G. Hopkins, “Gentlemanly Capitalism and British Expansion Overseas II: New Imperialism, 1850-1945,” *Economic History Review* 2, vol. XL, no. 1 (1987): 1-26.

¹²⁹ Jackman, *Galloping Head*, 41.

¹³⁰ For more on the collapse of British investment in South America, see Frank Dawson, *The First Latin American Debt Crisis* (New Haven: Yale, 1990); Rebecca Cole Heinowitz, *Spanish America and British Romanticism, 1777-1826: Rewriting Conquest* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2010), chapter 6; David C. Itzkowitz, “Fair Enterprise or Extravagant Speculation: Investment, Speculation, and Gambling in Victorian England,” *Victorian Studies* 45:1 (Autumn 2002): 121-147.

The situation was not helped by several companies falling into the same mindset that their government did, assuming that former officers would make ideal representatives, as their military training was believed to be perfect preparation for any and all types of colonial leadership. Despite benefiting from this exact way of thinking, Head used criticism of it to establish his own military expertise in “Cornish Miners in America,” his first piece of writing addressing his time in Argentina. In quick succession he takes to task a company who had hired an officer of the Guards to guard their mines, one that hired engineers because mining required engines, another who sought out artillery officers because they assumed gunpowder would be involved, several that believed naval expertise in haulage and depth would be crucial, and finally, “one Company, whose mines were filled with water and widely separated one from another, concluded that to encounter difficulties both on land and on water was indisputably the province of an officer of Marines.”¹³¹

Convinced of the inevitable failure of the Rio Plata Mining Association, Head returned to Britain to present his report in person in an attempt to prevent the board from throwing good money after bad. Determined to gain some personal success out of the debacle, he published three works on his adventure, “Cornish Miners in America” in the *Quarterly Review*, *Rough Notes Taken During Some Rapid Journeys Across the Pampas and Among the Andes* in 1826 and *Reports Relating to the Failure of the Rio Plata Mining Association* the following year. These three pieces of work served to establish him as a memoirist and travel writer. The extensive amount of endurance riding he had undergone in South America, which he recounted in *Rough Notes*, earned him the nickname of “Gallop Head,” and, crucially, he inserted discussions to remind his readers of his military knowledge. He posited the advantages the military could gain from the use of the lasso.¹³² He also compared the British Army on

¹³¹ Francis Bond Head, “Cornish Miners in America,” *Descriptive Essays Contributed to the Quarterly Review* (London: John Murray, 1857), I:25-26.

¹³² Head, *Rough Notes*, 46.

the march unfavorably with the Pampas Indians, detailing from apparent experience the “march of an army of our brave, but limping, foot- sore men” and the inevitable “despair and confusion which must always attend the army that walks instead of rides,” before declaring “how impossible would it be for an European army to contend with such an aerial force.”¹³³

Thanks to his lively style and the general interest in South America, his writing sold well. It was not universally praised, however. *The Monthly Review* in particular took him to task for both his glib style and his negative view of South American customs. “He really appears to have landed at Buenos Ayres with all the prejudices... [of] a school-boy,” they noted, “whatever does not instantly correspond with his English notions... he sets down as absurd, corrupt, and impious.”¹³⁴ In this, *The Morning Review* had hit on a theme that would shape the rest of Head’s career. His negative experiences of Argentina’s (then called the United Provinces of the Rio de la Plata) disorganization furthered his Anglophilia and his conviction that the British governing system was the only viable one.¹³⁵ Despite such accurate and negative criticism, however, Head continued to take advantage of his South American experience. He persisted in his quest to bring the lasso into British military service, mostly as a way to convert cavalry mounts into temporary draught animals. A demonstration of these techniques before William IV in 1831 gained him the recognition of the monarch. William IV invited him to dinner and asked what reward he desired. Head requested a promotion to Lieutenant Colonel, which would increase his half-pay stipend, and gain him more respect both within and outside military circles. When approached, the army

¹³³ Head, *Rough Notes*, 115-116.

¹³⁴ “Rough Notes Taken During Some Rapid Journeys Across the Pampas and Among the Andes. By Captain Head,” *The Monthly Review From September to December Inclusive, 1826* (London: Charles Knight, 1826), III:152.

¹³⁵ Ged Martin, “Head, Sir Francis Bond, first baronet (1793–1875)”, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/12807>, accessed 22 June 2016; S. F. Wise, “Head, Sir Francis Bond,” in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 10, University of Toronto, 2003, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/head_francis_bond_10E.html, accessed June 5, 2018.

refused, as Head lacked the required seniority, and so Head had to be content with a Knight Commandership in the Royal Guelphic Order and the monarch's occasional patronage.¹³⁶

Head's experiences in South America cemented an extreme case of Anglophilia, which blended with an inherent conservative bent. Francis Bond Head's politics were a reaction to his family: he blamed his father's radical politics for his financial failures and thus, for his abandonment of his family. From that blame emerged a lifelong distrust of radicals which, when combined with his Anglophilia, resulted in inherently conservative social and authoritarian political beliefs, especially in a colonial context.¹³⁷

Head's political beliefs drove him to become interested in social reform. In 1828 he lobbied Sir Robert Peel for a position in the then nascent Metropolitan Police Force, but was unsuccessful. In 1834 he was appointed assistant poor law commissioner for Kent, and charged with the implementation of the new poor law.¹³⁸ Rather than negotiating a gradual transfer from the old system to the new, Head decided to make a clean sweep. He bypassed the old system and took his changes directly to mass meetings of local ratepayers – taking advantage of the increased political interest resulting from the passing of the Great Reform Act two years before. Despite, by his own admission, never having attended a political meeting or even voting in an election, Head was a natural at gaining populist support and Kent

¹³⁶ Jackman, *Galloping Head*, 55-56.

¹³⁷ Ged Martin, "Head, Sir Francis Bond, first baronet (1793–1875)", *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/12807>, accessed 22 June 2016; S. F. Wise, "Head, Sir Francis Bond," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 10, University of Toronto, 2003, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/head_francis_bond_10E.html, accessed June 5, 2018.

¹³⁸ The new poor law (officially the Poor Law Amendment Act) was an attempt to adapt Britain's poor laws to the political and social philosophies of Thomas Malthus and Jeremy Bentham. Passed with overwhelming support, it eliminated at-home poor relief for the able bodied and redesigned Britain's workhouses to deliberately worsen conditions and thus ensure that only the truly destitute would seek out aid. The law was particularly aimed at England's agricultural south, where, Parliament considered, reliance on poor relief had become too prevalent. See Mark Blaug, "The Myth of the Old Poor Law and the Making of the New," *Journal of Economic History* 23:2 (June 1963): 151-184; Nadja Durbach, "Roast Beef, the New Poor Law, and the British Nation, 1834-1863," *Journal of British Studies* 52:4 (October 2013): 963-989; Anthony Brundage, *The Making of the New Poor Law: The Politics of the Inquiry, Enactment, and Implementation, 1832-1839* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1978).

soon completely adopted the new poor law.¹³⁹ This success was soon replaced by another: in December of 1835, Lord Glenelg wrote to him, asking if he would accept the position of Lieutenant Governor of Upper Canada.¹⁴⁰

The choice of Head for the position was not, as he assumed, a compliment to his work in Kent, but was, in fact, an act of desperation by the Whig government who had just dismissed Colborne and then almost immediately reappointed him Commander-in-Chief of the forces in British North America. The Whig government, and especially Glenelg, were determined to fulfill the demand of Upper Canada's reformers for a civilian Lieutenant Governor after 37 years of military men.¹⁴¹ It was hard to find a civilian, however, who would accept the appointment and be acceptable to the King.¹⁴² Head represented a compromise: he was a military man, but he was largely known for his civilian activities. His aggressive work in Kent and his political writings made him appealing to those in the cabinet who felt Upper Canada needed a moderate reformer, and, thanks to his lasso display four years earlier, he was fondly remembered by, and acceptable to, William IV.¹⁴³ The diary of Lord Howick, who was Glenelg's cabinet ally on Canadian affairs, records that all the other candidates (who were all civilians) were rejected, and "it was with very considerable difficulty that after we went up stairs I got Lord Melbourne to give a grumbling consent to Sir F. Head."¹⁴⁴

¹³⁹ Francis Bond Head, *A Narrative* (London: John Murray, 1839), 32-33.

¹⁴⁰ Ged Martin, "Head, Sir Francis Bond, first baronet (1793-1875)", *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/12807>, accessed 22 June 2016

¹⁴¹ Petition Adopted at a Constitutional Meeting, August 15, 1828, London, National Archives, CO 42/390, 98-103; Manning & Galbraith, "The Appointment of Francis Bond Head," 51; Craig, *Upper Canada*, 194.

¹⁴² Craig, *Upper Canada*, 233.

¹⁴³ Manning & Galbraith, "The Appointment of Francis Bond Head," 51; Gibson, "Persistent Fallacy," 295; Ged Martin, "Head, Sir Francis Bond, first baronet (1793-1875)", *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/12807>, accessed 22 June 2016; S. F. Wise, "Head, Sir Francis Bond," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 10, University of Toronto, 2003, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/head_francis_bond_10E.html, accessed June 5, 2018.

¹⁴⁴ Diary of Lord Howick, entry for November 18, 1835, quoted in Manning & Galbraith, "The Appointment of Francis Bond Head," 52.

Head's arrival in Upper Canada in early 1836 was, like most things about his tenure, a break from tradition. Rather than crossing the Atlantic in a ship of the Royal Navy, Head was sent, at significant cost, to New York on a commercial ship, and then made his way north.¹⁴⁵ It is unclear whether this was because of scheduling or at Head's insistence. Head's arrival in Toronto was greeted by the same hopes for change that had greeted Maitland and Colborne before him. News of Head's actions in Kent had preceded him, and he was greeted by placards declaring him "A tried reformer," which he seems to have regarded at best as an insult, and at worst a challenge.¹⁴⁶ At first, Head seemed to live up to this reputation. He published his instructions from Glenelg, which caused the home government and several of its representatives in Canada much embarrassment, but allowed the House of Assembly to understand precisely what London's goals and expectations were.¹⁴⁷ He also, to the delight of moderate reformers across the colony, appointed three new men, not connected to the Family Compact, to the Legislative Council. This was directly in line with London's wishes, as it had become clear that the lack of parity between the political views of the Legislative Council and those of the general population was significantly increasing unrest in the colony.¹⁴⁸ The men he appointed were moderates in every sense of the word, and were well-respected, one already holding the post of Receiver General.¹⁴⁹ Like his two predecessors, Head took an almost instant dislike to the radical reformers, who he referred to as "the republican party" (association with republicanism being his most damning criticism), and assured Glenelg that no amount of concessions, short of an independent Upper Canada along the American model, would satisfy them.¹⁵⁰ He refused to even consider membership for one of them on the Council,

¹⁴⁵ Gibson, "Persistent Fallacy," 296n5.

¹⁴⁶ Head, *A Narrative*, 33.

¹⁴⁷ Craig, *Upper Canada*, 233.

¹⁴⁸ Craig, *Upper Canada*, 234.

¹⁴⁹ Durham, *Report on the Affairs of British North America*, 156.

¹⁵⁰ Head to Glenelg, February 5, 1836, London, National Archives, CO 42/429, 118-120.

insisting that they were a vocal minority who did not represent “the general feeling and interests of the inhabitants.”¹⁵¹

Head’s promising start was soon cut short by his new appointments. Dissatisfied with the infrequency with which Head consulted the Council, and suspicious of authoritarian impulses in the Lieutenant Governor, Robert Baldwin united the council in a complaint to Head, formally requesting that the Council be consulted on all general matters relating to the government of the colony.¹⁵² Head refused. Legitimately citing both Glenelg’s instructions and precedent, he argued that the responsibility of government was his alone, and although he would consult the Council as often as he saw fit, he could not share that responsibility with them.¹⁵³ In response, the entire Council, including its veteran Tory members, resigned in protest. Head, seemingly unperturbed, appointed a new council, more firmly conservative in its outlook. For the House of Assembly, however, Head’s behavior smacked of the very authoritarianism that Baldwin had feared. The House, on party lines, passed a motion of want of confidence in the new Committee and appointed a Select Committee to investigate the entire incident.¹⁵⁴

The select committee made its report in April of 1836. The document is an outright condemnation of Head, especially for his dishonesty, and charged that his appointment of the three new members of the Council was “a deceitful manœuvre to gain credit with the country for liberal feelings and intentions where none really existed.”¹⁵⁵ The matter was made worse by the fact that Head’s government continued the implementation of the 44 Anglican rectories that had been one of Colborne’s

¹⁵¹ Head to Glenelg, February 5, 1836, London, National Archives, CO 42/429, 118-120.

¹⁵² Executive Council to Head, March 4, 1836, *Report of the Select Committee to Which was Referred the Answer of His Excellency the Lieutenant Governor to an Address of the House of Assembly Relative to a Responsible Executive Council* (Toronto: M. Reynolds, 1836), Appendix A, 1-4.

¹⁵³ Head to the Executive Council, March 5, 1836, *Report of the Select Committee to Which was Referred the Answer of His Excellency*, Appendix B, 4-9.

¹⁵⁴ Craig, *Upper Canada*, 234-235.

¹⁵⁵ *Report of the Select Committee to Which was Referred the Answer of His Excellency*, 7.

last acts as Lieutenant Governor, “in contempt of all [the Assembly’s] humble remonstrances and earnest protestations.”¹⁵⁶ For the select committee, this was the final evidence that Upper Canada did not have the representative government it so sorely needed. With no other solutions presenting themselves, the committee advised the Assembly to withhold the annual supplies from the government.¹⁵⁷ The Assembly promptly accepted the committee’s report and followed their recommendation, voting to stop the supplies. Head’s response was immediate. He prorogued the legislature and let it be known that he would refuse to approve and sign any monetary bills already passed. This direct retaliation did significantly more damage to the Upper Canada’s economy than the Assembly’s vote, which was largely an empty gesture (the economy was in decent enough shape that Colborne had gone for several years without requesting a vote of supplies from the Assembly). Despite this, Head also used his public response to call on rural voters and loyalists to support him, rather than the Assembly, if they hoped for true reform.¹⁵⁸

Head was already breaking with tradition by positioning himself publicly as an alternative to the Assembly, but his next move shattered it. Less than a month after proroguing the Assembly, Head fully dissolved it and called elections, assuming leadership of, and energetically campaigning for, the conservative coalition. To say this went against the political norm in Upper Canada is something of an understatement. While it was acknowledged that the Lieutenant Governor held his own opinions, it was expected that his bias was kept on a personal or informal level. He was supposed to appear either as above politics completely, representing Britain and the monarch and making decisions for the good of the colony, or as an impartial adjudicator, swayed one way or the other by the legitimacy of the arguments in the Assembly and Council. Head, by not only publicly aligning himself with one side but

¹⁵⁶ *Report of the Select Committee to Which was Referred the Answer of His Excellency*, 80.

¹⁵⁷ *Report of the Select Committee to Which was Referred the Answer of His Excellency*, 87, 92-93.

¹⁵⁸ Craig, *Upper Canada*, 196, 235-236.

also campaigning was turning the system on its head. What was worse, at least from the point of view of the reformers, was that he was good at it.

Head used the same public flair he had developed in his writing and deployed to such great effect in Kent. His own recounting of the election in his memoir of his time in Upper Canada illustrates the us vs. them tactics he deployed: “I was sentenced to contend on the soil of America with Democracy, and that if I did not overpower it, it would overpower me.”¹⁵⁹ Head immediately began campaigning along these lines. The radical reformers, along with anyone who supported them, were publicly dismissed as republicans. Any who stood for the British constitution and wanted to maintain British dominion over Upper Canada, by contrast, were urged to align themselves with Head and the conservatives. The contest was transformed from reformer vs tory to loyal vs disloyal; faced with the new political rhetoric, many moderate reformers found themselves siding with their old tory foes to defend against perceived republican threats. Those threats, according to Head, appeared on both sides of Lake Ontario. Like Colborne before him, Head was fully aware of the War of 1812’s long shadow. While Colborne fought the real danger of creeping Americanization via immigration policies and anglicization, however, Head saw it as an opportunity for political grandstanding. In response to fears of foreign invasion, he issued a public challenge: “In the name of every Regiment of Militia in Upper Canada I publicly promulgate – Let them come if they dare!”¹⁶⁰ The strategy worked. When the results were announced in early July, Head’s conservative coalition had a two-to-one majority in the new House of Assembly.¹⁶¹

¹⁵⁹ Head, *A Narrative*, 65.

¹⁶⁰ Head, Reply to an Address from the electors of the Home District, London, National Archives, CO 42/430, 92-93; Address of the Mayor and Some of the Citizens of Toronto to His Excellency Sir Francis B. Head” in *The Speeches, Messages, and Replies of His Excellency Sir Francis Bond Head* (Toronto: Henry Rowsell, 1836), 62.

¹⁶¹ Craig, *Upper Canada*, 236-240.

The new Assembly took advantage of like-minded individuals being in charge of all portions of government to pass several much needed (but in no way radical) reforms to institutions including the judiciary and multiple pending bills for infrastructure and improvements, such as Upper Canada's first railroad.¹⁶² Had Head contended himself with steering the new Assembly along the political lines he envisioned, his lieutenant governorship would probably be considered less of a colonial nadir, but instead he continued his eccentric governing style, with poorer judgement. The first evidence of this emerged almost immediately after his near total electoral victory. Not content with having routed reformers at the polls, he then set out to eradicate them from public life altogether. Head gathered the names of a number of prominent men who were considered to have been sympathetic to the cause of reform, chiefly Dr. Warren Baldwin and Judge George Ridout, and dismissed them from their offices.

