

# Materializing France in exile: Henri, duc d'Aumale, the Orléans family and the transnational politics of collecting c. 1848–80

Tom Stammers\*

## ABSTRACT

Between the 1848 Revolution and the Franco–Prussian War, the fallen Orléans dynasty lived in the western suburbs of London. Deprived of the throne, Louis-Philippe and his sons struggled to uphold their dignity and credentials as a ruling house. In this time of limbo, cultural pursuits—whether art collecting, exhibitions, literature—were a crucial means of integration into the elite tiers of British society. Material culture remained a central means by which the family affirmed and preserved their dual patriotic and dynastic credentials. Focusing on the collecting activities of the duc d'Aumale in London, this article explores how the experiences and opportunities of British exile profoundly shaped how the Orléans positioned themselves as custodians of French history and national identity. An act of cultural resistance against French governments that had banished and ‘denationalized’ them, art collecting offers a valuable window onto the family’s patriotic self-image and evolving political ambitions.

Located about an hour’s train journey from Paris, the château de Chantilly remains an exceptionally evocative architectural composite. The *grand château* erected by the prince de Condé was largely destroyed during the French Revolution, although the sixteenth-century pavillon built by Jean Bullant, and the imposing early eighteenth-century stable complex, survived intact. The neo-gothic restoration of the site undertaken by the architect Honoré Daumet between 1876 and 1882 [Figure 1] was exceptional even at a time when many other French aristocrats were busy transforming their chateaux as a marker of cultural patrimony. ‘They put every effort into

\* The author is Associate Professor of Modern European History at Durham University and may be contacted at [t.e.stammers@durham.ac.uk](mailto:t.e.stammers@durham.ac.uk). He would like to thank the organizers and members of the ‘Objectifying France?’ seminar for the stimulating discussions, as well as the excellent team at Chantilly who facilitated some of this research, especially archivist Florent Picouveau.



**Figure 1:** (after Honoré Daumet), *Vue du château de Chantilly* (c. 1886–1911), Fonds Le Maresquier, Chantilly @RMN-Grand Palais (domaine de Chantilly)/Michel Urtado. This print highlights the dramatic neo-gothic additions to Chantilly overseen by architect Honoré Daumet, creating vast new gallery spaces for displaying the duc d'Aumale's collections, alongside the conservation of the surviving sixteenth- and seventeenth-century buildings.

reinforcing associations with the past,' Elizabeth MacKnight observes, 'using the home both for transmission of familial identity and as a symbol of their families' importance on a grand stage of nation and the European continent.'<sup>1</sup> The Chantilly restoration brought together the cream of revivalist architects, painters and designers. The costs were astronomical; the man who commissioned it, Henri d'Orléans, duc d'Aumale, spent 5,365,858,17 francs on Chantilly between 1872 and 1897.<sup>2</sup> The result was not just sumptuous, but also solemn, even melancholy. In the view of the conservative man of letters, François Coppée, 'all sorts of sinister memories and the immense sadness of history hangs over the duc d'Aumale and over his house overflowing with masterpieces'.<sup>3</sup>

Chantilly's special ambiance derives from its hybrid status, located somewhere between a private residence and a public museum. In her study of the phenomenon of house-museums, Anne Higonnet observes that typologically speaking, 'Chantilly hovered on an edge', combining a princely estate, museum galleries and private apartments; built from different components, it represented 'just barely, a modern, personal, national, home for art'.<sup>4</sup> Today those multiple elements co-exist, although not without tension. Visitors primarily travel out to Chantilly for its paintings, arrayed in formal galleries hung according to Aumale's personal vision; they represent

1 E. MacKnight, *Nobility and Patrimony in Modern France* (Manchester, 2018), 181–82.

2 E. Woerth, *Le Duc d'Aumale: l'étonnant destin d'un prince collectionneur* (Paris, 2006), 212.

3 F. Coppée, 'Nécrologie', *Revue hebdomadaire*, 22 May 1897.

4 A. Higonnet, *A Museum of One's Own: Private Collecting, Public Gift* (Pittsburgh, 2010), 85.

the second largest number of Old Masters in France after the Louvre.<sup>5</sup> According to the duc's will no part of the collection could ever be lent externally, with each item fixed in its place for perpetuity [Figure 2]. Upon his death, he ensured that anything that could make the palace 'habitable' again—such as kitchens, beds or bathrooms—should be irreversibly suppressed.<sup>6</sup> 'Everything was dead,' Maurice Barrès recorded in his diary from 1902. 'The Duke bequeathed to a dead body, the Institut, a place that nobody lives in and some second-rate collections to which some second-rate trifles were added.'<sup>7</sup> A fierce critic of the ethos of public museums, which he compared to mausoleums, Barrès' comments cast the Musée Condé as a lifeless anachronism.<sup>8</sup>

Everything on show was filtered through the mind of the duc d'Aumale, but he did not intend to be the subject of the displays. The frugal personal quarters where he lived among the relics of beloved family members—such as his wife, Maria-Carolina, who died in 1869, and his two sons, the ducs de Condé and de Guise, whom he lost in 1866 and 1872 respectively—remain closed to visitors. For a long time, the same was true of the *petit château* which he had shared with his wife in the first years of their marriage after 1844, and which he returned to only after decades of



**Figure 2:** Photographie du Salon d'Orléans, Chantilly (late nineteenth century) @Musée Condé/Chantilly. When the duc d'Aumale decided to transform the *logis* of the *château* into an art gallery, he decided to keep his exceptional collection of drawings in the Salon d'Orléans. On the walls can be seen portraits of his ancestors (notably his mother, Queen Marie-Amélie, by Jaubert) and Antonio Moro's *The Risen Christ between Saints Peter and Paul*, which he inherited from the Bourbon-Condé princes.

<sup>5</sup> Woerth, *Le Duc*, 207.

<sup>6</sup> E. Daudet, *Le Duc d'Aumale, 1822–1897* (Paris, 1898), 385.

<sup>7</sup> M. Barrès, *Mes Cahiers, 1896–1923* (Paris, 1963), 159.

<sup>8</sup> M. O. Germain, 'Barrès, ou le musée déraciné?', *Revue d'histoire littéraire de la France*, 95 (1995), 36–44.



**Figure 3:** Chambre de la Duchesse—Lit à baldaquin (c. 1844–45). Private Apartments of the *petit château*, Chantilly @RMN-Grand Palais/Michel Urtado. Aside from the neo-gothic *prie-dieu*, Eugène Lami's design for the bedroom of the duchesse d'Aumale was executed in the fashionable Louis XV revival style, with vivid blue satin upholstery and rosewood furniture made by Guillaume Grohé.

exile, reimagining these abandoned apartments as his 'musée des jours heureux'.<sup>9</sup> These intimate rooms were only opened to the public in 2018 after a lavish restoration programme [Figure 3].<sup>10</sup> A marvellous time capsule of July Monarchy aesthetics and interior design, brilliantly co-ordinated by Eugène Lami, it is doubtful whether Aumale would have welcomed this intrusion into his private quarters, or anything that deflected from his avowed purpose in Chantilly: not to build a memorial to himself, but rather to honour his ancestors and his homeland. Put simply, Chantilly represents one of the final, grandest, attempts to narrate a story of French civilization in material form. This narrative was articulated through a remarkable variety of historic works of art.

