

## **Waterloo: the spoils of war.**

The French eagles taken by the British heavy cavalry during the attack of the 1<sup>st</sup> corps.

The capture of the eagle of the *105<sup>me</sup> régiment de ligne* has been and still is subject of controversy about who actually took it. The discussion revolves around two persons: captain Alexander Kennedy Clark or corporal Francis Stiles.

A week after the events, captain Kennedy Clark wrote to his sister: "I had the honour to stab the bearer of the 45<sup>th</sup> battalion of infantry and take the eagle which is now in London. It is a very handsome blue silk flag with a large gilt eagle on top of the pole with the wings spread." Though a fresh testimony written not long after the events, Kennedy Clark's letter contains two major errors. First of all, he did not take it from the 45<sup>th</sup>, but from the 105<sup>th</sup> regiment. Additionally, the flag was not blue all-over, but tricolour (blue, white and red), surmounted by an eagle. The inscription – embroidered in gold - in front read "105<sup>e</sup> régiment d'infanterie de ligne" and on the reverse is stated "Iena, Eylau, Eckmühl, Essling, Wagram." The eagle was donated to the regiment by the empress Louise.<sup>1</sup>

Five days after the battle colonel Clifton (then acting brigade commander) wrote to the acting cavalry commander, colonel Felton Hervey, in the following terms: "I have particularly to mention my entire satisfaction with the conduct of brevet-lieutenant-colonel Dorville, who succeeded to the command of the Royal Dragoons, as well as brigade major Radclyffe and captain Clark of that regiment, the latter of whom contributed in a great degree in capturing the eagle. [...] The above mentioned officers I beg to recommend to His Grace's favourable notice for promotion."<sup>2</sup>

At this stage, it seems Clifton was not entirely convinced that Clark had actually captured the eagle himself. It is worth noting that of the three officers recommended for promotion, Clark was the only one not to receive it.

At Waterloo, Kennedy Clark had got wounded and in July 1815 - when he was still recovering - he became increasingly anxious that his deed at Waterloo had been overlooked (he was unaware of Clifton's report to Hervey) and therefore wrote to colonel Dorville: "It is a terrible blow for me to be absent at this moment. If I was able to be on the spot, it is possible I might succeed in procuring brevet rank but as it is, I have no person sufficiently interested in my progress in the army to exert themselves on my behalf. I give you my solemn word of honour that I do not believe the standard bearer was touched by anyone until I reined up my horse and ran my sword through his right side above the kidneys, when he fell more than half down and I could touch part of the silk cord but could not hold it [...] If you can do me a good turn I shall be grateful. But you will also do me a favour if you will give me your opinion on this business. If you think I have no claim, please tell me and I shall be obliged to you for your candour."

Dorville obviously felt Clark had a point since he took the matter to colonel Clifton. Accordingly, Clifton instructed lieutenant-colonel Radclyffe to investigate. He submitted statements from privates Anderson and Wilson, both of whom had been closely involved in the struggle.

According to Radclyffe, Anderson's statement was to the effect that: "Anderson was to the left of captain Clark when he stabbed the officer. He and the officer fell and the eagle fell across the heads of his and captain Clark's horses and against that of corporal Stiles. Captain Clark called out twice together "Secure the colour" Corporal Stiles seized it and carried off the eagle to the rear. He [Anderson] was wounded soon after and rode part of the way from the field with the corporal."<sup>3</sup>

Wilson's description of the events was: "Wilson was about to quit the field when he heard

captain Clark call out to secure the colour and turned about to assist in taking it. He was a horse's length to the right of captain Clark when he stabbed the officer who carried it. The colour and the eagle fell against the neck of corporal Stiles' horse who snatched it up and galloped off to the rear. A man of the Greys, I believe a sergeant who took another and he saw them both on the road to Brussels."

Also, on the 7<sup>th</sup> of July 1815, major Radcliffe wrote from Brussels to lieutenant general sir Fane (1<sup>st</sup> Royal Regiment of Dragoons): "[the charge] was a magnificent sight. At that moment I was struck and obliged to come away. Before I was out of shot, [I] saw with pride and pleasure corporal Styles of the Royals bringing away an Eagle which he had the good fortune to take, and in a short time after, a sergeant of the Greys with another. I have not seen anyone who had the good fortune to remain all the time, and able to give me any clear account of the event which followed [...]"<sup>4</sup>

About half a year after the battle colonel Clifton was still struggling to get to the bottom of the issue. For that reason, he sent for corporal Stiles and in the conversation, Clifton made it clear that Stiles would have to bring up some witness as to what happened if his claim to have taken the eagle of the 105th was to be substantiated.

Resulting, Stiles wrote on the 31<sup>st</sup> of January 1816 to his former troop commander at Waterloo, lieutenant George Gunning:

"This day colonel Clifton sent for me about the taking the eagle and colours. He asked me if I had any person that see me take the eagle; I told him that you see me, I believe, as the officer of the French was making away with it. I belonged to your troop at that time, and you gave me orders to charge him, which I did, and took it from him. When I stated it to him this day he wants to know the particulars about it, and me to write to you for you to state to him how it was. I would thank you to write to the colonel, as you was the nearest officer to me that day. Sir, by doing you will much oblige etc."<sup>5</sup>

It is unclear whether Gunning's account published in 1816 was a reaction to Clifton's but it was in that year that Gunning wrote: "I saw an eagle among a small body. I told corporal Styles to secure it, and led the men on to the attack. At this moment I saw no officer near me. I killed the French officer who commanded the party, whose sword passed between my arm and my body at the moment my sword passed through his left breast. He was a fine looking, elegant man; his last words were "Vive l'empereur" The prisoners said he was the commanding officer of the 105th regiment. It was the work of a moment. I saw the eagle in the hands of corporal Styles and I ordered him to leave the field, and not give up the eagle until he had a proper receipt for it at headquarters from one of the Duke of Wellington's personal staff."<sup>6</sup>

It may have been on this positive assessment of Stiles's behaviour that Stiles was promoted, first to sergeant and then to ensign in the 6th West India regiment (commission dated 11<sup>th</sup> April 1816). Performing an exceptionally gallant action in combat was one way for a soldier or NCO to receive a commission. It had to be recommended by the commander-in-chief in the field and be referred to Horse Guards for the final agreement of the Prince Regent to bestow the commission. In this case, Wellington approved Stiles' recommendation, which presumably had originated with his unit or brigade. This presupposes that a number of senior officers considered that he captured, or at least played a major part in the capture of the eagle.