Ridout flatly denied the charges, but despite growing support for the former judge in both Upper Canada and Whitehall, Head refused to reinstate him. This refusal was the first incident in what became a running feud between Head and Glenelg, which cost the Lieutenant Governor the support of many of the moderates in the Cabinet. Head lectured the Colonial Secretary on his stated policy of conciliation, and instead insisted that the removal of any who could be seen as the slightest bit disloyal to the Crown was the only way to secure the future of the Colony.¹⁶³ Glenelg, much to Head's horror, not only continued to insist on the reappointment of Ridout, but also instructed the Lieutenant Governor to also appoint Marshall Spring Bidwell, who had been speaker on the previous reform-dominated House of Assembly, to the bench.¹⁶⁴ The appointment, had Head agreed to it, would likely have gone some way towards healing the wounds created by the partisan 1836 election. It also would

¹⁶² Craig, *Upper Canada*, 240.

¹⁶³ S. F. Wise, "Head, Sir Francis Bond," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 10, University of Toronto, 2003, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/head_francis_bond_10E.html, accessed June 5, 2018; Thomas H. B. Symons, "Ridout, George," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 10, University of Toronto, 2003, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/ridout_george_10E.html, accessed June 15, 2018; Craig, *Upper Canada*, 241.

¹⁶⁴ G. M. Craig, "Bidwell, Marshall Spring," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 10, University of Toronto, 2003, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/bidwell_marshall_spring_10E.html, accessed June 15, 2018

have had a positive impact on the quality of the judiciary, as even Head himself admitted that Bidwell's "legal acquirements are... superior to at least one" of the men Head had elevated to the bench, while his "moral character is irreproachable." Still Head refused, arguing that "the welfare and honor of this Province depend on His Majesty never promoting a disloyal man."¹⁶⁵ The debate over these appointments continued back and forth across the Atlantic for nearly a year, with Head twice, in dramatic fashion, threatening to resign if Glenelg overruled him, as he felt "perfectly confident that the moment Mr. Ridout's authority is restored to him I shall be deprived of my own, as well as of all power or possibility of carrying on the government of this Province."¹⁶⁶

Even as Head and Glenelg were arguing over the fates of Bidwell and Ridout, two new crises were looming. The first of these was the financial panic of 1837, which ignored borders and swept across the United States and British North America. Caused largely by over speculation in the early- and mid-1830s and the abolition of the Bank of the United States, the Panic of 1837 was exacerbated by a shortage of specie after British investors in North America began to liquidate their holdings and Andrew Jackson issued the Specie Circular, requiring that all purchases of federal land be made in hard currency.¹⁶⁷ Admittedly, there was only so much a lieutenant governor could do in the face of a continent-wide financial crisis, but Head's response exacerbated the situation. Declaring that the suspension of specie payments was dishonorable, Head refused to let the banks in Upper Canada follow the lead of their compatriots in Lower Canada and the United States. Unable to protect themselves, the banks began to hemorrhage specie and found themselves in danger of collapse. Head's position on this issue, which was "against the expressed opinion of the inhabitants and their representatives" cost him

¹⁶⁵ Head to Glenelg, April 5, 1837, *Copies or Extracts of Despatches From Sir F. B. Head, Bart., K.C.H. on the Subject of Canada* (London: Ordered by the House of Commons, 1839), 392.

¹⁶⁶ Head to Glenelg, February 6, 1837, *Despatches From Sir F. B. Head*, 381; Head to Glenelg, September 10, 1837, *Despatches From Sir F. B. Head*, 420.

¹⁶⁷ See Jessica M. Lepler, *The Many Panics of 1837: People, Politics, and the Creation of a Transatlantic Financial Crisis* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013); Peter L. Rousseau, "Jacksonian Monetary Policy, Specie Flows, and the Panic of 1837," *Journal of Economic History* 62:2 (June 2002): 457-488.

the support of many of the conservatives who had previously backed him and, according to one Tory member of the Assembly, did more “to create a feeling in favor of responsible government than all the essays written or speeches made on the subject.”¹⁶⁸

The final crisis of Head’s tenure has already been discussed in relation to Sir John Colborne and Lower Canada, but is worth briefly exploring in Upper Canada, especially since Head made much of it after he returned to Britain. William Lyon Mackenzie, Upper Canada’s leading radical, had the wind somewhat taken out of his sails by Head’s startling electoral tactics and victory, but soon recovered. A long-term opponent of the banks, the Panic of 1837 reenergized him, even as it further separated him from the moderate reformers. Mackenzie was delighted with reports of increasing Patriote activity in Lower Canada, and his newspaper, the *Colonial Advocate* not only predicted the coming rebellion but also encouraged its readers to follow Lower Canada’s example. Mackenzie’s calls for action became more strident when, in October of 1837, Head, without consulting officers in either province, ordered all of Upper Canada’s regulars to Lower Canada to reinforce Colborne.¹⁶⁹ It is unclear whether Head’s action was driven by sheer arrogance or, as he later claimed, a desire to force Mackenzie’s hand, but if it was a deliberate gamble, it paid off.¹⁷⁰ In response to uprisings in Lower Canada in November and the apparently defenseless state of the colony, Mackenzie and his followers rose up in early December, 1837. The rebellion lasted fewer than 12 hours before it was crushed by militia and police forces. Mackenzie escaped and remained active throughout the Patriot War, but could never again muster sufficient forces to threaten Toronto.

¹⁶⁸ William Hamilton Merritt to Sir George Arthur, February 11, 1839, quoted in Craig, *Upper Canada*, 242-243.

¹⁶⁹ Craig, *Upper Canada*, 243-246; S. F. Wise, “Head, Sir Francis Bond,” in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 10, University of Toronto, 2003, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/head_francis_bond_10E.html, accessed June 5, 2018.

¹⁷⁰ Head, *A Narrative*, 316; Upper Canada, *Morning Chronicle*, January 12, 1838, p. 2.

Having routed Mackenzie's rebellion, Head turned his attention to the low-grade asymmetric border conflict that would characterize the remainder of the Patriot War. Convinced of his own military brilliance (one member of the Cabinet described his reports of the rebellion as "most ludicrous"), he prosecuted his campaign with energy and fervor, and in the process, nearly ignited a full-scale war with the United States.¹⁷¹ Mackenzie and his compatriots (including Patriotes from Lower Canada) enjoyed the active support of several American civilians along the border. In this particular case, that support was made easier by the American civilian steamboat *Caroline*, which was being used to supply Mackenzie's base on Navy Island, just upstream of Niagara Falls. On Head's orders, British forces boarded the *Caroline* in American waters, towed her into the current, set her on fire and sent her over the falls. During this action, one of the *Caroline's* crew, an American citizen named Amos Durfee, was killed. The incident caused outrage throughout the United States and prompted several retaliatory attacks before it was finally put to rest in 1842 with the Webster-Ashburton Treaty.¹⁷²

Had Head been in good standing with the Cabinet, the incident still might have resulted in his recall. As things stood, however, that was not necessary. In the middle of his enthusiastic campaign against what was left of Upper Canada's rebels, Head received word that his resignation, offered so flippantly four months before, had been accepted, and that his replacement should already be on his way to Toronto.¹⁷³ Head sailed via New York and arrived in London in late April, 1838, utterly convinced

¹⁷¹ Head's despatches were written in the same style he employed for his work meant for the general public. In one memorandum, he informed Glenelg that he had "no hesitation whatever in declaring to your Lordship, that upon the loyalty of the people of Upper Canada his Majesty's Government may now build as upon a rock." Francis Bond Head, "Memorandum on the present political state of the Canadas," printed in Head, *A Narrative*, 122; Ged Martin, "Head, Sir Francis Bond, first baronet (1793–1875)", *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/12807>, accessed 22 June 2016; S. F. Wise, "Head, Sir Francis Bond," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 10, University of Toronto, 2003, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/head_francis_bond_10E.html, accessed June 5, 2018.

¹⁷² See Stevens, *Border Diplomacy*; Jones, *To the Webster-Ashburton Treaty*. For Head's report on the affair, see Francis Bond Head, "Memorandum on the destruction of the American Steamboat 'Caroline,'" London, National Archives, CO 537/139.

¹⁷³ Glenelg to Head, November 24, 1837, *Despatches From Sir F. B. Head*, 96-107; Head to Glenelg, January 26, 1838, *Despatches From Sir F. B. Head*, 458.

that he alone was responsible for the preservation of Upper Canada as part of the British Empire, and that he had been treated extremely unfairly by the government.¹⁷⁴ His campaign to prove this fact began soon after the word of his recall reached him. His first volley came in the form of several petulant letters to Glenelg, enclosing addresses of thanks and loyalty he had received as word of his resignation spread, and very clearly implying that the Cabinet had made a mistake.¹⁷⁵ The Cabinet disagreed. Glenelg's letter to Head detailing the reasons they had accepted his resignation ran to eleven typeset pages, and Lord Melbourne, then Prime Minister, declared him "a damned odd fellow."¹⁷⁶ Nor was that opinion limited to the Whigs; Sir Robert Peel, then leader of the opposition, considered him "crack-brained."¹⁷⁷

Head's most significant attempt to redeem his tenure as Lieutenant Governor came with the publication of his memoir of his Canadian Service on February 25, 1839.¹⁷⁸ Weighing in at nearly 500 pages (not counting the appendices) Head's *A Narrative* is an exceedingly boastful first-person account of his time in Canada. It was positioned as a response to criticism of Head in the Durham Report, but must have already been in the works, as it was published only a fortnight after Durham presented his report to Parliament.¹⁷⁹ Head's work received a mixed press, although even those publications that

¹⁷⁴ Ged Martin, "Head, Sir Francis Bond, first baronet (1793–1875)", Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/12807>, accessed 22 June 2016; S. F. Wise, "Head, Sir Francis Bond," in Dictionary of Canadian Biography, vol. 10, University of Toronto, 2003, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/head_francis_bond_10E.html, accessed June 5, 2018.

¹⁷⁵ Head to Glenelg, March 6, 1838, *Despatches From Sir F. B. Head*, 476; Head to Glenelg, March 20, 1838, *Despatches From Sir F. B. Head*, 478-524.

¹⁷⁶ Glenelg to Head, November 24, 1837, *Despatches From Sir F. B. Head*, 96-107; Lloyd C. Sanders, ed., *Lord Melbourne's Papers* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1889), 423n1.

¹⁷⁷ A. Aspinall, ed., *The Correspondence of Charles Arbuthnot* (London: Camden Society third series, Vol. 65, 1941), 210.

¹⁷⁸ *A Narrative*. – By Sir F. B. Head, Bart., *The Times*, February 25, 1839, p. 6.

¹⁷⁹ A portion of the Durham Report appeared in *The Times* on February 7th, it was then presented to Parliament on the 11th and published on the 12th. House of Commons, *The Times*, February 9, 1839, p. 6; House of Commons, *The Times*, February 12, 1839, p. 3; Lord Durham's "Report on the Affairs of British "North America" was published by authority, *The Times*, February 13, 1839, p. 5. For criticism of Head, see Durham, *Report on the Affairs of British North America*, 160-163.

published rave reviews questioned the choice of literary style.¹⁸⁰ Its excellent sales were no doubt helped by the controversy surrounding both its arguments and legality. Large portions of it were drawn from Head's despatches, and he had not received formal permission from the government to publish them. Head had, in the aftermath of the Durham Report, publicly requested permission from Melbourne in a letter that was published first in *The Standard* and then in *The Times*, but no reply had been forthcoming.¹⁸¹ Head had eventually taken the submission of some of his despatches to Parliament as permission to publish, but as he had not been granted formal permission, *The Times* questioned the legality of *A Narrative* within ten days of its publication.¹⁸² For Head, the fact that he had not been immediately granted permission was further sign of a conspiracy against him. "As I have reason to believe that the most important of my despatches from Upper Canada were, contrary to usual custom, submitted for the decision of the Cabinet," he admits in the opening paragraph of the work's preface, "I am perfectly sensible that the publication of this volume must draw upon me the whole force of the government."¹⁸³

Of all of Head's actions that came under criticism, his decision to bait Mackenzie into action by sending all the province's regular troops to Lower Canada took the most fire. Despite his grandiose claims that as "an attack by the rebels was inevitable, the more [he] encouraged them to consider [the government] defenseless the better," many saw in his actions either incompetence or the desire of a former military man to relive his glory days.¹⁸⁴ As one commentator put it, "that man would make a rebellion anywhere."¹⁸⁵ The public criticism of this particular decision was so strong that Head changed

¹⁸⁰ Jackman, *Galloping Head*, 124-126

¹⁸¹ Sir F. Head and Lord Durham, *The Times*, February 14, 1839, p. 3.

¹⁸² We have great doubts, *The Times*, March 7, 1839, p. 5; Jackman, *Galloping Head*, 123-124.

¹⁸³ Head, *A Narrative*, iii.

¹⁸⁴ Head, *A Narrative*, 316.

¹⁸⁵ J. B. Robinson, quoted in S. F. Wise, "Head, Sir Francis Bond," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 10, University of Toronto, 2003, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/head_francis_bond_10E.html, accessed June 5, 2018.

his story in his 1846 work, *The Emigrant*, claiming that “Sir John Colborne... felt that he required the whole of [Upper Canada’s troops] to defend the lower province, and seeming the moral power which he saw I possessed sufficient, he offered me a couple of companies only, and then, without consulting me, recalled the whole of the remainder of the troops.”¹⁸⁶ There is no evidence of this precipitate move on Colborne’s part.

As the crises mounted in Upper Canada, Head employed more military language in his despatches to Glenelg, emphasizing his experience and tacitly citing his service as his reason for holding the position that he did. The inclusion of these despatches in *A Narrative* served the same function, but for a wider audience. In October 1836 Head sent Glenelg a “Memorandum on the present political state of the Canadas” which warned against uniting Upper and Lower Canada and instead suggested a remarkably ambitious plan to curtail the unrest in Lower Canada by enlarging Upper Canada and New Brunswick (Lower Canada’s more loyal neighbors) and present the francophone population with a choice between loyalty and bankruptcy by strangling their trade.¹⁸⁷ The entire plan was military in tone, with Head suggesting the annexation of Montreal and Gaspé.¹⁸⁸ He then proceeded to offer his services either to annex Montreal, or to “tranquilize the Lower Province” once it had been reduced. “It is an old maxim in the army,” Head informed Glenelg, “that any project of apparent difficulty, or danger, should always be accompanied by an offer from the proposer to carry it into effect himself.” “But,” he concluded, “from the treatment I am receiving, I feel that my services are not appreciated, and will not long be in action.”¹⁸⁹ This petulant addendum was designed not only to elicit sympathy and reinforce Head’s longstanding belief that he was being treated unfairly, but to also make the reader (whether that

¹⁸⁶ Francis Bond Head, *The Emigrant* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1847), 101.

¹⁸⁷ Francis Bond Head, “Memorandum on the present political state of the Canadas,” printed in Head, *A Narrative*, 121-137.

¹⁸⁸ Head, “Memorandum on the present political state of the Canadas,” printed in Head, *A Narrative*, 131.

¹⁸⁹ Head to Glenelg, October 28, 1836, printed in Head, *A Narrative*, 137-138.

be Glenelg or *A Narrative's* wider audience) positively evaluate Head's potential to successfully carry out the plan, given his military background.

In another despatch, two months later, Head justified his own actions and responded to the criticism that no other Lieutenant Governor would have acted so with a direct comparison to Waterloo: "if, as a general rule, all our colonies are to surrender whatever prerogative any one of them in particular may be deprived of, by which arrangement the weakest Lieutenant-Governor, whoever he may be, will lead all the rest, (which is certainly contrary to military tactics, for the guards at Waterloo never for a moment thought of giving up Hougoumont, because some of the Belgian infantry ran away.)"¹⁹⁰ By bringing up Waterloo, he was reminding first Glenelg and then the court of public opinion that he fought there, but by specifically referencing the Guards' defense of Hougoumont, one of the bloodiest lynch-pins of the battle, he was also making a virtue out of his stubbornness and recklessness, and arguing that, like the Guards, his actions were crucial to British victory.

Head's last attempt to gain recognition came in 1869, when the Order of St. Michael and Saint George was reorganized and opened up from just those who had performed worthy service in the Mediterranean to those who had distinguished themselves anywhere in the empire. The announcement was made at the inaugural meeting of the Colonial Society and reported in *The Times*.¹⁹¹ The same day that it was reported, Head wrote to Lord Granville, then Secretary of State for the Colonies, demanding to know why he had not been included.¹⁹² Granville's achingly polite reply, some four months later, summed up the general view of Head's gubernatorial career: "the number of candidates whose claims have to be considered is very great. I have endeavored to select from among these those who were generally considered by the public to have pre-eminent and universally acknowledged claims... I had to

¹⁹⁰ Head to Glenelg, December 30, 1836, printed in Head, *A Narrative*, 173.

¹⁹¹ The Colonial Society, *The Times*, March 11, 1869, p. 12.