Much of the literature on collecting tends towards the biographical, with inevitable ruminations on individual motivation, selfhood and psychology. Collecting, so psychoanalytical approaches suggest, is always a form of compensation, a desire to achieve something of order or permanence in a universe structured around absence and lack. To that extent, collecting is always about more than the objects themselves, which are so many attempts to propitiate a desire without end.<sup>11</sup> Such arguments ask us to take the psychic investment in material things seriously, but they risk flattening out the differences between things and reducing them to a generic consolatory function. More sensitive and empirical scholarship has shifted attention towards how objects are pivotal in the fabrication and articulation of identity. For Manuel Charpy, in his study of the nineteenth-century bourgeoisie, collecting *bibLOTS* was a mode of

9 A. Frydman, 'Le Faste retrouvé des petits appartements de Chantilly', *Le Point*, 8 Mar. 2019.

10 M. Deldicque, *Les Appartements du duc et de la duchesse d'Aumale* (Paris, 2022), 5–12.

11 W. Muensterberger, *Collecting: An Unruly Passion: Psychological Perspectives* (Princeton, 1994); S. Stewart, *On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection* (Durham and London, 1993); G. Baudrillard, *The System of Objects*, trans. J. Benedict (London, 1996).



self-fashioning, 'a material form of autobiography in which objects combined intimate memories and collective history'.<sup>12</sup>

On first glimpse, it is tempting to read Aumale's purchases in psychoanalytic and therapeutic terms: his extraordinary pursuit of works of art, and his interest in their display, cannot be easily separated from personal experiences of banishment and bereavement. However, this sentiment of loss did not derive from his private misfortunes alone, as it also inhered in a wider political tradition. Unlike the younger collectors of the fin de siècle, consumed by their own narcissistic sensations, Aumale mobilized his possessions to enlighten his compatriots about a world that seemed to be receding from view.<sup>13</sup> What Aumale mourned at Chantilly was not just the extinction of his own biological line, but also the shattering of a cultural inheritance. To try and fix the restoration of Chantilly in the anguish of one man therefore misses the resonance the project held in a wider, post-revolutionary context. Conserving, repairing and renewing historic buildings was a recognized form of protest against the ravages of time, just as it was also a way of improving upon the past, allowing alternative stories to surface. 'To restore a monument could be to put words in the mouth of the oracle that the nineteenth century conceived history to be.'<sup>14</sup> By the same token collecting, too, entailed confronting and reversing some of the disruptive forces unleashed by modern French politics, providing a home for orphaned objects and doing justice to the dead.

The origins of this way of grappling with material culture can be traced to the aftermath of 1789. The Musée des Monuments Français that emerged out of the iconoclasm of the 1790s was invested with a powerful sentimental and moral appeal. Through recuperating vulnerable monuments, such as royal tombs and religious sculpture, curator Alexandre Lenoir has been credited with working to heal the 'trauma' of revolution.<sup>15</sup> Dispersed in 1817, the museum nonetheless cast a profound influence over a generation of artists and antiquarians from across Europe, whose efforts at safeguarding the material vestiges of previous eras, at first in private homes, and only eventually in the galleries of public museums, were hailed as patriotic achievements. Men like Alexandre du Sommerard (originator of the Musée de Cluny), Eustache-Hyacinth Langlois (founder of the Musée des Antiquités in Rouen) and Charles-Alexandre Sauvageot (benefactor to the Louvre) were hailed as heroes in the 1830s, 1840s and 1850s for their efforts to preserve endangered artefacts from the Middle Ages or the Renaissance.<sup>16</sup>

As the fifth son of King Louis-Philippe, and heir to the fortune of the Bourbon-Condé, Aumale possessed resources that completely overshadowed his antiquarian predecessors, even if he shared their sense of moral urgency. The July Monarchy witnessed numerous campaigns to rehabilitate the art and architecture of previous eras, especially the age of the Valois, whose romance was celebrated at the Orléanist court.<sup>17</sup> These renovations expressed a liberal ethos, although the Orléans' family's evocation of the French past was never narrowly instrumentalist.

12 M. Charpy, 'Matières et mémoires: usages des traces de soi et des siens dans une grande famille bourgeoisie de la seconde moitié du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle', *Revue du Nord*, 390 (2011), 431.

13 On the link between interior design and *psychologie nouvelle*, see the essays in A. Lasc, G. Downey, M. Taylor (eds), *Designing the French Interior: The Modern Home and Mass Media* (London, 2015).

14 R. Witman, 'Felix Duban's didactic restoration of the Château de Blois: a history of France in stone', *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 55 (1996), 429; also M. Bressani, *Architecture and the Historical Imagination: Eugène Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc, 1814–1879* (London, 2014).

15 D. Jensen, *Trauma and its Representations: The Social Life of Mimesis in Post-Revolutionary France* (Baltimore, 2001), 30–55. See also D. Poulot, 'Alexandre Lenoir et le musée des monuments français' in *Les Lieux de mémoire II: la nation*, ed. P. Nora (Paris, 1986), 497–532; A. Stara, *The Museum of French Monuments, 1795–1816: 'Killing Art to Make History'* (London and New York, 2016).

16 G. Bresc-Bautier, B. de Chancel-Bardelot (eds), *Un Musée révolutionnaire: le musée des monuments français d'Alexandre Lenoir* (Paris, 2016); T. Stammers, *The Purchase of the Past: The Culture of Collecting in Post-Revolutionary Paris* (Cambridge, 2020), 159–202.

17 See the recent exhibition catalogues, *Louis-Philippe à Fontainebleau: le roi et l'histoire* (Paris, 2018); *Louis-Philippe et Versailles* (Paris, 2018); *Ferdinand Philippe d'Orléans: Images d'un prince idéal* (Paris, 2021).

The lovingly annotated albums of printed portraits that Louis-Philippe kept in the royal library reveal his passion for French history, which flowed directly into his scheme to transform Versailles from abandoned palace into a museum dedicated, somewhat disingenuously, to 'all the glories of France'.<sup>18</sup> Working a generation later, Aumale took a different tack at Chantilly, seeking to combine elements of the princely residence with the public-facing institution. But he retained his father's conviction that collections and museology could heal and transcend political divisions. Elected to the Académie française in December 1871, by twenty-eight of twenty-nine votes, it was appropriate that he took the seat once occupied by Charles de Montalembert, liberal Catholic and sworn enemy of revolutionary vandalism under the July Monarchy. In his admission speech, Aumale echoed his predecessor's hope in 'the political resurrection of our country' through honouring its past, whilst sharing his scepticism of any 'chimerical return to the old regime'.<sup>19</sup>

In renewing Chantilly from the mid-1870s, Aumale sought to resurrect the cultural world of its original proprietor, Anne de Montmorency, the connétable de France under François I, and one of the duc's favourite alter egos. To do this, he laboured to identify and recuperate the original decoration of the chateau from Montmorency's time, as well as fragments from other Montmorency residences nearby, like Écouen. This included the forty magnificent stained-glass panels depicting the love of Cupid and Psyche, based on designs by Raphael, and once believed to have been painted by Bernard de Palissy. Some of these glass panels had been rescued in the 1790s by Lenoir and exhibited in the Musée des Monuments Français: one example, among many, of how Aumale consciously walked in Lenoir's shadow. Aumale was on very good terms with Lenoir's antiquarian son, Albert, whilst his sculptor grandson, Alfred, was chosen to execute the tombs of Aumale's wife and his mother-in-law in the family mausoleum at Dreux.<sup>20</sup> The restored Chantilly chapel contains various other materials salvaged from Écouen, like the altar designed by Jean Goujon, and another monument once protected by Lenoir, comprising the six bronze figures which had been originally commissioned in the 1640s for the tomb of Henri II de Bourbon-Condé from sculptor Jacques Sarrazin for the church of Saint-Louis-Saint-Paul [Figure 4]. It was under this monument that Aumale solemnly interred the hearts of the princes de Condé in 1883, according them a final resting place ninety years exactly after they had been profaned by a crowd of *sans-culottes*.<sup>21</sup> By recycling materials from sites linked to revolutionary vandalism, Aumale was continuing the work of earlier antiquarians who had rehabilitated the heritage of the French monarchy in a time of material disorder. He added a personal touch, too: in this tomb he also placed the heart of his eldest son, Louis d'Orléans, duc de Condé, who had died whilst travelling in Australia in 1866.<sup>22</sup>

The anthropologist Nicholas Thomas has encouraged us to think of collections as 'living assemblies of relationships, rather than as static depositories'; the collection, he writes, 'is the outcome of historical events, travels and transactions, and an always emerging assembly, one continually undergoing reconfiguration and revaluation, as people engage with it or in relation to it'.<sup>23</sup> In this way, the sad immobility that critics like Barrès associated with Chantilly is only half the story. It is only by reinstating the mobility to the objects now petrified in Chantilly that we can connect them to bigger processes that had at once political, moral and material dimensions:

18 H. Delalex, 'La Collection de portraits gravés du roi Louis-Philippe au château de Versailles', *Revue des musées de France—Revue du Louvre*, 3 (2009), 79–92.

