

WATERLOO: ORIGINAL ACCOUNTS

The Captain W. Siborne Collection and Related Materials from the British Library, London

Preface by Professor Jeremy Black

William Siborne (1797-1849) was the great historian of the Waterloo campaign and the appearance of his collection of survivors' accounts, and other related material, in microform is a welcome development for students of that battle and, more generally, for those interested in military history. Siborne, partly educated at the new Royal Military College, Sandhurst, received a commission as ensign in the 9th foot in 1813. He did not serve at Waterloo. Instead, he joined Wellington's army in August 1815 and marched to Paris. Thereafter, he served as part of the British army of occupation in northern France. Placed on half pay in 1817, Siborne returned on full pay as Lieutenant in 1824 and from 1826 until 1843 served as assistant military secretary in Ireland.

Siborne became an expert in drawing maps and, indeed, in 1822 published *Instructions for Civil and Military Surveyors in Topographical Plan-drawing* and, five years later, *A Practical Treatise on Topographical Surveying and Drawing*, containing a simple and easy *Mode of Surveying the Detail of any portion of Country*, to which are added *Instructions in Topographical Modelling*.

In 1830, Siborne was instructed by the Commander-in-Chief to undertake the construction of a model of the battlefield of Waterloo. He did so on the basis of thorough and lengthy research. Siborne lived for eight months at the farmhouse of La Haye Sainte, a key point in the battle, and produced a detailed survey of battlefield as the basis for his model. He also consulted those who had taken part, thus building up the collection that has now been microfilmed. In 1833, the Whig ministry refused to allot funds for the work, and Siborne, who had only the time that he did not need to be at work in Ireland, did not finish the model until 1838. It was publicly exhibited, but Siborne did not recoup the £3,000 the model had cost. Siborne did not give up on Waterloo. In 1844, he published the wide-ranging *History of the War in France and Belgium in 1815*, containing *Minute Details of the Battles of Quatre-Bras, Ligny, Wavre, and Waterloo*, a two-volume work with an accompanying atlas. The maps in the atlas offered an effective combination of contoured battlefields, and army positions indicated by colour. In addition, battles were clarified by the use of a number of maps for individual battles, for example three for Waterloo.

Siborne's book was a success. It complemented James Wyld's *Maps and Plans, Showing the Principal Movements, Battles and Sieges, in which the British Army was engaged during the war from 1808 to 1814 in the Spanish Peninsula* (1840), based on surveys by Thomas Mitchell. In 1891, Siborne's second son, Major-General Herbert Siborne, edited a selection from the letters his father had accumulated under the title *Waterloo Letters: a Selection from Original and hitherto Unpublished Letters bearing on the Operations of the 16th, 17th, and 18th June 1815, by Officers who served in the Campaign*. This was a selection from the fuller collection of material that is now in the British Library and that herewith appears in microform.

Waterloo (18 June 1815) was a classic of defensive generalship. The offensive tactics that had characterised Wellington's generalship against the Marathas at Assaye and Argaum in 1803 and at Salamanca and Vitoria were absent, although that did not preclude small-scale advances during the battle. British firepower decisively defeated a number of poorly coordinated French assaults.

The defensive nature of Wellington's tactics was captured by Edmund Wheatley, who wrote of the squares which Wellington's troops formed to resist the French cavalry: *'we dashed them back as coolly as the sturdy rock repels the ocean's foam ... we presented out bristly points like the peevish porcupines assailed by clamorous dogs'*. Thanks to Wellington's use of reverse slopes, the British line was not seriously weakened by the French artillery bombardment, while, as in the Peninsula, Wellington deployed light infantry to keep the French skirmishers at bay.

With more men and time, Napoleon might have won. The British centre was in a dreadful state by late afternoon: Napoleon's costly frontal attacks, greater in scale than any Wellington had hitherto encountered, did have an effect. Wellington regarded it as his hardest battle, and he suffered over 15,000 casualties. La Haye Sainte fell to the French at 6pm when the remnants of the garrison, their ammunition exhausted, withdrew. Wellington's centre was badly exposed, and the attack by the Imperial Guard was a crisis, not the last fling of a defeated opponent. However, the Guard was stopped by British firepower, and then successfully charged by cavalry. As the Guard fell back, Wellington ordered a general advance. The availability of fresh Prussian forces, especially numerous cavalry, permitted the launching

of a pursuit that was more destructive than those after Wellington's Peninsular victories. Wellington had been encouraged by a promise from the Prussian commander Blücher that four Prussian corps would be sent to his help.