Meanwhile, possibly in an attempt to speed up his promotion to another channel, Kennedy Clark wrote to lord Uxbridge on the 10<sup>th</sup> of June 1817:

" I did not see the eagle and colour (for there were two colours, but only one with an eagle) until we had been probably five or six minutes engaged. It must, I should think, have been originally

about the centre of the column, and got uncovered from the change of direction. When I first saw it, it was perhaps about forty yards to my left and a little in my front. The officer who carried it and his companions were moving in the direction O [7], with their backs towards me, and endeavouring to force their way into the crowd.

I gave the order to my squadron " Right shoulders forward, attack the colour", leading direct on the point myself. On reaching it, I ran my sword into the officer's right side a little above his hip joint. He was a little to my left side, and he fell to that side with the eagle across my horse's head. I tried to catch it with my left hand, but could only touch the fringe of the flag, and it is probable it would have fallen to the ground, had it not been prevented by the neck of Corporal Styles' horse, who came up close to my left at the instant, and against which it fell. Corporal Styles was Standard Coverer; his post was immediately behind me, and his duty to follow wherever I led. When I first saw the eagle I gave the order " Right shoulders forward, attack the colour ", and on running the officer through the body I called out twice together " Secure the colour, secure the colour, it belongs to me. " This order was addressed to some men close to me, of whom Corporal Styles was one. On taking up the eagle, I endeavoured to break the eagle from the pole with the intention of putting it into the breast of my coat; but I could not break it. Corporal Styles said " Pray, sir, do not break it ", on which I replied " Very well, carry it to the rear as fast as you can, it belongs to me. What became of the colour without the eagle I know not, but it is rather singular that I last autumn saw a dark blue silk flag with the words 105me in gold letters upon it in the hall at Abbotsford along with other military curiosities. How it got there I could not learn, the present Sir Walter Scott telling me he had no knowledge of how it got into his late father's possession, or where it came from. Could this have been the very flag that was along with the eagle, or was it only a camp colour ? The flag of the eagle was red, white and blue; this all blue. [...] I have marked with a \* the spot as near as I can judge where the eagle was taken. It might be a little nearer the hedge but I do not think it was." 8

Kennedy Clark made it to major in 1825 and lieutenant colonel in 1830. The following year he applied for the order of the Bath, but this was not granted.

Some 20 years after the campaign, Kennedy Clark made several contributions to the work of William Siborne. On the 13<sup>th</sup> of April 1835 he wrote him: "No 4 is the extent of the successful charge made by about nine hundred swords, which cost the enemy, independent of killed, nearly 2.000 prisoners and two eagles, the bearer of one of which, the 105<sup>th</sup>, was run through the body by me somewhere about the letter E. I commanded the centre squadron. The other eagle was taken by sergeant Ewart, of the Greys." 9

Apparently, sir Joseph Straton, at Waterloo lieutenant colonel of the Inniskillings, had turned to lieutenant colonel Miller of the same regiment for information on the possible share of private W. Penfold in the taking of an eagle, as Miller wrote him on the 11<sup>th</sup> of June 1839: "Before I proceed to answer your queries, I must beg to do what I have been intending for some time past, & that is to congratulate you on your appointment to a regiment and also to say that as I perceive the Royals and Greys have an Eagle on their standards, I think application should be made for the Inniskillings to be granted the same distinction, as I have always considered them as such entitled to it as either of the other regiments.

As to Penfold taking an eagle, I only know what I heard at the time, that he took an Eagle which was by some means dropped or lost, and brought off by a man of the Greys or Royals. But Penn says that Penfold told him that after we charged he saw an Eagle, which he rode up and seized hold of; that the person who held it would not give it up, and that he dragged him by it for a considerable distance; that the pole broke about the middle and Penfold carried it off; that immediately afterwards he saw Hassard [10] engaged by himself, and went to his assistance, giving the Eagle to a young soldier of the Inniskillings, whose name Penn now forgets; and that a corporal of the Royals persuaded that young soldier to let him have it, and

he carried it off, and Penn says he saw an Eagle broken as described going to Brussels with the prisoners.”<sup>11</sup>

By the 18<sup>th</sup> of June 1839, Kennedy Clark wrote about the event and his promotion (in April 1839) to William Siborne: ”I am happy to tell you that my claim to having directed and led my squadron to the attack of the eagle of the 105 regiment of having run the officer who carried it through the body of having had that eagle in my possession and of having ordered corporal F.Styles against whose horse [...] it fell to carry it to the rear (while I continued in command of my squadron) has been recognized by the general commanding in chief and I have been rewarded by being nominated a companion of the Bath a reward with which I am perfectly satisfied.”<sup>12</sup>

As regards to the spot where the eagle was taken, Clark Kennedy wrote in March 1840 to Siborne: “The eagle was not taken so near the lane [?] as you represent the charge in nor was it in the early part of it but after we had been a considerable time engaged and I do not think I was able to get more than 10 or 12 men together at the moment, most of whom were killed or wounded. It is of little consequence I presume in what part of the charge the capture is represented but I should say it was nearly where I have marked an O in pencil but anything was at that time in such disorder that I apprehend the time you have fixed [?] or will [?] have the best effect. It was taken in that charge and 100 yards more or less can be of no consequence. [...]

I was told by two of my men that I had a very narrow escape while attacking the eagle bearer, another officer having made a thrust at me. They thought the sword had passed through my body but I suppose it must have passed across my back as I was in the act of leaping forward and giving the eagle bearer [...] but be that as it may, I neither saw nor felt the sword which certainly did not touch me.”<sup>13</sup>

Three years later, on 11<sup>th</sup> of January 1843, Kennedy Clark stated to Siborne about the eagle: “The eagles taken by myself and the Greys were both infantry colours tricolor, blue, white and red and you have a correct plate of them together with their inscriptions in the frontpiece of Cannon’s Records of the Royals and Greys. From both eagles about two years ago in the chapel of Chelsea hospital and the representation is correct only that the colours of the originals are very much faded from time and exposure to London smoke and the gold fringe [...] the edge of the flag is from the same cause almost black. The eagle of the 105 regiment was carried by an officer with one epaulette who I ran through the body and there was a second colour along with that which had the eagle on it but without an eagle but cannot tell what became of it [...] no doubt [...] and carried back to the French position etc.”<sup>14-15</sup>

In conclusion, it becomes clear that the capture of the eagle of the 45<sup>th</sup> was a matter of close cooperation between the two officers, thereby captain Kennedy Clark cutting down the bearer, so that the eagle fell on the neck of the horse of corporal Stiles who actually grabbed it and took it to the rear on the instruction of Kennedy Clark. At the same time, two privates, called Anderson and Wilson ,who were to the left and right of Kennedy Clark respectively were involved in the struggle.<sup>16</sup>

Sergeant Charles Ewart of the Scots Greys was the man who captured the eagle of the *45me régiment infanterie de ligne*.<sup>17</sup>