19 H. d'Orléans, *Discours de M. le duc d'Aumale, prononcé à l'Académie française, le jour de sa réception 3 avril 1873* (Paris, 1873), 29, 38.

20 C[hantilly] A[rchives], 4 PA 20, Agenda du duc d'Aumale, 24 Nov. 1881; B. Clinchamp, *Chantilly (1485–1897): Les d'Orléans, les Montmorency—les Condé, le duc d'Aumale* (Paris, 1902), 124.

21 G. Macon, *Chantilly et le musée Condé* (Paris, 1910), 205; Clinchamp, *Chantilly*, 205–06.

22 CA, 4 PA 13, Agenda du duc d'Aumale, 26 Jun. 1876.

23 N. Thomas, *A Critique of the Natural Artefact: Anthropology, Art and Museums* (Wellington, 2015), S, 17.



**Figure 4:** Jacques Sarrazin, *Monument funéraire pour le coeur de Henri II de Bourbon-Condé* (1648)—la Chapelle des coeurs des princes Condé, Chantilly @Musée Condé/Chantilly. This magnificent funerary monument is a composite. The six imposing bronze figures by seventeenth-century sculptor Jacques Sarrazin had initially been located in the Jesuit church of Saint-Paul-Saint-Louis in Paris. During the Revolution, the figures were relocated to the Musée des Monuments Français, before being restored to the Condé princes in 1816. The hearts of the Condé princes, having been transferred to Chantilly for safety in 1791, were ultimately saved from destructive vandalism two years later thanks to a covert royalist. After the fall of Napoleon the hearts were installed in an urn in Chantilly parish church, and on this spot, in 1854, the exiled Aumale created a modest memorial. On returning to France and rebuilding Chantilly, Aumale decided to unite in its chapel Sarrazin's bronzes with the urn containing the hearts of Condé princes, completing the ensemble in 1883.

processes of dispersal, exile, dispossession and restoration. Aumale was deeply concerned with what we would today call 'object biography', namely the different hands through which his prized possessions had passed.<sup>24</sup> In the bibliophile Eugène Paillet's recollections, 'Aumale's knowledge was comprehensive: prints, drawings, sculpture, nothing was foreign to him, and the famous provenances often prompted him to give the most interesting explanations.'<sup>25</sup> Indeed, thinking through provenance—the long, sometimes scandalous, trajectories taken by objects across the course of generations or even centuries—was a central dimension of the cultural work he ascribed to collecting, an activity which was not just shaped by, but also intervened in, the history of France.

By placing the emphasis on the movement of objects across borders, this article explores the origins of the Chantilly project in the long decades of British exile that the duc d'Aumale and his relatives endured after 1848. In her excellent study of Orleans House in Twickenham, Nicole Garnier-Pelle has described it as the 'laboratory' for the kind of museum displays enacted at

24 I. Kopytoff, 'The cultural biography of things: commoditization as process' in *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, ed. A. Appadurai (Cambridge, 1986), 64–91; C. Gosden and Y. Marshall, 'The cultural biography of objects,' *World Archaeology*, 31 (1999), 169–78.

25 E. Paillet, *Son Altesse royale Henri d'Orléans, duc d'Aumale, chez les amis des livres* (Paris 1898), 3.

Chantilly twenty years later.<sup>26</sup> Despite its importance, however, material traces of this English residence are relatively discreet at the chateau today: a reading chair derived from Holland House; recycled rococo panelling in the duc's private quarters; a pair of stone dogs by John van Nost that once stood guard at Orleans House in Twickenham. Then there is the portrait by Joshua Reynolds of Lady Maria Walpole which was bequeathed in the will of the political hostess, and chatelaine of Strawberry Hill, Frances, Countess Waldegrave.<sup>27</sup> 'Wawa', as the duc dotingly called Lady Waldegrave, was one of his closest friends and advisers in Britain, and her correspondence, preserved in Somerset Heritage Centre and the British Library, represents a vital resource for reconstructing the Orléans' social and political networks.<sup>28</sup> Combined with material found in archives on both sides of the Channel, this article seeks to explore how and why a family condemned to live outside of France's borders for over twenty years tried to create through works of art an idealized vision of their absent *patrie*. However privileged the actors discussed, this was nonetheless a material history of France constructed from the margins, and one profoundly shaped by dynastic priorities.

## I

The February Revolution in 1848 caught the Orléans family completely unawares, and their flight from France was hasty and traumatic. Louis-Philippe and his family initially lived in Claremont House, Surrey, provided to them by Queen Victoria. In his reminiscences, penned fifteen years later, Benjamin Disraeli recalled the improvised arrangements he found at Claremont 'after the catastrophe of 1848': 'all I saw was a common mahogany glass on a painted table—and it was a bed-room, a very ordinary one, very gloomy, looking on the walls of back premises—but apparently the King's bed room, & then he sat down in a small painted rush-bottomed bedroom chair.' It was pitiful to observe Louis-Philippe still 'giving his orders on all subjects to his aides-de-camp just as if he were at Paris or St Cloud.'<sup>29</sup> Disraeli's impression of the relative modesty of the furnishings used by the family is confirmed by an 1850 watercolour by Eugène Lami commissioned by Louis-Philippe and given to Queen Victoria for her birthday [Figure 5].<sup>30</sup> The challenge of adjusting to the new circumstances was accompanied by constant fears over what was happening to the possessions the family had abandoned in France, especially as reports spread of crowds storming the Tuileries and sacking the palace of Neuilly. The king's eldest son, the duc de Nemours, confided to one loyal follower: 'Suddenly we lack everything: pillaged, robbed of everything, we see our inherited private properties confiscated as well as all those of individuals who are allied to us.'<sup>31</sup>

On 28 May 1848, the National Assembly of the Second Republic voted that the family were henceforth banished and forbidden from returning to France. Now that they knew that the exile would not be temporary, it was vitally important to ensure that the family could still live in the manner befitting a royal house. This meant regaining those staples of French craftsmanship and design—such as Boulle cabinets, Gobelins tapestries or Savonnerie carpets—that articulated the grammar of aristocratic civilization.<sup>32</sup> Supporters of the Orléanist cause were prevailed upon to help transport luxury goods out of France to meet the needs of the extended royal household.

26 N. Garnier, 'Twickenham: un laboratoire pour Chantilly', *Le Musée Condé*, 72 (2015), 7–25.

27 O. Meslay, 'Le Duc d'Aumale et l'anglophilie de la famille d'Orléans', in *L'Art anglais dans les collections de l'Institut de France* (Paris, 2004), 22.

28 T. Stammers, 'From the Tuileries to Twickenham: The Orléans, exile and Anglo–French liberalism, c. 1848–1880', *English Historical Review*, 564 (2018), 1120–54.

29 H. Schwartz and M. Schwartz (eds), *Disraeli's Reminiscences* (New York, 1976), 26.

30 'The French royal family at Claremont', RCIN 920037.

31 Archives N[ationales], AP 300(IV)/245, Nemours to Jarnac, 12 Mar. 1848.

32 'On the Frenchness of historic styles', L. Auslander, *Taste and Power: Furnishing Modern France* (Berkeley, 1998).