With more men and time, Napoleon could also have threatened Wellington's flanks but he had no more of either because of Marshal Grouchy's failure to prevent Prussian intervention. Yet, Napoleon did not fight well with the troops he had. Having moved slowly on the morning of 17 June, he had simply followed Wellington north and had made little attempt to take strategic control of the situation; nor were the heavy rain and mud of 17 June conducive to boldness. Napoleon's subsequent tactical lack of imagination on 18 June was in keeping with his earlier failure to obtain a decisive success while his opponents were divided. Wellington was correct to describe the battle as a 'pounding match'; in part, this reflected the tactical control wielded by Ney. Napoleon was less brave and decisive on the battlefield than Wellington; more a distant commander who lost touch with the progress of the battle and failed to manoeuvre.

Neither Wellington nor Napoleon was fighting with armies that were as good as those they had commanded; instead, the forces were in several respects scratch armies: many of the troops had little combat experience and many of the units had no experience of fighting together. This was a particular problem for Wellington; many of his veterans from the Peninsular War were still in North America at the close of the 1812 War. Wellington was justifiably dubious about many of the Dutch and German units in his army. This unevenness helped encourage him to rely on a deployment anchored on British units. Nevertheless, Napoleon was in a weak position, in part of his own making: he had underestimated his opponents' generalship and French intelligence and staff-work were inadequate. Napoleon was ill and had no experience of commanding against Wellington; he ignored the warnings of those such as Soult who had done so in Portugal and Spain.

Wellington had constructed a strong defence in depth which, even under better weather and other conditions, would have proved difficult to crack. Napoleon had only a slight numerical advantage on the battlefield, while Wellington had another 18,000 men guarding his immediate right flank, which he saw as his Achilles Heel, and some 70,000 to 80,000 Prussians closing in on his left. Indeed, as the day wore on, Wellington was able to abandon his position on the left entirely to the Prussians, who also got round Napoleon's right flank and rear.

Yet, for all Napoleon's failings, and the maladroit conduct of several of his generals, especially Ney, the French were a formidable army and their defeat a major achievement. Of course, it is unclear that Napoleon's grand strategy was sustainable even if he had won at Waterloo. He had triumphed in battles in the past without winning conflicts, for example in both 1813 and 1814. In 1815, large Allied forces, especially Austrians, were approaching France from the east, and it is likely that had Napoleon won at Waterloo he would have faced the sort of formidable and remorseless pressure he had encountered in 1813 and 1814.

Yet, Waterloo was not a strategic irrelevance. Napoleon was crushed, and the war ended, beyond any hopes that events or Allied divisions would provide him with opportunities.

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Publisher's Note

"No one Englishman, not even the Duke of Wellington himself, has had so great an influence on the English-language historiography of the Battle of Waterloo as Captain William Siborne. So heavy has been Siborne's hand on the memory of the event that all histories of it to date, including those written by historians of the other nations involved, depend fundamentally on his interpretation."

DAVID HAMILTON-WILLIAMS in Waterloo - New Perspectives (1993)

Born in 1797 and educated at Sandhurst, Captain William Siborne was with the 1st Battalion of the 9th Foot in Paris when the Battle of Waterloo was being waged. Despite having missed the battle he developed a passionate interest in the event and stayed for eight months in the Waterloo area studying the topography and rehearsing the strategy and tactics of that day.

With the permission of Rowland Hill, Commander of the British Army, he then canvassed all surviving officers, asking them to retell the Battle of Waterloo in their own words and from their own perspective. Over 700 combatants answered in the form of questionnaires and long letters, creating a most remarkable archive on one of the most important battles in European history.

Siborne based his own, now controversial account of the battle on these responses. After his death Herbert Siborne also arranged for the publication of a selection (offering extracts only from about 200 letters). But, despite the fact that the collection was donated to the British Library at the end of the nineteenth century, "for nearly a century the material has lain relatively undisturbed" (David Hamilton-Williams).

We now publish this archive in its entirety together with other important material from the British Library, including:

- The Waterloo Despatch - the autograph draft composed by Wellington
- Original accounts of the battle relayed to Peel and Lord Aberdeen
- Correspondence of General Sir Hudson Lowe, Quartermaster- General of the British Army in Netherlands, with many letters from Wellington and copies of his orders to Generals in 1815
- Plans of the battle drawn by combatants
- The great Map of Waterloo from the King's Maps Collection

These materials will enable military historians to re-examine the Battle of Waterloo, challenge existing interpretations, and re-live the event through the eyes of participants.

The model of the battlefield at Waterloo constructed by Siborne (measuring 420 square feet and featuring some 75,000 model soldiers) can still be seen at the National Army Museum, Royal Hospital Road, Chelsea, London, SW3 4HT [(020) 7730 0717].