He wrote about the event in a letter from Rouen, dated 16<sup>th</sup> of August 1815: " The enemy began forming their line of battle about nine in the morning of the 18th. They came down to the left, where they were received by our brave Highlanders. No men could ever behave better; our brigade of cavalry covered them. Owing to a column of foreign troops giving way, our brigade was forced to advance to the support of our brave fellows, and which we certainly did in style; we charged through two of their columns, each about 500. It was in the first charge I took the eagle from the enemy; he and I had a hard contest for it; he thrust for my groin - I parried it off, and I cut him through the head; after which I was attacked by one of their lancers, who threw his lance at me, but missed the mark by my throwing it off with my sword by my right side; then I cut him from the chin upwards, which cut went through his teeth. Next I was attacked by a foot soldier, who after firing at me, charged me with his bayonet; but he very soon lost the combat, for I parried it, and cut him down through the head; so that finished the contest for the eagle. After which I presumed to follow my comrades, eagle and all, but was stopped by the general saying to me: " You brave fellow, take that to the rear; you have done enough until you get quit of it ", which I was obliged to do, but with great reluctance. I retired to a height, and stood there for upwards an hour, which gave me a general view of the field, but I cannot express the sight I beheld; the bodies of my brave comrades were lying so thick upon the field that it was scarcely possible to pass, and horses innumerable. I took the eagle into Brussels, amidst the acclamation of thousands of the spectators that saw it." <sup>18</sup>

In another, undated, letter Ewart writes: "The eagle which I took was from the 45<sup>th</sup> Invincibles, with a flag attached to it, upon which were inscribed the names Jena, Austerlitz, Wagram, Eylau, Friedland etc.: being the battles in which this regiment had signalled itself.

The day on which the flag and eagle were taken was the 18<sup>th</sup> of June in our first charge of that day (about half-past eleven in the forenoon) on the second column of the Invincibles. The officer who carried it and I had a short contest for it; he thrust for my groin, I parried it off and cut him through the head. In a short time after, whilst contriving how to carry the eagle (by folding the flag round my bridle arm and dragging the pole on the ground) and follow my regiment, I heard a lancer coming behind me. I wheeled round to face him and in the act of doing so, he threw the lance at me, which I threw off to my right with my sword and cut him from the chin upwards through the teeth. His lance merely grazed the skin on my right side, which bled a good deal, but was well very soon. I was next attacked by a foot soldier, who after firing at me, charged me with the bayonet. I parried it and cut him down through the head. This finished the contest for the eagle, which I was ordered by general Ponsonby to carry to the rear. [...] About two or three o'clock in the afternoon of the 18<sup>th</sup>, I was ordered by an officer of the 42<sup>nd</sup> to take the eagle to Brussels. General Ponsonby's aide de camp overtook and passed me on the road and informed me first that the general was killed." <sup>19</sup>

Corporal Dickson, of the same troop as Ewart (the one under captain Verner) writes in his account about the capture of the eagle: "Ewart was now in front. [...] We now came to an open space covered with bushes, and then I saw Ewart, with five or six infantry men about him, slashing right and left at them. Armour [a private] and I dashed up these half-dozen Frenchmen, who were trying to escape with one of their standards. I cried to Armour to "Come one !" and we rode at them. Ewart had finished two of them, and was in the act of striking a third man who held the eagle; next moment I saw Ewart cut him down, and he fell dead. I was just in time to thwart a bayonet-thrust that was aimed at the gallant sergeant's neck. Armour finished another of them. "We cried out, "Well done, my boy !" and as others had come up, we spurred on in search of a like success." <sup>20</sup>

In both extensive descriptions of how he captured the eagle, Ewart mentions the dispute he had with a French lancer. This presence seems to indicate that Ewart took the eagle much later as is normally represented. Yet, this is impossible as Ewart does not enter into any further actions which took place beyond the column. More importantly, he writes that he was instructed by general Ponsonby to take it to the rear, so at that moment Ponsonby was still alive, which was before the confrontation with the French lancers.

After that, he witnessed - while standing on the ridge of the allied position - the result of the charge: the dead and wounded dragoons lying around in the field.

Who this lancer could have been remains obscure, but it is a fact that Ewart was *not* involved in any action with this type of French cavalry at all.<sup>21</sup>

The 1<sup>st</sup> porte eagle of the 45<sup>th</sup> was a lieutenant Pierre Guillot. He had replaced the previous eagle bearer called Thomassin, who was judged too “royalist”. Rather than “being cut through the head” Guillot appears simply to have stumbled and fallen on the ground, or to have been knocked over by a horse or his colleagues in the confusion of the cavalry counter attack and dropped the eagle and standard, which Ewart managed to seize. Others around Guillot fought to recapture the eagle and standard and it is these individuals who would seem to be the ones mentioned by Ewart.<sup>22</sup>

In his very first draft despatch for lord Bathurst dated 19<sup>th</sup> of June, Wellington makes mention of the capture of three eagles. This might indicate that a third one was actually taken during the battle, but there is no indication for this whatsoever.<sup>23</sup> This leaves the question how it came about that Wellington mentioned three in stead of two.<sup>24</sup> He may have been mistaken himself, but it also might very well be that he was initially informed there were three.

As Wellington had finished this very first draft, but before it was actually despatched, further information which dropped him prompted Wellington to write two additional post scriptums. In the meantime, he also found out that the mentioning of three eagles was incorrect and therefore he corrected it in his definitive version for lord Bathurst.<sup>25</sup> Both eagles were transferred by major Percy to London, where he arrived by the evening of the 21<sup>st</sup> of June.<sup>26</sup>

The capture of French guns.

The capture of the two eagles by the British was an unambiguous event, but the situation with the guns taken from the French army at Waterloo soon exposed the mutual claims of both Blücher’s and Wellington’s army upon to them.

