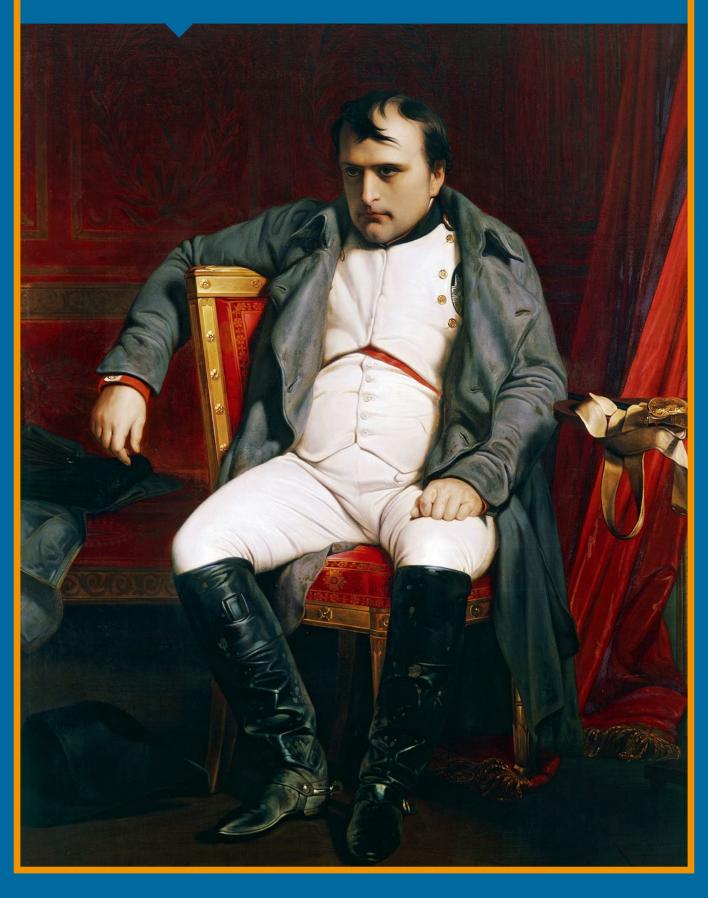
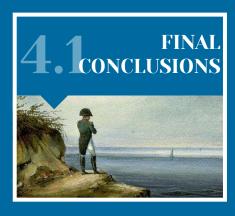
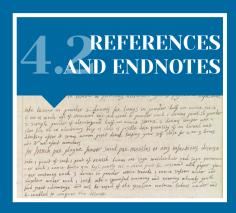
CONCLUSIONS







FINAL - CONCLUSIONS -

any other questions could be formulated, although one is essential: is this relevant? How relevant is the battle of Waterloo today?

This publication tried and answer to this question positively. But if there is one thing all educators know, and the first thing students should learn from history, that would be: we need to question, always, all information we receive. So, do question our conclusions, and ask your students: are you sure Waterloo is relevant?

And, most importantly, how can we talk about Waterloo, and the past, in a way that goes beyond erudition and tells us something about today?

The past is a present we can benefit from only with an open mind and the willingness to always question our convictions.

REFERENCES - AND ENDNOTES

CHAPTER 1

¹ From Waterloo: Four Days That Changed Europe's Destiny, T. Clayton, 2014.

CHAPTER 2

² What follows is a brief summary of the discussions on the evolution of historiography on Waterloo that took place during the Seminar in Braine L'Alleud in February 2015 with the participation of Professor Bruno Colson (University of Namur) and Dr Russ E. Foster (Waterloo 200 Education Group). See also: B. Colson (2014), Waterloo, Two Centuries of Historiography, International bibliography of military history, 34 (149-170).

³ Notable also because it was the only work that prompted a response from the Duke of Wellington, who sought to argue in defense of his management of the troops on the ground, which had been scrutinised by von Clausewitz.

⁴ For instance: Jean-Marc Largeaud. Napoléon et Waterloo: La défaite glorieuse de 1815 à nos jours. Paris: La Boutique de l'Histoire. 2006

⁵ Or, in other terms, as the Hannoverscher Courier noted in June 1915: "Our ally of that time is today our sworn enemy".

