
Ligle Dragon

Tangible Memories: Waterloo Relics in the Nineteenth Century*

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The Battle of Waterloo left many traces in museum collections. Most national and military museums in countries whose forces took part in the battle on 18 June 1815 hold a number of military objects that recall this conflict. The Rijksmuseum has two remarkable pieces that had been preserved as relics for a long time before they came into the museum collection. In 1895 the Rijksmuseum acquired a small wooden box containing personal items that were preserved by Captain of Horse Cornelis Johannes, Baron Krayenhoff (1788-1865) after the battle (fig. 1). The objects were a personal memento of his bravery on that day. Since 1898 the Rijksmuseum has also held a pair of pistols which, tradition has it, came from a travelling carriage abandoned by one of Napoleon Bonaparte's secretaries (fig. 2). For almost half a century Henry Gabriel Joseph Sagermans of Brussels (1776-1861) kept the weapons as a mark of his admiration for the French emperor. In both cases these are clearly objects that were cherished by their owners. We have little background information about other Waterloo memorabilia in the Rijksmuseum collection, such as a flintlock pistol and a carbine picked up on the battlefield by the Dutch Captain Jacques Joost Nepveu (figs. 3, 4). The soldier probably took them as the spoils of war.

Detail of fig. 14

What role did 'Waterloo objects' play in the nineteenth century in recollections of the recent past? The memory box and the Rijksmuseum's brace of pistols, although both important as relics, represented different sorts of remembrance. Whereas Krayenhoff intended his little box as a personal memento of a glorious event of which he had been part, Sagermans's case of pistols was an anchor point in his idealization of Napoleon. In 1813, when the Southern Netherlands were still annexed by France, Sagermans had volunteered for the Napoleonic Garde d'honneur to serve the French emperor. To him, the pair of pistols was a physical relic of a lost and idealized past that he recalled with longing in later life.

In exploring the significance and historical context of these relics, I shall concentrate on the role of the tangible past in the perception and experiences of battlefield tourists in the nineteenth century. In a departure from the existing literature on Waterloo tourism, in which the focus is almost exclusively on British travellers, the approach here is a comparative one, aimed at placing tourists' engagement with the physical relics of the battle in perspective.[1] What were the different ways in which Dutch, British, French and Prussian visitors, all from countries that had fought in the battle, related to the war landscape? Military artefacts and

Fig. 1
Box of Mementos Belonging to Cornelis Johannes, Baron Krayenhoff,
before 1895.
Wood, brass, iron, paper, 14.2 x 29.2 x 8.5 cm.
Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. NG-NM-10255-A; gift of J.E.A.R., Baron Krayenhoff.

Fig. 2
PERIN LE PAGE,
Case Containing a Pair of Pistols and Accessories, 1813-15.
Wood, iron, gold, leather, velvet,
9.2 x 45 x 29 cm.
Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. NG-NM-11222; gift of F.H. Wente, Amsterdam.

landscape features played a crucial role in the perception of the battlefield. What does this interaction with the battlefield tell us about the significance of two of the pieces of Waterloo memorabilia in the Rijksmuseum?

The concept of performative authenticity, introduced in 2010 by Britta Timm Knudsen and Anne Marit Waade, is the starting point for the analysis of tourists' contact with the tangible relics of the battle.[2] This approach recognizes that meanings are both constructed and experienced. On the one hand there are all sorts of mental constructs – convictions, the stories told by battlefield guides and information gleaned from travel books and familiar literature – that impact on the way tourists judge their surroundings. When they arrive, travellers are not *tabulae rasae*; they already have mental images or expectations of their destination. On the other, this approach ascribes agency to the creative power of the tourist. Through the physical and sensory, sometimes emotional interaction with sites, tourists can make a place authentic. 'Performative' thus relates to the process: visitors 'perform' their experiences as authentic. Some of the things they experience in a tourist resort are not authentic at all. The need to feel an 'authentic' connection with the battlefield history in Waterloo demands a certain physical and mental effort on the part of the tourist. The more passionate visitors are in their quest for traces of the battle and an authentic engagement with the past, the more intensely they experience the battlefield.

< *Fig. 3*
Flintlock Pistol from the Battlefield at Waterloo, in or before 1815.
Steel, copper, burr walnut, l. 38 cm.
Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. NG-NM-9310-322-2; gift of A.C., Baron Snouckaert van Schauburg, The Hague.

Fig. 4
English Dragoon Carbine, before 18 June 1815.
Iron, wood, brass; barrel approx. 40 cm.
Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. NG-NM-9310-376; gift of A.C., Baron Snouckaert van Schauburg, The Hague.

Creating Myths

The Battle of Waterloo was the final chapter in a story of battles between Napoleon's army and changing allied coalitions. The memory of other episodes of war, among them the Battle of Leipzig (1813), pales into insignificance beside Waterloo's key place in the Western European cultural memory. In the first instance this has to do with the immediate and exhaustive coverage of the battle in literature and iconography. After British soldiers like the Duke of Wellington and William Siborne had claimed the victory in their publications, Prussian and Dutch historians brought out reports of the battle in which they defended and extolled the achievements of their compatriots. The starting gun had been fired in a never-ending competition as to whose military exploits had been decisive in the 'liberation of Europe from Napoleon's tyranny'.[3] The familiarity with Waterloo can also be attributed to the continuing interest in the battle in popular media and the arts. In the twentieth and twenty-first centuries a new spate of literature, films and music, such as the famous Eurovision entry by the Swedish pop group Abba, ensured that the memory of the battle was kept alive. And to this day the ultimate defeat is often described as meeting one's Waterloo. According to Jasper Heinzen, Waterloo is anchored in our collective imagination by the embedding of the battle in popular culture. 'Waterloo' as an image can consequently act as a symbol of such abstract ideas as the triumph of nationalism, the downfall of tyranny, the fall

Fig. 5
H. GÉRARD, *The Battle of Waterloo*, 1842. Lithograph, 213 x 280 mm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-OB-87.229.

Fig. 6
ANONYMOUS,
View of Waterloo,
1816-30.
Etching and
engraving,
245 x 360 mm.
Amsterdam,
Rijksmuseum, inv. no.
RP-P-OB-87.251.

of great men in history and the drama of war.[4]

The almost instant creation of the Battle of Waterloo myth had a significant effect on the battlefield's development into a tourist attraction and on individuals' interaction with the tangible past (figs. 5, 6).[5] In the first place, travellers to the battlefield felt attracted to that famous place where the history of the nation was written. They went in search of landmarks that bore witness to their national heroes' struggle. And yet there were remarkable national differences in the way tourists recognized the past. The politics of remembrance in their own countries, which came to the fore in the many different images created of the event, influenced tourists' attitude to the site of the battle. Although Waterloo played a certain role in the national consciousness of all the countries that had been involved in the battle, the intensity of the commemoration and the importance ascribed to the battle varied according to the political situation. In Great Britain and the United Kingdom of the Netherlands the memory of the battle made a significant contribution to the formation of a national identity. In 1815 the British state was beginning to build a large British empire. The ambitions of the aspiring major power were reflected in the mythologizing of Waterloo and the heroism of celebrated military commanders like Wellington. British patriotic accounts appropriated the victory and distilled a notion of Britishness from the military memory.[6]

On the Dutch side the Battle of Waterloo acted as an establishment myth for the brand new state. The Prince of Orange, the later monarch Willem II, sustained an injury to his shoulder during the fighting, and this earned him the soubriquet of the Hero of Waterloo (fig. 7). Willem I recognized only too well the advantages of his son's hero status: the princely blood had flowed on Netherlandish soil, so the battle could serve as a symbol of the union of the two parts of the country. Various government initiatives, among them the encouragement of works of