It had already been on the evening of the 18<sup>th</sup> of June that Wellington had ordered to collect all the guns which had been taken by his army.<sup>27</sup> At that stage, sir Augustus Frazer had received instructions to list the guns left by the French on the battlefield. Resulting, he had colonel Wood work this out and he came with this first report, dated 20<sup>th</sup> June:

*Return of ordnance, &c. taken from the enemy in the battle of the 18th inst.*

*Nivelles, 20th June 1815.*

*Ordnance:*

|                          |           |
|--------------------------|-----------|
| <i>Guns: 12-prs.</i>     | <i>35</i> |
| <i>6-prs.</i>            | <i>57</i> |
| <i>Howitzers: 6-inch</i> | <i>13</i> |
| <i>24-prs.</i>           | <i>17</i> |

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Total 122 pieces

Waggon:

Ammunition: 12-pr. 74

6-pr. 71

Howitzer 50

Musket 48

Forge 20

Store 6

Belonging to the Imperial Guard 52

Spare carriages:

12-prs. 6

6-prs. 8

Howitzer 8

G.A.Wood <sup>28</sup>

Based upon this list and fearing the Prussians might drag away most of the guns, Frazer was ordered to park them near Waterloo. It was on the evening that he, accompanied with colonel Wood and lieutenant colonel May, searched the field for the registered guns, but to its astonishment the small group only found a very small number of them. Soon, as they approached Genappe, it appeared that the Prussians had parked there some 161 guns, guarded by Prussian sentries. After Frazer had shown to the Prussian officer in command the list and had discussed the situation, he was permitted to bring the 122 to Waterloo. <sup>29</sup>

Yet, the event led to a complaint of Gneisenau to Von Müffling on the 24<sup>th</sup> of June about the British appropriation of the guns. Von Müffling, in his turn, discussed the situation with Wellington who told him that in the absence of some settlement, each army would be allotted what it had taken. <sup>30</sup>

Other than these 122 guns, 28 were parked by the Prussians north of Genappe, while they had taken another 42 further south on the early morning of the 19<sup>th</sup> of June. At some point of time, all the guns, limbers, carriages etc. taken by the Prussians were parked in a field near Villers Peruin. <sup>31</sup> Taking in a few isolated ones on the battlefield, the British were eventually able to park 133 guns north-east of the hamlet of Mont Saint Jean. <sup>32</sup> Resuming, both during the battle itself and its aftermath north of the Sambre, both Wellington and Blücher took from the *Armée du nord* in total 203 guns. <sup>33</sup>

At least for the Prussians this situation was highly unsatisfactory as they felt they had the right to claim much more as 70 guns. The issue dragged on until early August when Blücher, through Von Müffling – enquired to Wellington how to solve it. It was on the 10<sup>th</sup> of August that Wellington proposed to Gneisenau to appoint two *commissaires* of both armies to come with a common proposal to solve the issue. <sup>34</sup> The proposal was agreed to by the Prussians, and accordingly lieutenant colonel Torrens and colonel Von Pfuel were appointed. Von Pfuel's proposal was to equally divide the guns taken at and north of Genappe, while the Prussians would add those taken south of the village to their share. Basically, this meant a total of 122 guns for Blücher and 81 for Wellington. Torrens did not agree. Regarding the battle itself and its resulting pursuit as one, he felt both parties would have to equally divide all 203 guns, so 101 / 102 each. This proposal, in turn, was rejected by Von Pfuel. <sup>35</sup>

The issue revolved back to their superiors and Wellington requested Von Müffling to inform Blücher that he wanted to settle the question. What counted for Wellington was that the guns taken at Waterloo and during the pursuit would be equally divided amongst both armies. By

the 10<sup>th</sup> of September, Blücher, no doubt though aware of Von Pfuel efforts, consented in this proposal in order to settle the issue discretely.<sup>36</sup> To remove any shred of doubt, it was also agreed by both parties on the 15<sup>th</sup> of September that the fortresses taken in the north of France were excluded from this arrangement.<sup>37</sup> Though exact figures are lacking, eventually, each army was allotted about a hundred guns.<sup>38</sup> The 203 guns lost by the French at Waterloo and during the pursuit formed 82% of their total number present at the battle (248).<sup>39</sup>

The capture of the imperial carriages.

The landau taken by the Prussians within the French position at Waterloo was built in 1812 and was transferred by Blücher from the battlefield to Gosselies, from where it was sent – accompanied by lieutenant Von Lindenhoff - on the 20<sup>th</sup> of June to Berlin. Before it got there, though, it was exhibited to the public at Liège, Aachen (late June) and Düsseldorf (early July). It remained in German hands until 1973 when it was given back to France. Nowadays, it is stalled in an annex of the Musée de Malmaison.<sup>40-41</sup>

The second carriage taken by the Prussians on the evening of the battle of Waterloo was the dark-blue coloured *berline* of the emperor.

It was built on the order of the empress Marie Louise in 1812 by Simon at Brussels. The carriage was also called the *dormeuse*, as it could be used for sleeping. Yet, basically, it was multi-functional, as it could also be converted into a *bureau*, a dressing-room or an eating-room. It was pulled by six brown horses.<sup>42</sup>

In the carriage, the Prussians found numerous objects, like spare-cloths (a hat was one of them), a sword, a cloak, a bedstead with requisites for bedding, an imperial *nécessaire*, a mahogany liquor-case, various articles of perfumery, silverware, a writing-desk, maps, telescopes, pistols, a large silver chronometer, all kinds of articles for strict personal convenience as well as a great number of diamonds and a treasure in money.<sup>43</sup>

These last items were plundered from the carriage when taken and got scattered amongst the men involved.<sup>44</sup> Some time after, the hat and sword, plus some of Napoleon's orders were brought to Blücher. He sent the hat and the sword to the Prussian king who incorporated them into the royal collections. Eventually, after a lot of wanderings, both items can nowadays be seen in the Zeughaus of the Deutsches Historisches Museum in Berlin.<sup>45</sup>

Some time after the campaign the carriage was offered by Blücher to the Prince Regent of England. As a result, it was – escorted by major Von Keller - conveyed through Calais (19<sup>th</sup> October 1815) and Dover (26<sup>th</sup> October 1815) to London. George IV did not possess the carriage for long, as he sold it for 2500 pound sterling to William Bullock. In 1816, he exhibited the carriage, plus some of its adjoining objects, in the Egyptian Hall at Piccadilly, where it attracted a huge number of visitors. Bullock also sought its former driver, Jean Horn, whom he fetched to London. In the years after, the carriage toured in the British Isles, until Bullock's collection got scattered by 1819. The *berline* was sold to a coachmaker, who sold it in 1843 to Madame Tussaud, London where it was destroyed by a fire on the 18<sup>th</sup> of March 1925.<sup>46</sup>

At Genappe, the fuseliers of the 25<sup>th</sup> regiment also took the cuisine of Napoleon. From all what they found in it, they composed a complete silver dinner-service and handed this over on the 24<sup>th</sup> of June to the eldest daughter of king Friedrich Wilhelm III of Prussia, Charlotte.<sup>47</sup>

Though the majority of the papers coming from the *cabinet* of the *duc de Bassano* were torn apart or scattered, somehow a black leathered portefeuille survived as an entity. After it had been initially taken by the Prussians, it ended up in the hands of lieutenants Van Uchelen and De Wesener.

In their turn, they handed it over to captain De Ceva. As an aide de camp of baron Tindal, De

Ceva had been sent to Charleroi to enquire about the state of affairs and as he returned to Tindal he was to hand the object over to Tindal.