Useful web addresses for further details concerning Napoleon, Wellington and Waterloo are:

www.napoleonbonaparte.nl

www.napoleonicwars.com

www.napoleon.org

www.national-army-museum.ac.uk

WATERLOO: ORIGINAL ACCOUNTS**The Captain W. Siborne Collection and Related Materials from the British Library, London***Wellington and Napoleon a Parallel Chronology*

Year	Wellington	Napoleon
1769	Wellington born, 29th April in Dublin	Napoleon born, 15th August in Ajaccio, Corsica
1778	School at Chelsea and Eton	Enters Military School at Brienne, France (1778-84)
1784	Taught privately in Brussels	Enters Ecole Militaire, Paris
1785		Takes commission in artillery in the regiment of la Fere in Valence
1786	Enters Royal School of Equitation in Angers	
1787	Gazetted to the 73rd Highland Infantry, declining a commission in the artillery	
1789	Aide-de-Camp to the Lord Lieut. of Ireland (1787-93)	French Revolution - returns to Corsica to organise revolt
1790	Member for Trim (1790-95) in Irish Parliament	
1793	His brother buys him command of the 33rd Foot.	December - Napoleon distinguishes himself at the siege of Toulon
1794	Campaign on the Ems in Belgium	
1795	Departs for West Indies with his regiment, but all are turned back by gales	Defeats counter-revolutionaries in Paris with 'whiff of grapeshot'
1796	Sails to Calcutta as Colonel of the 33rd Foot.	Marries Josephine de Beauharnais. Commands French forces in Italy
1797		Returns to Paris in triumph after Italian campaign and enforces martial law; Plans invasion of England
1798	His brother is made Governor-General of India	Invades Egypt. French navy defeated at the Battle of the Nile
1799	Battle of Seringapatam	Battle of Aboukir (defeats Turkish); Named one of the Consulate of Three to rule France
1800	Campaign against Dhoondiah Waugh	Napoleon made First Consul; Crosses Alps to fight Austrians; Battle of Marengo
1801	Britain retakes Egypt; Wellington is too ill to join the expedition	Helps reform French finances and judicial system
1802		Made First Consul for life; Peace with England - Treaty of Amiens; Creates Legion d'honneur
1803	Battle of Assaye (defeats Mahrattas)	Occupation of Hanover
1804		Crowned Emperor (2nd December)
1805	Returns to England; Meets Nelson; Battle of Austerlitz (defeats of Franco-Spanish fleet foils plans to invade England)	Leaves Villeneuve in charge of French fleet and marches to Vienna. Battle of Trafalgar - defeat Austrians and Russians; Made King of Italy
1806	Marries Kitty Pakenham; Made MP for Rye (1806-7)	Battle of Jena (defeats Prussians); Enters Berlin
1807	Elected MP for Mitchell in Cornwall	Battle of Eylau (indecisive); French

	and then for Newport, Isle of Wight (1807-9); Birth of first son; Joins Danish expedition; Seizes Copenhagen	forces invade Portugal
1808	Ordered to Portugal; Begins Peninsula Campaign. Battle of Vimeiro (defeats French); Birth of second son	Invades Spain; Appoints his brother, Joseph, as King of Spain
1809	Battle of Talavera (defeats French under Victor); Created Duke of Wellington	Battle of Wagram (defeats Austrians); Divorces Josephine as he desires and heir
1810	Battle of Coimbra	Marries Archduchess Marie Louise
1811	Battles of Fuentes de Onoro and Albuera (defeats French)	Birth of Francois Charles Joseph Bonaparte (l'Aiglon) - his son - he is made King of Rome
1812	Battle of Salamanca; Enters Madrid	Invades Russia; Battle of Borodino; Enters Moscow, but retreats as winter sets in
1813	Battle of Victoria - drives French from Spain; Invades France	Battle of the Nations at Leipzig (Napoleon defeated)
1814		Napoleon abdicates (11th April) and is exiled to Elba
1815	Appointed Allied Commander; Gathers forces in Brussels; Battle of Waterloo; Wellington is victorious and is rewarded with estates in Hampshire and Belgium; Issue of Waterloo medal to all ranks present	Escapes from Elba and landed France (March) - the Hundred days; Battle of Waterloo; Napoleon defeated and abdicates - exiled to St Helena; Peace of Vienna
1818	Joins Liverpool Government	
1821		Death of Napoleon (5th May) in St Helena
1828	Made Prime Minister and leads government (1828-30)	
1834	Made Prime Minister again - leads government during crisis	
1838	Meets Soutl during coronation of Queen Victoria	
1841	Joins Peel's Cabinet (1841-46)	
1852	Death of Wellington (14th September) in Deal; Buried at St Paul's	

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Contents of Reels

REEL 1

King's Maps 31885-1 Map of Waterloo

Add Ms 19590

Papers relating to the battle of Waterloo; from the collection of William Mudford, author of the Historical account of the Battle of Waterloo, 1817, including a computation of the British and allied forces under Wellington, previous to the battle; in the Duke's handwriting.