⁶ Colson identifies a couple of notable ones: Antony Brett-James, ed., *The Hundred Days: Napoleon's Last Campaign from Eye-witness Accounts* (London-New York, 1964), and John Keegan, *The Face of Battle* (London, 1976).

⁷ B. Colson, 2014, page 165.

⁸ Barbero, Alessandro (2005), The Battle: A New History of Waterloo, Atlantic Books and Whitehead, R. J. (2013), The Other Side of the Wire: The Battle of the Somme. With the German XIV Reserve Corps, 2 July 1916, Solihull: Helion.

- ⁹ A remark made by Professor Michael Rapport during his recorded keynote speech during the February Seminar in Braine L'Alleud. The Euroclio Secretariat can be contacted for more information on his speech.
- ¹⁰ For the role of education in forming a national perspective and narrative, see for instance B. Anderson (1983), *Imagined Communities*, Verso.
- ¹¹ A powerful example is the following: the Belgian State envisaged, in 2014, to mint a 2 Euro special coin to commemorate the Battle of Waterloo; the French government protested against it and threaten to veto the Belgian proposal at the Council of European Ministers for Finance. The Belgian Government withdrew its proposal. That Waterloo should prompt such a strong reaction by a Socialist government, 200 years after the facts does say something about the unresolved remembrance issues still lingering in Europe. See for instance http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-31849506 (retrieved May 2015).
 - ¹² See page 17 of this booklet for an insight on this point.
- ¹³ In fact, who knows how Britain would have dealt with the US if it were not distracted by the French upheavals?
- ¹⁴ The question of earlier chances for building a unified European value and law system, and the big backlash after Waterloo and the Congress of Vienna would also be significant topics to discuss.
- 15 One explanation for this, beside the traditional despise that higher classes held for the lower ones, could be that in this period the nature of the armies had started to change, as the common soldiers were no longer only drawn from the ranks of the criminal classes. The new armies began to comprise soldiers who carried a political stake in the nation. Governments were increasingly under pressure to justify losses. 'To suggest that soldiers might have died in vain was culturally and politically unpalatable; legitimising their loss required a noble cause.' See K. Varley, *How should we commemorate wars?*, History and Policy, August 2014. See http://www.historyandpolicy.org/policy-papers/papers/how-should-we-commemorate-wars-lessons-from-the-nineteenth-century (retrieved May 2015).
- ¹⁶ http://www.gla.ac.uk/research/news/headline_392886_en.html (retrieved May 2015)
- ¹⁷ See for instance: Page, F.C.G. (1986), Following the drum: Women in Wellington's wars, London: Andrew Deutsch.

CHAPTER 3

- ¹⁸ As a result, "approximately 45% of the army spoke German as its primary language". See Battle Story: Waterloo 1815, G. Fremont-Barnes, 2012.
- ¹⁹ P. Maugué (1970), *Le particularisme alsacien, 1918-1967*. Paris: Presses d'Europe, 146.
- ²⁰ C. Moore, Still skirmishing over the Battle of Waterloo, The Telegraph, 15/09/2013.
- ²¹ J. Pemble, Waterloo: The Aftermath by Paul O'Keeffe; The Longest Afternoon by Brendan Simms; Waterloo by Tim Clayton review, The Guardian, 27/11/2014.
- 22 Waterloo! Waterloo! Gloomy plain! / Like a wave that batters in a urn too full...
- ²³ Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, *Brigadier Gérard at Waterloo*, originally published in The Strand Magazine, 1903.
- ²⁴ Seaton, A.V., *War and Thanatourism: Waterloo 1815-1914*, Annals of Tourism Research, Vol. 26, No. 1, pp. 130158, 1999, page 132-133.
- ²⁵ For an extremely interesting set of reflections on the dynamics between propaganda and public memory in relation to memorials, you can read C. Clark, (1996), *The Wars of Liberation in Prussian Memory*, The Journal of Modern History, 68: 550-576.