¹⁹² Head to Lord Granville, March 11, 1869, quoted in Smith, "Sir Francis Bond Head: A Foot-Note," 298-299.

consider that the services you rendered as Colonial Governor... did not meet with universal approbation."¹⁹³ The spirit of the rejection closely matched some of the first literary criticism Head had ever received, and many of his former subjects in Canada would have agreed wholeheartedly with *The Monthly Review's* prophetic words: "We have been surprised to find so much talent and information, united with so much illiberality and temerity of judgement."¹⁹⁴

With Head's recall, London's policy of only appointing military officers to the Lieutenant-Governorship of Upper Canada ceased, and the petitioners of 1828 got their wish. Nor was it limited to Upper Canada – across the British Empire, and even in colonies in or close to conflict zones, the balance shifted towards civilian governors. From 73% of Governorships and Lieutenant Governorships going to military men in the period from 1815 to 1850, the percentage drops to 38% for the same colonies between 1850 and 1885.¹⁹⁵ In Upper Canada, it dropped even further to just 20%.¹⁹⁶ As we have demonstrated, military service did not universally prepare an individual for colonial governance. In fact, in some cases, the lessons ingrained by the traditional European experience of war could be detrimental when dealing with colonial politics or asymmetric imperial warfare. Moreover, in the cases where a veteran did make a passable or even good colonial governor, it is unclear whether their military experience played a part in their success. Consider the three examples we have discussed here: both Maitland and Head were unsuccessful Lieutenant Governors who left Upper Canada if not worse off, then at least more divided than they found it. Colborne was the most effective of the three, and a case can be made for his tenure being a moderate success. Even with him, however, it is questionable just how much of what made him

¹⁹³ Granville to Head, July 26, 1869, quoted in Smith, "Sir Francis Bond Head: A Foot-Note," 299-300.

¹⁹⁴ "Rough Notes Taken During Some Rapid Journeys Across the Pampas and Among the Andes. By Captain Head," *The Monthly Review From September to December Inclusive, 1826* (London: Charles Knight, 1826), III:153.

¹⁹⁵ Henige, *Colonial Governors*, 73-196. See Appendix F.

¹⁹⁶ Henige, *Colonial Governors*, 105.

a decent Lieutenant Governor was as a result of his traditional military background, and how much was either drawn from the non-military portions of his life or can be traced to his involvement with the forward-thinking light infantry regiments.

Waterloo played a substantial role in the British rhetorical justifications for empire, and victory in the Napoleonic Wars not only opened up new colonial opportunities but also freed up resources that could now be spent on imperial expansion. For all that Waterloo was significant in an imperial context, however, the type of warfare that it represented was rarely found outside of Europe and the United States. This severely limited the utility of the experience gained there. It took the British government nearly two decades to realize this, however, and until it did, it still preferred to reward service with political positions in the wider empire than it did at home. A Waterloo Medal, therefore, was sometimes useful in securing an imperial appointment, but it presented no guarantee of success.

Epilogue: "The Last Great Englishman is Low:" The Funeral of the Duke of Wellington¹

November 18, 1852 dawned over London with angry skies after a night of rain, as June 18, 1815 had some thirty-seven years before over the Netherlands. The rain of the night of November 17 and 18, like the rain of the night of June 17 and 18, fell on thousands of people who resigned themselves to a wet night as the price for being where they needed to be. Several regiments of infantry, cavalry, and artillery gathered on Horse Guards Parade, Birdcage Walk, and in St. James's Park in the sodden pre-dawn, while civilians watched the sun rise over London from prime positions along the Mall, Piccadilly, St. James's, Pall Mall, the Strand, Fleet Street, and Ludgate Hill, which they had claimed the day before and defended throughout the rain-lashed night. By the time the minute guns started firing at around eight in the morning, one and a half million people were gathered between Hyde Park Corner and St. Paul's Cathedral to pay their last respects to the man who had commanded those soaked men thirty-seven years before and turned the village of Waterloo into a British household name.²

Given its size, it is unsurprising that the funeral of the Duke of Wellington has attracted a fair amount of scholarly attention. David Cannadine noted that the grandeur of Wellington's funeral surpassed those of three of the four monarchs he served, Peter Sinnema used the funeral as the cultural lodestone for his examination of Englishness in the mid nineteenth century, and multiple scholars have discussed it in the context of Victorian notions of mourning, death, and ceremony.³ Beyond its size and

¹ Alfred Tennyson, *Ode on the Death of the Duke of Wellington* (London: Edward Moxon, 1852), 6.

² Minute guns are cannon fired every minute to mark the funeral of a senior military officer. The Funeral of the Duke of Wellington, *The Times*, November 19, 1852, p. 5; The Grand State Funeral of Arthur Duke of Wellington, *The Illustrated London News*, November 27, 1852, p. 473-474.

³ David Cannadine, "The Context, Performance and Meaning of Ritual: The British Monarchy and the 'Invention of Tradition', c. 1820-1977," in *The Invention of Tradition*, eds. Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 116; Peter W. Sinnema, *The Wake of Wellington: Englishness in 1852* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2006); Cornelia D. J. Pearsall, "Burying the Duke: Victorian Mourning and the Funeral of the Duke of Wellington," *Victorian Literature and Culture* 27, no. 2 (1999): 365-393; James Stevens Curl, *The Victorian Celebration of Death* (Stroud: Sutton Publishing Ltd., 2004), chapter 7; Harry Garlick, *The Final Curtain: State*

splendor, Wellington’s funeral (and the Duke’s death) is of particular interest to this dissertation as it presents the apogee of several of the themes discussed in the previous seven chapters. In the two months between Wellington’s death on September 14 and his funeral on November 18, and especially at the funeral itself, we find examples of the nationalization not only of his victories, but also of the grief at his passing. We find great military spectacle, deliberately paired with and subservient to the civilian sphere. In addition, many of the officers who have been discussed in previous chapters played significant roles in the funeral pageant. Finally, those two months saw a significant outpouring of books, poems, and souvenirs that built on, and were reminiscent of, the publications and ephemera produced in connection to Waterloo over the previous three decades.

The procession deliberately highlighted Wellington’s influence across all aspects of British society.⁴ It was, unsurprisingly, dominated by the military. The procession contained seven battalions of infantry, including two that Wellington had been colonel of, and the 33rd (First Yorkshire West Riding) Regiment of Foot, which he had commanded in Flanders and India early in his career, and which was renamed the 33rd (or The Duke of Wellington’s) Regiment of Foot by royal decree in 1853.⁵ The cavalry were represented by eight squadrons, three of which were drawn from the Household Cavalry, comprising a total of 640 swords.⁶ Mixed in with the cavalry were seventeen guns – nine from the Royal

Funerals and the Theatre of Power (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1999), chapter 4; John Morley, *Death, Heaven and the Victorians* (Pittsburg: University of Pittsburg Press, 1971), chapter 7; Matthias Range, *British Royal and State Funerals: Music and Ceremonial since Elizabeth I* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2016), chapter 6; R. E. Foster, “‘Bury the Great Duke’: Thoughts on Wellington’s Passing,” in *Wellington Studies V*, ed. C. M. Woolgar (Southampton: University of Southampton, 2013): 299-328. .

⁴ All procession details taken from Programme of the Procession from the Horse Guards to St. Paul’s Cathedral, *The Morning Post*, November 18, 1852, p. 5; The Funeral of the Duke of Wellington, *The Times*, November 19, 1852, p. 5; The Funeral Procession, *Daily News*, November 19, 1852; The Grand State Funeral of Arthur Duke of Wellington, *The Illustrated London News*, November 27, 1852, p.478-479; *Official Programme of the Public Funeral of the Late Field-Marshal, Arthur Duke of Wellington, K.G., as Issued by the Authority of the Earl-Marshal* (London: N. Pearce, 1852).

⁵ The two infantry regiments Wellington had served as colonel of were the Rifle Brigade and the Grenadier Guards. Wellington served as colonel-in-chief of the Rifle Brigade from 1820 and colonel of the Grenadier Guards from 1827. Upon his death in 1852, Prince Albert took over as colonel of both regiments.

⁶ The Grand State Funeral of Arthur Duke of Wellington, *The Illustrated London News*, November 27, 1852, p. 474.

Artillery’s field batteries, and eight from the Royal Horse Artillery. The military provided “martial and solemn” music, in the form of sixteen regimental bands sprinkled throughout the procession, the majority of which played the Dead March from George Frideric Handel’s oratorio *Saul*.⁷ The military presence was further supplemented by eighty-three Chelsea Pensioners (one for each year of Wellington’s life); three infantrymen and three artillerymen from the East India Company’s Army, each pair representing one of the three Presidencies; and ten men from every regiment in the service (a captain, a junior officer, a sergeant, a corporal, and six soldiers), who marched together in a remarkably diverse battalion of detachments. Europe’s militaries were represented by seven mourning coaches, each carrying one of Wellington’s Field Marshal Batons (from Spain, Russia, Prussia, Portugal, the Netherlands, Hanover, and Great Britain), borne by a senior officer of that country supported by two juniors.⁸

Intermingled with the military was the civilian side of British society. Large portions of both Houses of Parliament attended the funeral, although they did not participate in the procession, preferring to take private steamboats along the Thames from Parliament to St. Paul’s.⁹ Six members of the cabinet, however, did take part in the procession, where they were joined by the Speaker of the House of Commons, the Lord High Chancellor representing the House of Lords, several high-ranking judges, clergy, ministers of the crown, and other members of the Civil Service and London and Home Counties governments. Each rank of the Order of the Bath was represented by a carriage carrying four

⁷ While reports indicate that the bands played the Dead March repeatedly, some variation also shone through. The band of the 33rd began their march with the German Hymn, which Wellington had remarked on the beauty of in the aftermath of Waterloo and marked their arrival at Buckingham Palace with a roll of muffled drums. When the bands of the Guards Regiments passed Apsley House, they also substituted music for a long roll of their muffled drums. The Band of the 93rd Highlanders, the last band in the procession, switched to *Adeste Fideles* as they marched up the Strand. The Funeral of the Duke of Wellington, *The Times*, November 19, 1852, p. 5; The Funeral Procession, *Daily News*, November 19, 1852; The Grand State Funeral of Arthur Duke of Wellington, *The Illustrated London News*, November 27, 1852, p. 474.

⁸ Only Austria refused to send a general officer to bear their baton.

⁹ Funeral of the Duke of Wellington, *The Times*, November 18, 1852, p. 5.

members, “being one of each class from the Army, one from the Navy, one from the East India Company’s Service, and one from the Civil Service.”¹⁰ The Queen and the royal family were represented by Prince Albert, although several empty royal coaches were added to the procession as a mark of respect, and the court was well represented by such luminaries as the Earl Marshal of England, the Lord Great Chamberlain, and the Lord Privy Seal. Unsurprisingly, the College of Arms played a major role in the organization of the procession and the funeral, and a number of their officers participated. To honor Wellington’s eighteen years of service as the Chancellor of the University of Oxford, a delegation of dons, comprising two coaches, participated in the procession, as did the Lieutenant and Deputy-Lieutenant of Dover Castle and the Captains of Deal, Walmer, Sandgate, and Sandown Castles in acknowledgement of Wellington’s twenty-three year tenure as Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports. These deputations were joined by carriages from the Merchant Tailor’s Company, the East India Company, and the Corporation of Trinity House. Finally, the City of London contributed nine coaches’ worth of Sheriffs, Aldermen and dignitaries, including the Lord Mayor, on foot and carrying the City Sword, all of whom joined the procession after it had passed through Temple Bar and officially entered the City of London itself.

At the center of the procession, surrounded by the cream of the British army and civil society, was the scarlet and gold coffin of the Duke of Wellington, carried on an £11,000 funeral car so large and elaborate that it “seemed... like a moving temple” (Figure 8.1).¹¹ Twenty-seven feet long and ten feet wide, this six-wheeled, ten to eleven ton “gigantic vehicle” was drawn by twelve large black horses, clothed in black velvet caparisons with Wellington’s arms embroidered upon them and headpieces

¹⁰ The Funeral Procession, *Daily News*, November 19, 1852.

¹¹ The Duke of Wellington’s Funeral, *The Illustrated London News*, November 20, 1852, 431; The Grand State Funeral of Arthur Duke of Wellington, *The Illustrated London News*, November 27, 1852, 475. This is roughly the equivalent of £1-1.5 million today. Relative Value, MeasuringWorth, 2019, <https://www.measuringworth.com/calculators/ukcompare/relativevalue.php>

surmounted by black plumes, harnessed in four rows of three abreast.¹² The three-tiered design, by Richard Redgrave, Art-Superintendent, was personally approved by both Queen Victoria and Prince Albert.¹³ The bottom tier, the wheels, and the Duke’s crest on the front were cast entirely out of bronze from enemy cannon captured by Wellington’s armies.¹⁴ From this base rose “a rich pediment of gilding, in the panels of which” were engraved the names of twenty-four of Wellington’s victories, from Ahmednuggur (1803) to Waterloo.¹⁵ This pediment was flanked on the front and sides by rosettes of arms and armor, also taken as trophies, union flags, and surmounted by representations of Wellington’s “Ducal coronets and batons.”¹⁶ Placed on this pediment was the bier, its handles almost as long as the car itself, and draped in a black velvet pall, finished with a two foot deep fringe of silver and embroidered alternately with Wellington’s arms and his crossed Field-Marshal’s batons, a laurel border, and the legend “Blessed are the dead that die in the Lord.”¹⁷ On the bier rested the coffin, upon which was laid Wellington’s hat and sword, the whole shaded by a “superb canopy of silver tissue, after an Indian pattern,” “with pendent cords and tassels of the richest and most costly description,” suspended by four halberds hung with real laurel.¹⁸

¹² Each set of three horses was led by a sergeant of the Royal Horse Artillery. The Funeral of the Duke of Wellington, *The Times*, November 19, 1852, p. 5; Official Account of the Funeral Car of the Duke of Wellington, *The Illustrated London News*, November 20, 1852, 439.

¹³ Official Account of the Funeral Car of the Duke of Wellington, *The Illustrated London News*, November 20, 1852, 439; Pearsall, “Burying the Duke,” 370.

¹⁴ F. J. Rowe and W. T. Webb, *Selections from Tennyson with Introduction and Notes* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1890), 142n55; W. T. Meloy, *Wanderings in Europe* (Chicago: La Monte, O’Donnell & Co., 1892), 199; *Official Programme of the Public Funeral of the Late Field-Marshal, Arthur Duke of Wellington*, 5.

¹⁵ The Funeral of the Duke of Wellington, *The Times*, November 19, 1852, p. 5; Official Account of the Funeral Car of the Duke of Wellington, *The Illustrated London News*, November 20, 1852, 439.

¹⁶ The Funeral of the Duke of Wellington, *The Times*, November 19, 1852, p. 5; Official Account of the Funeral Car of the Duke of Wellington, *The Illustrated London News*, November 20, 1852, 439.

¹⁷ The Funeral of the Duke of Wellington, *The Times*, November 19, 1852, p. 5; Official Account of the Funeral Car of the Duke of Wellington, *The Illustrated London News*, November 20, 1852, 439.

¹⁸ The Duke of Wellington’s Funeral, *The Illustrated London News*, November 20, 1852, 431; The Funeral of the Duke of Wellington, *The Times*, November 19, 1852, p. 5; Official Account of the Funeral Car of the Duke of Wellington, *The Illustrated London News*, November 20, 1852, 439.