Add Ms 20114

Copies of correspondence and papers, principally of an official character, of Sir Hudson Lowe, Quartermaster-General to the British army in the Low Countries, and in separate command at Genoa and Marseilles, with General Müffling, Earl Bathurst, Secretary for War, Sir Henry Bunbury, Under-Secretary, and others; Jan.-July, 1815, and with Admiral Sir George Cockburn, relating to the custody of Napoleon.

Add Ms 20192

Original correspondence of Gen. Sir Hudson Lowe, official and private, Jan. 1814-Dec. 1815.

REEL 2

Add Ms 34598

Accounts of holiday tours of Dr Samuel Butler in France and the Netherlands, including a visit to the field of Waterloo, July, 1816.

REEL 3

Add Ms34703

Waterloo correspondence: The Captain William Siborne collection of survivors' accounts. Vol I.

Add Ms34704

Waterloo correspondence: The Captain William Siborne collection of survivors' accounts. Vol II.

REEL 4

Add Ms34705

Waterloo correspondence: The Captain William Siborne collection of survivors' accounts. Vol III.

REEL 5

Add Ms34706

Waterloo correspondence: The Captain William Siborne collection of survivors' accounts. Vol IV.

REEL 6

Add Ms34707

Waterloo correspondence: The Captain William Siborne collection of survivors' accounts. Vol V.

REEL 7

Add Ms34708

Waterloo correspondence: The Captain William Siborne collection of survivors' accounts. Vol VI.

REEL 8

Add Ms 40183

f285 only - Plan of battle from the Peel Papers.

Add Ms 41524

f49 only - Account of the battle from the Heytesbury Papers.

Add Ms 42714

Memoirs of the early life of John Elliott, Lieutenant, Royal Navy, including an account of his service as a midshipman on the second voyage of Captain James Cook in HMS Resolution, 1772-1775. At the end (ff100-2) are drawings by John Elliott of the field of the Battle of Waterloo, in which his son took part.

Add Ms 43217

ff264-7 only - Account of the death of Alexander Gordon following injuries sustained at the Battle of Waterloo, from the Aberdeen Papers.

Add Ms 43224

Aberdeen Papers: Correspondence with his brother, Lt.-Col. the Hon. Sir Alexander Gordon, KCB 1815, who served in the Peninsula and Belgium as aide-de-camp to the Duke of Wellington until mortally wounded at Waterloo. ff266-70.

Add Ms 43830

ff86-87 only - Letter from Captain Joseph Logan, 2nd Battalion, 95th Regiment (now the Rifle Brigade), to William Sylvester, describing the Battle of Waterloo; 10 July 1815.

Add Ms 46359

Miscellaneous letters of statesmen including letters of the Duke of Wellington, ff214-231.

Add Ms 69850

The Waterloo despatch - autograph draft by Arthur Wellesley, 1st Duke of Wellington, of his despatch addressed to Henry, 3rd Earl Bathurst, Secretary of State for War, announcing and describing the Allies' decisive victory over Napoleon Bonaparte at Waterloo; 19 June 1815.

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Detailed Listing

REEL 1

King's Maps 31885 -1 MAP OF WATERLOO - the map by de Craan which was officially approved by Wellington.

Add Ms 19590 PAPERS relating to the battle of Waterloo ; from the collection of William Mudford, author of the *Historical account of the Battle of Waterloo*, 1817, viz: Computation of the British and allied forces under Wellington, previous to the battle; in the Duke's handwriting, f. 1; Two notes in the name of the Duke of Wellington to Mr. Mudford 7 Aug. 1816, 1 Jan. 1819; with *seals*, f. 2; Names of the Field and Staff officers, and officers commanding artillery, on the 16th and 18th of June, 1815, f. 6; Return of ammunition expended by the Artillery on the 16th, 17th, and 18th of June, 1815, f. 8. [Printed in Mudford's *Historical account...*, Appendix, No. IX.]; Organization of the Artillery previous to the 16th of June, 1815, f.10. [Printed, as above]; Substance of answers to questions respecting the battle of Waterloo put to Lt. Col. [the Hon. Frederick Cavendish] Ponsonby, by his particular friends," f. 11; [Printed as above, p. 287, note]; Account of the death of Colonel Morice, of the 69th Regt., in a letter from Philip Vyvyan, paymaster, to Mr Coulburn; 1 May, 1816, f. 15; Statement of Sir George Wood, in command of the artillery at Quatre Bras and Waterloo, in answer to queries respecting the latter engagement, f. 17; Letter from Col. Horne to W. Mudford, with particulars respecting the Battle of Waterloo; dat. 17 May [1816 ?], f. 19; Answers given by General [Francis] Dundas, to queries respecting the battle, f. 25; Anecdotes, endorsed "Col. Horne," f. 31; Relation, by Major Kelly, of a cavalry action on the 17th of June, f. 33. Paper. Folio.