Fig. 7
LOUIS MORITZ,
The Prince of Orange After He Was Wounded at the Battle of Waterloo, June 1815, 1815-50.
Oil on canvas, 70 x 88 cm.
Tilburg, Stadsmuseum, inv. no. inv.o-01.
Photo: Jan van Oevelen.

art and poetry about the battle, kept this memory alive. Under Willem I's regime, 18 June became a national holiday, and the Lion's Mound, the most prominent monument in Waterloo, was constructed in 1826 on the spot where the crown prince was wounded.[7] After Willem II's death in 1849, his widow Anna Pavlovna guarded his memory. In the Waterloo Room in Soestdijk Palace she collected all kinds of objects that testified to his heroism, including a reliquary with splinters of bone taken from the injury he sustained on the battlefield (fig. 8).[8]

France, the losing side, faced the difficult task of becoming reconciled to the trauma of a loss that had been thought impossible. In the French memory, the battle went down in history as a glorious defeat. The idea that, despite the humiliation of the debacle, the French army had resisted to the bitter end became general. This myth was fuelled by an image of the battle that had spread rapidly after it ended.[9] The different political regimes after 1815 – the Restoration period under the Bourbons (1814-30), the July monarchy (1830-48), the short-lived Second Republic (1848-52) and the Second Empire (1852-70) – however, rendered their account of the past in different ways. While the Bourbon monarchy had endeavoured in vain to erase the memory of the revolutionary period, the successive regimes that followed it fostered the Napoleonic legend for propaganda ends. From 1855 onwards Napoleon III, for instance, saw to it that old soldiers were recognized, with medals and

other benefits, for their services to France between 1792 and 1815.[10]

Compared to the other victorious countries, the German states, including Prussia, paid relatively little attention to the battle. Although Prussian historians did take part in the debate about the course of the Battle of Waterloo, the battle played only a minor role in the Prussian and German military memory. This had to do first and foremost with the political discord and social fragmentation in what was then the Kingdom of Prussia. Conflicting interpretations of the battle soon began to appear there. At the time of the Napoleonic wars, according to Alan Forrest, there was moreover no question of strong German nationalism. Soldiers fought for different German states, such as Hanover and Saxony, and the intensity of the memory differed in every town, city and state. In the period immediately before German unification (1871), nationalists' attention in creating an identity and government propaganda in Prussia tended to be focused on other wars.[11]

The experiences of the individual tourists reflected the national consciousness of their home countries. The people who experienced the most intense feelings came from countries where the memory of Waterloo was an important factor in shaping a national identity – Britain, France and the United Kingdom of the Netherlands. Prussian travel journals, on the other hand, were much less likely to express pronounced patriotic sentiments or describe an upsurge of emotion.[12]

The contrast with French perceptions could hardly be greater. The French regarded their visit to Waterloo as a melancholy pilgrimage acknowledging a traumatic past that they had not yet come to terms with, and this made them more susceptible to emotional and sensory experiences.[13] The famous French author Victor Hugo asserted that it was even possible to relive the catastrophe through the

Fig. 8
Box Containing Splinters of Bone, c. 1850.
Iron, enamel, velvet, 16 x 22 x 11 cm.
The Hague, Royal Collections, inv. no. MU/0517.

senses and a vivid imagination. If one walked, looked, listened and dreamed, the here and now would blur and dissolve, to be replaced by galloping horses, flying grenades and the clash of swords.[14]

British visitors were the most deeply imbued with a sense of national superiority. They came to revel in Great Britain's power and glory on the 'great field for mighty deeds'.[15] By 1830 it seemed that the pilgrimage to Waterloo had actually become a required patriotic act. Britons in Brussels for the first time felt obliged to obey this unwritten law.[16]

Dutch travellers subscribed to the patriotic tone of the British accounts, albeit that their descriptions revealed a more modest victory rhetoric. They were more likely to express their admiration for the courage of their compatriots: 'The silence of the fields will be heard not by the ears but in the patriotic hearts of Dutchmen down through the centuries.'[17] Above all it was the thought of the stricken crown prince – known after 1815 as the Hero of Waterloo – that swelled visitors' hearts with awe and pride. After the United Kingdom of the Netherlands (1815-30) split into the monarchies of the Netherlands and Belgium, however, there appears to have been a change in travellers' behaviour. Although Waterloo remained a traditional destination for travellers, as the guide books show, fewer Dutch travel journals from after 1830 have survived. According to an anonymous writer in *De Huisvriend* (1860), as the living heroes died off one by one, so the memory of the battle faded and there was less interest in the battlefield.[18]

Tourists not only interpreted the battlefield in terms of a national narrative, they also conducted themselves as patriots on the battlefield. They left personal inscriptions on the walls of the regular tourist attractions. Almost right from the outset it became traditional to write on the wall of Hougoumont Chapel – part of the much-visited Hougoumont Farm, the scene of some of the fiercest fighting during the battle. Lord Byron was probably one of the first of these graffiti artists, although his inscription was spirited away to England after a while, when a British visitor appropriated the piece of plaster bearing his name. Countless names, dates and addresses covered the white wall to such an extent that, according to later visitors, the owner had to whitewash the whole chapel again every five years.[19] Some of these inscriptions contained explicit references to the Netherlandish fatherland. Jacobus Scheltema, who in September 1815 researched the events at Waterloo for a history of the battle, was pleasantly surprised when he found a patriotic poem by someone from Amsterdam on a wall of La Belle Alliance, the inn where the Prussian Marshal Gebhard Leberecht von Blücher and Wellington met after the battle (fig. 9).[20]

This performance could also take on a less innocent form – a 'second Battle of Waterloo': some visitors seized the opportunity to deface the walls with insults directed at other nations. The losers – the French – were guilty of this too. In 1834 C.F.H. Steltzer noted among the vast number of inscriptions on the base of the Lion's Mount the famous words of the French General Pierre Jacques Étienne Cambronne, 'la garde meurt, mais ne se rend pas' (the Guard dies but does not surrender), which tradition has it he spoke at the end of the battle, when he refused to capitulate.[21] Insults and disputes about the military conduct of the battle were not confined to the safe walls of the ruins. For instance, an anonymous British traveller ran into a Prussian soldier who had fought under Blücher. A long and heated discussion ensued as to who could claim the honour of the victory. When the man persisted in arguing that Blücher had been the salvation of the British troops,

Fig. 9
ANONYMOUS,
La Belle Alliance,
1815-25.
Etching,
hand coloured,
197 x 258 mm.
Amsterdam,
Rijksmuseum, inv. no.
RP-P-OB-87.242.

the furious Englishman, by his own account, had to force himself not to give him a good hiding.[22]

Some visitors, the romantic authors Walter Scott and Byron among them, evinced a particular interest in Napoleon's point of view. They were fascinated not so much by his status as a hero and his victories, as by his tragic downfall. Writers expressed their melancholy feelings of loss in the romantic image created around the figure of Napoleon.[23] Attracted to the place where the object of their fascination, Napoleon, had suffered defeat, Byron and Scott tried to make history come to them through performances at Waterloo. Byron galloped across the battlefield twice on a Cossack horse. Scott trod in the emperor's footsteps and made a study of the battlefield.[24] The Scottish author published his findings in a well-documented and much-cited account of his travels in which he also reflected at length about the elusiveness of the recent battlefield history. Although he acknowledged the distance between the present and the Battle of Waterloo, in his view a sublime event in history, at the same time he sought ways of bringing that past back, as it were to relive it. His account of his travels was very popular with British contemporaries and quotations from it were frequently included in nineteenth-century guide books.[25]