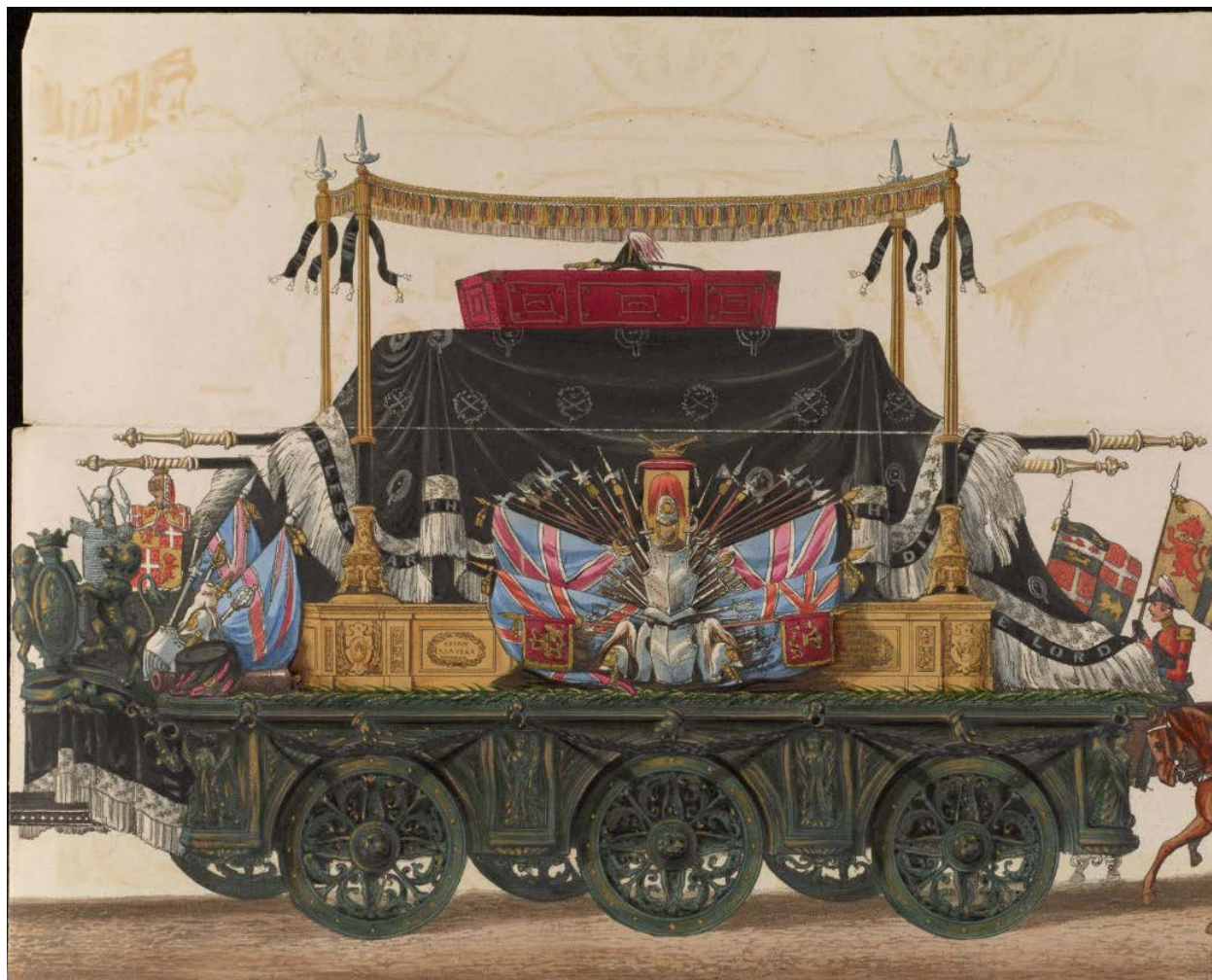


Figure 8.1: The Funeral Car of the Duke of Wellington, Henry Alken and George Augustus Sala, *The Funeral Procession of Arthur, Duke of Wellington* (London: Ackermann & Co., 1853), Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, Harley-Mason.a.25

The route of the procession was also designed to highlight the various aspects of Wellington’s legacy (Figure 8.2).¹⁹ The procession gathered at Horse Guards Parade, the administrative home of the British Army, and directly under the windows of the office Wellington occupied when he served as Commander-in-Chief. From there the procession moved north along Horse Guards Parade before turning left onto the Mall, echoing the evening promenades of London’s fashionable set. The cortege passed Buckingham Palace, where the royal standard flew at half-mast and Queen Victoria and her

¹⁹ Details of the route taken from *The Grand State Funeral of Arthur Duke of Wellington*, *The Illustrated London News*, November 27, 1852, p. 473-479; *The Funeral of the Duke of Wellington*, *The Times*, November 19, 1852, p. 5; *The Funeral Procession*, *Daily News*, November 19, 1852.

family watched from the balconies, before turning up Constitution Hill. It passed under the Wellington Arch and turned right onto Piccadilly, passing the honor guard of Light Dragoons positioned in front of a darkened Apsley House, the metal shutters which had earned Wellington the sobriquet of “the Iron Duke” closed. It continued down Piccadilly, passing the great mansions, some of which were dark in mourning while others were packed with well-to-do spectators. The procession then turned right down St. James’s Street, passing St. James’s Palace before turning left onto Pall Mall. This detour through St. James’s, chosen to allow Queen Victoria and her family, who had moved from Buckingham Palace to St. James’s Palace after the cortege had turned up Constitution Hill, another look, also meant that procession passed through the heart of London’s “clubland.” The fashionable institutions that lined St. James’s and Pall Mall, several of whom (most notably the Army and Navy Club and the Carlton Club) could claim Wellington as a founding member and patron, were draped in black crepe and “overflowed with visitors” who took advantage of the opportunity to view the procession in comfort.²⁰

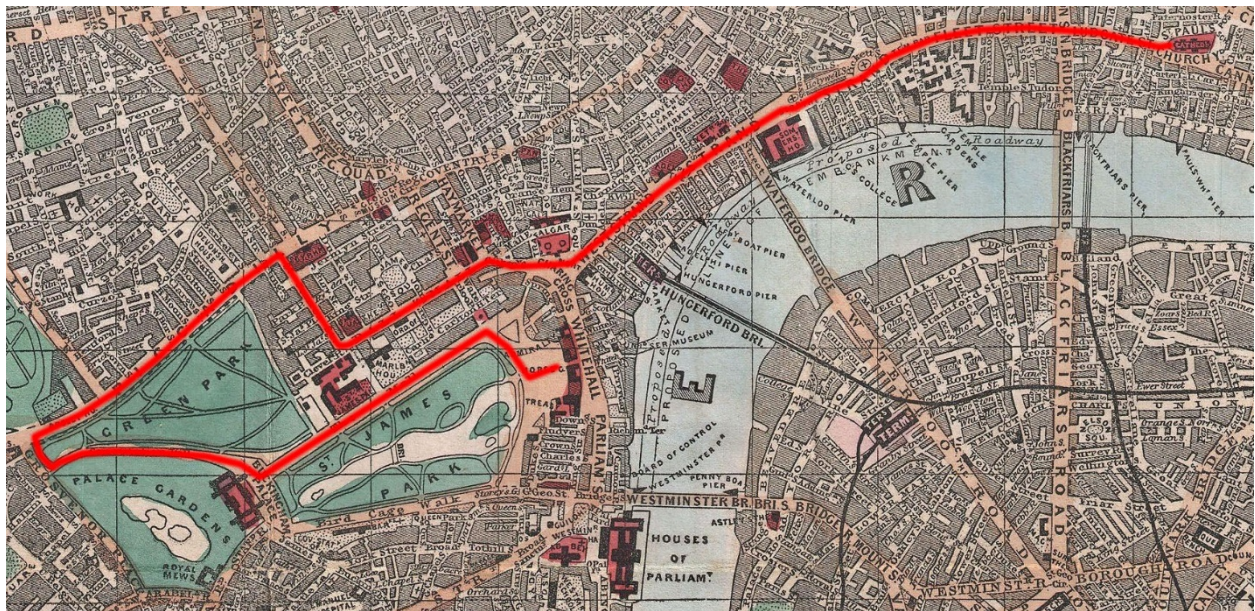


Figure 8.2: The route of the Duke of Wellington’s funeral procession, from Horse Guards Parade to St. Paul’s Cathedral. Detail from *Reynolds’s Map of Modern London* (London: James Reynolds, 1862).

²⁰ The Carlton Club was one of the few exceptions to this and remained as dark as Apsley House. The Funeral of the Duke of Wellington, *The Times*, November 19, 1852, p. 5; The Grand State Funeral of Arthur Duke of Wellington, *The Illustrated London News*, November 27, 1852, p. 475.

This detour also allowed the cortege to pass Waterloo Place, now marked by a troop of the 4th (Royal Irish) Dragoon Guards, before moving from Pall Mall into Charing Cross and onto the Strand. This route, from Pall Mall to the Strand, meant the procession passed the foot of Nelson’s Column in Trafalgar Square, a notable visual tribute to Wellington’s naval counterpart in the canon of British martial heroes. As the procession passed into the Strand, *The Times* noted that “a new phase in the character of the funeral pageant and its reception became apparent. The demonstrations of respect became parochial, and the churches formed the great centres for spectators.”²¹ St. Martin’s-in-the-Fields, St. Mary-le-Strand, St. Clement Danes, and St. Dunstan’s now anchored the multitudes of middle-class mourners the way the mansions of Piccadilly and the clubs of St. James’s had their aristocratic and genteel counterparts. The procession paused at Temple Bar, the grand arch that marked the western entrance to the City of London, which had been decorated over the preceding days to demonstrate “the respect which the City entertains for the memory of the Great Duke” (Figure 8.3).²² It was entirely swathed in “velvet and black cloth draped with white fringe,” which was punctuated by several laureled monograms of the letters A and W, from which hung the symbols of several of his chivalric orders.²³ At the top of the lower arch was the City’s coat of arms, while on each column of the upper arch were suspended crests of shields topped with the flags of the European nations that had appointed Wellington Field Marshal. The entire structure was topped by “four conspicuous Roman urns, surrounding a still larger one in the centre, with twelve funeral flambeaus.”²⁴ As grand as it was, the archway of Temple Bar still limited the space over the roadway, and the funeral car paused before it so that the canopy over the coffin could be lowered, allowing the car to pass. “Thus,” one observer noted,

²¹ The Funeral of the Duke of Wellington, *The Times*, November 19, 1852, p. 5.

²² The Funeral of the Duke of Wellington, *The Times*, November 19, 1852, p. 5.

²³ The Funeral Procession, *Daily News*, November 19, 1852.

²⁴ The Funeral Procession, *Daily News*, November 19, 1852.

“the old Duke of Wellington, even after death, did homage to the ancient laws of this country, and the representative of military power bowed for the last time to salute the civil power.”²⁵



Figure 8.3: Thomas H. Ellis, *Funeral Car of the Late Field Marshal Duke of Wellington*, 1852, London, The British Museum, 1880,1113.2986.

Having entered the City, the professions took the place of religion as the Strand became Fleet Street and the cortege passed the Inns of Court and the City’s coffee houses, publishers, and other businesses. Here the crowds grew even larger, extending as far south as Blackfriars Bridge and necessitating the squadron of the Royal Regiment of Horse Guards (The Blues) that formed the

²⁵ A Foreigner’s Account of the Funeral (From the *Independence Belge*), *The Illustrated London News*, November 27, 1852, p.467.

procession’s rearguard to turn and block Temple Bar once the cortege had passed through to stop the crowd following. The procession continued along the Strand as it became Ludgate Hill, passing Old Bailey, before the Professions surrendered the nature of the pageant once again to the military. No spectators were allowed on the street east of Creed and Ave Maria Lanes, and as the battalions that led the procession entered this area of relative calm, they moved out of the march to line the route, providing a final guard of honor as the funeral car made its way past.²⁶

St. Paul’s Cathedral’s doors opened at seven in the morning, and from that point on, there was a steady influx of mourners, each bearing a numbered, stamped, and printed ticket, issued by the office of the Earl Marshal, which specified the area of the cathedral in which they were to take their place.²⁷ By the time the last person was seated and the funeral service itself was ready to begin, over 17,000 people, including numerous foreign dignitaries and representatives of every aspect of British life, were crammed into “the great cathedral of Protestant Europe.”²⁸ There they waited for an hour, the great doors open to the November cold, thanks to a malfunction in the machinery built in to the funeral car that prevented the transfer of the bier to the smaller cart used for the funeral service itself. Once the funeral car was persuaded to surrender the “mortal remains of the hero,” the funeral proceeded without delay, and culminated in the lowering of the coffin directly into the crypt.²⁹ Unfortunately, as Nelson’s tomb was located directly under the dome in the crypt, this meant that Wellington’s coffin came to rest directly on top of his naval counterpart. It remained there for over a year before it was

²⁶ Programme of the Procession from the Horse Guards to St. Paul’s Cathedral, *The Morning Post*, November 18, 1852, p. 5

²⁷ Invitations to the Funeral of the Late Field Marshal the Duke of Wellington, Montreal, Rare Books, Special Collections & Archives, McGill University Library, MS662, Wellington Collection, C2; The Funeral of the Duke of Wellington, *The Times*, November 19, 1852, p. 5.

²⁸ The Grand State Funeral of Arthur Duke of Wellington, *The Illustrated London News*, November 27, 1852, 475; Funeral of the Duke of Wellington, *The Times*, November 18, 1852, p. 5.

²⁹ The Grand State Funeral of Arthur Duke of Wellington, *The Illustrated London News*, November 27, 1852, p. 474.

moved to its final resting place: a tomb of rare luxullianite granite, located several yards east of Nelson.³⁰

This was not, it should be noted, the only time the funeral car had caused trouble. The final design had been approved only three weeks before the funeral, and different portions of it had been cast in London, Sheffield, Birmingham, and Pimlico.³¹ The result was that it was still being assembled on the morning of the eighteenth.³² Once it was assembled, its enormous weight cracked pavements along the route, and it brought the procession to a halt when it stuck fast on the turning from Horse Guards into the Mall.³³ Its size also required the removal of a large portion of the railing around St. Paul’s to allow it entrance into the churchyard.³⁴ Most dangerously, when travelling downhill along St. James’s “a body of police was employed, who, by means of ropes fastened to the back of the car, prevented it from attaining a velocity which might have been fatal to the horses nearest to the ponderous machine.”³⁵

Despite these setbacks, the funeral was considered a great success. *The Times* informed their readers that “the spectacle was such as none of us can ever hope... to see the like of again,” while *The Illustrated London News* declared it “one of the most impressive ceremonials ever witnessed in this country,” which may have “surpassed in significant grandeur any similar tribute of greatness ever offered in the world.”³⁶ There was an undeniable military air to portions of the proceedings. Tribute was paid to Wellington’s military victories and the roughly 5,000 soldiers who took part in the funeral, and

³⁰ Pearsall, “Burying the Duke,” 383-384.

³¹ Official Account of the Funeral Car of the Duke of Wellington, *The Illustrated London News*, November 20, 1852, 439.

³² Funeral of the Duke of Wellington, *The Times*, November 18, 1852, p. 5.

³³ The Grand State Funeral of Arthur Duke of Wellington, *The Illustrated London News*, November 27, 1852, p. 474; The Funeral of the Duke of Wellington, *The Times*, November 19, 1852, p. 5; The Funeral Procession, *Daily News*, November 19, 1852; Pearsall, “Burying the Duke,” 378.

³⁴ The Funeral of the Duke of Wellington, *The Times*, November 19, 1852, p. 5.

³⁵ The Grand State Funeral of Arthur Duke of Wellington, *The Illustrated London News*, November 27, 1852, p. 475.

³⁶ The Funeral of the Duke of Wellington, *The Times*, November 19, 1852, p. 5; The Duke of Wellington’s Funeral, *The Illustrated London News*, November 20, 1852, 431

several papers took the opportunity to sprinkle in some military language.³⁷ *The Times* noted that the Choir of St. Paul's had to call in "reinforcements of picked men from the Chapel Royal, Westminster Abbey, &c." and that the area around the Cathedral had "become a garrison. St. Paul's is invested," while the *Daily News* sardonically excused the panicked galloping of the procession's commander, the Duke of Cambridge, by explaining that "it was his royal highness's first battle, and he was naturally nervous."³⁸

As with the annual celebrations of the battle of Waterloo, however, much of the language used emphasized the national, rather than military, nature of the tragedy and mourning. Newspapers had, for years, insisted that the annual Waterloo banquet should be treated as a national, rather than elitist military celebration.³⁹ In line with this, civilian-centric celebrations grew in popularity, from Vauxhall Garden's Waterloo Fete to the Dance on the Nythe. This trend continued with Wellington's funeral. Prince Albert, who was heavily involved in the planning of the funeral, conceived of it not only as fitting farewell to a hero of the nation, but also as an opportunity to demonstrate British achievement to the world: a Great Exhibition in mourning.⁴⁰ The funeral car was one of the best demonstrations of this philosophy, as it united British industry and art, and drew on talent from across Great Britain. "In no other country but England could a work of the kind have been accomplished with such marvelous expedition," declared *The Times*, "as a whole, [it] will justly be regarded as one of our finest artistic productions."⁴¹

³⁷ The Grand State Funeral of Arthur Duke of Wellington, *The Illustrated London News*, November 27, 1852, p. 474-475.

³⁸ Funeral of the Duke of Wellington, *The Times*, November 18, 1852, p. 5; The Funeral of the Duke of Wellington, *The Times*, November 19, 1852, p. 5; The Funeral Procession, *Daily News*, November 19, 1852.

³⁹ "Waterloo Banquet," *The North Wales Chronicle*, June 25, 1839; "The Waterloo Banquet at Apsley House," *The Times*, June 19, 1841, p. 5.

⁴⁰ Pearsall, "Burying the Duke," 370.

⁴¹ Funeral of the Duke of Wellington, *The Times*, November 18, 1852, p. 5.

The London papers had always made sure to mention the crowds gathered outside Apsley House every June 18th to experience the Waterloo banquet at a remove.⁴² Now, in keeping with that, it was the size of the funeral's civilian crowd, rather than the serried ranks of soldiers or the wonders of the ten-ton funeral car, that the press held up as evidence of the truly national nature of the funeral. "A million and a half of people beheld and participated in the ceremonial," *The Times* reported on November 19th, "which was national in the truest and largest sense of the word."⁴³ The turnout was impressive. An "enormous tide of country visitors" flowed into the capital, many taking advantage of special "Funeral Trains," organized so that individuals from "the extremities of the kingdom" could make their way into and out of London.⁴⁴ Along the route of the funeral procession, and on any roads that intersected it, the crush of people became so great that "A midge could not find a passage between the dense mass of human beings" and the gas lamps remained lit throughout the day as their custodians could not reach them to turn them off.⁴⁵ In Piccadilly, just past where the procession turned down St. James's, "wagons, carts, coaches, and omnibuses" were converted into impromptu viewing platforms "to give their occupants a more commanding view."⁴⁶ More traditional, but just as temporary, viewing platforms were erected in front of any building along the route that was set at all back from the road.⁴⁷ Building sites became temporary galleries, and every upper-story window "had people thrust from them eagerly gazing" down.⁴⁸ Along the Strand and in the City, shopkeepers converted their ground-floor shop windows into still more seating, and "inclosed numbers of full-grown people. Compressing

⁴² "Waterloo Banquet," *The Chartist*, June 23, 1839; "Waterloo Banquet at Apsley House," *The Standard*, June 20, 1836; "The Waterloo Banquet," *The Times*, June 20, 1843, p. 5; "The Waterloo Banquet," *The Times*, June 19, 1846, p. 8; "The Waterloo Banquet," *The Times*, June 19, 1844, p. 5.