Add Ms 20,114. This is Vol. VIII from the 27-volume correspondence and papers, principally of an official character, of Sir Hudson Lowe, from the year 1794 to the year 1822: made apparently under his own instructions (Add Mss 20,107-20,133). They have been used by Mr Forsyth for his *History of the Captivity of Napoleon at St. Helena*, 3 vols., 1853, and had been previously in the hands of Sir Harris Nicolas for a similar work; and they have a few notes in the handwriting of the latter. Paper. Folio.

1. Copy of correspondence of the same as Quartermaster-General to the British army in the Low Countries, and in separate command at Genoa and Marseilles, with General Müffling Earl Bathurst, Secretary for War, Sir Henry Bunbury, Under-Secretary, and others; Jan.-July, 1815, f. 1.

2. Copies of correspondence of the same, and of other papers, chiefly letters and instructions of Admiral Sir George Cockburn, relating to the custody of the Emperor Napoleon; Aug.-Dec. 1815, f. 231.

Add Ms 20,192. ORIGINAL correspondence of Gen. Sir Hudson Lowe, official and private, when Quartermaster-General of the British Army in the Netherlands, and in independent command at Genoa; Jan. 1814- Dec. 1815.

The writers are as follow:

Andreis, , Major. *French*. f. 317.
Bathurst, Henry, Earl, Secretary for War, f. 325.
Bayley, Bernard, f. 139.
Beatson, Alexander, ff. 363, 367, 371.
Bidwell, J[ohn], ff. 22, 33, 42.
Blücher, Field Marshal [Gebhardt Lebrecht von], ff. 34, 89.
Brune, Guillaume Marie Anne, Marshal of France. *French*. f. 351.
Bubna, Lieut.-Gen. [Ferdinand], Count of. *French*. f. 341.
Bunbury, Major-Gen. Sir Henry Edward, ff. 36, 86, 91, 151, 153, 182, 196, 248, 255, 256, 373, 377.
Buonaparte, Napoleon (copy of his last Bulletin in the campaign of 1814). *French*. f. 53.
Burghersh, John, Lord, f. 49.
Burrows, Colonel Montagu, f. 332.
Church, Colonel Richard, f. 349.
Clinton, Major-Gen. Sir Henry, ff. 101, 105, 114, 116, 239.
Cockburn, Rear-Admiral Sir George, f. 375.
Coffin, Brigadier-Gen. John Pine, f. 344.
D[alrymple], Sir. John, Bart., f. 174.
Darby, Edward, f. 17.

Davenport, E. D., f. 137.
 Desgeney, Comte. *French*. ff. 309, 311, 340.
 Dörnberg, Major-Gen. Wilhelm, Baron de. *French*. ff. 113, 166, 178.
 Durepaire (?), Marcel François. *French*. f. 365.
 Exmouth, Lord, see Pellew.
 Frimont [Johann Philipp, Baron]. *French*. f. 279.
 Gneisenau, Count, see Neidhart.
 Gordon, Major-Gen. James Willoughby, ff. 103, 134.
 Harris, Capt. Thomas Noel, f. 40.
 Hill, Hon. William, Envoy to Turin, ff. 280, 345, 347.
 Hinüber, Major-Gen., f. 145.
 Jevizck (?), Chevalier M., Interim Minister of Marine at Paris. *French*. f. 84.
 Johnson, Capt. J M, RN, f. 283.
 Jordan, Major John, ff. 93 b, 123.
 Kent, H.R.H. Edward Augustus, Duke of, f. 229.
 Kielmansegge, L, f. 157.
 Kleist von Nollendorf [Friedrich Heinrich Ferdinand], General, Count, ff. 108, 189, 198, 208, 212, 235.
 Laverde (?), Comte de, Lieut.-General. *French*. f. 362.
 Lyon, Col. James, ff. 117, 159.
 McFarlane, Lieut.-General Robert, ff. 285, 293.
 Mackenzie, Major-Gen. Kenneth, ff. 155, 164.
 Manfredi, Capt. Adriano, f. 353.
 Mundy, Capt. George, R.N., f. 288.
 Müffling, Friedrich Karl Ferdinand, Baron, f. 171.
 Neidhart de Gneisenau, August, Count. *French*. ff. 44, 231, 232.
 Nostitz [August Ferdinand Ludwig], Count, f. 132.
 Nugent, Lieut.-General Count [Laval]. ff. 289, 337, 342, 352, 356.
 Pellew, Sir Edward, 1st Viscount Exmouth, Admiral, f. 331.
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 Rowley, Admiral Sir Charles, f. 258.
 St. Laurent, Count. *French*. ff. 82, 243.
 St. Martin, Felix, Major. *French*. f. 287.
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 Smith, Major-Gen. Haviland, ff. 97, 185.
 Stewart, Lieut.-Gen. Hon. Sir Charles [afterwards Marquis of Londonderry], ff. 1, 31, 51, 76.
 Temple, Major Octavius, f. 291.
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 Wellington, Arthur Wellesley, Duke of. Copy of Instructions for Generals of Divisions, 13 (?) June, - 1815, f. 270.
 Willen, . *Dutch*. f. 165.
 Wolkonsky, Prince, f. 88.
 Wright, Lieut. Amherst, f. 179.
 Ziethen, Lieut.-Gen. Hans Joachim. *French*. f. 193.
 At f. 297 is a memoir entitled, "Notes sur Toulon, pour Monsieur le Vicomte de Bruges".
 Paper. Folio.