The Tangible Past

The nation state remained the dominant frame of reference for ascribing significance to the Battle of Waterloo and the site of the fighting. This shared patriotic motivation notwithstanding,

the visitors also looked actively for ways to experience the battlefield in a unique and personal manner. The tangible past was an essential element of this. The painter and etcher Robert Hills argued that the traces of the battle helped 'to authenticate part of the memorable history'.[26] Visitors went in search of physical signs of the action and described their presence or absence in their accounts. Material remains were an integral part of the experience of the place and its history. They sparked visitors' imaginations and helped them to project themselves into that fateful day of 18 June 1815. In the early years tourists were able to call on natural landscape features. There was great interest, for instance, in 'Wellington's tree' on the escarpment of Mont-Saint-Jean. Wellington had looked out over the battlefield from this position. Many visitors copied him. As they passed, people also liked to take a piece of the tree as a souvenir, so that a year after the battle the tree had been completely stripped of foliage and branches to as high as a man could reach. The tree disappeared from the landscape in 1818, when an Englishman bought what was left of it.[27] To a lesser extent visitors mention 'Picton's tree', where Lieutenant General Thomas Picton was fatally wounded. The owner of the land eventually chopped down the natural relic in about 1830 (fig. 10).[28]

The sites of the mass graves were also clearly visible at first. Ad hoc and with great haste, the bodies were

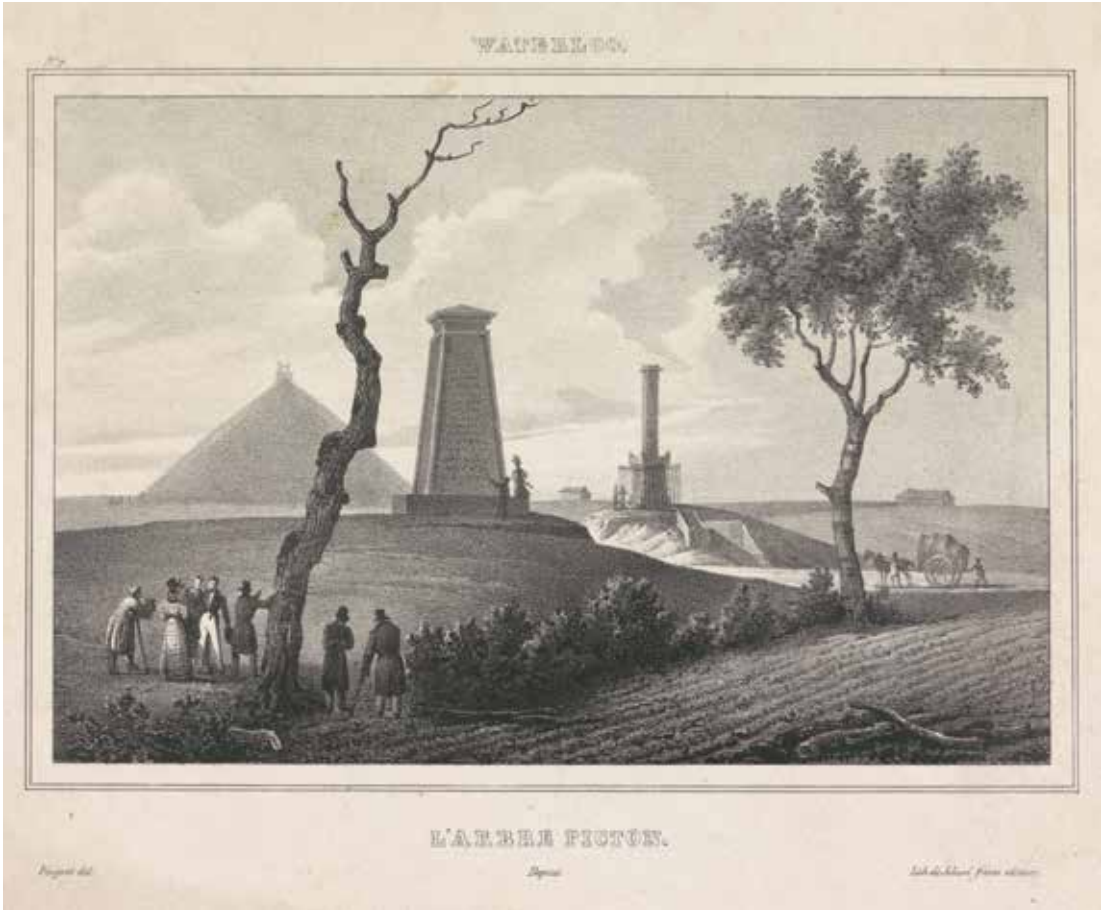

Fig. 10
EDOUARD HENRI THÉOPHILE PINGRET, *Picton's Tree*, 1830-50. Lithograph, 205 x 280 mm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-1909-1948.

Fig. 11
ANONYMOUS,
The Ruins of Hougoumont, 1815-25.
Etching,
hand coloured,
197 x 259 mm.
Amsterdam,
Rijksmuseum, inv. no.
RP-P-OB-87.240.

covered with earth, so that small burial mounds were created. Early visitors could sometimes be unpleasantly surprised if the wind was strong. Years afterwards, ploughing would still turn up human skeletons. In 1822 Willem Gerard de Bas stumbled over the remains of a dead Frenchman, complete with clothes and shoes, that had been dug up by a local farmer. Curious, De Bas picked up the skull, whereupon liquefied parts of the brain dripped out on to his hands through a hole caused by a musket ball.[29] The confrontation with these omnipresent traces of death and destruction that were very evident in the first few years after the battle provoked emotion, physical reactions and even fits of weeping in many people. Charlotte Eaton went to see the battlefield a month after the event and was overwhelmed by the smells, the human graves and the ashes on the fields. Faced with a skull, she felt herself becoming unwell and when she thought of the blood of her countrymen that drenched the bay trees in the garden of Hougoumont, the tears welled up (fig. 11).[30]

There was also immense interest in military relics. In the aftermath of the battle the fields of Waterloo were strewn with evidence of the fighting that had gone on. In the first few months visitors were able to pick up all sorts of things that had belonged to soldiers who had most probably been killed. Although there were relics aplenty on the fields, it was not long before local peasants seized the initiative and started offering items for sale. James Simpson, who graced the battlefield with a visit on 31 July 1815,

was one of the first visitors to report in his travel journal that he had been surrounded by a group of hawkers offering militaria the instant he arrived at Waterloo. This trade in relics, coupled with other developments such as the erection of monuments, the creation of museum spaces in buildings that had had an important function during the battle, and the arrival of guides to escort visitors, is evidence of the early commercialization of the battlefield.[31]

This raises the question as to the significance of these objects to the travellers. Tourists used the material objects not just on the battlefield as an aid in forming a more definite picture of the Battle of Waterloo. Many took the items they had picked up or bought home with them as keepsakes or souvenirs of their visit. The sales practices, meanwhile, were not always as innocent as they might appear at first sight. According to Léon Gozlan, the sellers offered British and Prussian travellers French skulls, selling precisely the same goods to French visitors as 'Prussian' or 'British'.[32] Items that had belonged to the losers were particularly popular. Presenting them as 'authentic' or 'fresh from the battlefield', the local people sold quantities of French weapons, eagles and *légions d'honneur*. Given the absence of any accounts of items purchased in their journals, it seems that French travellers – logically enough – kept aloof from the trade in relics. Buying them was clearly linked to the profiling of the visitors as the winners of the battle. The Waterloo objects functioned as a sort of war booty. Not surprisingly, it was chiefly the British, as both British tourists and travellers of other nationalities reported, who were really interested in the souvenirs on offer.[33]