⁴³ The Funeral of the Duke of Wellington, *The Times*, November 19, 1852, p. 5.

⁴⁴ Funeral of the Duke of Wellington, *The Times*, November 20, 1852, p. 5; A Foreigner's Account of the Funeral (From the *Independence Belge*), *The Illustrated London News*, November 27, 1852, p.467.

⁴⁵ The Funeral Procession, *Daily News*, November 19, 1852; The Funeral of the Duke of Wellington, *The Times*, November 19, 1852, p. 5.

⁴⁶ The Funeral of the Duke of Wellington, *The Times*, November 19, 1852, p. 5.

⁴⁷ The Funeral Procession, *Daily News*, November 19, 1852

⁴⁸ The Funeral Procession, *Daily News*, November 19, 1852; The Funeral of the Duke of Wellington, *The Times*, November 19, 1852, p. 5.

themselves for the occasion into the dimensions of charity-school children,” “producing the effect of the benches of an amphitheatre indefinitely elongated.”⁴⁹ For the brave, the roofs offered excellent viewing, and some spectators sat on chimney pots or took advantage of awnings erected by building owners “to protect those who stand upon the tiles or leads from the weather.”⁵⁰ It was, as *The Times* put it, “as if the whole world had assembled to witness the ceremonial, for the people were everywhere – built into the walls, swarming the streets, and clustered like hives on every projection and parapet.”⁵¹

For the popular press, this turnout was the greatest tribute to Wellington. A reporter for *The Illustrated London News*, in summarizing the honors heaped on Wellington, insisted that “there remained yet but one form in which this gratitude and veneration could give itself expression... and that last sad resource was on Thursday exhausted by the hundreds of thousands who attended to do honour to the remains of Wellington.”⁵² The *Daily News* felt that “the immense mass of people present appeared to be as much a part of the ceremonial as any portion of the official programme.”⁵³ *The Times* was even more eulogistic, informing their readers early in their coverage that they sought

to give some idea, not of the pageant itself... but rather of the public reception which it experienced on its way, and of the unexampled spectacle which the streets of this metropolis exhibited throughout the day. Words are, we feel, completely powerless to convey anything like a just idea of a demonstration so marvelous. On no occasion in modern times has such a concourse of people been gathered together, and never probably has the sublimity which is expressed by the presence of the masses been so transcendently displayed.

They concluded in much the same vein, declaring that, “the great distinguishing feature of yesterday’s ceremonial remains, however. The funeral pomp, splendid as it was, is nothing, but the million and a

⁴⁹ The Funeral of the Duke of Wellington, *The Times*, November 19, 1852, p. 5; The Duke of Wellington’s Funeral, *The Illustrated London News*, November 20, 1852, 431.

⁵⁰ The Funeral of the Duke of Wellington, *The Times*, November 19, 1852, p. 5; The Funeral Procession, *Daily News*, November 19, 1852. The use of roofs as viewing platforms caused the one casualty of the day, when a gentleman fell from the roof of Drummond’s Bank in Charing Cross. He was rushed to Charing Cross Hospital but died half an hour after arriving.

⁵¹ The Funeral of the Duke of Wellington, *The Times*, November 19, 1852, p. 5.

⁵² The Duke of Wellington’s Funeral, *The Illustrated London News*, November 20, 1852, 431.

⁵³ The Funeral Procession, *Daily News*, November 19, 1852.

half of mourners will be remembered as a historic fact – a shining proof that we have not forgotten to value patriotism, and that the memory of him who on so many fields defended the liberties of his country is embalmed in the hearts of her people.”⁵⁴

Nor was the impact of such a display lost on foreigners who witnessed it. One Belgian observer, writing in the *Independence Belge*, dismissed the military portions of the procession as “altogether miscarried” and “very poor,” but “the national demonstration – the English demonstration – it was universal; and, under this point of view, it was indeed magnificent.... It is this universal concurrence of a whole nation which appear[ed] to [him] the most striking trait of this solemn funeral.”⁵⁵ He was equally impressed by the near-universal work stoppages that allowed so many people to make their way into the capital on a Thursday.⁵⁶ He insisted that the greatest tribute “this business-like nation” could give their fallen hero was “to have suspended all occupation for a whole day, that day not being a Sunday.”⁵⁷

The prioritization of the national nature of the outpouring of grief at Wellington’s funeral was not the only connection between his death and the culture of memorialization and celebration that emerged around the Battle of Waterloo in the nearly four decades since the victory. Indeed, the two months between Wellington’s death and his funeral saw almost every aspect of Waterloo memory discussed in this dissertation repurposed to one extent or another. The collecting impulse that had guaranteed a continual trade in Waterloo relics now turned to Wellingtonian relics, both of the Duke’s life and of the funeral itself. New commemorative items and souvenirs, often closely resembling those produced to mark the victory, were offered up for sale. London benefited from the same surge in

⁵⁴ The Funeral of the Duke of Wellington, *The Times*, November 19, 1852, p. 5.

⁵⁵ A Foreigner’s Account of the Funeral (From the *Independence Belge*), *The Illustrated London News*, November 27, 1852, p.467.

⁵⁶ For a summary of how the funeral war marked outside of London, see Funeral of the Duke of Wellington, *The Times*, November 20, 1852, p. 5.

⁵⁷ A Foreigner’s Account of the Funeral (From the *Independence Belge*), *The Illustrated London News*, November 27, 1852, p.467.

tourism that Waterloo had seen, with Londoners taking equal advantage of the influx that their counterparts in Brussels and Waterloo had of a generation of British visitors. St. Paul’s position as a site of national pilgrimage was reinforced, both in the immediate aftermath of the funeral and the years to come. Brand new sculptures and paintings of Wellington and notable moments from his life were put on display, alongside old favorites that had earned devoted followings in the previous four decades, with prints and copies of all offered for sale. Memoirs of Wellington’s life and collections of the many anecdotes that surrounded his legend were added to shelves already groaning with soldiers’ memoirs and civilian histories of Waterloo, while commemorative compositions, both musical and verse, surged in popularity. The post-war position of the army in British society was highlighted by the comfort and approval shown to the military spectacle that accompanied the funeral, and by the fact that between the marching soldiers and the packed crowd stood a line of policemen, armed only with their truncheons. Finally, the presence of multiple Waterloo banquet attendees, members of both houses of Parliament, and colonial governors and administrators among the twenty-five senior British officers that surrounded Wellington’s coffin and carried the national and family flags during the funeral service illustrate the involvement of Waterloo veterans in domestic and imperial politics.

While not as grisly or numerous as the buttons, bullets, bones, and other trappings of war that could be purchased on a visit to Waterloo, Wellington’s death produced its own forms of relics. Piper Brothers & Co. published the official souvenir program of the procession and funeral, by authority of the Earl Marshal, complete with an “authorized representation of the car.”⁵⁸ *The Illustrated London News* also published two souvenir issues for the funeral, containing special Wellington Supplements and each boasting special large engravings, which together sold over two million copies.⁵⁹ Invariably, many who

⁵⁸ Official Programme of the of the Funeral of the Duke of Wellington, Montreal, Rare Books, Special Collections & Archives, McGill University Library, MS662, Wellington Collection, C2

⁵⁹ Wellington Supplement, *The Illustrated London News*, November 20, 1852, pp. 441-456; Wellington Supplement, *The Illustrated London News*, November 27, 1852, pp. 473-488; Pearsall, “Burying the Duke,” 365.

possessed autographs or letters signed by Wellington offered them at high prices, while locks of both his hair and Copenhagen’s (some genuine, others no doubt not), and even a waistcoat “in good preservation, worn by his Grace some years back,” were also available for the right price.⁶⁰ Further relics appeared a decade later when, on December 30, 1862, the Office of Works held an auction of “the valuable trappings, funeral furniture, and equipments,” that had taken center stage at Wellington’s funeral. The items up for auction included the embroidered velvet pall and a variety of other decorations.⁶¹ The funeral also renewed interest in the more famous battlefield relics. *The Illustrated London News* ran a story on the Wellington Elm and its fate in their second commemorative funeral issue.⁶²

As commemorative objects celebrating Waterloo had supplemented relics and served the same purpose for those who could not visit the battlefield, the passing of Wellington prompted the creation of new commemorative items. A new medal marking Wellington’s life and death was struck by Pinches Mint and sold by Mr. Mitchell of Old Bond Street, which bore a notable resemblance to several of the commemorative medals produced by James Mudie in 1819. The medal featured Count D’Orsay’s portrait of Wellington on the obverse and the Duke’s birth and death dates, surrounded by a laurel wreath, on its reverse (Figure 8.4).⁶³ P. G. Dodd, a goldsmith, offered “striking likenesses, in cameo and intaglio jewelry, of every description” starting at 2s. 6d. and going up to 10s.⁶⁴ For those who preferred to honor Wellington with décor rather than jewelry, *The Illustrated London News* noted that his death and funeral had prompted the creation and sale of “scores of busts and portraits of the great Commander,” and reported on which were the most lifelike and had earned the patronage of Queen

⁶⁰ *The Times*, November 16, 1852, p. 1; *The Times*, November 13, 1852, p. 1; *The Times*, November 15, 1852, p. 2; *The Times*, November 17, 1852, p. 1.

⁶¹ Funeral of the Duke of Wellington, 1852-1854, London, National Archives, WORK 21/41; Pearsall, “Burying the Duke,” 389.

⁶² The Wellington Tree on the Field of Waterloo, *The Illustrated London News*, November 27, 1852, p. 469.

⁶³ Medal of the Late Duke of Wellington, *The Illustrated London News*, November 20, 429-430.

⁶⁴ The Striking Likenesses, *The Times*, November 16, 1852, p. 1.

Victoria, the second Duke of Wellington, and Viscount Hardinge.⁶⁵ These pieces would have made excellent companions to the various prints and other artistic pieces that had been popular in the years following Waterloo. There were also much more bizarre souvenirs to be found, as is illustrated by the advertisements in the November 16 issue of *The Times* offering “Duke of Wellington’s Funeral Wine” and “Wellington Funeral Cake,” both of which readers were urged to put in orders for early, “owing to the immense demand” for such “delicious article[s]”⁶⁶



Figure 8.4: Medal of the Late Duke of Wellington, by Pinches, *Illustrated London News*, November 20, 1852, p. 429; The reverse of Medal 35, obverse of Medal 22, and the reverse of Medal 10, *An Historical and Critical Account of a Grand Series of National Medals* (London: Henry Colburn and Co., 1820), photos by <http://www.historicalmedals.com/mudie.htm>.

⁶⁵ Bust of the Duke of Wellington. By Adams., *The Illustrated London News*, November 27, 1852, 462; Portraits, Statues, and Memorials of the Duke of Wellington, *The Illustrated London News*, November 20, 446.

⁶⁶ Duke of Wellington’s Funeral Wine, *The Times*, November 16, 1852, p. 1; Wellington Funeral Cake, *The Times*, November 16, 1852, p. 1.

Londoners, like the residents of Waterloo, were not above using their geographical location for profit, although instead of relics of the battle found by scouring the field, Londoners offered space and views. In the days leading up to the funeral, *The Times* boasted over a column of advertisements offering seats and rooms with a view of the procession.⁶⁷ Demand became so high that *The Illustrated London News* reported individual seats going for up to three guineas, while one individual seeking to rent an entire first floor “in the line of procession, with two or three large windows” refused to pay more than twenty guineas.⁶⁸ For those who preferred not to take their chances with small ads, the Wellington Funeral Agency offered “seats along the entire line of Procession” which could be obtained by visiting their office off the Strand.⁶⁹

Wellington’s funeral also produced its own forms of tourism, analogous, on a smaller scale, to Waterloo becoming a fixture on any tour of the Low Countries. We have already discussed the hordes of people from all over the country who descended on London to witness the funeral, but Wellingtonian thanatourism went beyond that one day. The lying in state at Chelsea Hospital which preceded the funeral attracted an “undistinguished multitude, in a torrent, which continued to roll on irresistibly and without pause throughout” the five days it was open to the public, with *The Times* estimating that 65,000 mourners attended on the last day alone.⁷⁰ Once Wellington’s coffin had been placed in its sarcophagus, the crypt of St. Paul’s experienced the same influx of visitors that had flowed to the Waterloo village church or the chapel at Hougoumont. The demand to see Wellington’s final resting

⁶⁷ *The Times*, November 13, 1852, p. 1; *The Times*, November 15, 1852, p. 2; *The Times*, November 16, 1852, p. 1; *The Times*, November 17, 1852, p. 1.

⁶⁸ The Grand State Funeral of Arthur Duke of Wellington, *The Illustrated London News*, November 27, 1852, 475; The Duke’s Funeral – Wanted, *The Times*, November 16, 1852, p. 1.

⁶⁹ By Authority. The Duke of Wellington’s Funeral., Montreal, Rare Books, Special Collections & Archives, McGill University Library, MS662, Wellington Collection, C2.

⁷⁰ Funeral of the Duke of Wellington, *The Times*, November 18, 1852, p. 5; The Lying in State at Chelsea Hospital, *The Illustrated London News*, November 20, 428-430.

place grew so large that St. Paul’s was forced to install gas lighting to properly illuminate the crypt, replacing the “ghostly light of a lantern” that had long guided visitors to Nelson’s tomb.⁷¹

St. Paul’s had also seen an increase in visitors immediately after the funeral. Just as those not invited to the annual Waterloo banquet had sought admission to Apsley House earlier in the day to see the dinner service laid out in the portrait gallery, so many who had not secured seats for the funeral in St. Paul’s sought to see the cathedral the following days. The demand was so great that *The Times* reported on November 20 that “the Cathedral is to be thrown open to the public next week, in order to give those who were not present at the funeral an opportunity of seeing the manner in which it has been fitted up.”⁷² The Cathedral was opened from noon until 8pm on Monday November 22, and from 8am to 8pm for the rest of the week. The number of visitors was limited to 700 per hour, and to ensure that no more than that would be admitted, tickets, issued by the Excise Office or the Office of Works, were required for entry.⁷³ The same demand drove the funeral car to be placed in Marlborough House, where *The Times* theorized “it will probably in a few days be exhibited to the public.”⁷⁴ The Office of Works eventually offered the car to St. Paul’s, where it was displayed in the crypt alongside the tomb of the man it had carried. Up until 1871, the car was “drawn” by three wicker horses, but these were removed when they decayed, and after it was presented in solitary splendor.⁷⁵

The arts had commemorated Waterloo with paintings, plays, poetry, and musical compositions, almost entirely created and curated by civilians. Here again, Wellington’s passing aped Waterloo commemoration. We have already mentioned the significant number of statues, busts, and paintings

⁷¹ The funeral itself had prompted the installation of gas lighting in the area under the dome. George Leonard Prestige, *St. Paul’s in its Glory: A Candid History of the Cathedral, 1831-1911* (London: S.P.C.K., 1955), 41-42.

⁷² Funeral of the Duke of Wellington, *The Times*, November 20, 1852, p. 5.

⁷³ Funeral of the Duke of Wellington, *The Times*, November 20, 1852, p. 5.

⁷⁴ Funeral of the Duke of Wellington, *The Times*, November 20, 1852, p. 5.

⁷⁵ Prestige, *St. Paul’s in its Glory*, 78-79; Pearsall, “Burying the Duke,” 389. In 1981, the car was transferred to Stratfield Saye, the country seat of the Dukes of Wellington, where it remains.

that were offered to the public between his death and funeral. These were supplemented by paintings of Wellington and significant moments in his career, most notably Waterloo, that were once again displayed to the public by owners eager to profit from this fresh interest. The same columns in *The Times* that held ads for seats overlooking the funeral procession route also contained notices informing the public that they only a few days to see these works, almost all of which seemed to be "the most characteristic portrait hitherto taken of the illustrious deceased," or "a perfect realization of life."⁷⁶ Nor was it only the decorative arts that offered up tributes. Despite the constant use of Handel's Dead March during the funeral procession, Sir Henry R. Bishop offered the public a specially composed funeral march for piano, duet, or military band.⁷⁷ Several other composers presented their own musical tributes, with titles such as "Mourn for the Mighty Dead," "The Flag is Half-Mast High," and "The Hero's Burial."⁷⁸

On the literary side, we can see aspects of the histories of Waterloo and the memoirs of the soldiers who fought there in the publications of such works as John Timbs' *Wellingtoniana: Anecdotes, Maxims, and Characteristics of the Duke of Wellington* and the *Memoir of the Duke of Wellington*, published by Longman and Co. as part of the Traveler's Library series, both of which sought to summarize Wellington's life and capitalize on public interest in the Duke following his death.⁷⁹ Nor was interest limited to new publications. *The Battle of Waterloo*, the first civilian history written of the battle and one of the most popular, was reprinted in an expanded eleventh edition to commemorate the

⁷⁶ For Three Days Only, *The Times*, November 16, 1852, p. 1; The Grand National Painting, *The Times*, November 15, p.2. See also *The Times*, November 13, 1852, p. 1; *The Times*, November 15, 1852, p. 2; *The Times*, November 16, 1852, p. 1; *The Times*, November 17, 1852, p. 1; *The Illustrated London News*, November 20, 1852, 455; Invitation to See The Meeting of Field Marshal Blücher and the Duke of Wellington, Montreal, Rare Books, Special Collections & Archives, McGill University Library, MS662, Wellington Collection, C2.