De Ceva describes the portefeuille as one ornamented with a gilded eagle and divided in the interior into several sections (affaires étrangères, affaires de l'intérieur, affaires de ma maison). It contained numerous documents, a miniature of a well-known actress called St. Aubin and an extensive manuscript of marshal De Villars, depicting the areas between the Sambre and the Meuse. Through Tindal, the portefeuille came in the possession of the secretary of state, Falck. He removed those documents dealing with the fortresses in the north of France and sent those to major Van Reede, for the use of Wellington. On the 25<sup>th</sup> of June, he handed the remainder of the documents over to Van Nagell, the minister of foreign affairs. Of all these, some 110 documents were published in The Hague and Paris 1815 in three small publications entitled "Portefeuille de Buonaparte pris à Charleroi le 18 Juin 1815."<sup>48</sup>

The portefeuille was not the only spoil of war which was handed over to De Wesener. The cantonal judge based at Charleroi, J.J. Duparque, assisted by a small team, made a door-to-door survey to find out about anything looted from the French *équipages* by local inhabitants after they had been abandoned by their drivers in the *Ville haute*.

On the 25<sup>th</sup> of June Duparque reported to Tindal about the retrieval of four large *portefeuilles* and a chest containing numerous topographical maps, as well as three large bags containing different valuables, such as clothes, several *croix d'honneur*, two uniforms of the emperor, a *nécessaire* and documents of all kinds. These were all handed over to De Wesener by that time.<sup>49</sup>

Yet another portefeuille was taken by the Prussians, probably at or around Genappe. It came from the waggon carrying the material of the *service topographique* of colonel Bonne. The index of the content was listed in the "Verzeichnis der Memoiren aus den Portefeuille Bonaparte's 1815" to be found in the former Kriegsarchiv, now supposed to be at Moscow.<sup>50</sup> Members of the fusilier battalion of the 25<sup>th</sup> regiment also took a kitchen-waggon of the imperial headquarters containing numerous silver items for use at the table.<sup>51</sup> Gneisenau would also have bought a carriage plus four horses for himself, but which one remains unclear.<sup>52</sup>

Immediately after the campaign, rumours started to spread that a bundle of proclamations had been found amongst Napoleon's possessions taken at Waterloo.

Lieutenant Sperling of the engineers wrote to his father on the 20<sup>th</sup> of June: "Such was the confidence of success that I understand printed proclamations were found in Buonaparte's carriage, dated from Mon Palais impérial de Laeken à Bruxelles."<sup>53</sup>

And the same day, at Brussels, Fanny Burney wrote: "I met at the Embassy an old English officer who gave me most interesting and curious information, assuring me that in the carriage of Bonaparte, which had been seized, there were proclamations ready printed, and even dated from the palace of Lachen [sic], announcing the downfall of the allies, and the triumph of Bonaparte!"<sup>54</sup>

Two days later, sir Augustus Frazer wrote: "It is said and believed, that in Napoleon's carriage was taken, among other papers of consequence, a list of his spies and emissaries in all the countries of Europe. Quantities of crosses and decorations certainly were, as well as proclamations dated from our Palace of Lacken, so sure did Bonaparte make of beating us."<sup>55</sup>

The first mentioning of the actual content of the proclamation is given by Constant Rebecque in his journal. It is unknown when he actually wrote it. As the others only write from hearsay, it is more unfortunate that he doesn't explain where he got it from. His version reads:

*Proclamation aux Belges et aux habitants de la rive gauche du Rhin.*

*Les succès éphémères de mes ennemis vous ont un moment détachés de mon empire. Dans mon exil sur un rocher au milieu de la mer, j'ai entendu vos plaintes. Le Dieu des batailles a décidé du sort de vos belles provinces. Napoléon est au milieu de vous. Vous êtes dignes d'être Français. Levez-vous en masse, joignez mes invincibles phalanges pour exterminer les restes de ces barbares qui sont vos ennemis et les miens. Ils fuyent avec rage et le désespoir dans le coeur.*

*Au Château impérial de Laeken, le 17 juin 1815*

*Napoléon*

*Par l'empereur le major général de l'armée comte Bertrand* <sup>56</sup>

It is important to state that the document is not mentioned by any Prussian source, so it would be logical to suppose that it somehow surfaced through the Anglo-Netherlands-German army. The only link to spoils like these taken by this army is the one with Charleroi, but the men involved (e.g. Van Uchelen, De Wesener and De Ceva) do not mention it either.

The historian Scheltema, not long after the campaign, carried out thorough research on the document, but doesn't disclose its details. He merely states that the bundles never existed, but that the proclamation as such did. He adds that it was shortly after campaign published in newspapers from both the Netherlands and abroad. <sup>57</sup>

Lacking further details it is impossible to confirm with full certainty whether the proclamation actually did emanate from French imperial headquarters, or that it was - for some reason - made up immediately after the campaign.

First version: 15<sup>th</sup> May 2012 - Last revised: 14<sup>th</sup> July 2013 - Copyright © Pierre de Wit

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Aerts, W. – Etudes etc. Livre V (manuscript) p.76

Siborne, W. – History of the war Vol.II p.

Nowadays, the colour is in the National Army Museum, Chelsea, London.

Its capture by the Royals was officially recognized by the regiment on the 2nd of May 1838.

Cf. De Ainslie, Historical record of the first or the royal regiment of dragoons p.154

<sup>2</sup> In: WSD, Vol. X p.568-569

<sup>3</sup> On the 7<sup>th</sup> of July 1815, Radclyffe wrote in a letter: “At that moment I was struck and obliged to come away. Before I was out of shot, I saw with pride and pleasure corporal Stiles of the Royals bringing away an eagle which he had the good fortune to take, and in a short time after, a sergeant of the Greys with another.” In: [www.1815.ltd.com](http://www.1815.ltd.com) Original in: Wiltshire and Swindon Archives, 413/382

<sup>4</sup> In: [www.1815.ltd.uk](http://www.1815.ltd.uk) and NAM, nr.6310-36 original in: Wiltshire and Swindon Archives 413/382

<sup>5</sup> In: Dalton, Ch – The Waterloo roll call p.257

Also in: [www.spink.com](http://www.spink.com)

<sup>6</sup> Cf. his letter to the Cheltenham Chronicle (1816) and published privately in 1834 in “Documents of the Gunning family.” Cf. [www.spink.com](http://www.spink.com)

<sup>7</sup> Here, captain Kennedy Clark (Royals) refers to a plan. The spot where Clark Kennedy took the eagle was at about 270 meters east of the garden of the farm of La Haye Sainte and at about 245 meters south of the Ohain-road. In: BL, Add.ms.34.705 p.151-154 and 34.707 p.165-167

8. Captain Kennedy Clark (Royals). In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.76-78, 87-90

In: NAM, nr.5602-520

<sup>9</sup> In: BL, Add.ms.34.705 p.151-154

Point E in the plan is at about 270 meters east of the garden of the farm of La Haye Sainte and at about 245 meters south of the Ohain-road (see above).