By about 1830, the souvenir vendors' stock story – that countless military artefacts were turned up every year by local farmers when they worked their fields – was wearing increasingly thin. There were persistent rumours that factories were making up for the shortage of relics. In the 1830s a factory in Liège supposedly met the high demand for military buttons by manufacturing them on a large scale. The sellers consequently tried to sell their buttons as 'authentic' using demonstrable characteristics to prove they were genuine.[34] A few years later the American showman and museum director Phineas Taylor Barnum, who had bought a number of relics at Waterloo for his American Museum (1841-65), made an unpleasant discovery in Birmingham: 'Several months subsequent to our visit to Waterloo, I was in Birmingham, and there made the acquaintance of a firm who manufactured to order, and sent to Waterloo, barrels of "relics" every year. At Waterloo these "relics" are planted, and in due time dug up, and sold at large prices as precious remembrances of the great battle. Our Waterloo purchases looked rather cheap after this discovery.'[35]

Around 1830 it had also become more difficult to visualize what had happened in 1815. Visitors could no longer call upon tangible objects or imprints on the landscape as earlier travellers could. In the intervening period the scars of battle and a number of natural landmarks had largely disappeared. It was only at Hougoumont Farm that many visitors were still able to find what they were looking for until late in the nineteenth century. The overgrown garden, the dilapidated condition and the walls pockmarked with the scars of musket fire and cannon balls continued to represent the conflict that had occurred there in visitors' eyes.[36] Many people, however, thought the Lion's Mount was an eyesore. Earth from the Anglo-Dutch position at Mont-Saint-Jean had been used to construct the conical hill, destroying the original 'authentic' remembrance landscape. True, the Lion's Mount gave a view across the

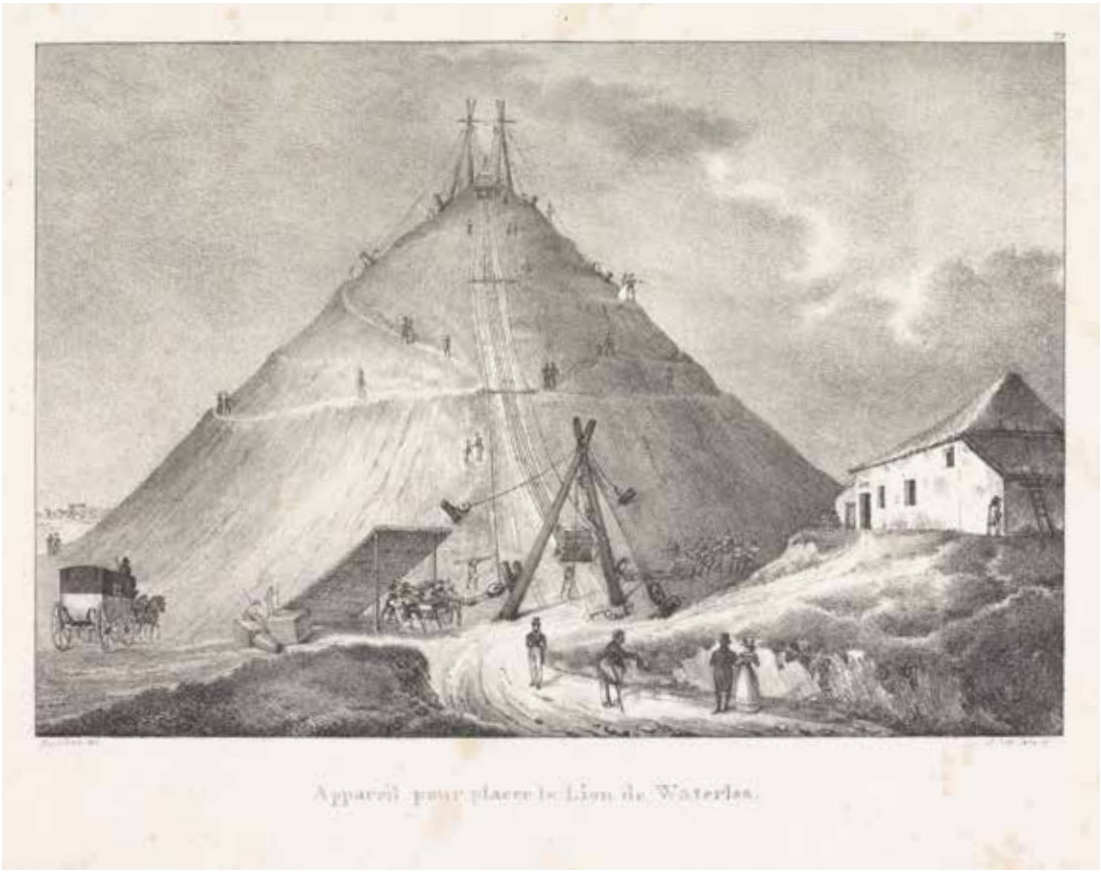

Fig. 12
JOBARD AFTER A DRAWING BY BERTRAND, *Equipment for Erecting the Lion of Waterloo, 1823-1826*, 1825-29. Lithograph, 237 x 311 mm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-1904-2665; gift of J.E. Greve.

battlefield, but that panorama itself was fraudulent, a visual lie. Travellers felt extremely strongly about this. The reality value had been compromised.[37] An anonymous contributor to the Dutch magazine *De Huisvriend* believed that there was nothing left to see in Waterloo: 'What one is shown at Waterloo these days has absolutely nothing of a battlefield. It has been dug up, turned over, planted and changed …' (figs. 12, 13).[38]

And yet visitors still pursued their quest for the tangible, 'authentic' past. One of the destinations was Grand Hôtel du Musée de Waterloo, where Major Edward Cotton, a veteran of Waterloo, had housed a large collection of 'Waterloo objects' around 1835.[39] After his discharge, the old soldier had returned to Waterloo to work as a guide, adding more to his collection over the years. Visitors could buy some objects in the museum, which was also a hotel. But more and more often the search for traces ended in disappointment. Disgruntled and obstructed in their experience of authenticity, visitors had no choice but to turn to the tourism industry. In Robert Bell's view all one could do was allow oneself to be cheated by relic sellers. For the rest, the battlefield had little to offer: 'If, however, you refuse to be deluded by this impudent manufacture of reliques, you will see nothing in the whole outspread scene but a monotonous, dead level, hardly relieved by an ondulation, and dotted only at great intervals with a few trees that have a heart-broken air of funereal loneliness.'[40]