⁷⁷ Wellington's Funeral March, *The Illustrated London News*, November 27, 1852, p. 471.

⁷⁸ New Music, &c., The Flag is Half-Mast High, The Hero's Burial, *The Illustrated London News*, November 20, 1852, p. 455.

⁷⁹ John Timbs, *Wellingtoniana: Anecdotes, Maxims, and Characteristics of the Duke of Wellington* (London: Ingram, Cooke, and Co., 1852); *Memoir of the Duke of Wellington*, *The Times*, November 6, 1852, p. 4.

Duke’s death.⁸⁰ For more religious readers, the publisher John Snow offered *Wellington and War*, a funeral sermon by the celebrated dissenter reverend, Christopher Newman Hall, or *Wellington and Victory*, a religious discourse on the Duke and religion by Rev. A. Morton Brown, LL.D.⁸¹ Publishing met the souvenir trade in *The Wellington Souvenir*, which offered “the life and deeds of the great Duke... chronicled in letters of gold, and splendidly illustrated; forming an appropriate memento, or an elegant present,” which could be purchased in bookshops across the country for 2s. 6d.⁸²

Despite this grandiose offering, the most notable and lasting tribute came from the pen of the Poet Laureate, Alfred, Lord Tennyson. *Ode on the Death of the Duke of Wellington* is a nine-strophe tribute in the form of an Horatian ode. Its most popular and effective section is strophe VI, which takes the form of a dialogue between Tennyson, speaking for Britain, and the shade of Nelson, who demands to know “Who is he that commeth, like an honour’d guest, ... With a nation weeping, and breaking on my rest?” Tennyson explains to Nelson,

Mighty seaman, this is he
Was great by land as thou by sea.
Thine island loves thee well, thou famous man,
The greatest sailor since our world began.
Now, to the roll of muffled drums,
To thee the greatest soldier comes.

Listing Wellington’s achievements, from his victory “against the myriads of Assaye” to “that world’s-earthquake, Waterloo!,” Tennyson beseeches Nelson “if love of country move thee there at all, / Be glad, because his bones are laid by thine!,” and urges Britain, “in full acclaim ... With honour, honour, honour, honour to him, / Eternal honour to his name.”⁸³ The image of Britain’s two great martial heroes,

⁸⁰ *The Battle of Waterloo, with those of Ligny and Quatre Bras, Described by eye-witnesses and by the series of official accounts published by authority*, 11th Ed. (London: L. Booth, 1852).

⁸¹ New Books, &c., *The Illustrated London News*, November 27, 1852, p.471; Newman Hall, *Wellington and War* (London: John Snow, 1852); A. Morton Brown, *Wellington and Victory; or, Christians More Than Conquerors. A Discourse Occasioned by the Death of the Duke of Wellington* (London: John Snow, 1852).

⁸² New Books, &c., *The Illustrated London News*, November 27, 1852, p.471.

⁸³ Tennyson, *Ode on the Death of the Duke of Wellington*, 9-11.

each the avatar of their respective service branch, who had only met once in life, meeting again below St. Paul's proved a popular and heady image in British popular culture, and even those critics who considered the entire poem to be below Tennyson's usual standards praised that particular strophe. The populace agreed. Despite receiving a mixed reception from critics, it was extensively republished and plagiarized in papers across the country and went through multiple editions between its original publication in 1852 and 1855, when what scholars consider the definitive version was published.⁸⁴

Wellington's funeral procession eloquently illustrates the British public's comfort with military spectacle discussed in Chapter V. The most prevalent response to several thousand armed men marching through the heart of the capital was to seek out a better view of them. Where criticism occurred, it was leveled at the cost of the state funeral, rather than at the military presence, another familiar theme.⁸⁵ Perhaps the most telling illustration of the army's transformation to a purely ceremonial role on home soil, however, was the fact that, with only a few exceptions, the entire route was lined not with soldiers, but with constables of the Metropolitan and City of London Police Forces. "One of the most remarkable things of the funeral yesterday," the Belgian observer reported, "was precisely the long double row of policemen, forming a line from one end to the other, and whose only weapon was their little staff. This is what gives to English public *fêtes* such a characteristic and original aspect – it is the absence of the armed force, the absence of military power."⁸⁶ British newspapers also noted the preponderance of police blue over army red, although they regarded it as perfectly normal and instead took it as an opportunity to praise the organization of the police and the respectful behavior of the crowd. "Nothing could be more remarkable," reported *The Times* on November 19, "than the

⁸⁴ For a history of the *Ode* and its reception, see Edgar F. Shannon, Jr., "The History of a Poem: Tennyson's 'Ode on the Death of the Duke of Wellington,'" *Studies in Bibliography* 13 (1960): 149-177.

⁸⁵ See Charles Dickens, "Trading in Death" in *Household Words* (Leipzig: Bernhard Tauchnitz, 1853), 1-8.

⁸⁶ A Foreigner's Account of the Funeral (From the *Independence Belge*), *The Illustrated London News*, November 27, 1852, p.467.

decorous and orderly conduct of the multitude, who preserved an imposing and expressive silence as the car went by. The humblest man bared his head in the same reverential manner as his betters, and the only cry that was heard was, now and then, ‘Off hats!’”⁸⁷ The *Daily News* went so far as to assert that, had the police arrangements been much less competent, there still would have been no trouble, thanks to the solemn mood of the spectators.⁸⁸ The day after the funeral, *The Times* noted with satisfaction and pride that not a single “instance of outrage” had been reported by the police in connection to the funeral.⁸⁹

Even as their chief was being entombed and honored, the veteran officers of Waterloo received a small amount of his glory through transference. Wellington’s British Field Marshal’s baton was “borne on a black velvet cushion... by the Marquis of Angelsey, K.G. – Supported by Colonel the Duke of Richmond, K.G., and Major-General the Duke of Cleveland, K.G.”⁹⁰ In the cathedral, the Standard or Pennon was borne by Major-General Sir Harry Smith, the Guidon by General Sir Howard Douglas, the Banner of Wellesley by Lieutenant-General Lord Saltoun, and the Great Banner of the United Kingdom by Lieutenant-General Sir James Macdonell. The ten bannerols which flanked the pallbearers and the coffin, were carried by Lieutenant-General Sir William Napier, Lieutenant-General Sir George Scovell, Lieutenant-General Sir Willoughby Cotton, Lieutenant-General Lord Charles Manners, Lieutenant-General Sir John Wilson, Major-General Lord Sandys, Lieutenant-General Sir Frederick Stovin, Lieutenant-General Sir George Berkeley, Lieutenant-General Sir Arthur Clifton, and Lieutenant-General Sir Thomas McMahon. Finally, there were the eight pallbearers themselves, General Viscount Combermere, General Marquess of Londonderry, General Sir Peregrine Maitland, General Viscount

⁸⁷ The Funeral of the Duke of Wellington, *The Times*, November 19, 1852, p. 5.

⁸⁸ The Funeral Procession, *Daily News*, November 19, 1852.

⁸⁹ Funeral of the Duke of Wellington, *The Times*, November 20, 1852, p. 5. This may have been a slight exaggeration. At least one eye-witness reported later in life that the police who prevented the crowd from following the procession through Temple Bar “belabored the crowd with their truncheons.” Frederick Mead recalling the Funeral in 1940, BBC Sound Archive, *Historic Voices VI: Recollections* (Saland Publishing, 2008).

⁹⁰ Funeral of the Duke of Wellington, *The Times*, November 18, 1852, p. 5.

Hardinge, Lieutenant-General Lord Seaton, Lieutenant-General Sir Alexander Woodford, Lieutenant-General Viscount Gough, and Lieutenant-General Sir Charles Napier. In addition to honoring Wellington and receiving a portion of his national glory reflected back upon them, these twenty-five officers represent the army’s involvement with Waterloo commemoration, politics, and imperial service in the thirty-seven years since the battle. Among them, we find twelve officers who attended the annual Waterloo banquet (several of them over ten times), thirteen who had voted with and against Wellington in both houses of Parliament, and eleven who had held non-military imperial postings (including two of the three Lieutenant-Governors of Upper Canada discussed in Chapter VII). Many more, not officially involved in the funeral, took their seats in St. Paul’s to bid a final farewell to the man who had commanded them. Drawing their inspiration from the coverage of the Waterloo Banquet, *The Illustrated London News* published a list of the surviving Waterloo Officers, declaring “now that the chief of that compact band that fought and bled on the field of Waterloo has been consigned to the tomb, a list of the survivors of that glorious battle may be interesting.”⁹¹

Imperial overtones were not absent from Wellington’s funeral, although he died a full quarter century from Disraeli declaring Queen Victoria Empress of India and thus ensuring the full inclusion of India’s riches in state pageantry. In addition to the eleven senior officers who served in imperial roles, several more had journeyed overseas for military appointments, and had commanded everything from regiments to armies across Britain’s empire. The canopy above Wellington’s coffin drew inspiration from Indian textiles, but the spokes on the wheels of Wellington’s funeral car sent a more direct message, as they were wrought with “magnificent dolphins, symbolical of [Britain’s] maritime supremacy.”⁹² The East India Company directly contributed soldiers for the procession, officers for the Order of the Bath’s

⁹¹ The Surviving Waterloo Officers, *The Illustrated London News*, November 20, 1852, p. 426.

⁹² Funeral of the Duke of Wellington, *The Times*, November 18, 1852, p. 5.

representation, and a coach of their own mourners.⁹³ Finally, in his funeral ode, Tennyson framed Wellington as an imperial citizen, instructing his countrymen in its first to lines to “bury the Great Duke / With an empire’s lamentation.”⁹⁴

While the honors associated with the funeral must have been gratifying in a melancholy way, the entombment of Wellington also symbolized the beginning of the end of the commemoration of Waterloo as a lived event rather than an abstract cultural memory. As *The Economist* pointed out in their coverage of the procession “of the many hundred thousand who lined the streets yesterday comparatively few, the bulk being young... know much of Wellington. His victories were achieved before they were born.”⁹⁵ All knew the name Waterloo, but the nationalization of that victory was complete. The word Waterloo was just as likely to conjure up images of a busy rail terminus or a grand Georgian bridge as it was a blood-soaked ridge or the shattered yard at Hougoumont. What would be the last Waterloo banquet had occurred three months before Wellington’s death, and with the ending of that tradition, one of the last reminders that Waterloo had been won by named individuals was gone. Thus, Waterloo became something experienced exclusively via abstract remembrance and national curation: it was taught in schools, viewed in paintings, and seen in plays and events, all produced by people who had either never been to Waterloo, or had only visited as tourists, and increasingly had not been alive on June 18th, 1815.

Conclusion: Who Owned Waterloo?

⁹³ Programme of the Procession from the Horse Guards to St. Paul’s Cathedral, *The Morning Post*, November 18, 1852, p. 5; The Funeral of the Duke of Wellington, *The Times*, November 19, 1852, p. 5; The Funeral Procession, *Daily News*, November 19, 1852; The Grand State Funeral of Arthur Duke of Wellington, *The Illustrated London News*, November 27, 1852, p.478-479; *Official Programme of the Public Funeral of the Late Field-Marshal, Arthur Duke of Wellington*.

⁹⁴ Tennyson, *Ode on the Death of the Duke of Wellington*, 5.

⁹⁵ Wellington’s Funeral, *The Economist*, November 20, 1852, 1287.

Between 1815 and 1852, social and cultural ownership of Waterloo evolved in several ways and was never simple. Different groups owned or presented legitimate claims to ownership of different portions of Waterloo remembrance at different times. What is perhaps most interesting is the number of cases where multiple groups allied to further their respective claims. The alliance of veteran officers and civilian artists is perhaps the best example of this. Drawing inspiration from the royal family and upper echelon of British society, the veteran officers, led by Wellington, effectively weaponized patronage. By cooperating with artists such as Sir Thomas Lawrence, David Wilkie, and William Salter, and by publicly approving and patronizing productions like *The Battle of Waterloo* at Astley's, the veterans shaped the public's perception of both Waterloo and the men who fought it and leant what clout they could to these efforts as partial arbiters of Waterloo legitimacy. We also see this in the wave of memoirs published in the 1830s, where veteran authors occasionally challenged critics but more commonly worked with Britain's publishers to their mutual benefit. By consciously limiting their narratives to their own eye-witness experience, the veterans supplemented rather than challenged other histories while emphasizing their own place on the battlefield and in the victory. In addition, they reminded readers that Waterloo was only one part of their larger service while simultaneously ensuring that their accounts would continue to shape civilian histories and views of the battle, even after their deaths.

A version of this can also be seen in annual commemorations, where military parades and Wellington's Waterloo Banquet rubbed shoulders with special performances and provincial balls. Even events that were, at their heart, very limited elitist gatherings or purely military spectacles were soon coopted as national celebrations by the press and crowds of civilians treating them as entertainment for their benefit. This cooption was furthered by the adoption of Wellington and Waterloo as conservative icons, expanding Waterloo into a political victory as well as a military one and fostering a slew of new civilian meetings and banquets. Within the lifetimes of many veteran officers, June 18th had become a

secular saint's day: celebrated as a holiday without any acknowledgement of the date's original significance.

In other spheres, ownership was claimed in unexpected ways. The battlefield itself became a major tourist destination, but it was of particular importance to the rising British middle class, determined to invent their own international traditions and prove their loyalty to their nation. Closer to home, radicals and satirists claimed Waterloo in response to, rather than in cooperation with, the veterans and the actions of the army and the state. Preying on the friction between the military and civilian spheres, the pomp that had been deliberately engineered into the British army, and the historical British antipathy to a standing army (and especially paying for it), authors such as Charles Dickens and William Makepeace Thackeray and caricaturists like George Cruikshank and William Heath ruthlessly lambasted army culture, dress, and the officers who thrived in that milieu. Even as veteran officers strove to establish a place in peacetime society, some of the most popular satirists of the day were recasting the officer corps as a whole as pompous, strutting dandies more comfortable in the salons, theatres, and parks of London than they were on the battlefield.

Despite these examples of contested ownership of the battle in the nation's collective memory, many of these groups were forced to work together to counter international claims of Waterloo ownership. Many histories and memoirs align in their dismissal of the Dutch/Belgian troops, and their efforts to diminish the contribution of the Prussians to the victory. The same impulse can be seen in the popular guidebooks that many took with them on their visits to the battlefield, as well as the behavior and recollections of the visitors themselves. Whether one was more at home at Wellington's Waterloo Banquet, Alresford's Dance on the Nythe, or the Stockport Loyal Wellington Club, what really mattered, especially across the Channel and around the world, was that Waterloo was a British victory.

British claims to ownership of the victory of Waterloo became even more important two years after Wellington’s death, when the United Kingdom joined a new European war – this time allied to a France led by another Napoleon. The Crimean War would end the long European peace bought at Waterloo, and would provide new heroes, new histories, new memoirs, new hippodramas, new satires, new paintings, and even new (and more famous) poems from the pen of Tennyson. In addition, this more technologically advanced form of warfare would hammer home to Britons, military and civilian alike, that the era of the Napoleonic Wars was well and truly over. Those officers that had fought at Waterloo and remained in the service were tarred by the mistakes of the Crimea. Lord Fitzroy Somerset was no longer the dashing hero who had lost his right arm at Waterloo, but was instead Field Marshal the 1st Baron Raglan, who, as commander of the British forces in the Crimea, was blamed by many for the casualties and disorganization there and died at Sevastapol from a combination of dysentery and depression.⁹⁶ Viscount Hardinge, who served as Commander-in-Chief throughout the Crimean War and attempted to prosecute the war along Wellingtonian lines, was investigated by the commission set up to explain the British Army’s failures in the Crimea, and although partially exonerated, was still the recipient of public criticism.⁹⁷ Even though the Crimean War would result in an allied victory, the lack of grand battles as “clean” and glorious as Waterloo, the new immediacy of war reporting, and the sheer number of casualties at least partially caused by incompetence would begin the transformation from the celebration of individual battles to the memorializing of overall conflicts. That trend would, along with the democratization of war, eventually lead to a change in the nature of commemoration and the idea

⁹⁶ Florence Nightingale, who had visited Raglan during his illness, tried to send a favorable private obituary to her parents, but even in her words he could not escape criticism: “peace be upon him,” she wrote, and “his hecatomb of twenty thousand men.” Quoted in Christopher Hibbert, *The Destruction of Lord Raglan: A Tragedy of the Crimean War, 1854-55* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1961), 296.

⁹⁷ David J. Howlett, ‘Hardinge, Henry, first Viscount Hardinge of Lahore (1785–1856)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2013, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/12271>.

of the ownership of war and victories, resulting in the complete supplanting of events like the Waterloo banquet by the laying of a wreath of poppies at the foot of the Cenotaph on Remembrance Day.