**Figure 5:** Eugène Lami, *The French Royal Family at Claremont*, 27.0 x 37.1 cm (1850)@Royal Collections Trust/Wikimedia Commons. Lami's watercolour shows the Orléans family informally assembled in the Great Yellow Drawing Room at Claremont; deposed King Louis-Philippe and his wife Marie-Amélie, along with their sons Nemours, Joinville and Aumale (on the right), can be easily identified. The watercolour was given by the French royal family to Queen Victoria as a memento of friendship.

Alfred Cuvillier-Fleury visited Claremont in 1849 and noted the psychological comfort brought to the exiles by supplies sent over from their Norman estate: 'The entire Château d'Eu service—crockery, crystalware, silverware, linens—has been transported here. It is a great improvement. We no longer feel the discomfort.'<sup>33</sup> After porcelain and tapestries, the Orléans turned to the relocation of other elements of their patrimony, such as the transfer of the historic portraits found in the Galerie des Guise at Eu to the duc de Nemour's Teddington residence, Bushy House, in accordance with Louis-Philippe's will.<sup>34</sup>

The Orléans' plight has parallels with other nineteenth-century French royal courts in exile, as studied by scholars such as Philip Mansel and Sylvie Aprile.<sup>35</sup> At Frohsdorf, the Bourbon heir to the throne, the comte de Chambord, lived surrounded by relics of the royal martyrs, including the shirt Louis XVI wore to the scaffold, and a shoe belonging to Marie-Antoinette. After the equally sudden demise of the Second Empire in 1870, Empress Eugénie struggled to preserve some lost grandeur in the very reduced circumstances of Camden Place, Chislehurst. At Farnborough Hill House, Hampshire, she created a proto-Malmaison, full of Empire-style

<sup>33</sup> A. Cuvillier-Fleury, *Journal intime*, 2 vols (Paris, 1900), ii. 491–92.

<sup>34</sup> For more on this bequest, AP/300(IV)/173.

<sup>35</sup> P. Mansel, 'Courts in exile: Bourbons, Bonapartes and Orléans in London, from George III to Edward VII', in *A History of the French in London: Liberty, Equality, Opportunity*, ed. M. Cornick and D. Kelly (London, 2013), 99–128; S. Aprile, *Le Siècle des exilés: bannis et proscrits, de 1789 à la Commune* (Paris, 2010), 49–74.

furniture and Napoleonic paintings.<sup>36</sup> In each case, the exiled court turned to interior decoration, furnishings and material possessions to recall a country in which they were now viewed by many as pariahs.

With the exception of Antoine, duc de Montpensier, who remained in Spain, all the sons of Louis-Philippe also relocated to Britain in 1848 and were distributed around properties clustered in West London and Surrey. Louis, duc de Nemours, lived with his family at Bushy House and later Sheen House; François, prince de Joinville, moved from Landsdowne House in Richmond to Mount Lebanon House in Twickenham. The king's grandson Philippe, comte de Paris, the heir to the throne, settled in York House—which now houses Richmond Council offices, although the fleur-de-lys is still visible on the façade. Here, the comte de Paris set about creating a space in which to show off the fruits of his dynastic inheritance; he boasted to Charles Jalabert in March 1867 that on his next visit to England the artist would find York House 'much enlarged':

The buildings are nearly finished and I will spend this summer hanging the paintings which come to me from my Grand Mother. There are several remarkable ones (my ancestor by Reynolds, Louis XIII by Philippe de Champagne, the Dsse d'Orléans Palatine by Rigaud, St. Louis by Zurbaran, several scenes of the life of my grandfather by Vernet, and a quantity of others which are very curious from a historical point of view). The creation of this little gallery of family souvenirs will be very interesting.<sup>37</sup>

York House remained in the possession of the comte de Paris and his children until the early twentieth century. Thanks to photographic albums created in 1897, a few years after his death, we get a flavour of the original interiors, in which Louis XVI-style furnishings were blended with copies after iconic ancestral portraits: Joshua Reynolds' depiction of the Anglophile duc de Chartres, Ary Scheffer's image of Louis-Philippe's widow, Marie-Amélie, Ingres' depiction of Paris' father, Ferdinand d'Orléans and the Léon Bonnat portrait of Aumale [Figure 6].<sup>38</sup>

It was Aumale, Paris' uncle, who created the most substantial new house in the London suburbs, the setting for a collection that went far beyond a 'little gallery of family souvenirs'. That he could do so reflected his fortunate financial position, which was unique in the family. As a child Aumale had been named the heir of the Bourbon-Condé fortune, which included the estate of Chantilly, substantially damaged during the French Revolution. When the last prince de Condé committed suicide in August 1830 all this land and property passed to Louis-Philippe's youngest son. This inheritance proved indispensable after the decree issued by Napoleon III on 23 January 1852 which proclaimed the assets of the Orléans family forfeit to confiscation. Whilst his brothers' inheritance was thrown into jeopardy, Aumale scrambled to save Chantilly through a dummy sale to an English buyer organized with the help of Coutts bank; elsewhere he liquidated his French assets through huge land sales to achieve a windfall of thirty million francs.<sup>39</sup> This financial independence secured his status as the indisputable head of the family after his father's death.

Aumale chose to settle in the Georgian property in Twickenham, known as Orleans House, where Louis-Philippe had lived between 1813 and 1815, during the uncertain final act of the Napoleonic Empire [Figure 7]. Inside, French taste ruled supreme. His wife, Maria-Carolina, the duchesse d'Aumale, filled the rooms of Orleans House with furniture shipped over from

36 A. Gerhagty, *The Empress Eugénie in Farnborough: Art, Architecture, Collecting* (London, 2022).

37 AC, 1/PA/2, P. d'Orléans, comte de Paris, to Jalabert, 27 Mar. 1867.

38 Photographs of the interiors can be found in a leather-bound album of York House, donated to Richmond Local History Society in 1926.

39 Woerth, *Le Duc*, 99–100.







**Figure 7:** Édouard Pingret, *Maison d'Orléans à Twickenham* (1846) @Orleans House Gallery. Pingret's print depicts King Louis-Philippe in 1844 in the grounds of Orleans House, where he had lived three decades earlier during the Hundred Days. He returned to his former home as part of his visit to meet with Queen Victoria (the first time a reigning French sovereign had visited Britain since the fourteenth century). By permission of the London Borough of Richmond upon Thames Borough Art Collection, Orleans House Gallery.

sensible taste that I can satisfy without too much madness.<sup>43</sup> In reality, his dejection was short-lived, and Aumale soon found in his 'madness' for rare books not just a refuge from, but also a riposte to, the usurpation he believed had taken place in France.

That rare books were Aumale's gateway to collecting accounts for the intellectual seriousness with which he approached collecting; no mere hobbyist, he was also a historian of the topic. He wrote erudite pamphlets on the collections formed by two plausible alter egos. The first was Jean le Bon, fourteenth-century King of France, who had been captured at the Battle of Poitiers in 1356 and spent the next four years a prisoner in Britain. Like Aumale, the king's exile was made more bearable through the consolation of his books and manuscripts, whose titles Aumale published for fellow bibliophiles in Britain. The second alter ego was seventeenth-century statesman Cardinal Mazarin, who had introduced superb Italian Old Masters into France, as recorded in a 1643 inventory, and who had wept on his deathbed to leave his treasures behind.<sup>44</sup> His collecting was truly European in its reach: Cuvillier-Fleury described the voracious Mazarin as 'at once a collector and a dealer [...] the entire world was his marketplace, whether he wanted to buy or

43 Aumale to Cuvillier-Fleury, 29 Feb. 1852, R. Valléry-Radot, ed., *Correspondance du duc d'Aumale et de Cuvillier-Fleury*, 4 vols (Paris, 1910–12), ii, 107.