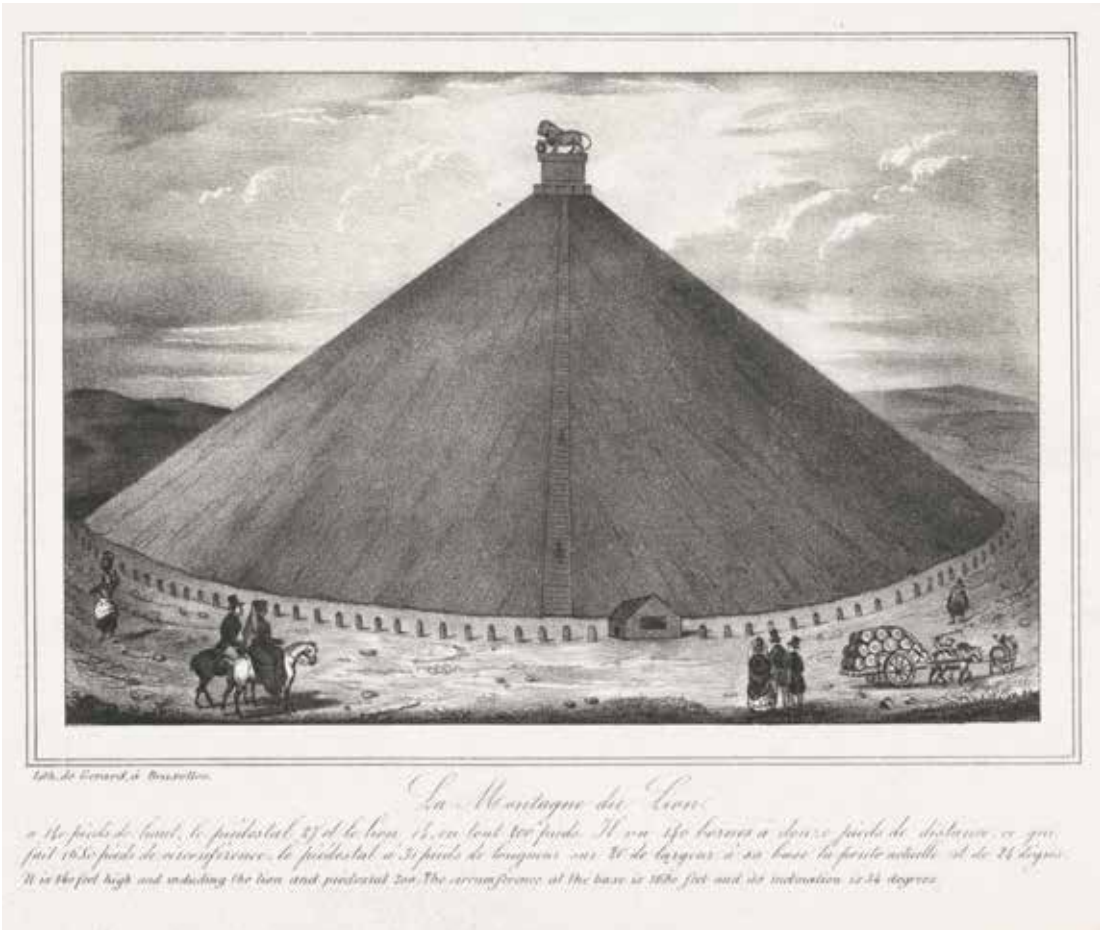

Fig. 13
H. GÉRARD, *The Lion of Waterloo*, 1842. Lithograph, 213 x 280 mm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-OB-87.231.

Waterloo Relics

The Rijksmuseum's Waterloo relics, which came from Krayenhoff and Sagermans, are not souvenirs purchased during a visit to the battlefield. Krayenhoff took his personal relics home from the battlefield after the engagement, and Sagermans obtained the pistols from his brother. There is no evidence to suggest that either man ever visited the battlefield as a tourist. There is, moreover, an obvious difference between the relics found or traded on the battlefield and these two Waterloo objects. Nineteenth-century tourists had to be satisfied with items belonging to an unknown owner. As a rule they had no idea whatsoever, beyond the nationality, of the identity of the dead soldier. Many travellers, having heard rumours about the fabrication of Waterloo objects or read the warnings about forged relics in guide books, were very cynical about the wares being extolled. They did not believe that the objects they were offered had really been used in the battle.[41] There is no evidence in the surviving travel journals to tell us whether the souvenirs were cherished in the years following the visit to Waterloo. We do not know what happened to such objects as time passed. It is likely that the majority of these souvenirs were lost over the years precisely because there were no personal associations with the objects.

The items in the Rijksmuseum, by contrast, have been carefully preserved and cherished. In Krayenhoff's case, these relics reminded him of his heroism at Waterloo, where he was wounded in the abdomen. The relics, which were kept in a special box, recall that moment of fame: his damaged cartridge box, which the musket ball passed through, and the ball itself, which was surgically removed in Brussels. A third memento, a piece of his cloak with a hole in it, has been lost since its acquisition by the Rijksmuseum in 1895. It is clear from the inscription written in oil paint on the musket ball that these objects were incredibly important to the Waterloo veteran: '18 juny 1815 Veldslag by Waterloo Corneille. Jean. Baron Krayenhoff. Ritm. Komm.t 2e F. sc.: Regt Ligte Dragonders n°4 in de buik gewond.' The old soldier's son, Johan Elias Anne Rudolph Baron Rom Krayenhoff, gifted the box to the Rijksmuseum in 1895 (figs. 14, 15).

In his diary Krayenhoff wrote a detailed account of his experiences before, during and after the battle. He probably wrote these passages while he was recovering in the first few months after the event.

Fig. 14
The Ball that Struck Cornelis Johannes, Baron Krayenhoff in the Abdomen, 1815. Iron, oil paint, diam. 3 cm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. NG-NM-10255-C; gift of J.E.A.R., Baron Krayenhoff.

Fig. 15
Cornelis Johannes, Baron Krayenhoff's Damaged Cartridge Box, in or before 1815. Wood, leather, 15 x 8 x 4 cm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. NG-NM-10255-F; gift of J.E.A.R., Baron Krayenhoff.

Krayenhoff left an extensive description of his injury. 'Eventually, at four o'clock, I was hit. I was sitting on my third horse and took part of a round as a result of which my horse went down, and took a cardetsch ball through the side of my cartridge box on the right side above the hip, which carried on to the navel, where it lodged, my watch was flattened, so to speak, and I gave it to Lieutenant Mollengier as a memento, I had a ball through the left shoulder of my coat, which had bruised the shoulder, my sword was not shot out of my hand, this was a true military spectacle.'[42] Krayenhoff was immediately assisted from the battlefield and taken with other wounded soldiers to Brussels, where first aid was administered in Le Dragon Volant, an inn on Vismarkt. The following morning Surgeon May operated to remove the ball.[43]

Sagermans, a resident of Brussels, also felt a close bond with his pistols. His sentiments towards his relic, unlike Krayenhoff's, sprung from his idolization of Napoleon rather than a glorification of the Battle of Waterloo. The only direct connection with the battle was the manner in which he acquired the weapons. In two surviving letters, one addressed to Emperor Napoleon III, Sagermans revealed the story behind the pistols.[44] The firearms came into his life on 24 June 1815 by way of his brother Jean Sagermans, who had bought them at the end of the battle. By then a lucrative trade in war booty and souvenirs had already emerged in the Oude Graanmarkt in Brussels. His brother, a horse-coper, found himself in the midst of all this activity. His job was to relieve the drivers of the military vehicles from the battlefield, and put them in stalls. The story was that he discovered the case of pistols in a travelling coach he believed was Emperor Napoleon's, but nothing is known about whether or how they were used before and during the Battle of Waterloo.