Appendix A: Waterloo Banquet Attendance by Officer and Year¹

Name	Total	1828	1836	1838	1839	1840	1841	1842	1843	1844	1845	1846	1847	1848	1849	1850	1851	1852
Abercorn, Marquis of	5											1			1	1	1	1
Adam, Sir Frederick	7						1		1		1	1	1	1	1			
Alava, General	1					1												
Albert, Prince	10								1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Allix (Alix), Col. C.	6					1	1	1	1		1							1
Alten, Charles	1			1														
Anglesey, Marquis of	15		1	1	1		1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Anson, Hon. George	12						1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Askew, Henry	7				1	1	1				1	1	1	1				
Ausore, George	1					1												
Barnard, Andrew	12		1	1	1	1	1	1	1		1	1	1	1	1			
Beckwith, Col.	1					1												
Bentinck, Col. C. A. F.	5						1	1	1				1					1
Beresford, Viscount	1						1											
Berkeley, Sir George H. F.	1																	1
Bewers, Col.	1										1							
Boldero, Lt. Col. Lonsdale	4									1	1	1	1					
Bourchier, J. Claud	8									1	1	1	1	1	1		1	1
Bouverie, Everard	9									1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Bowater, Edward	16		1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Broke Vere, Charles	5			1	1	1	1	1										
Bowles, G.	9									1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Browne, Col.	2							1	1									
Brunton, Col. R.	2								1	1								
Buckley, Edward	10							1	1	1		1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Byam, E.	1																	1
Cathcart, Earl	6									1			1	1	1		1	1
Cathcart, Hon. George	8									1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	
Calvert, Felix	10					1				1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Cambridge, Duke of	1						1											
Campbell, Col., CB	2										1			1				
Cameron, Sir A.	3									1	1	1						
Castelcicala, Prince	10					1	1	1	1	1	1	1		1	1		1	
Chalmers, Sir William	1														1			
Chatterton, Col. James Charles	5											1			1	1	1	1
Cheney, Col.	4									1	1	1	1					
Childers, M.	7										1	1		1	1	1	1	1
Clarke, Sir J.	1				1													
Cleae, Col.	1					1												
Clifton, Arthur	12			1	1	1	1			1	1	1	1	1	1	1		1
Clive, Col.	3							1	1	1								
Colville, Charles	4		1	1	1			1										
Cooke, R. H.	4											1				1	1	1
Cox, John	4									1	1			1				1
Dalmer, Thomas	7					1						1	1	1	1	1		1

¹ For a complete list of sources, see Chapter III, note 13.

Name	Total	1828	1836	1838	1839	1840	1841	1842	1843	1844	1845	1846	1847	1848	1849	1850	1851	1852
Dance, Sir Charles William	4					1	1	1	1									
Davis, Col.	1					1												
Dawkins, F. Henry	10					1	1			1		1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Dawson Damer, Hon. George Lic	13					1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Dickson, Sir J.	1												1					
Diggle, Col. C.	1																	1
Douglas, Sir Niel	2					1									1			
Douro, Marquis of	1			1														
Doyle, Maj Gen	1						1											
D'oily (Doyley), Henry	14			1	1	1		1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Drummond, Berkeley	12			1		1	1			1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Drummond, W.	9			1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1						
Dyneley, Col. Thomas, CB	4									1	1	1						1
Egerton, R.	12					1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1		1	1
Elley, John	2		1	1														
Ellis, Col. C. P.	9				1	1		1	1	1	1	1	1		1			
Ellison, Col.	3					1		1	1									
Enoch, Lt. Col. John	2																	1 1
Evans, George De Lacy	7				1								1	1	1	1	1	1
Exeter, Marquis of	2								1		1							
Fane, Mildmay	1																	1
Floyd, Col. Sir Henry	3														1		1	1
Freemantle, Col.	2					1		1										
Furlong, Lt. Col. J.	2												1					1
Gardiner, Robert	11			1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1				
Gold, Col.	2					1	1											
Gomm, William	4			1	1			1									1	
Grant, Col. James	9					1	1			1	1	1	1	1	1		1	
Greville, Algernon	1			1														
Gurwood, Col.	6					1	1	1	1	1	1							
Halkett, Colin	12		1	1	1		1		1			1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Hamerton, Maj Gen J. M.	2								1			1						
Hardinge, Henry	12		1	1	1	1	1	1	1						1	1	1	1
Hare, Maj. Gen	1												1					
Harris, Lord	2				1				1									
Hattorf, General	1								1									
Hay, James	10					1	1			1	1	1	1	1	1	1		1
Hill, Baron (Lord)	6		1	1	1	1	1	1										
Hill, Clement	4			1	1	1	1											
Hill, Lord Marcus	1				1													
Horton, Col. George William	4														1	1	1	1
Hoste, Sir George	2					1				1								
Hotham, Lord	9					1	1					1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Hunter Blair, Col.	6					1	1	1	1				1	1				
Hutchinson, Col. Hon. H. Hely	6											1		1	1	1	1	1

Name	Total	1828	1836	1838	1839	1840	1841	1842	1843	1844	1845	1846	1847	1848	1849	1850	1851	1852
Keane, Edward	5									1		1		1	1			1
Kempt, James	8		1	1		1	1	1	1		1		1					
Kennedy, A. K. Clark	5											1			1	1	1	1
Kennedy, J. S.	4												1	1	1	1		
Keppell, Hon. George (Earl of Al	4														1	1	1	1
Kerrison, Edward	15		1	1	1	1	1	1	1		1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Kielmansegge, Count	6										1	1	1	1	1			1
Kooke, Sir. H. W.	1												1					
Lascelles, F. R.	9									1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Lambert, Sir John	5		1		1	1	1	1										
Lennox, Lord George	1									1								
Llewellyn, R.	10					1				1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Love, Col. J. F.	3											1				1	1	
Lygon, Edward	11					1	1			1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Lyon, Sir James	1								1									
Macdonald, Maj Gen	2			1	1													
Macdonell, Sir James	8										1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Maclean, Col. A. T.	2															1	1	
Macneil, Maj Gen R	5												1	1	1	1	1	
Maitland, Peregrine	8				1	1		1					1	1		1	1	1
Marten, Col. Thomas	1																	1
Martin, Col. J.	6									1	1	1		1	1	1		
May, John	7			1			1	1	1	1	1	1						
McDonald (Macdonald), A.	6									1	1		1		1	1		1
Mercer, Maj Gen (D)	11							1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Miller, Col.	2							1	1									
Money, Archibald	12					1		1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Montagu, Hon H.	3									1	1	1						
Moore, W. G.	8					1				1	1			1	1	1	1	1
Murray, H.	8					1	1					1	1		1	1	1	1
O'Mallay, Col.	1						1											
Oldfield, John	7									1	1		1	1		1	1	1
Omphal, General Baron de	1																	1
Orange, Prince of	1		1															
Parker, Col. J. B.	5					1					1		1	1	1			
Parkinson, E.	10					1	1			1		1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Pozzo di Borgo, Prince	2		1	1														
Quentin, George	10				1		1	1	1	1	1	1	1			1	1	
Read, Col. Thomas	1																	1
Reeve, John	13				1	1	1	1	1	1		1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Reynell, Thomas	6		1	1		1	1	1	1									
Robbins, T. W.	9									1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Rokeby, Lord	6												1	1	1	1	1	1
Rooke, Sir Henry Willoughby	9					1	1	1	1					1	1	1	1	1
Ross, Sir Hugh	12					1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1		1	1	1	1

Name	Total	1828	1836	1838	1839	1840	1841	1842	1843	1844	1845	1846	1847	1848	1849	1850	1851	1852
Rowan, Charles	4					1	1					1		1				
Rowan, Col. W. CB	5					1		1	1	1	1							
Saltoun, Lord	12				1	1	1			1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Sandys, Lord	15			1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Scovell, George	15		1	1		1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Seaton, Lord	6					1	1	1								1	1	1
Sewell, Maj Gen.	1								1									
Shaw Kennedy, Col.	1					1												
Simpson, Col. James	7					1	1							1	1	1	1	1
Sleigh, James W.	14				1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Smith, Col.	1								1									
Smith, Sir Harry	2												1					1
Smith, John Webber	2										1							1
Somerset, Edward	1		1															
Somerset, Fitzroy	16		1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Somerset, J. T. H.	2									1	1							
Stanwell, Col.	1						1											
Stone, Col. S.	1														1			
Stowell, Col. S	7					1		1		1	1	1	1	1				
Strafford, Earl (John Byng)	12		1	1				1	1	1	1		1	1	1	1	1	1
Stretton, Col.	1					1												
Taylor, Thomas. W.	9					1	1			1	1	1		1	1		1	1
Thackwell, Sir J.	1										1							
Townsend, Sir Horatio	2						1	1										
Townshend, Hon. Horatio Powy	3				1	1	1											
Vandeleur, Sir John	4					1	1					1	1					
Vivian, Hussey	5		1	1	1	1	1											
Waters, Sir John	3						1	1								1		
Wallace, Sir James M. Maxwell	7									1	1	1			1	1	1	1
Wallace, Col. R.	1													1				
Walton, W. L.	10					1				1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Washington, General	1								1									
Webster, Col. Henry	5							1	1	1	1	1						
Wellesley, Charles	1			1														
Wellesley, Rev. G.	4													1		1	1	1
Whingates, Col E. C.	3															1	1	1
Wildman, Col. E.	5					1		1	1	1	1							
Wildman, Col. Thomas	8									1	1	1		1	1	1	1	1
Wilkins, George	7									1	1		1	1		1	1	1
William IV	1		1															
Woodford, Alexander	8								1		1		1	1	1	1	1	1
Woodford, John	6			1			1	1	1		1		1					
Wyndham, Henry	15			1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Yorke, Col. Charles (Clint)	5											1		1	1	1	1	

Appendix B: Military plays and Hippodramas before and after Waterloo²

NB: The date in parentheses is the date of the event being dramatized

Pre-Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars

<u>Title</u>	<u>Date first performed</u>
<i>The Battle of Sedgemoor</i> (1685)	2/1837
<i>The Battle of Bothwell Brig</i> (bridge 1679)	3/5/1832
<i>Ethelstan; or, the Battle of Brunanburh</i> (937)	8/1841
<i>The Battle of Bothwell Brigg</i> (1679)	22/05/1820
<i>Marmion; or, The Battle of Flodden Field</i> (1513)	12/06/1848
<i>King Harold; or, The Battle of Hastings</i> (1066)	16/09/1839
<i>Chevy Chase; or, The Battle of Otterburn</i> (1388)	23/04/1832
<i>Peter the Great; or, The Battle of Pultawa</i> (Poltava 1709)	21/02/1829
<i>King Stephen; or, The Battle of Lincoln</i> (1141)	08/1822
<i>Alfred the Great; or, The Battle of Eddington</i> (878)	16/10/1823
<i>The Battle of Agincourt; or, The Fight of St. Crispin's Day</i> (1415)	15/9/1834
<i>The Battle of Agincourt; or, The Parricide</i> (1415)	02/06/1825
<i>The Battle of Barnet; or, The Last of the Barons</i> (1471)	24/10/1845
<i>The Battle of Blenheim; or, the Horse of the Disinherited</i> (1704)	20/09/1841
<i>The Battle of Bosworth Field</i> (1485)	16/02/1824
<i>The Battle of Bosworth Field; or, The Life and Death of Richard III</i> (1485)	29/01/1827
<i>The Battle of Cronstad</i> (Kronstadt 1790)	02/12/1828
<i>The Battle of Hexham; or, Days of Yore</i> (1464)	17/08/1812
<i>The Battle of Pultawa; or, The King and the Czar</i> (Poltava 1709)	23/02/1829
<i>The Battle of Worcester; or, King Charles in the Royal Oak</i> (1651)	18/04/1825
<i>Brian Boroihme, the Victorious; or, The Battle of Clontarffe</i> (Clontarf 1014)	28/02/1820
<i>Charles XII and Peter the Great; or, The Battle of Pultawa</i> (Poltava 1709)	26/05/1828
<i>The Death of Caesar; or, The Battle of Philippi</i> (42 BCE)	26/12/1823
<i>Edward the Black Prince; or, The Battle of Cressy</i> (Crecy 1346)	09/11/1807
<i>Edward the Black Prince; or, The Hero of England</i> (Crecy 1346)	07/01/1805
<i>England's Monarch; or, The Battle of Worchester and the Royal Oak</i> (1651)	24/07/1843
<i>Harry of England; or, The Battle of Agincourt</i> (1415)	16/05/1842
<i>The Invasion of England by William the Conqueror; or, The Battle of Hastings</i> (1066)	08/04/1844
<i>King Charles II; or, The Battle of Worchester</i> (1651)	11/08/1821
<i>King Richard III; or, The Battle of Bosworth Field</i> (1485)	26/12/1812
<i>The Last of the Barons; or, Warwick the King Maker and the Battle of Barnet</i> (1471)	10/11/1845
<i>The Life and Death of King Richard III; or, The Battle of Bosworth Field</i> (1485)	16/02/1813
<i>Marmion; or, The Battle of Flodden Field</i> (1513)	25/10/1810

² Drawn from "Hand-list of Plays 1800-1850," in *A History of English Drama 1660-1900*, Allardyce Nicoll (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1955), IV: 245-643.

<i>Marmion; or, The Battle of Flodden Field</i> (1513)	24/03/1811
<i>Perkin Warbeck; or, The Battle of Garra-Muir</i> (~1497)	23/05/1836
<i>Robert the Bruce; or, the Battle of Bannockburn</i> (1314)	24/05/1819
<i>The Siege of Londonderry and the Battle of the Boyne</i> (1690)	22/05/1820
<i>The Victories of Edward the Black Prince; or, The Battlefield</i> (~1346)	01/04/1839
<i>The White Rose and the Red Rose; or, The Battle of Bosworth Field</i> (1485)	10/08/1835
<i>Jane of the Hatchet; or, The Siege of Beauvais</i> (1472)	20/07/1840
<i>Charles the Bold; or, the Siege of Nantz</i> (1477)	15/06/1815
<i>The Ethiop; or, The Siege of Granada</i> (1482-1492)	1801
<i>The Siege of Gibraltar</i> (1779-1783)	29/04/1805
<i>The Siege of Rochelle</i> (1627-1628)	23/09/1835
<i>The Siege of Carthage</i> (149 BCE)	08/1819
<i>The Siege of Valencia</i> (1065)	08/1823
<i>The Siege of St. Quentin; or, Spanish Heroism</i> (1557)	10/11/1808
<i>The Siege of Berwick; or, The Brothers Devoted</i> (1296, 1318, or 1333)	08/1818
<i>Wallace the Brave; or, The Siege of Perth</i> (~1297-1305)	12/1819
<i>The Siege of Bradford</i> (1643)	08/1821
<i>Charles XII; or, The Siege of Stralsund</i> (1711-1715)	11/12/1828
<i>The Siege of Corinth</i> (146 BCE)	08/11/1836
<i>The King and the Duke; or, The Siege of Alençon</i> (1049-1051)	08/02/1839
<i>The Russian Impostor; or, The Siege of Smolensko</i> (1632-1633)	22/07/1809
<i>The Siege of Cuzco</i> (1536-1537)	08/1800
<i>Charles the Terrible; or, the Siege of Nancy</i> (1477)	26/12/1821
<i>Jane of Flanders; or, The Siege of Hennebonne</i> (1342)	08/1801
<i>Katizka; or, The Siege of Dresden</i> (1760)	29/03/1848
<i>Leila, the Maid of the Alhambra; or, The Siege of Granada</i> (1482-1492)	22/10/1838
<i>The Siege of Belgrade</i> (1789)	17/04/1828
<i>The Siege of Calais</i> (1346-1347)	22/09/1832
<i>The Siege of Danzig; or, The Polish Patriot</i> (could be various. Probably 1734)	05/06/1837
<i>The Siege of Gibraltar; or, General Elliot in 1782</i> (1782)	20/04/1835
<i>The Siege of Jerusalem; or, The Camp of the Wilderness</i> (70 CE)	20/04/1835
<i>The Siege of Lynn</i> (King's Lynn 1643)	08/05/1838
<i>Stanislaus; or, The Siege of Dantsic</i> (Danzig 1734)	08/09/1832
<i>The Victories of Joan of Arc; or, The Siege of Orleans</i> (1428-1429)	04/11/1839
<i>T. Gwenllian; or, The Siege of Kidwelly</i> (~1403)	08/1841
<i>The Siege of Vienne</i> (Vienna 1529)	08/1838
<i>The Siege of Liverpool; or, The Days of Prince Rupert</i> (~1644)	28/04/1830
<i>The Covenanters; or, The Battle of Drumclog</i> (1679)	08/03/1825
<i>The Partisans; or, The War of Paris in 1649</i> (1649)	21/05/1829
<i>The Spy of the Neutral Ground; or, The American War of 1780</i> (1780)	27/09/1825

Revolutionary and Napoleonic WarsLand

<u>Title</u>	<u>Date first performed</u>
<i>The Battle of Waterloo</i> (1815)	19/4/1824
<i>The Battle of Salamanca</i> (1812)	24/8/1812
<i>The Battle of Televera</i> (Talavera 1809)	21/08/1809
<i>The Battle of Vittoria</i> (1813)	10/07/1813
<i>The Battle of Waterloo</i> (1815)	15/11/1815
<i>The Battle of Waterloo</i> (1815)	25/04/1825
<i>The Duke; or, the Night before the Battle</i> (1815) ³	01/07/1837
<i>The Duke's Coat; or, The Night after the Battle</i> (1815)	03/05/1824
<i>The Duke's Coat; or, The Night after Waterloo</i> (1815) ⁴	06/09/1815
<i>The Night After the Battle; or, The Emperor and the Page</i> (1815) ⁵	08/10/1823
<i>Buonaparte's Invasion of Russia; or, The Conflagration of Moscow</i> (1812)	04/04/1825
<i>The Siege of Ancona</i> (1815)	08/1846
<i>The Siege of Sarragossa; or, Spanish Patriots in 1808</i> (1808)	18/01/1813
<i>The Siege, Storming and Taking of Badajoz</i> (1812)	04/05/1812
<i>The Passage of the Deserts; or, The French in Egypt and the Siege of Acra</i> (1799)	16/04/1838
<i>The Siege of Acre; or, Britons in the East</i> (1799)	26/01/1824
<i>Sir Sidney Smith; or, The Siege of Acre</i> (1799)	30/08/1830
<i>Napoleon Buonaparte, Captain of Artillery, General and First Consul, Emperor and Exile Napoleon; or, The Emperor and the Soldier</i>	16/05/1831 15/09/1828
<i>The Abdication of Ferdinand; or, Napoleon at Bayonne</i> (1808)	08/1809
<i>Napoleon; or, the Victim of Ambition</i>	21/05/1831
<i>Napoleon Bonaparte, General, Consul and Emporor</i>	23/7/1821
<i>Napoleon's Glory; or, Wonders in St. Helena</i>	08/12/1840
<i>Napoleon Bonaparte; or, The Deserter and his Dog</i>	07/1840
<i>Vittoria; or, Wellington's Laurels</i>	12/07/1813
<i>The Wars of Wellington</i>	31/03/1834
<i>John Bull and Buonaparte; or, A Meeting at Dover</i>	08/08/1803
<i>Buonaparte Burnt Out; or, The Allies Victorious</i>	18/10/1813
<i>Buonaparte's Destiny</i>	31/01/1831
<i>Buonaparte's Fatalities</i> ⁶	15/09/1828
<i>The Champ de Mai; or, The Hundred Days of Buonaparte</i>	20/09/1824

³ Assuming this is a reference to Waterloo.