<sup>10</sup> Both private Penfold and lieutenant Hassard were members of the same troop of the Inniskillings, the one led by captain Douglas. Cf. The Waterloo medal roll p.30

<sup>11</sup> In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.67-69

<sup>12</sup> In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.76-78

<sup>13</sup> In: BL, Add.ms.34.707 p.165-167

<sup>14</sup> In: BL, Add.ms.34.708 p.10-12

<sup>15</sup> The bearer, lieutenant porte-aigle Chantelat, was indeed wounded. Cf. Martinien, A. –

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Adkin, M. The Waterloo companion p. 416-418

<sup>17</sup> The Eagle captured by Ewart is now on display in the Royal Scots Dragoon Guards museum in Edinburgh.

18. Sergeant Ewart in a letter dated 16<sup>th</sup> August 1815. In: Dalton, Ch. - The Waterloo roll call, p.258

Charles Ewart was born in 1769 and enlisted in the cavalry at the age of twenty. He fought in a number of actions in the French Revolutionary Wars, was briefly taken prisoner, and emerged from the conflict as a sergeant in the regiment. After Waterloo, he was given a commission as an ensign in the 5<sup>th</sup> veteran Battalion on the 22<sup>nd</sup> of February 1816, and he left the army when this unit was disbanded in 1821. He died on 23<sup>rd</sup> of May 1846.

Cf. Sergeant Clarke (Scots Greys) in his journal. In: NLS, MS 15379 p.11

<sup>19</sup> Letter of Ewart, no date. In: NLS, MS15385

<sup>20</sup> Armour was a private in the troop of captain Fenton though. Cf. The Waterloo medal roll p.27

<sup>21</sup> Fletcher sees the same issue: the puzzling presence of the lancer and – with him – the possible later instance that Ewart took the eagle. In: A desperate business p.127

<sup>22</sup> Miles, D. - Capture, controversy and conservation concerning the 45e eagle and standard at Waterloo In: First Empire (2009), nr.108 p.6

<sup>23</sup> The successor of Sir Wm.Ponsonby, colonel Clifton, confirms the fact that his brigade (the Scots Greys and the Royals) took two eagles. Cf. his report to Hervey, dated 23<sup>rd</sup> June 1815. In: WSD, Vol.X p.568-569

Cf. Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire etc. p.144

The report of count Pozzo di Borgo to king Wolkonsky. In: VPH, nr.123

<sup>24</sup> Striking detail is that both captain Wildman and major general Pack use the same number in their communications dated the 19<sup>th</sup> of June.

Pack writes: “ [...] he followed our advance by an instantaneous and most gallant charge by which nearly 1000 prisoners and 3 eagles were taken.” Cf. his letter to the bishop of Derry, the brother of sir Wm.Ponsonby. In: Ponsonby, J. – The Ponsonby family p.220

Captain Wildman (7th regiment of hussars). In: Letter to his mother, dated 19<sup>th</sup> June 1815. In: NAM, nr.8112-53

Ensign Thain (33rd regiment) even claims to have seen 4 eagles being paraded through Brussels. Cf. his diary. In: Duke of Wellington's regiment archive, Halifax.

<sup>25</sup> The original draft version was kept at headquarters and from there it go into Apsley House, from where it eventually got into the collection of the British Library (Add.ms.69.850).

It was this document which was used by Gurwood for the publication of Wellington's dispatches in 1838. This explains the fact that this version contains the mentioning of 3 instead of 2 eagles.

The one which was actually taken by major Percy (together with the eagles) was a copy,

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without any alterations, written by Wellington. This document is now in the PRO (nr.WO 1/205 ff.313-316)

Cf. Hussey, J. – Wellington's draft of his Waterloo despatch etc. In: *First Empire*, nr.87 p.12-17

Hussey and Glove, by the way, entirely overlook the copy from the PRO and are therefore puzzled what caused the correction from three to two for the publication in the *London Gazette* on the 22<sup>nd</sup> of June.

Cf. Hussey, J. – The question of the eagles. In: *First Empire* nr.89 p.26-27

Glover, G. – Three eagles captured or two ? In: *The Waterloo Journal* Vol.24 nr.1 p.28-30

<sup>26</sup> Cf. *Drapeaux français perdus à Waterloo*. In: *Bulletin de la société Belge d'études Napoléoniennes*, 1961 nr.37 p.34

Cf. Hussey, J. – The question of the eagles. In: *First Empire* nr.89 p.26-27

<sup>27</sup> Cf. Von Müffling to Gneisenau, dated 24<sup>th</sup> June 1815. In: Delbrück, H. – *Das Leben* etc. Vol.IV p.622

<sup>28</sup> In: *WSD*, Vol.XII p.547

<sup>29</sup> Lieutenant colonel Frazer, in a letter dated 22<sup>nd</sup> June 1815. In: Sabine, E. (ed) , *Letters of colonel Sir Augustus Frazer, K.C.B., commanding the Royal Horse Artillery* etc. p.562-564  
Sir Basil Jackson. In: *Remiscenses* etc. p.84

<sup>30</sup> Cf. Von Müffling to Gneisenau, dated 24<sup>th</sup> and 27<sup>th</sup> of June 1815. In: Delbrück, H. – *Das Leben* etc. Vol.IV p.622-623

<sup>31</sup> Cf. Delloye, S. – *Le sort des équipages* etc. p.20

<sup>32</sup> Cf. Sir Basil Jackson. In: *Reminiscences* etc. p.83

Mudford, W. - *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*. Print G.

Surgeon Ch. Bell. As he entered the field of battle coming from Brussels on the 6<sup>th</sup> of July, he noticed the presence of 132 guns at the entrance of the forest of Soignes. Cf. *Letters of Sir Charles Bell* p.233

By the 27<sup>th</sup> of July, all these guns had been moved to Brussels. Cf. *The Journal de Belgique* of that date. In: Laudy, L. – *Les lendemains de Waterloo* p.60

<sup>33</sup> Cf. Colonel G.Wood in an undated statement. In: *BL*, Add.ms.19.590 p.

Captain Robinaux (2nd regiment line infantry, division Jérôme) is close to this number with his 210, as well as lieutenant Hibbert (King's Dragoon Guards) with 220.