The weapons were cherished as a relic in the decades after the battle. Jean Sagermans gave the case of pistols to his brother, knowing that Henry Sagermans was a great admirer of Emperor Napoleon (fig. 16). From 1795 to 1814, the Southern Netherlands had been annexed by France and from 1804 onwards Napoleon ruled as emperor over this large kingdom. Sagermans's adoration of Napoleon probably began in this period. In 1813 he enrolled voluntarily in the first regiment of the Gardes d'honneur in order, in his own words, to fight to the death for the imperial eagle. In 1814, after the liberation of Low Countries territories from the French, he was compelled to return to a nascent Netherlandish kingdom. He took no part in the Battle of Waterloo.[45]

Sagermans's attachment to the pistols is perfectly illustrated by his concern about what would happen to them after his death. When he set sail for the Dutch East Indies on 31 December 1816 to join the Dutch army, he was so fearful of losing the objects that he left them in the keeping of a good friend. To be on the safe side, he even made a will in which he left them to his brother, Louis Sagermans, in the event of his death. As the major started to get rather long in the tooth, he looked for a new, fitting owner who would treat the relic with the respect it deserved. First he wanted to give the pistols to the Hero of Waterloo, Willem II. According to Sagermans, he refused the relic because no one was better placed to care for it than Sagermans himself. His successor, Willem III, also turned down his offer for unspecified reasons. When a scion of the Bonaparte dynasty proclaimed himself Emperor Napoleon III in 1852, Henry's ultimate moment had dawned. He knew without doubt that this son of Louis Bonaparte, Napoleon's younger brother, was the only legitimate heir to the 'rélique sacrée'. Napoleon III, however, did not take him up on his

Fig. 16
JACQUES-LOUIS DAVID, *Napoleon Crossing the Alps*, 1801-02.
Oil on canvas, 271 x 232 cm.
Versailles, Musée national des châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon, inv. no. MV 1567.
Photo: © RMN-Grand Palais (Château de Versailles)/ Gérard Blot.

offer. It would seem that he eventually disposed of the case to the collector F.H. Wente, after which it entered the Rijksmuseum collection in 1898.[46]

Despite the differences in the meaning with which the objects were imbued, there are also significant similarities between the souvenirs traded in Waterloo and the two relics. Tourists, as much as Krayenhoff and Sagermans, attached great importance to the tangible past: by looking at the objects and touching them, they could come into contact with the recent past on a personal level. They were undoubtedly also influenced in their attitude to history by the creation of national myths. The value they attached to the militaria was closely bound up in the importance they attributed to the battle and Napoleon. Krayenhoff had served in previous wars, but his participation in the Battle of Waterloo had a very special significance for him. Yet he had already had a distinguished career before 1815, fighting both for and against the French army. He had fought in the Coalition Wars against Napoleon in Prussia in 1806 and on the Iberian Peninsula in 1808 and 1809. He was wounded twice, although not

Fig. 17
JAN ANTHONIE LANGENDIJK DZN, *The Battle of Waterloo, 18 June 1815. At the Moment When His Royal Highness the Prince of Orange Was Wounded*, 1815. Aquatint and etching, 604 x 853 mm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-1882-A-6081.

as seriously as at the Battle of Waterloo. At the Battle of Mesas de Ibor (1809) he was shot in the right leg, at Talavera de la Reina (1809) he was stabbed three times in his right arm with a lance. On the French side he took part in the disastrous campaign in Russia in 1812 until he was captured and held as a prisoner of war for two years.[47]

When Krayenhoff returned to his native turf, times had changed. Napoleon Bonaparte had gone to Elba, which the allies had given him to rule, and the United Kingdom of the Netherlands was being created. Krayenhoff returned to Dutch service as a captain of horse in the second regiment of light dragoons. With Napoleon's return he went to battle against the French emperor one last time (fig. 17).[48] Although the Battle of Waterloo was by no means the only action in which Krayenhoff fought or the only battle in which he

Fig. 18
A. BÖESEKEN, *Portrait of Cornelis Johannes, Baron Krayenhoff*, 1864. Photograph mounted on cardboard, blue ink, 99 x 62 mm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. NG-NM-10255-H; gift of J.E.A.R., Baron Krayenhoff.

was wounded, it appears that he regarded it as the pinnacle of his military career. In the first place, as far as we know, he did not keep any mementos of earlier military operations. Secondly, his pride in the courage he had shown on his country's behalf must have been reinforced by the gratitude of the Dutch state. In July 1815 he was made knight in the fourth class of the

Military Willems-orde, a prestigious honour that had been established shortly before the Battle of Waterloo (fig. 18). Lastly, the importance of Waterloo was underscored in the memoires of his father, Cornelis Rudolphus Theodorus Krayenhoff. He reports his son's brave deeds at the 'momentous Battle of Waterloo', his wound and the award of the military honour, but the book contains no information about his son's earlier military exploits or the wounds he sustained.[49]

The influence of the creation of myths is even more evident in the veneration of the case containing Napoleon's pistols. Sagermans said that the relic reminded him of a 'grand homme' in history whom he always

loved.[50] Born in Brussels, a Dutchman after 1815 and a Belgian from 1830 onwards, he continued to identify with the ideals of the First French Empire throughout his life. To him, Napoleon was a sort of idol or mythical being who symbolized a past he viewed with nostalgia. His own career, by contrast, had left him an embittered man. He believed that the Netherlandish state had robbed him of his future despite his record of service in the Dutch East Indies, where he had distinguished himself as captain commander of Fort Klatten during the Java War (1825-30). In 1828 he was appointed knight, fourth class, in the Military Willemsorde. Probably for the same reason, he was promoted to the rank of major. After the dissolution of the Kingdom of the Netherlands, however, Sagermans suddenly retired on 4 December 1830 and returned to his birthplace. We have only his version of the facts because there is nothing about the end of his career in the military records. He himself said that he had to put an end to his Dutch career against his will, because he was Belgian. This put paid to his further career because he was given no opportunities in Belgium and he had to get by on limited financial resources in his old age.[51]

Epilogue

The way people in the nineteenth century dealt with the tangible past points to a disconnect between a collective and an individual perception of the past. On the one hand national mythologizing led to a fascination with the Battle of Waterloo and the French emperor. The attraction that the battlefield and the material relics of recent history exerted on contemporaries of the battle was stimulated by the existing image. The Battle of Waterloo grew into a glorious national event without equal. Napoleon was remembered chiefly as a tragic figure of mythical proportions. The fact that so many Waterloo objects are held in museum collections, such as the National Army Museum in London, the Musée de l'Armée in Paris and the Koninklijk Museum van het Leger en de Krijgsgeschiedenis in Brussels, is testimony in itself to the importance attached to it in the nineteenth century.

There was, of course, another perspective. Tourists, and soldiers like Sagermans and Krayenhoff, were engaged in an ongoing search for a personal, unique relationship with the past. Material objects and battlefield landmarks were the ideal vehicle for their desires, because they made history knowable in its most concrete form. By looking at such objects and by touching them, people could fire their imaginations and, as it were, get in touch with the past. This does not, though, mean that everyone interacted with the material remains in the same way. Unlike the souvenirs hawked around the battlefield, profane relics held a special significance for their owners. They were a tangible reminder of a particular event or person that the owners tried to keep alive by cherishing the objects and preserving them with care.

It is often difficult for today's museums to discover the origin and provenance of military souvenirs and relics. The problem of provenance is perfectly illustrated by the trade in Waterloo objects on and around the battlefield, where original and factory-made militaria were sold. Even where objects were taken from the battlefield immediately after the action, it is often impossible to find out who the former owner was. In the case of the pair of pistols, there is no independent information beyond Henry Sagermans's story to verify that they really were Napoleon's. It is in all respects highly unlikely that the weapons were used at the Battle of Waterloo. Pistols like these were made for duelling or shooting for sport, not for combat. These valuable Empire-style weapons bear the maker's mark of Perin le

Page, a member of a famous family of gunsmiths that supplied pistols to the emperor. Engraved in gold on the barrel are the words 'l'arquebusier de l'empereur'. However, the Le Page family did not supply weapons exclusively to the emperor.