⁴ Full title: *The Duke's Coat; or, The Night after Waterloo. A Dramatick Anecdote*; prepared for Representation at the Theatre-Royal, Lyceum, and Interdicted by the Licenser of Plays. 8° 1815. L. 106 M. [29/8/1815; license refused]. [This play was advertised at the Lyceum on 6/9/1815.]

⁵ Assuming this is a reference to Waterloo.

⁶ This was made up from previous spectacles at the Royal Amphitheatre.

<i>The Little Corporall or, Buonaparte at the Military School at Brienne</i>	26/05/1831
<i>Forget me not! Or, The Flower of Waterloo</i>	23/06/1817
<i>Waterloo Bridge; or, the Anniversary</i>	18/06/1817
<i>La Vivandière; or, The Eve of Waterloo</i>	02/07/1845
<i>The Horrors of War; or, Sixteen Years Since</i>	16/11/1831
<i>Wars in Spain</i>	15/08/1844
<i>The Comrades, an Anecdote of the Spanish War</i>	20/03/1848
<i>The French War; or, The Soldier's Bride</i>	23/04/1832
<i>The Wars in Spain</i>	15/05/1837

Sea

<u>Title</u>	<u>Date first performed</u>
<i>The Battle of the Nile (1798)</i>	28/03/1815
<i>The Battle of Trafalgar (1805)</i>	14/04/1806
<i>The Battle of Trafalgar; or, The Death of Nelson (1805)</i>	14/04/1806
<i>The Siege of Flushing (1809)</i>	28/08/1809
<i>The Victory and Death of Lord Viscount Nelson (1805)</i>	11/11/1805
<i>Nelson's Glory</i>	07/11/1805
<i>Nelson; or, The Life of a Sailor</i>	19/11/1827
<i>Ben Brace; or, the Last of Lord Nelson's Agamemnon</i>	06/06/1836
<i>National Gratitude; or, Nelson's Funeral</i>	15/05/1806
<i>The Naval Victory and Triumph of Lord Nelson</i>	07/12/1805
<i>Nelson's Arrival in the Elysian Fields</i>	18/01/1806
<i>Trafalgar; or, The Last Days of Nelson</i>	12/06/1849
<i>Trafalgar; or, The Sailor's Play</i>	08/1807

Post-Napoleonic Wars

<u>Title</u>	<u>Date first performed</u>
<i>The Battle of Navarino; or, The Arab of the Red Desert (1827)</i>	26/05/1828
<i>The Chinese War; or, The Conquest of Amoy by British Arms (1841)⁷</i>	27/05/1844
<i>The French Spy; or, The Siege of Constantina (1836)</i>	04/12/1837
<i>The Siege of Antwerp; or, The Inundation (1832)</i>	14/01/1833
<i>The Conquest of Scinde; or, The Siege of Hyderabad (1843)</i>	28/07/1845
<i>The Burmese War; or, Our Victories in the East (1824-1826)</i>	27/03/1826
<i>The Siege of Missolonghi; or, The Massacre of the Greeks (1825-1826)</i>	10/07/1826

⁷ This may have covered more than just that battle in the First Opium War. It was also known as *Wars in China; or, The Battle of Ching Ho*.

<i>The Siege of Moulton (1848-1849)</i>	1849
<i>The Sikh's Invasion; or, The War in India (1845-1846)</i>	01/06/1846
<i>The War in Syria; or, The Bombardment and Capture of St. Jean d'Acre (1821 or 1832)</i>	07/12/1840
<i>Wars of the Punjab (1845-1846)</i>	01/10/1846
<i>The Afghanistan War; or, the Revolt at Cabul and British Triumphs in India (1839-1842)</i>	24/04/1843

Fictional/Unknown

<u>Title</u>	<u>Date first performed</u>
<i>"Blood will have Blood!" or, The Battle of the Bridges</i>	10/06/1811
<i>The Eve of Battle</i>	7/10/1844
<i>The Battle of Luncarty; or, The Valiant Hays Triumphant over the Danish Invaders (990)</i>	12/1804
<i>The Siege of Isca; or, The Battles of the West</i>	10/05/1810
<i>The Battle of the Amazons (Classical Greek Myth)</i>	12/02/1848
<i>The Yellow Admiral; or, The Perils of the Battle and the Breeze</i>	12/05/1845
<i>Melodrame Mad! Or, The Siege of Troy</i>	21/06/1819
<i>Tekeli; or, the Siege of Montgatz</i>	24/11/1806
<i>The Giant Horse; or, The Siege of Troy</i>	08/04/1833
<i>The Siege of Abydos; or, The Pirate of the Isles</i>	15/03/1844
<i>The Siege of Montgatz; or, The Mill of Keben</i>	27/09/1824
<i>Zembuca and the Net-maker of Persia; or, The Siege of Estakhar</i>	21/09/1835
<i>The Siege of Troy; or, The Great Horse of Greece</i>	08/1840

Appendix C: Waterloo Veterans who served in Parliament

Officer's Last Name	Officer's First Name	Constituency	Years in Parliament	Party
Wellesley	Arthur	Lords		Tory
Somerset	Fitzroy	Truro	1818-1820, 1826-1830	Tory
Lennox	John George	Chichester, Sussex, West Sussex	1820-1841	Whig
Percy	Henry	Bere Alston	1820-1825	Tory?
Hill	Arthur	Down, Lords	1817-1836, 1836-1860	Whig
Russell	Francis	Tavistock	1831-1832	Whig
Gordon-Lennox	Charles	Chichester, Lords	1812-1819, 1819-1860	Ultra-Tory
Keppel	Augustus	Arundel	1820-1826	Whig
Paget	Henry	Lords		Canningite, Whig
Seymour	Horace Beauchamp	Orford, Bodmin, Lisburn, Midhurst, Antrim	1819-1832, 1841-1851	Tory, Conservative Peelite
Hill	Rowland	Lords		
Clinton	Henry	Boroughbridge	1808-1818	Tory
Evans	George De Lacy	Rye, Westminster,	1831-1833, 1833-1841, 1846-1865	Liberal
Byng	John	Poole, Lords	1831-1835, 1835-1860	Whig
Somerset	Edward	Gloucestershire, Cirencester	1803-1831, 1834-1837	Tory, Conservative
Grant	Colquhoun	Queenborough	1831-1832	Tory
Vivian	Hussey	Truro, New Windsor, East Cornwall	1820-1831, 1837-1841	Whig, Liberal
Barnes	Edward	Sudbury	1837-1838	Conservative
Elley	John	New Windsor	1835-1837	Conservative
Berkeley	George	Devonport	1852-1857	Conservative
Fitzroy	Charles	Thetford, Bury St Edmunds	1818-1847	Whig, Liberal
Abercromby	Alexander	Clackmannanshire	1817-1818	Tory
Broke Vere	Charles	East Suffolk	1841-1843	Conservative
Murray	Charles	Lords	1843-1859	
Dawson	George Lionel	Portarlinton, Dorchester	1835-1852	Conservative
Lygon	Edward P.	Callington	1818-1820	Tory
Clayton	William Robert	Great Marlow	1832-1842	Whig
Drake	William Tyrwhitt	Amersham	1810-1832	Tory
Watson	George John	Lords	1836-1874	
Kerrison	Edward	Eye	1824-1847	Tory, Conservative
Verner	William	Armagh	1832-1868	Conservative
Elphinstone	James D	East Looe	1826-1830	Tory
O'Grady	Standish	Limerick, Lords	1820-1826, 1830-1834	Independent
Manners	Robert	Scarborough, Leicestershire Leicestershire North	1802-1835	Tory, Conservative
Ponsonby	Frederick Cavendish	Kilkenny, Higham Ferrers	1806-1830	Whig
Chatterton	James	Cork City	1849-1852	Conservative
Packe	George Hussey	Lincolnshire South	1859-1868	Liberal
Weyland	Richard	Oxford, Weymouth & Melcombe Regis	1831-1837	Whig
Dawson	John	Lords	1798-1845	
Hardinge	Henry	Durham, St Germans, Newport Launceston, Lords	1820-1844	Tory, Conservative
Davies	Thomas Henry Hastings	Worcester	1818-1834, 1837-1841	Whig, Liberal
Buckley	Edward Pery	Salisbury	1853-1865	Liberal
Gronow	Rees Howell	Stafford	1833-1835	Whig
Bruce	Robert	Clackmannan	1820-1824	Tory
Wyndham	Henry	Cockermouth, West Cumberland	1852-1860	Conservative
Cowell	John Stepney	Carmarthen	1868-1874, 1876-1877	Liberal
Hotham	Beaumont	Leominster, East Riding (Yorkshire)	1820-1868	Conservative
Anson	George	Great Yarmouth, Stoke-upon-Trent Staffordshire South	1818-1853	Whig
Keppel	George Thomas	East Norfolk, Lymington, Lords	1832-1835, 1847-1850	Liberal, Whig
Monypenny	Thomas Gybbon-	Rye	1837-1841	Conservative
Colborne	John	Lords	1839-1863	
Ogilvy	William	Perth	1831-1831	
Browne	William	Kerry	1830-1831, 1841-1847	
Waldegrave	John	Lords	1815-1835	Tory

Appendix D: Waterloo Veterans who serves as Colonial Governors

Sir Frederick Adam: High Commissioner of the Ionian Islands (1824-1832) Governor of Madras (1832-1837)

Sir Edward Barnes: Governor of Ceylon (1820-1822, 1824-1831)

Sir George Berkeley: High Commissioner of the Ionian Islands (1842-1843)

Sir Colin Campbell: Governor of Tobago (1828), Governor of Nova Scotia (1834-1840), Governor of Ceylon (1841-1847)

Sir Neil Campbell: Governor of the Gold Coast (1825-1826), Governor of Sierra Leone (1826-1827)

Sir James Carmichael-Smyth: Governor of the Bahamas (1829-1833), Governor of British Guiana (1833-1838)

Charles, Earl Cathcart: Governor General of British North America (1846-1847)

Sir George Cathcart: Governor of the Cape Colony (1852-1853)

Sir John Colborne: Lieutenant Governor of Guernsey (1821-1828), Lieutenant Governor of Upper Canada (1828-1836), Governor General of British North America (1837-1838), High Commissioner of the Ionian Islands (1843-1846)

Sir Charles Colville: Governor of Mauritius (1828-1833)

Sir Charles Augustus FitzRoy: Governor of Prince Edward Island (1837-1841), Governor of Antigua and the Leeward Islands (1842-1846), Governor of New South Wales (1846-1855)

Sir Robert Gardiner: Governor of Gibraltar (1848-1855)

George Gawler: Governor of South Australia (1838-1841)

Sir William Maynard Gomm: Governor of Mauritius (1842-1849)

Sir Henry Hardinge (Viscount Hardinge): Governor-General of India (1844-1848)

Sir Francis Bond Head: Lieutenant Governor of Upper Canada (1836-1838)

Sir James Kempt: Lieutenant Governor of Nova Scotia (1820-1828), Governor General of British North America (1828-1830)

Sir James Frederick Lyon: Governor of Barbados (1829-1833)

Sir Peregrine Maitland: Lieutenant Governor of Upper Canada (1818-1828), Governor of Nova Scotia (1828-1834)

Sir William Nicolay: Governor of Dominica (1824-1830), Governor of Saint Christopher (1832-1833), Governor of Mauritius (1833-1840)

Sir Frederick Cavendish Ponsonby: Governor of Malta (1827-1836)

Sir Harry Smith: Governor of the Cape Colony (1847-1852)

Sir Alexander George Woodford: Governor of Malta (1826-1827), High Commissioner of the Ionian Islands (1835), Governor of Gibraltar (1836-1842)

Appendix E: Civilian Vs. Military Governor & Lieutenant-Governor appointments, 1815-1850

Colony	Civilian	Military	Total	% Military
Assiniboia	7	6	13	46%
Bahamas	4	4	8	50%
Barbados	1	8	9	89%
Bermuda	0	6	6	100%
Bombay	6	3	9	33%
British Guiana	1	3	4	75%
British Honduras	1	5	6	83%
British Virgin Islands	1	2	3	67%
Burma	0	1	1	100%
Lower Canada	1	2	3	67%
Upper Canada	1	7	8	88%
Governors General of Canada	6	8	14	57%
Cape Breton/Nova Scotia	1	8	9	89%
Cape Colony	0	7	7	100%
Ceylon	3	4	7	57%
Dominica	0	6	6	100%
Falkland Islands	1	4	5	80%
The Gambia	2	5	7	71%
Gibraltar	0	4	4	100%
Gold Coast	1	6	7	86%
Grenada	0	3	3	100%
Heligoland	0	3	3	100%
Hong Kong	2	2	4	50%
India (& Bengal up to 33)	5	3	8	38%
Ionian Islands	3	7	10	70%
Jamaica	6	2	8	25%
Leeward Islands	1	8	9	89%
Madras	2	5	7	71%
Malta	1	6	7	86%
Mauritius	2	5	7	71%
Natal	3	0	3	0%
Nevis	1	3	4	75%
New Brunswick	1	5	6	83%
Newfoundland	0	7	7	100%
New South Wales	0	6	6	100%
New Zealand	0	3	3	100%
Penang	4	0	4	0%
Prince Edward Island	0	8	8	100%
Saint Helena	0	8	8	100%
Saint Christopher (St. Kitts)	3	4	7	57%
Saint Lucia	0	17	17	100%
Saint Vincent	2	3	5	60%
Sierra Leone	2	10	12	83%
South Australia	1	4	5	80%
Straits Settlements	4	1	5	20%
Tasmania/Van Diemen's Land	2	4	6	67%
Tobago	0	6	6	100%
Trinidad	3	3	6	50%
North-Western Provinces	4	0	4	0%
Western Australia	1	3	4	75%
Totals	90	238	328	73%

Appendix F: Civilian Vs. Military Governor & Lieutenant-Governor appointments, 1850-1885

Colony	Civilian	Military	Total	% Military
Assiniboia	3	1	4	25%
Bahamas	9	2	11	18%
Barbados	5	2	7	29%
Bermuda	0	7	7	100%
Bombay	7	2	9	22%
British Guiana	7	0	7	0%
British Honduras	8	3	11	27%
British Virgin Islands	6	5	11	45%
Burma	5	3	8	38%
Lower Canada	5	0	5	0%
Upper Canada	4	1	5	20%
Governors General of Canada	7	0	7	0%
Cape Breton/Nova Scotia	4	5	9	56%
Cape Colony	3	4	7	57%
Ceylon	6	1	7	14%
Dominica	6	2	8	25%
Falkland Islands	4	3	7	43%
The Gambia	5	8	13	62%
Gibraltar	0	7	7	100%
Gold Coast	10	6	16	38%
Grenada	6	4	10	40%
Heligoland	0	4	4	100%
Hong Kong	5	2	7	29%
India (& Bengal up to 33)	9	0	9	0%
Ionian Islands	3	1	4	25%
Jamaica	6	3	9	33%
Leeward Islands	6	3	9	33%
Madras	6	4	10	40%
Malta	1	7	8	88%
Mauritius	7	1	8	13%
Natal	6	2	8	25%
Nevis	7	3	10	30%
New Brunswick	7	2	9	22%
Newfoundland	3	5	8	63%
New South Wales	3	3	6	50%
New Zealand	2	6	8	75%
Prince Edward Island	7	2	9	22%
Saint Helena	1	4	5	80%
Saint Christopher (St. Kitts)	6	3	9	33%
Saint Lucia	5	3	8	38%
Saint Vincent	6	1	7	14%
Sierra Leone	5	6	11	55%
South Australia	5	2	7	29%
Straits Settlements	3	5	8	63%
Tasmania/Van Diemen's Land	3	4	7	57%
Tobago	8	3	11	27%
Trinidad	7	2	9	22%
North-Western Provinces	7	1	8	13%
Western Australia	4	4	8	50%
Totals	248	152	400	38%

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