In: *Journal de route* p.211

Regimental Museum 1<sup>st</sup> The Queen's Dragoon Guards

Initial figures given by the participants are in some ways exaggerated. Wellington for instance states he had taken 150 guns. Cf. his letter to lady Webster, dated 19<sup>th</sup> of June 1815. In: *WSD*, Vol. X p.531

Cf. his report to lord Bathurst, dated 19<sup>th</sup> June 1815. In: Bas, F.de & T'Serclaes de Wommerson. *La campagne de 1815* Vol.III p.478

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The same number is given by:

Private Green (3<sup>rd</sup> battalion 1<sup>st</sup> Foot Guards), but he may have taken it from Wellington. Cf. his letter dated 12<sup>th</sup> of July 1815. In: [www.1815.ltd.uk](http://www.1815.ltd.uk) Original in: Regimental Headquarters Grenadier Guards, H07/004

General Alava, in his report to secretary of state Cevallos. In: Kelly, Chr. – The battle of Waterloo p.64-67

Captain Bowles (1<sup>st</sup> regiment of Foot Guards). Cf. his letter dated 23<sup>rd</sup> June 1815 to lord Fitzharris. In: A series of letters of the first earl of Malmesbury Vol.II p.448

Bulletin of baron Van der Capellen, dated noon, the 19<sup>th</sup> of June 1815. In: Aerts, W. & Fleischman – Bruxelles pendant la bataille de Waterloo p.166-167

Lieutenant Warin (3<sup>rd</sup> regiment of carabineers, brigade Trip) speaks of 152 guns. Cf. his undated letter. In: Rijksarchief van de provincie Utrecht, familie-archief Van Ortt, 74 inv.nr. 157

Captain Gardiner states 130 guns were taken. Cf. his diary. In: RAI, nr. MD 1178

Surgeon James (1<sup>st</sup> Life Guards) gives a total number for Wellington's army of 170 guns. In: Vansittart, J. (ed.) – Surgeon J.H.James' journal p.36-37

Ensign Standen (2<sup>nd</sup> battalion 3<sup>rd</sup> Foot Guards). Cf. his letter dated 27<sup>th</sup> June 1815. In: [www.1815.ltd.uk](http://www.1815.ltd.uk) Original in: Regimental Headquarters Scots Guards.

Gneisenau, in his turn, states in the 20<sup>th</sup> June in a letter to his wife that his army had taken 100 guns. In: Ein Leben in briefen p.321

The same number is given by Constant Rebecque for Wellington's army. Cf. his letter to his wife. Annex to his journal. In: NA, 2.21.008.01 nr.25

To lady Webster, Wellington mentions on the 19<sup>th</sup> of June 60 guns as he had learned from Blücher by the morning of the 19<sup>th</sup> of June. In: WSD, Vol.XII, p.531

Lieutenant Swabey (battery Gardiner) assigns the Prussians a number of 63 guns. Cf. his letter dated 24<sup>th</sup> June 1815. In: Regimental Museum XVth / XIXth The King's Royal Hussars, Newcastle upon Tyne

Sir H.Vivian even mentions a figure of 170. Cf. his diary. In: Vivian, Cl. – R.H. Vivian, first baron Vivian p.327

Lieutenant colonel Von Reiche gives 80 guns. In: Memoiren etc. p.225

<sup>34</sup> Cf. Wellington to Gneisenau, dated 10<sup>th</sup> of August 1815. In: WD, Vol.XII p.595

<sup>35</sup> Cf. the correspondence between Torrens and Von Pfuël between 27<sup>th</sup> of August and 2<sup>nd</sup> September 1815. In: GStA - VI, HA NL Gneisenau kt.24a p.25-30

<sup>36</sup> Cf. Blücher to Wellington, dated 10<sup>th</sup> of September 1815. In: HL, 7.2.21 p.720

Blücher to Gneisenau, dated 10<sup>th</sup> September 1815. In: Delbrück, H. – Das Leben etc. Vol.IV p.627

<sup>37</sup> Cf. Wellington to Blücher, dated 15<sup>th</sup> of September 1815. In: WD, Vol.XII p.633

This had to do with the fact that there was misunderstanding about the inclusion of these guns in the original settlement, as Blücher initially thought these were included, which was not the case.

Cf. Blücher to Gneisenau, dated 10<sup>th</sup> September 1815. In: Delbrück, H. – Das Leben etc. Vol.IV p.627

Gneisenau to Blücher, dated 14<sup>th</sup> of September 1815. In: Delbrück, H. – Das Leben etc. Vol.IV p.627

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<sup>38</sup> Within Wellington's army, the Netherlanders in their turn, received 20 guns (four 12-pounders, ten 6-pounders and 6 howitzers (2 of 10 lbs and 4 of 7 lbs). Cf. Memorandum of a proposition etc. written by general Wood, Paris 25<sup>th</sup> October 1815. In: KHA, nr.A37, VII b4

<sup>39</sup> Based upon other figures, Delloye comes to 76% (i.e. 182 out of 240). In: la grande batterie etc. p.16

Gneisenau, in a letter to his wife, dated 20<sup>th</sup> of June, claims the French had taken with them only some 24 guns. In: Ein leben in Briefen p.321

In another, dated 21<sup>st</sup> of June to Stein he mentions 27 guns. In: Stawitzky, L. – Geschichte des Königlich Preussischen 25ten Infanterie-Regiments p.128

According to the commander of the heavy cavalry of the guard, Guyot, he took ten guns back to France from Charleroi. Cf. his letter to Pelet, dated 27<sup>th</sup> April 1835. In: Carnets de la campagne (1792-1815) p.397

<sup>40</sup> Cf. Oracle, dated 27<sup>th</sup> June 1815 and 4<sup>th</sup> of July 1815.

Journal de Belgique dated 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> of July 1815

In: Laudy, L. – Les lendemains de Waterloo p.51-52

Delloye, S. Le sort des équipages impériaux. In: Bulletin SBEN, nr.29 (1997), p.20-21

La ferme du Caillou dans la bataille, p.76

According to Th.Fleischman the carriage was still in Berlin in 1930, in Blücher's palace (which was by that time the American embassy). Cf. La berline de Napoleon à Waterloo. In: Bulletin of the SBEN, no.43 June 1963 p.32

G.Hubert adds in 1971 that at least late 1933 it was still to be seen there on the courtyard. Cf. Hubert, G. Une voiture du service de campagne etc. In: Bulletin SBEN, no.86 april 1974 p.9

Around 1844, the carriage would have been in Klein-Ziethen, a house of Blücher, near Krimmen. Cf. Dörk, G.M. Das königlich preussische etc. p.150

<sup>41</sup> Though Saint Denis claims that Archambault the elder was on the *dormeuse*, his note attached to the keys of one of the two carriages suggests that he was on the *landau* instead because of the hour indicated. This note reads:

*“Ces six clefs sont celles de la voiture de l'empereur Napoléon que j'ai été forcé d'abandonner à la route des 4 Bras le 18 Juin 1815 jour de la bataille de Waterloo à 8 heures du soir.*

*Archambault, aîné*

*Ex-piqueur de l'empereur Napoléon”*

Nowadays, the keys are kept at the Musée de Malmaison, which is an even more convincing proof that they actually belong to the *landau* and not the *dormeuse*, which was in the UK.