REEL 2

Add Ms 34,598. This is Vol. XVI of the sixteen-volume correspondence and papers of Samuel Butler, DD, Headmaster of Shrewsbury School (1798-1836), Archdeacon of Derby (1821), and Bishop of Lichfield (1836-1839); 1764-1839 (Add Mss 34,583-34,598). (ff. 176). Paper.

This volume includes:

ACCOUNTS of holiday tours of Dr. Samuel Butler, viz: (1) in France and the Netherlands, including a visit to the field of Waterloo, July, 1816. f. 2; (2) in France, Switzerland and Italy, June-July, 1819. f. 38;-(3) in France and Italy, June-July, 1822. f. 115. The first two only are autograph. Octavo.

REEL 3

Add Mss 34,703-34,708. WATERLOO CORRESPONDENCE, being original letters and statements written in reply to a circular issued, with an accompanying plan, to surviving officers engaged in the Battle of Waterloo by Capt. William Siborne, Assistant Military Secretary to the Lieutenant General commanding in Ireland, when engaged [1829-1839] upon the construction of his Model of the Battle, together with additional collections on the same subject; 1815- 1848. Six volumes. Paper. Folio.

Besides illustrating the particular period of the battle represented on the model the letters describe in much detail the operations of the Allied Army on 16-18 June, 1815. The collection was utilised for Capt. Siborne's *History of the War in France and Belgium in 1815* (3rd ed, 1848); and a selection of the correspondence was edited in 1891 by his son Maj.-Gen. Herbert Taylor Siborne. Among the writers are the Marquis of Anglesey, Sir W M Gomm, Sir Colquhoun Grant, Sir Colin Halkett, Lord Edward Somerset, Lord Fitzroy Somerset, Military Secretary to the Duke of Wellington, Sir Richard Hussey Vivian, Sir John Vandeleur, Lord Saltoun, Capt. E C Whinyates, many officers of the King's German Legion and of the Hanoverian subsidiary corps, etc. In Vol. I. in addition to the letters are: (a) "*Réfutation en ce qui concerne le Maréchal Ney de l'ouvrage ayant pour titre, Campagne de 1815 ... par le Général Gourgaud ... par M. Gamot,*" printed at Paris in 1818. f. 52;- (b) Anonymous diary narrating conversations with Prince Jérôme Bonaparte and Comte Henri Gratien Bertrand on 10 May, 1823, and 23 Aug. 1824, on the conduct of Ney and Grouchy at Waterloo and the alleged general causes of Napoleon's defeat. f. 65.

Add Ms 34,703. Vol. I. (ff. 354). 1815-Nov. 1834.

Add Ms 34,704. Vol. II. (ff. 289). Dec. 1834-Feb. 1835.

REEL 4

Add Ms 34,705. Vol. III. (ff. 392). 31 Mar.-Dec. 1835.

REEL 5

Add Ms 34,706. Vol. IV. (ff. 503). Jan. 1836-Dec. 1838.

REEL 6

Add Ms 34,707. Vol. V. (ff. 551). 1839-1842.

REEL 7

Add Ms 34,708. Vol. VI. (ff. 413). 1843-1848.

REEL 8

Add Ms 40183, f285 only. Plan of the Battle of Waterloo from the Peel Papers Vol III (ff. 307) - Letters to Sir R Peel, as Chief Secretary for Ireland, from J[ohn] W[ilson] Croker, as First Secretary to the Admiralty; Vol. III, 1812-1815. Folio.

Add Ms 41524, f49 only. Account of the Battle of Waterloo from the Heytesbury Papers Vol XIV (ff364) - 20 Sept. 1814-1816: Letters to A'Court at Palermo and Naples from the Marchese di Circello, Foreign Minister, (mostly signed or copies in Italian, but a few autograph in French), with a number (mainly autograph drafts in French) from A'Court to the Marchese.