Napoleon's supposed travelling coaches are also open to considerable doubt. The best-known story concerns the capture by the Prussians of a coach that Napoleon was said to have abandoned as he fled after the defeat at Genappe. There are also other objects, in museums and elsewhere, which tradition has it came from a coach used by one of Napoleon's secretaries. For instance, the Rijksmuseum has a letter case that is likewise claimed to have been Napoleon's, and was apparently discovered in Charleroi after the Battle of Waterloo in his secretary, Baron Fain's coach.[52] It would certainly seem unlikely that Jean Sagermans found himself face to face in Brussels with a real imperial coach that still contained effects belonging to the French emperor. This leaves open the question as to which factors led Sagermans to identify the weapons as Napoleon's. What if he simply assumed, on seeing the words engraved on the barrel, that he had a relic of the defeated emperor in his hands?

Now, too, historical objects are important in conjuring up the past and making it tangible. The tangible past plays a key role in museum visitors' perception of history. When confronted with the historical legacy of the Battle of Waterloo they, like the nineteenth-century tourists, form an image of the battle. In 1920 Johan Huizinga coined the term 'historical sensation' to describe the pleasure of contact with 'authentic' relics of the past. After a chance encounter with a historical object, he argued, people can experience the historical truth in the belief that the piece is genuine.[53] However the museum context implies a different interaction with the tangible past. The way objects acquire meaning in a museum display can differ from the significance they held for former owners of the same objects.

At present the Waterloo relics that belonged to Krayenhoff and Sagermans are exhibited in two different places in the Rijksmuseum. The box with the musket ball and the damaged cartridge box had never been on show to the public until the museum reopened in 2013. The current focus is on their importance to Krayenhoff as personal relics. The box is displayed with the national relics in the Special Collections Department. When it came to displaying the case of pistols, on the other hand, it was not its value as a relic that was the criterion. The significance of the weapons lies in their association with the Battle of Waterloo and Napoleon. We know that the pistols had been displayed in front of the painting of *The Battle of Waterloo* by Jan Willem Pieneman ever since the Dutch History Department was reorganized in 1971.[54] It is highly likely, however, that before this they were also displayed in the same battlefield context in the history exhibits created by Frederik Schmidt Degener and Remmet van Luttervelt before and after the Second World War (figs. 19-22).[55]

Fig. 19
Room 110 looking towards the northeast with paintings and a small bust, 1973. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. HA-0014447.

Fig. 20
Rooms HG 0.11 and HG 0.12: Undercroft East: Special Collections: relics and arms. Interior of the rooms after installation of the display, 2013. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. HA-0028530.

Fig. 21
Room 110 with the Battle of Waterloo by Jan Willem Pieneman and other paintings, c. 1990-c. 2003. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. HA-0021059.

Fig. 22
View of the Waterloo Room HG 1.12, 2013. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. HA-0026581.

NOTES

* This article links insights from the research into Waterloo objects that I undertook with curators Jan de Hond, Eveline Sint Nicolaas and Jenny Reynaerts during my internship in the Rijksmuseum (2014) to the research results of my master's thesis on tourists' perception of the battlefield in the nineteenth century: J. Gijbels, *Oog in oog met het slagveld van Waterloo. Het herinneringslandschap in de beleving van Britse, Franse, Pruisische en Nederlandse reizigers (1815-1870)*, Amsterdam 2015 (unpublished master's thesis University of Amsterdam). With many thanks to Roosmarijn de Groot, who helped me with research in the records in the final stage of the research process.

1 A.V. Seaton, 'War and Thanatourism: Waterloo 1815-1914', *Annals of Tourism Research* 26 (1999), pp. 130-58; S. Semmel, 'Reading the Tangible Past: British Tourism, Collecting, and Memory after Waterloo', *Representations* 69 (2000), pp. 9-37; P. François, '"The Best Way to See Waterloo is with your Eyes Shut": British "Histourism", Authenticity and Commercialisation in the Mid-Nineteenth Century', *Anthropological Journal of European Cultures* 22 (2013), pp. 26-41.

2 B.T. Knudsen and A.M. Waade, 'Performative Authenticity in Tourism and Spatial Experience: Rethinking the Relations between Travel, Place and Emotion', in B.T. Knudsen and A.M. Waade (eds.), *Re-investing Authenticity: Tourism, Place and Emotions*, Bristol 2010, pp. 1-13.

3 See among others C. von Clausewitz and P. Hofschröer, *On Wellington: A Critique of Waterloo*, Norman 2010.

4 J. Heinzen, 'A Negotiated Truce: The Battle of Waterloo in European Memory since the Second World War', *History & Memory* 26 (2014), p. 40.

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6 J. Black, *The Battle of Waterloo: A New History*, London 2010, pp. 181-87. See also P. O'Keeffe, *Waterloo: The Aftermath*, London 2014.

7 M. Lok, 'De cultuur van het vergeten onder Willem I', in R. Vosters and J. Weijermans (eds.), *Taal, cultuurbeleid en natievorming onder Willem I*, Brussels 2011, p. 63; J. van Zanten, *Koning Willem II: 1792-1849*, Amsterdam 2013, pp. 233-35; J. Leerssen, '"Retro-fitting the Past": Literary Historicism between the Golden Spurs and Waterloo', in H. Dunthorne and M. Wintle (eds.), *The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Britain and the Low Countries*, Leiden 2013, pp. 117-18.

8 S. Paarlberg and H. Slechte (eds.), *Willem II. De koning en de Kunst*, exh. cat. Dordrecht (Dordrechts Museum) 2014, pp. 307-08.

9 J. Largeaud, *Napoléon et Waterloo: la défaite glorieuse de 1815 à nos jours*, Paris 2006, pp. 46-84.

10 Ibid., pp. 181, 198-99.

11 C. Clark, 'The Wars of Liberation in Prussian Memory: Reflections on the Memorialization of War in Early Nineteenth-Century Germany', *The Journal of Modern History* 68 (1996), p. 550; A. Forrest, *Waterloo*, Oxford 2015, pp. 157-61.

12 Some examples: C.G.D. Stein, *Reise über Aachen, Brussel nach Paris, Strassburg und Basel, durch Baden, Hessen, Franken und Thüringen*, Leipzig 1828; *Wanderungen durch Italien, Frankreich, England und die Niederlande*, Quedlinburg Basse 1834.

13 See among others C.N. Perraud, *Pélérinage de Waterloo, effectué le 19 juin 1816*, Brussels 1816, p. 14; L. Gozlan, *De neuf heures à minhuit*, Paris 1852, pp. 231, 260; E. Landoy, 'Un pélérinage à Waterloo', *L'Illustration: Journal Universel* 19 (1852), pp. 407, 410.

14 V. Hugo, *Les misérables*, Paris 1866, p. 194.

15 R. Hills, *Sketches in Flanders and Holland; with Some Account of a Tour through Parts of Those Countries; Shortly after the Battle of Waterloo; in a Series of Letters to a Friend*, London 1816, p. 80. Some people – a very few – like the Englishman Lord Byron and the Frenchman Jules Vallès rejected the national thinking. They felt only disgust at the patriotic rhetoric about the battle: G.G.N. Byron, *'So Late into the Night', Byron's Letters and Journals: 1816-1817*, London 1976; G.G.N. Byron, *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage: Canto the Third*, London 1816; J. Vallès, 'Le champ de bataille de Waterloo', *Revue Universelle* 25 (1901), pp. 577-82.

16 A. Thorold, *Letters from Brussels in the Summer of 1835,* London 1836, p. 272; G.A. Sala, *From Waterloo to the Peninsula. Four Months Hard Labour in Belgium, Holland, Germany and Spain*, London 1867, p. 13.