44 N. Garnier-Pelle, *Trésors du cabinet de dessins du musée Condé à Chantilly* (Paris, 2005), 13–15.



to sell'.<sup>45</sup> The past collectors Aumale most identified with—including Anne de Montmorency and the Grand Condé—were all men of action and statecraft who won a second distinction as patrons of the arts and letters. This reconciliation of qualities was something he aspired to in his own person, although it evaded his grasp; instead, he subsumed his own personality in 'impossibly ideal' male alter egos, whose virtues were synonymous with those of a 'lost past'.<sup>46</sup>

Aumale's scholarly publications also illustrate the importance he accorded to the chain of previous owners standing behind artefacts, and the real and imagined relationships created through ties of provenance. Provenance as a category had emerged in the eighteenth century primarily as a means of authentication, linked to the development of connoisseurship and growing marketization of art; in the post-revolutionary era it also allowed nineteenth-century collectors to dream of renewing older traditions of *curiosité*.<sup>47</sup> Spanning a range of genres, and self-consciously building on earlier precedents, Aumale's collections visualized, and made tangible, some of the leading artists, writers, craftsmen, statesmen and sovereigns from France's monarchist past. Their rapid expansion is revealed by Gustav Waagen's account of a breakfast taken with the duc d'Aumale at the time of his 1854 tour:

At this charming seat in the neighbourhood of London, the Duke d'Aumale, whose rare attainments and ardent love of literature and art are so well known, has collected a perfect treasury of manuscripts, rare editions, oil paintings, paintings on glass, majolica, and glass vessels, and even some specimens of interesting sculpture. A portion of these objects belong to the Condé inheritance. On occasion of my visit to England in 1854, his Royal Highness did me the honour to invite me to a breakfast *en famille*, after which he proceeded, in the kindest way, to do the honours of his collection.<sup>48</sup>

At the time of his visit two years later, the German connoisseur was struck by further enrichment of the collection thanks to the inheritance of Italian paintings from the prince of Salerno, his father-in-law, as well as his purchases at the Ralph Bernal sale.<sup>49</sup>

The excitement of buying art and manuscripts offered an antidote to the agonizing sense of inaction that came with his forced departure from the French Army. Whilst in the coming years his nephews opted to fight incognito in foreign theatres of war—the duc de Chartres in Piedmont, the comte de Paris in America—the duc d'Aumale was forced to redirect his energies towards a different combat. 'He wants to work, it is the only outlet which remains to him,' observed Émile Picot; 'he demands the dispatch of sales catalogues; he annotates them, he gives his orders.' In directing his purchases and in marshalling his erudition, 'the soldier came before the bibliophile'.<sup>50</sup> These martial metaphors were entirely typical of how the duc and his allies conceived of his acquisitive drive. The sculptor Henri de Triqueti, who often took commissions for the duc in auction, wrote up the story of his sale-room victories as gladiatorial campaigns, in which he entered 'the arena', 'crushed' rival bidders like the comte Émilien de Nieuwerkerke and Adolphe Thiers, and even 'put the British Museum to flight'.<sup>51</sup> This was a vision of collecting not as consolatory but expansive, based on fending off foreign challengers and colonizing new provinces of art history.

45 A. Cuvillier-Fleury, *Discours de M Cuvillier-Fleury, directeur de l'académie, en réponse au discours prononcé par M. le duc d'Aumale pour sa réception à l'Académie française le 3 avril 1873* (Didier, Paris, 1873), 58.

46 Higonnet, 'Self-portrait as museum', *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics*, 52 (2007), 207.

47 G. Feigenbaum, I. Reist (eds), *Provenance: An Alternative History of Art* (Los Angeles, 2013).

48 G. Waagen, *Galleries and Cabinets of Art in Great Britain* (London, 1857), 247.

49 Waagen, *Galleries*, 247, 263–64.

50 E. Picot, 'M. le duc d'Aumale' in *Notices historiques*, 2 vols (Paris, 1907), i, 71.

51 Woerth, *Le Duc*, 118.

## II

In rebuilding his broken patrimony, London presented the prince with unrivalled opportunities. In the final years of the eighteenth century, the British capital had already emerged as the capital of the European art market, as its auction houses and dealerships acted as a magnet for antiques and paintings imported from all over the continent, including artworks that had once belonged to France's ravaged elites.<sup>52</sup> The strong commercial ties between London and other European cities, and the large number of enterprising immigrant artists and dealers who set up new businesses, ensured that would-be customers in the 1850s and 1860s could taste the 'Grand Tour' simply by walking the length of Bond Street.<sup>53</sup> Aumale exploited these cosmopolitan networks in order to acquire works of art, and put them in motion. The quality of information and cultural exchanges between London and Paris allowed Aumale to keep a keen eye on developments in France from his new base; he visited exhibitions of French art staged in London ('Tableaux exposition française bien médiocres' he noted in his diary in March 1867) and obtained cutting-edge works by French artists he admired, such as the print-maker Charles Meryon.<sup>54</sup>

Central to Aumale's freedom of movement was a set of agents who could fulfil commissions remotely and supply invaluable expertise. As noted above, in order to buy art in Parisian auctions Aumale sometimes despatched Triqueti, one of the most successful cross-Channel artists of the period, who successfully ingratiated himself with the British establishment.<sup>55</sup> Triqueti was the intermediary for the purchase of the exceptional corpus of drawings belonging to Louvre curator Frédéric Reiset in 1861.<sup>56</sup> When it came to rare books and manuscripts, Aumale sought out the advice of Antonio Panizzi at the British Museum. Despite their contrary views on the Risorgimento, 'Carissimo Don Antonio' was regularly invited to Orleans House in order to inspect and admire the duc's recent purchases, and invited to draw comparisons with those in the possession of the British Museum.<sup>57</sup> Panizzi also alerted the duc to opportunities abroad. It was through Panizzi's services that Aumale was able to buy in Italy that pearl of medieval manuscripts, *Les Très Riches Heures* of the duc de Berry, in the face of stiff competition.<sup>58</sup> Dominic Colnaghi, meanwhile, was Aumale's favoured picture dealer in London, renewing a long-running relationship between the firm and the family, which dated back to Louis-Philippe's English years. This friendship is commemorated in the special album of royal souvenirs assembled by Colnaghi and preserved in the firm's archives at Waddesdon Manor.<sup>59</sup> With Colnaghi's encouragement, Aumale began to acquire from the auctions of deceased British collectors like Edward Utterson and Ralph Bernal works of art linked to the French Renaissance, from Clouet drawings through to Limoges enamels.<sup>60</sup>

Aumale was happiest in select gatherings of like-minded collectors, and he relished the recognition of his peers in London. He was a keen member of the Philobiblion, a society of book lovers sponsored by Prince Albert, which organized breakfasts sometimes at Orleans House and at nearby Strawberry Hill, as brokered by Frances Waldegrave's fourth husband, the liberal

52 D. Davis, *The Tastemakers: British Dealers and the Anglo-Gallic Interior, 1785–1865* (Los Angeles, 2020).

53 P. Fletcher, 'The Grand Tour on Bond Street: cosmopolitanism and the commercial art gallery in Victorian London,' *Visual Culture in Britain*, 12 (2011), 139–53.

54 CA, 4 PA4, Agenda du duc d'Aumale, 30 Mar. 1867; A. Cahen, 'Meryon at Chantilly,' *Print Quarterly*, 21 (2004), 421–30.

55 I. Lemaistre ed., *Henri de Triqueti, 1803–1874: le sculpteur des princes* (Paris, 2007).

56 R. Cazelles, *Le Duc d'Aumale: prince, chef de guerre, mécène* (Paris, 1984), 201–06.

57 For instance, B[ritish] L[ibrary], Ms 36718, Panizzi Papers (17 vols.), vol. v, Aumale to Panizzi 2 Sept. 1858 and 27 Nov. 1858, 255 and 472.

58 M. Camille, 'The "Très Riches Heures": an illuminated manuscript in the age of mechanical reproduction,' *Critical Inquiry*, 17 (1990), 72–107.