Saint Denis, the mameluck of Napoleon's escort, links Archambault to the *dormeuse*, but this is incorrect. In: Saint-Denis, L.E. - Souvenirs du mameluck Ali sur l'empereur p.112

<sup>42</sup> For a detailed description of the exterior and interior of the carriage, see: A description of the costly and curious carriage etc. p.5-7

<sup>43</sup> A description of the costly and curious carriage etc. p.5-7

Mémoires pour servir etc. p.168

Gourgaud – La campagne de 1815 p.108

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Count Von Hügel in a letter dated 23<sup>rd</sup> June 1815. In: Pfister – Aus den Lager der Verbündeten p.370-371

Gneisenau in a letter to his wife, dated 20<sup>th</sup> of June 1815. In; Ein Leben in Briefen p.321

On the 19<sup>th</sup> of June, colonel Von Hiller were given two silver plates and silver spurs. He gave these last to Wellington who then sent them to the Prince Regent of England. Other silverware was given to general Von Bülow and prince Wilhelm of Prussia. Cf. Hiller, Von – Denkwürdigkeiten p. 255-256

Wellington to the Prince Regent, dated 5<sup>th</sup> of July 1815. In: WD Vol.XII p.552

<sup>44</sup> Of the diamonds, however, some were saved and offered by the regiment to the Prussian king. In return, the regiment received two silver trumpets from the king on the 3<sup>rd</sup> of August 1819. Cf. Hiller, Von \_ Denkwürdigkeiten p.255

Lettow Vorbeck, O.von – Napoleon’s Untergang Vol.III p.

Dörk, G.M. – Das königlich Preussische etc. p.150

Gneisenau in a letter dated 24<sup>th</sup> of June 1815 to the wife of Von Cluasewitz. In: Ein Leben in Briefen p.

Blücher in a letter to his wife, dated 20<sup>th</sup> of June 1815. In: Bas, F.de & T’Serclaes de Wommerson. La campagne de 1815 Vol.III p.558

Reiche, Von – Memoiren etc. p.226

Others were sold by Von Keller to a British jeweller called Mawe. Cf. Dörk, G.M. – Das königlich Preussische etc. p.150

<sup>45</sup> Cf. Blücher in a letter to his wife, dated 20<sup>th</sup> of June 1815. In: Bas, F.de & T’Serclaes de Wommerson. La campagne de 1815 Vol.III p.558

Cf. Blücher and Gneisenau in letters to Stein, dated 22<sup>nd</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> of June 1815. In: Stawitzky, L. – Geschichte des Königlich Preussischen 25ten Infanterie-Regiments p.124,125

H.Lange – Napoleons Hut und Degen. Preussens Kriegsbeute ist wieder im Zeughaus vereint. In: Preussische Allgemeine Zeitung, 16th December 2006. Cf.

<http://www.webarchiv-server.de/pin/archiv06/5020061216paz39.htm>

<sup>46</sup> Cf. A description of the costly and curious carriage etc.

Major Von Keller’s account in: A description of the costly and curious military carriage etc. p.12

Journal de Belgique, dated 26<sup>th</sup> and 28<sup>th</sup> October 1815. In: Laudy, L. – Les lendemains de Waterloo p.52

Kelly, Chr. – The memorable battle of Waterloo p.55-56

Aerts, W. & L.Wilmet – Waterloo etc. p.57-61

De la Poer, A.E.R. – The Waterloo berline p.39

Altick, R.D. - The shows of London p.239-241

Hubert, G. – Une voiture etc. p.9, 13

Delloye, S. – Les sort des équipages etc. p.21

Of the carriage only a charred axe remains since 1976 in the collection of the Musée de Malmaison. Cf. Delloye, S. – Le sort des equipages etc. p.21

An original part of one the windows would be kept by a museum in Farnborough Abbey, Hampshire, UK as a result of a so-called restauration, which basically was a replacement. Cf. Weal, E. – A footnote to Napoleon’s history. In: Mélnages etc. p.120-121

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<sup>47</sup> Stawitzky, L. – Geschichte des Königlich Preussischen 25ten Infanterie-Regiments p.102-103

Additionally, Gneisenau himself acquired from Napoleon's *suite* a (unspecified) waggon, plus four horses. Cf. his letter to his wife, dated 20<sup>th</sup> of June 1815. In: Ein Leben in briefen p.321

<sup>48</sup> Cf. Captain De Ceva in a letter dated 27<sup>th</sup> February 1866 to prince Frederik. In: KHA, nr.A37 VII b38

Description of the collection Falck. In: NA, nr.2.21.006.48 inv.nr.71

Bas, F.de & T'Serclaes de Wommerson – La campagne de 1815 Vol.II p.340-341

Leconte, L. - Après Waterloo p.360

Some of the documents involved can be found in the Correspondance of Napoleon and in the Archives nationales, AF IV, 908 and 1935.

<sup>49</sup> Cf. Leconte, L. – Après Waterloo p.358-359

De Bas speaks about another portefeuille taken by the allies and which eventually ended in the hands of king Willem I of the Netherlands. It has been impossible so far to check the source of this statement. In: La campagne de 1815 Vol.II p.341

<sup>50</sup> Cf. Bas, F.de & T'Serclaes de Wommerson – La campagne de 1815 Vol.II p.321

<sup>51</sup> Lettow Vorbeck, O. von - Napoleon's Untergang p.

<sup>52</sup> Cf. his letter dated In: Ein Leben in Briefen p.

<sup>53</sup> In: Letters of an officer of the corps of royal engineers p.134

<sup>54</sup> Burney, F. - The diary of Fanny Burney p.393

<sup>55</sup> In: Sabine, E. - Letters of colonel Sir Augustus Frazer. Brief nr.XXVI, p.567

<sup>56</sup> In: NA, 2.21.008.01 nr.25

Also in: Charras - Histoire de la campagne de 1815 Vol.I p.338

Maes erroneously claims the proclamation was written at Jamioulx on the morning of the 15<sup>th</sup> of June. Cf. Maes, P. - 15 juin 1815. Les premières heures de la campagne de 1815 p.24

<sup>57</sup> In: De laatste veldtocht etc. p.155-156