17 'Het zwijgen van de velden zal niet tot het gehoor, maar het vaderlandslievende hart van de Nederlander gedurende de eeuwen

worden verstaan.' W.H. Warnsinck, 'Het slagveld van Waterloo', in *Vaderlandsche Letteroefeningen of Tijdschrift van Kunsten en Wetenschappen. Mengelwerk*, Amsterdam 1825, pp. 738-39. See also W.G. de Bas and J.A. Vollgraff, 'Een uitstapje naar Gent en een naar het slagveld van Waterloo in het jaar 1817', *Haagsch maandblad* 34 (1940), p. 530; A. van der Willigen and J.G.M. Sanders, *Revolutionair in Brabant, royalist in Holland: Adriaan van der Willigen als toerist in België tussen 1792 en 1827*, Hilversum 2011, p. 79.

18 'De Montagne de la Cour te Brussel', in J.J.A. Goeverneur (ed.), *De huisvriend: gemengde lectuur voor burgers in stad en land*, Leiden 1863, pp. 11-12. See among others the following travel guide: *Merkwaardigheden van het Koningrijk België, geïllustreerd met ruim vijftig fraaie gravures van publieke gebouwen, stads- en landsgezigten, enz. enz.*, Utrecht 1851, pp. 158-60.

19 Sala, op. cit. (note 16), p. 22.

20 J. Scheltema, 'Verhaal van een reisje langs de slagvelden van Belle Alliance, Quatre-Bras en Ligny, van den 15 tot 20 september 1815. In vier brieven', *Vaderlandsche Letteroefeningen* 54 (1815), p. 587. A year later Scheltema published his history: J. Scheltema, *De laatste veldtogt van Napoleon Buonaparte*, Amsterdam 1816.

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22 *A Pedestrian's Saunter in Belgium in the Summer of 1835: With Historical Notices*, London 1837, p. 366.

23 Semmel, op. cit. (note 1), pp. 15-16. Scott published his nine-volume biography of Napoleon in 1827: W. Scott, *The Life of Napoleon Buonaparte, Emperor of the French: With a Preliminary View of the French Revolution*, Edinburgh 1827.

24 W. Scott, *Paul's Letters to his Kinfolk*, Edinburgh 1816, p. 196; Byron, op. cit. (note 15), p. 76.

25 Scott, op. cit. (note 24); on Walter Scott's experiences see also the writings of his travelling companion John Scott: J. Scott, *Journal of a Tour to Waterloo and Paris in Company with Sir Walter Scott in 1815*, London 1842.

26 Hills, op. cit. (note 15), p. 78.

27 L. Gerke, *Miscellanées sur Waterloo. Histoire Folklore Archéologie*, Waterloo 2001, pp. 175-76.

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29 C. Eaton, *Narrative of a Residence in Belgium during the Campaign of 1815 and of a Visit to the Field of Waterloo*, London 1817, pp. 255-57, 263, 271; De Bas and Vollgraff, op. cit. (note 17), p. 532.

30 Eaton, op. cit. (note 29), pp. 256-57, 287, 290.

31 J. Simpson, *A Visit to Flanders in July, 1815, Being Chiefly an Account of the Field of Waterloo with a Short Sketch of Antwerp and Brussels, at that Time Occupied by the Wounded of Both Armies*, Edinburgh 1816, p. 83.

32 Gozlan, op. cit. (note 13), pp. 230, 243.

33 W. van den Hull, *Autobiografie (1778-1854)*, Hilversum 1996, p. 486; Scheltema, op. cit. (note 20), p. 587; De Bas and Vollgraff, op. cit. (note 17), p. 534; Scott, op. cit. (note 24), p. 46; Sala, op. cit. (note 16), p. 5.

34 Thorold, op. cit (note 16), pp. 279-80.

35 P.T. Barnum, *The Life of P.T. Barnum*, New York 2006 (first published 1855), p. 273.

36 Bell, op. cit. (note 28), p. 413; J. Ashton, *Rough Notes of a Visit to Belgium, Sedan, and Paris in September 1870-71*, London 1873, p. 18.

37 See among others Gozlan, op. cit. (note 13), p. 232; A. Tennyson, *Alfred Lord Tennyson: A Memoir by His Son*, London 1897, p. 24; Sala, op. cit. (note 16), p. 25; Ashton, op. cit. (note 36), p. 19.

38 Wat men u tegenwoordig te Waterloo vertoont, heeft hoegenaamd niets van een slagveld. Het is opgegraven, omgewoeld, beplant en veranderd …' Goeverneur, op. cit. (note 18), p. 11.

39 The objects are now in the Royal Museum of the Armed Forces and Military History in Brussels.

40 Bell, op. cit. (note 28), p. 406.

41 For critical eyewitness accounts see among others J. Schopenhauer et al., *Een vrouw op reis. België anno 1828 volgens Johanna Schopenhauer*, Louvain 1998, p. 48; Thorold, op. cit (note 16), pp. 279-80; Gozlan, op. cit. (note 13), pp. 230, 243; Landoy, op. cit. (note 13), p. 410.

42 'Eindelijk ten 4 uure moest ik er aan. Ik zat op mijn derde paard en ontving een gedeelte van eene blikke doos waardoor mijn paard stortte en kreeg eene cardetsch kogel door de zijde mijne patroontasch op de regter zijde boven de heup in het lijf die eene tour maakte tot bij de navel en al daar stuytte, mijn horloge was zoo te zeggen verpletterd, ik heb het zelve als een aandenken aan de

luytenant Mollengier gegeven, door mijn mantel op de linkerschouder had ik eene kogel die de schouder gekneusd had, mijne sabel was niet uit de hand geschoten, dit was een waar militair schouwspel.' Diary, 1815, p. 16. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. NG-NM-10255-G.

43 Ibid., p. 16.

44 Letters from Henry Sagermans, 18 October 1851 and 13 August 1853. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. NG-NM-11222.

45 Ibid.; The Hague, National Archives of the Netherlands (NA), *Landmacht: Stamboeken Officieren*, inv. no. 96, fol. no. 16.

46 Letter from Henry Sagermans, 18 October 1851. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. NG-NM-11222. The Hague, NA, *Landmacht: Stamboeken Officieren*, inv. no. 96, fol. no. 16.

47 The Hague, NA, *Landmacht: Stamboeken Officieren*, inv. no. 295, fol. no. 27.

48 Certificate. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. NG-NM-10255.

49 H.W. Tydeman, *Levensbijzonderheden van den luitenant-generaal baron C.R.T. Krayenhoff*, Nijmegen 1844, pp. 135-36.

50 Letter from Henry Sagermans, 18 October 1851. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. NG-NM-11222.

51 Letter from Henry Sagermans, 13 August 1853. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. NG-NM-11222. Extract from the registers of the Military Willems-orde, 4th class, issued 19 December 1957. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. NG-NM-11222.

52 R. van Luttervelt, 'De brieventas van Napoleon in het Rijksmuseum', *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum* 3 (1955), pp. 92-93; M.V. Leggiere, *Blücher: Scourge of Napoleon*, Norman 2014, p. 418. See also G. Bernard and G. Lachaux, *Waterloo: Les reliques*, Paris 2006, p. 26.

53 J. Huizinga, 'Cultuurhistorische verkenningen', in W.E. Krul (ed.), *De taak der cultuurgeschiedenis*, Groningen 1995, pp. 109-11.

54 The 1971 display also included Napoleon's letter case which, as we have seen, was discovered after the Battle of Waterloo in an abandoned coach said to have been used by one of Napoleon's secretaries.

55 For an exhaustive discussion of the creation of the Netherlandish History display in 1971, see E. Sint Nicolaas, 'Het vaderland voorbij. De totstandkoming van de presentatie van de afdeling Nederlandse geschiedenis van het Rijksmuseum in de jaren zestig en begin jaren zeventig', *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum* 45 (1997), pp. 310-54.

Detail of fig. 13