Add Ms 42714. "*MEMOIRS OF THE EARLY LIFE OF JOHN ELLIOTT, of Elliott House, Near Ripon-Yorkshire, Esqre and, Lieut: of the Royal Navy: written by himself, at the request of his Wife, for the use, and amusement of his children only*", extending from his birth (11 Jan. 1759) to the Battle of the Saintes (12 Apr. 1782).

The most important part of the work is an account (ff. 7b- 45 b) of the second voyage of Captain James Cook, in HMS *Resolution*, in which Elliott served as a Midshipman, 1772-1775. Elliott's log of the voyage is now in the Public Record Office (cf. Public Library of New South Wales, *Bibliography of Captain James Cook*, p. 48). On f. 1b is a list of officers and civilians on the quarterdeck of the *Resolution*, with notes of their ages and characters. From 1775 to 1779 Elliott was in the service of the East India Company; he then returned to the Navy and after passing for Lieutenant was appointed to HMS *Ajax*; he was superannuated with the rank of Commander in 1814 and died in 1834.

At the end of the volume (ff. 100-102) are three rough sketch maps of the Battle of Waterloo, in which his son, William Henry Elliott (GCB 1870; General 1871) took part; at f. 101b is a drawing of "*Bounapartes [sic] Observatory erected on the field of Battle at Waterloo*". Sir W H Elliott married, in 1831, Mary Anne Ashmore, into whose family the present manuscript presumably passed. Paper; ff.ii +102.Early XIX cent. (Watermark 1811).
Presented by MrsR G Ashmore.

Add Ms 43217, ff264-270 only. Account of the death of Alexander Gordon, brother of Lord Aberdeen, from wounds received at the Battle of Waterloo. This is from the Aberdeen Papers Vol CLXXIX (ff.392) - General correspondence of the Hon. Sir Robert Gordon, 1809-1825.

Add Ms 43224. ABERDEEN PAPERS. Vol CLXXXVI (ff. 329).Correspondence with his brother, Lt.-Col. the Hon. Sir Alexander Gordon, KCB 1815, who served in the Peninsula and Belgium as aide-de-camp to the Duke of Wellington until mortally wounded at Waterloo. The second of two volumes which contains:- (a) several drafts (in the handwriting of Lord Aberdeen) of the inscription on the monument to Sir Alexander erected by his family on the battlefield (cf. *Inscriptions gravés sur les monuments érigés à Waterloo, et sur le Champ de Bataille*, Brussels, 1838, p. 16). ff. 266-269;- (b) an extract from Sir Walter Scott's poem, '*The Field of Waterloo*', describing the fall of Sir Alexander Gordon. f. 270;- (c) three letters (1808-1809) to Lord Aberdeen from his brother, the Hon. Charles Gordon (kt. 1812, Lt.-Col. 1815), whilst serving in the Peninsula. ff. 271-277b;- (d) a selection from the official correspondence (1808-1809) of Lt.-Gen. Sir David Baird, 1st Bart. 1809, as second-in- command under Lt.-Gen. Sir John Moore in the Peninsula, during which time his nephew, Sir Alexander Gordon, acted as his aide-de-camp. ff. 278-329b. Vol. CLXXXVI, July 1811 - 1814 (and 1808, 1809, 1815, as above).

Add Ms 43830, ff86-87 only from a volume of miscellaneous letters and papers. Letter from Captain Joseph Logan, 2nd Battalion, 95th Regiment (now the Rifle Brigade), to William Sylvester, describing the Battle of Waterloo; 10 July 1815. Printed in *Brit. Mus. Quart.*, ix, 1934-1935, pp. 76- 78. ff. 86-87 b.
Presented by Lady Warner.

Add Ms 46359, Miscellaneous letters of statesmen from the Knightley Manuscripts Vol IV A (ff. 249). Letters and papers, mostly autograph, of peers, statesmen, men of letters, etc., arranged alphabetically; 1690 - 1908. This volume includes letters by Aberdare, Acton, Argyll, Miss Burdett Coutts, J A Froude, Charles Kingsley, J E Millais, Lord Nelson, Florence Nightingale, Mrs Oliphant, Richard Owen, Peel, John Ruskin, George Sands, Lady Hester Stanhope, the Duke of Wellington (a large section of letters, ff214-231) and Charlotte Yonge. There is a map of Waterloo and the surrounding area at f249 together with rough landscape sketches.

There is a sonnet by Christopher North (f4), a poetic extract by Robert Browning (f27) and a Coronation Ode by Harriet Downing (f155). There is an account of the siege and capture of Delhi, 1857, by Major Wilson.