59 I am grateful to Jeremy Howard for first alerting me to the existence of this album at Windmill Hill.

60 For example, Colnaghi Archive Windmill Hill, Orleans album (11), Colnaghi to Aumale, 12 Jan. 1857; CA, PA 120 (12) Colnaghi to Aumale, 12 Feb. 1857. For the French Renaissance in Britain, see Eloise Donnelly, 'Collecting Renaissance decorative arts in Britain, 1850–1914' (PhD thesis, Cambridge, 2021).

politician Chichester Fortescue.<sup>61</sup> During the 1850s and 1860s British collectors of the fine and decorative arts had started to found collectors' societies far in advance of anything comparable in Paris. A central player in these initiatives, the expatriate marquis d'Azeglio, envisaged meetings that would take place in the homes of members, modelled on the organizational template already set down by the bibliophiles. The Fine Arts Club was founded by the South Kensington curator John Charles Robinson in 1857.<sup>62</sup> Having signed up early for this novel venture, Aumale assured Robinson in 1861: 'I would dearly love to open my house this year to the members of the Fine Arts Club, who would perhaps be able to see there objects of some interest, and I have communicated this desire to the Marquis d'Azeglio.' But the duc was obliged to postpone the visit due to ongoing works on Orleans House until May the following year.<sup>63</sup>

The rescheduled visit gave rise to a specially produced catalogue for the occasion, illustrated with a vignette of Orleans House. The catalogue entries singled out paintings which had previously hung in the Tuileries or Palais-Royal until 1848, and which had thus been brought back into family ownership.<sup>64</sup> Provenance was foregrounded, as paintings moved between Italy and France: for instance, Poussin's *Massacre of the Innocents*, acquired via Colnaghi, was listed as previously found in the 'Collections Giustiani, Lucien Bonaparte and the duc de Luques'. At the climax of the tour visitors entered a Salle de Condé, containing exclusively 'objects which are tied to the history of this prince, and of his family'.<sup>65</sup> The seventeenth-century soldier Condé was one of Aumale's favourite historical alter egos: the owner and embellisher of Chantilly, when forced to retire from military life, the prince had shone as a patron of the arts and letters, and refused to surrender to personal ambition by unleashing a civil war. The domestic displays in 1862 commemorated Condé through the display of paintings, sculptures, autograph letters, banners and trophies of war. Aumale found great satisfaction in drawing on these materials to produce a four-volume biography of his hero: her husband was often 'plongé dans les Condé' according to Maria-Carolina in 1860.<sup>66</sup>

A third benefit of London was the opportunity to participate in large public exhibitions, in which Aumale staked his claim to leadership of the arts. Through his friendship with Robinson, Aumale was persuaded to take part in the 1862 Special Loans Exhibition organized at South Kensington, which gave him the chance to have his name—always rendered with the prefix S. A. R.—listed alongside major British collectors such as Lionel de Rothschild, Lord Londesborough, Beresford Hope and Hollingsworth Magniac. Initially Robinson had gone further and suggested that Aumale actually join the organizing committee for the exhibition, but the duc modestly declined on grounds of other commitments and because 'I am not competent enough as a judge'.<sup>67</sup> Instead he loaned generously, including a set of Limoges enamels depicting his beloved sixteenth-century predecessors—such as the Jean de Bourbon, duc d'Enghien and Louis de Bourbon, duc de Montpensier—as well as a spectacular processional cross overlaid with Gothic decoration (recently acquired at the prestigious Alexis de Soltykoff sale), and a monstrance in silver gilt from the early sixteenth century, which had once belonged to the

61 CA, 1 PA 139 (22), Fortescue to Aumale, 19 Jun. 1859.

62 A[shmolean] M[useum] A[rchives], J. C. Robinson Papers, file 48, D'Azeglio to Robinson, 18 Dec. (1856?). On the Club, A. Eatwell, 'The Collector's or Fine Art's Club 1857–1874: the first Society for Collectors of the Decorative Arts', *Journal of the Decorative Arts Society*, 18 (1994), 25–30.

63 AMA, J. C. Robinson papers, file 48, Aumale to Robinson, 9 Jul. 1861.

64 The text for nos 42 and 43 in the catalogue, portraits of Richelieu and Mazarin, read: 'Ces Deux Tableaux ont toujours fait partie de la galerie du Palais-Royale à Paris jusqu'en 1848'. *Une Visite du Fine Arts Club à Orleans House, Twickenham, le 21 mai 1862* (London, 1862), 8, 15.

65 *Une Visite du Fine Arts Club*, 26–29.

66 S(omerset) H(eritage) C(entre), DD/SH/59/296, WW/68/36a, Maria-Carolina to Waldegrave, 6 Jun. 1860.

67 AMA, J. C. Robinson Papers, file 48, Aumale to Robinson, 29 Mar. 1862.

cathedral in Bruges.<sup>68</sup> The press was unanimous in its praise for those who had shared their treasures for public instruction, even public 'idolatry'. What had taken decades of government activity in France to create at the Musée de Cluny had now been matched at South Kensington in record time, thanks to the 'public spirit of private individuals and public corporations'.<sup>69</sup>

Absent from the exhibition, though, much to the chagrin of the French committee, was the celebrated canvas *L'Assassinat du duc de Guise* (1834), painted by Paul Delaroche [Figure 8]. Aumale had acquired the work from the widow of his revered elder brother, Ferdinand, who had died in a freak carriage accident in 1842. It was well known across Europe through reproductive engravings, even if it had been exhibited only twice in Paris.<sup>70</sup> In 1854, just a year after acquiring it, Aumale lent it to a small display of French art in Pall Mall, where it was hailed as 'a work of art of the highest class'.<sup>71</sup> In October 1861 Prosper Mérimée had implored Panizzi to approach Aumale and ask whether he might be willing to submit the painting to the upcoming Special Loan Exhibition. On this occasion, the formality of submitting it to the Imperial Commission could be waived, thereby bypassing any deference to the Napoleonic regime. 'He would be rendering a service to the French school and to the memory of Paul Delaroche, and would give everyone pleasure.' Just as importantly, Mérimée believed his action would inspire other 'rich



**Figure 8:** Paul Delaroche *L'Assassinat du duc de Guise au château de Blois en 1588*, 57 x 98 cm (1834)@Musée Condé/Wikimedia. Delaroche's brutal scene from the French Wars of Religion had originally been owned by the duc d'Aumale's elder brother Ferdinand, before passing to his widow. The duc d'Aumale bought it in 1853 at the sale of Louis-Philippe's estate for the sum of 52,500 francs. It was hung in Orleans House before being relocated to Chantilly after the family returned to France in 1871. The death of his second son, François duc de Guise in 1872, heightened the pathos of the subject for Aumale.

68 *Catalogue of the Special Exhibition of Works of Art of the Medieval, Renaissance and More Recent Periods* (London, 1862), nos 990 (55), 1697, 1702–1703 (154–56), 7830 (687).

69 'The Loan Collection South Kensington,' *Illustrated London News*, 13 Dec. 1862.

70 S. Bann, "'The exact moment': representing history in Delaroche's Assassination of the duc de Guise' in *Representing the Past in the Art of the Long Nineteenth Century: Historicism, Postmodernism and Internationalism*, ed. M. Potter (London and New York, 2022), 70.

71 'The French exhibition,' *The Illustrated Magazine of Art*, 4.21 (1854), 200.



*amateurs* to follow his example.<sup>72</sup> Aumale was well aware of the potential publicity that would be generated by the loan, telling Panizzi:

Since the members of the French commission fear to address themselves directly to me, they could not have chosen a more agreeable intermediary. Despite my repugnance at loaning my paintings, I would be charmed, for this unique occasion, to allow to leave from Orléans House my Paul Delaroche. I only attach three conditions. 1. That the book indicates that the painting belongs to me and is loaned by me. 2. That the painting is not exposed to the light. 3 That it is neither cleaned, nor varnished, nor altered in any way without my permission.

The letter reveals his irritation that several of the paintings he had previously loaned had returned to him partly damaged, ‘which has strongly displeased me to put my paintings in circulation.’<sup>73</sup> Aware of how his collections could function as pawns in the wider ideological struggle, Aumale nonetheless declined the request, probably out of concern for the picture’s condition.<sup>74</sup>

Participation in such mass spectacles gave Aumale a visibility which often went far beyond the size of his donation. In 1865 an important display of over three thousand miniatures was arranged at the South Kensington Museum by Samuel Redgrave. Colnaghi sat on the organizing committee, and submissions poured in from the elite of British collectors such as Lord Spencer, the Duke of Buccleugh and the Duke of Shaftsbury. Aumale’s name appeared third in the list of donors, immediately after Queen Victoria and the Duke of Cambridge, despite the fact that he only loaned a modest fifteen objects (compared to the roughly one hundred miniatures he had mounted *chez lui* for the trusted visitors of the Fine Arts Club).<sup>75</sup> This discrepancy between the scale of the contribution and his billing in the catalogue suggests the deference shown to the duc by dint of his parentage and his eminence as an *amateur*. It was a sign of Aumale’s seniority that in the constitution of the Burlington Fine Arts Club propounded in January 1871, His Royal Highness stands head of the list. This was an honour very different from the merely honorary membership accorded to other European curators like Edmond du Sommerard, Émile Galichon and Frederick Lippmann.<sup>76</sup>

To appreciate why this public recognition mattered, we should recall that Aumale’s name was anathema under the Second Empire, and his supporters were officially silenced. In 1861 Aumale composed a *Lettre sur l’histoire de France*, a ringing defence of the legitimate French royal house (the Maison de France) in response to a slanderous speech by Napoleon III. Allegedly written in three days, the manuscript was smuggled into France by Aumale’s allies Édouard Bocher and the comte d’Haussonville, and printed in Saint-Germain for discreet circulation; according to one story an English ship volunteered to help disseminate it, too.<sup>77</sup> The inflammatory work was instantly outlawed, all copies were seized, and the publisher who dared to print it was prosecuted and ruined (but not before 20,000 copies had been sold in just five hours).<sup>78</sup> Meanwhile, Aumale’s text was discussed illicitly in Parisian salons, and generated a flurry of pamphlet rebuttals, which denounced the ‘occult council’ of Orléanists who had infiltrated France.<sup>79</sup> It was also poured over by British statesmen, too. ‘It is a masterpiece of composition,’ Disraeli asserted, ‘of

72 Mérimée to Panizzi, 19 Aug. 1861 (lxxix), in L. Fagan, ed., *Letters of Prosper Mérimée to Panizzi* (2 vols.) (London, 1881), i. 230.

73 BL, Ms 37621, Panizzi papers (17 vols.), vol. viii (383), Aumale to Panizzi [Oct. 1861].

74 See S. Bann, ‘Introduction,’ *Studies in the History of Art*, 77 (2011), 1–2.

75 N. Garnier-Pelle, ‘Historique des miniatures du musée Condé’ in *Les Miniatures du musée Condé à Chantilly: portraits des maisons royales et impériales de France et d’Europe*, eds N. Garnier-Pelle, N. Lemoine-Bouchard, B. Pappe (Paris, 2007), 36–37.

76 ‘The Burlington Fine Arts Club, 17 Saville Row—January 1871,’ Ashmolean Museum Archives, J. C. Robinson papers, file 25.

77 Daudet, *Le Duc*, 108.

78 Cazelles, *Le Duc*, 250, 254.

79 (Anon.), *La Brochure du duc d’Aumale* (Paris, 1861), 6.

trenchant sarcasm & incisive logic; not unworthy of Junius or even Pascal.<sup>80</sup> The rapid circulation of the pamphlet reminds us that physical things possessed a mobility that Aumale lacked, allowing his ideas to traverse the Channel.

In January 1862 Aumale discovered that his published inventory of Cardinal Mazarin's collections, with a print-run of only 150 copies, had been whittled down further by Interior Minister Persigny. He fumed to Panizzi:

I had sent half of them to France to offer to a few *curieux*, without the remotest appearance of secrecy, not supposing that it would cause the least difficulty. But the arrival of the package provoked a profound reaction among the officials at Boulougne. The Customs Inspector, the Inspector of Bookshops, the Sub-Prefect met together for advice; they consulted the Minister who brought back from England such a sincere taste for the freedom of the press, and the confiscation of the works of Mazarin was proclaimed. The name Boulougne by itself must have stirred memories in the Minister's heart, and he no doubt believed that he had achieved the Orléanist confiscation he had dreamed of for so long. What insight and what energy!<sup>81</sup>

A year later, at the Anatole Demidoff sale in Paris, Aumale purchased, via his agents, the late Ingres' work *Stratonice*, a pendant to Delaroche's *L'Assassinat du duc de Guise*. Both had formerly belonged to Ferdinand d'Orléans; when it was announced to the sale-room that Aumale was the buyer, the spectators erupted in applause.<sup>82</sup> Aumale was sufficiently proud of this coup that he invited Lady Waldegrave over to celebrate.<sup>83</sup> The publicity generated by the sale, however, prompted the imperial regime to confiscate the first volume of Aumale's history of the Condé princes, despite the author's avoidance of contemporary allusions within the text. 'I think you have read the correspondence from Paris in *The Times* yesterday', the duchesse d'Aumale wrote to Lady Waldegrave on 23 January 1863. 'The seizure of the Condé following the purchase of the *Stratonice* is truly indecent. I would have many things to tell you on your return.'<sup>84</sup> After much legal wrangling, the first volume of the *Histoire des princes de Condé* was only permitted to be reprinted in 1869, following the relaxation of censorship laws during the 'liberal Empire'.<sup>85</sup> As the paranoid police response demonstrates, art collecting had become embroiled in the politics of exile.

### III

In the closing section of his 1897 *Reminiscences*, Ferdinand de Rothschild justly observed: 'With the duc d'Aumale, collecting was not an ends but a means. His main idea was to illustrate by the articles he bought, the history of his country—which he loved—and of his House—of which he was justly proud.'<sup>86</sup> Associated in the past with towering figures like the Regent, Philippe II d'Orléans, collecting traditions within the House of Orléans had been renewed both by Aumale's father and by his beloved elder brother Ferdinand, an exceptional patron of the modern French school.<sup>87</sup> Shaped by such examples, Aumale's purchases possessed a recuperative dimension, seeking to win back for the family a small fraction of what had been lost to political turmoil.

80 Disraeli to Sarah Brydges Willyams, 17 May 1861, in M. Wiebe ed., *Benjamin Disraeli Letters VIII: 1860–1864* (Toronto, 2009), 112.