Also included are three letters, in *French*, addressed to the Marquise du Châtelet (supplementary to Vol. III, f. 85) from:-

(a) Georges Louis Leclerc, Comte de Buffon, 18 Feb. 1741/2. f. 28;- (b) Charles Jean François Hénault, President of the Parliament of Paris, 16 Dec. 1740. f. 86;- (c) Marguerite Jeanne, Baronne de Staal de Launay, 21 Dec. 1740. f. 195. Letters of Lord Nelson, 15 Aug. 1799 (facsimile), 10 Mar. 1805 (*copy*), at ff. 148, 149 have been printed by Sir N. Harris Nicolas, *op. cit.*, iii, p. 441, iv, p. 353.

Add Ms 69850. THE WATERLOO DESPATCH: autograph draft by Arthur Wellesley, 1st Duke of Wellington, of his despatch addressed to Henry, 3rd Earl Bathurst, Secretary of State for War, announcing and describing the Allies' decisive victory over Napoleon Bonaparte at Waterloo; 19 June 1815. The fair copy, signed by Wellington and taken to Bathurst by Major The Hon. Henry Percy, is now held by the Public Record Office, WO 1/205, ff. 313-316.

The present manuscript consists of four bifolia, one single folio containing the conclusion to the main despatch, one part folio bearing the last part of the main despatch and a postscript, and a separate envelope of a later date bearing annotations relating to the despatch. All the text and amendments appear to be in Wellington's hand, but two anonymous hands occur on f. 9v, and a third on the separate envelope (f. i), dating from 1853 or later, according to its watermark. There are also some indecipherable pencil marks, possibly modern, in the right-hand margin of f. 8v. The draft contains a number of deletions and alterations in pencil and ink; most of the words deleted can be deciphered and the changes made were all of little importance. One or two names were left blank and some redrafting was made as new information became available. Some lines marked for deletion in fact appeared in the final published version. These passages were perhaps to have been omitted from another projected version (see below).

The present text agrees generally with that published in *The London Gazette Extraordinary* for June 22 1815, but lacks the second postscript and the appended list of dead and wounded. Lt.-Col. John Gurwood, *The Despatches of . . . the Duke of Wellington . . . 1799 to 1815*, vol. XII (1838), pp. 478-487, published much the same version of the despatch as that found in the present manuscript. Thus it differs slightly from the wording in the *Gazette* and omits the latter's extra material; however, Gurwood also printed a full return of the campaign dead and injured which had not been available to the Duke when the Waterloo despatch was sent. It is possible that the early drafts of the matter missing from this manuscript and from Gurwood were mislaid at an early stage. While it seems much more likely that Wellington was adding information to his despatch as it came to him, and probably no early drafts of the latest material were made, in at least one place, however (p. 484, third paragraph), Gurwood's printed version of the despatch is both a slightly different one from that found in the *Gazette* and a corrected version of the present draft (f. 8v); it is still possible, therefore, that some material has disappeared. Some of the pencil additions in Wellington's hand indicate that at some stage he was planning another version of the despatch, to be addressed to the King but presumably sent to the Prince Regent. It is not certain whether it was ever sent.

The document is dated 19 June 1815 and purports to have been written at Waterloo. Probably, however, some work was undertaken on the despatch at Brussels, as has been suspected. The version sent is headed 'Waterloo', but the copier could simply have been writing out what was placed in front of him. The first postscript, relating to the death of Maj.-Gen. Ponsonby and to the sending of three imperial eagles taken in the action to the Prince Regent in London, and the second postscript, together with the list of dead and wounded not found in the draft, may have been written at this later time. A marginal note (f. 5v) relating to the outstanding action by Maj.-Gen. Ponsonby and his troops, later to be incorporated in the final text, may also have been added at Brussels. It very probably dates from the time of the Duke's drafting of the first postscript (see above), and so is later than the main part of the draft. Moreover, the 'three eagles' and the Ponsonby passages do appear on a separate scrap of paper (f. 10. Against this is the fact that in the *Gazette* version of the first postscript the number of eagles - or standards - taken to England is given as two. It is clear that this postscript was also later revised, and so could still have been drafted originally at Waterloo. Probably all the despatch save the second postscript, the casualty list, and some last-minute corrections was drafted close to the field of battle.

The present document has been reproduced (first page only) in Reginald Colby, *The Waterloo Despatch* (1965); Victor Percival, *The Duke of Wellington* (1969), pp. 54-55; and Elizabeth Longford, *Wellington - The Years of the Sword* (1969), illus. 54. For an example of a contemporary popular version of the despatch see *The Battle of Waterloo./Containing the Duke of Wellington's dispatch to Earl Bathurst, . . .* (Edinburgh, [1815?]), British Library press-mark 1078. k. 15. For copies by Gurwood of some of Wellington's despatches, (but not the present document), see Add. 38522. For other official and semi-official papers relating to the Battle of Waterloo see Add. 19590. On loan to the British Library since 1976 as Loan no. 66.

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