81 BL, Ms 36721, Panizzi papers (17 vols.), Vol. viii (460), Aumale to Panizzi, 5 Jan. 1862.

82 Cazelles, *Le Duc*, 208–09.

83 SHC, DD/SH/59/296, WW/68/199, Maria-Carolina to Waldegrave, 'Dimanche'.

84 SHC, DD/SH/59/296, WW/68/75, Maria-Carolina to Waldegrave, 23 Jan. 1863.

85 Cazelles, *Le Duc*, 181–82.

86 M. Hall, ed., 'Bric-à-brac: a Rothschild memoir of collecting,' *Apollo*, 166, no. 545 (2007), 66.

87 H. Robert and B. de Andia, *Le Mécénat du duc d'Orléans* (Paris, 1993).

Two particular dispersals haunted family memory. The first was the loss of superb Italian paintings from the Palais-Royal, sold by Philippe Égalité to a consortium of British collectors in order to finance his political ambitions during the French Revolution. The sale did nothing to stabilize his position, or prevent his death on the scaffold in 1793, but the transfer of the Orléans collection across the Channel has long been recognized as confirming the centrality of London to the modern art market.<sup>88</sup> Visitors from the Fine Arts Club to Orleans House in 1862 found noted in the catalogue those works which used to hang in the Palais-Royal before 1791: a Domenichino *Martyrdom of St Stephen* (wrongly attributed to Annibale Caracci), and a Veronese *Mars and Venus* (acquired from Nieuwenhuys in 1860).<sup>89</sup> This pair would be joined, at the end of the decade, by another former inhabitant of the Palais-Royal, the *Madonna of the House of Orleans* by Raphael, bought for 150,000 francs.<sup>90</sup> The second great dispersal was the shock of the 1848 Revolution, and the desperate battle to save what they could from the wreckage. After the king's death in 1850, parts of Louis-Philippe's collections had been auctioned off in Paris in 1851 and at Christie's in 1857, at which point Aumale bought back furniture and pictures that were hallowed by family memory.<sup>91</sup> For example, *Le Déjeuner d'huîtres* (1735) by Nicholas Lancret, a painting which in the eighteenth century had hung in the *petits appartements* of Versailles, before being confiscated under the Revolution and then reclaimed from the state by Louis-Philippe in 1817, was familiar to Aumale from his childhood. Whilst he was proud to have regained it, the duc regretted that he could no longer recall the names his father had assigned to the figures depicted.<sup>92</sup>

In Aumale's hands, the study of provenance, of who owned what, went beyond family piety to implicate wider heritage debates. He knew well the long-running lament among French antiquarians that revolutionary disorder in the early nineteenth century had allowed the country's riches to fall prey to rapacious foreigners, especially after Waterloo. Alexander Lenoir had grumbled about 'the gulf called England, where all our works of art now disappear', although this did not prevent him from selling to English collectors on the side.<sup>93</sup> French devotees of the Valois were painfully aware that they were obliged to share their passion with rivals across the Channel. The art historian and former curator at the Louvre, Léon de Laborde, took advantage of a trip to see the Great Exhibition to inventory French treasures now squirrelled away in London mansions—like that of Ralph Bernal—or English country piles. At Althorp and Castle Howard he scrutinized the French Renaissance portraits with wonder and resentment. On visiting Narford Hall, near Norfolk, Laborde reported in astonishment the quality of the sixteenth-century ceramics by Bernard de Palissy: 'I will even say that there is no private collection that can rival it, and that it can compete with the museums, even with the Louvre.'<sup>94</sup> Texts like Laborde's were a vital road map for Aumale as he set about hunting down these hidden, even exiled, objects, with a view to their ultimate repatriation.

The trajectory of one exceptional collection described by Laborde encapsulates the entangled histories of dispersal and restitution which structured the nineteenth-century collecting universe. This was the suite of portraits in various media which had been assembled by Alexandre Lenoir and displayed in the Musée des Monuments Français. Convinced of their artistic merit, with works by Clouet, Rigaud and Nattier, Lenoir published a catalogue of the portraits in 1809,

88 S. Avery-Quash and C. Huemer, eds, *London and the Emergence of a European Art Market, 1780–1820* (Los Angeles, 2019).

89 *Une Visite du Fine Arts Club*, 2, 5.

90 Garnier-Pelle, ed., *The Condé Museum at the Chateau de Chantilly: The Paintings Collection* (Paris, 2009), 68.

91 This includes the commode made by Jean-Henri Riesener in 1772/73, which is now in the prince's bedroom (OA 245).

92 Garnier-Pelle, ed., *The Condé Museum*, 202.

93 Cited in R. Hill, *Time's Witness: History in the Age of Romanticism* (London, 2021), 150.

94 L. de Laborde, *La Renaissance des arts à la cour de France: additions au tome premier* (Paris, 1853), 634.

illustrated with thirty engravings, dedicated to the Empress Joséphine.<sup>95</sup> With the break-up of the Musée des Monuments Français in 1817, Lenoir had tried, and failed, to sell the ensemble to the Cabinet du roi in 1822, and feared that they would ultimately have to be sold abroad. In 1838, a total of 217 portraits (sixty-nine paintings and 148 drawings) were acquired by the ubiquitous Dominic Colnaghi, who then sold them on to the Duke of Sutherland, ambassador to France and, incidentally, a major patron of Delaroche.<sup>96</sup> It was hence in the Sutherlands' palatial residence, Stafford House, near St James's Palace, where they were inspected by Laborde in 1850. He held Lenoir in the highest esteem as an authority on art, and judged the portrait series 'very curious, and it is very regrettable that the administration of Museums allowed them to leave France'.<sup>97</sup> Laborde's enthusiasm was shared by other French visitors to London judging by the reminiscences of the younger son of the Duke of Sutherland: 'How deeply interested such Frenchmen as Montalembert and Mérimée were when they saw these portraits in their London home!'<sup>98</sup>

Decades later, in 1874, this same younger son, the artist and bohemian Ronald Gower, published a folio edition of lithographs he had made after the Renaissance portraits. Demanding indulgence in the preface for his amateurish efforts as a copyist, Gower revelled in the romance of the sitters: 'we can, while looking on them, almost imagine we see defile before us all the pomp, and chivalry, and beauty of old France'.<sup>99</sup> In financial terms, the publication was a ruinous failure, and its historical reliability was shredded, as angry critics blamed Gower for uncritically reproducing the dubious attributions given by Lenoir himself.<sup>100</sup> But the volume's true purpose may have been commercially calculated. A solitary letter in the National Art Library from Colnaghi to Gower in June 1874 reads: 'The book on the Lenoir collection so long provisional has been promised by the publishers to appear next week, so I know at length I shall be able to fulfil my promise to you.' Had Gower promised to Colnaghi to lithograph the set so that the dealer might lure the duc d'Aumale into a purchase? If so, the gamble paid off. Having bought two copies of the folio publication, in May 1876, Aumale went on to acquire the entirety of the Lenoir collection at a price of 200,000 francs. He wrote to Lady Waldegrave in victorious mood: 'I told you I had bought from the duke of Sutherland those paintings and drawings that he had acquired from a famous French *curieux*, M. Lenoir. There are there some fine things and especially things interesting for me.'<sup>101</sup>

The timing was judicious. By this point, Aumale had been back in France for five full years, having returned with the rest of the Orléans clan following the downfall of the Second Empire and, with it, the abrogation of the 1848 laws of banishment. From 1871 onwards, the family regained some of their former chateaux and estates—such as Amboise and Eu—and most importantly Aumale regained Chantilly (which had been spared during the Franco-Prussian War due to its English tenants). Purchased at the same time as Daumet's renovation works on the chateau were well underway, the Lenoir portraits were acquired with this new home in mind. In 1876 Aumale inspected them in the company of the connoisseur Frédéric Reiset, and installed them in the Galerie de Psyche, located opposite the stained-glass panels salvaged from

95 A. Lenoir, *Musée des monuments français: recueil de portraits inédits des hommes et des femmes qui ont illustré la France sous différents règnes* (Paris, 1809).

96 A. Zvereva and N. Garnier-Pelle, *Le Cabinet des Clouet au château de Chantilly: Renaissance et portrait de cour en France* (Paris, 2011), 12.

97 Laborde, *La Renaissance*, 145.

98 R. Gower, *My Reminiscences*, 2 vols (London, 1883), ii, 68–69.

99 R. Gower, *Three Hundred French Portraits: Personages of the Courts of Francis I, Henry II and Francis II by Clouet, autolithographed from the originals at Castle Howard by Lord Ronald Gower*, 2 vols (London, 1875), i, ii.

100 H. Bouchot, *Les Portraits aux crayons des XVI<sup>e</sup> et XVII<sup>e</sup> siècles conservés à la Bibliothèque Nationale (1525–1646)* (Paris, 1884), 104–05.

101 SHC, DD/SH/59/295, WW/67/120, Aumale to Waldegrave, 1 Aug. 1876.



Écouen [Figure 9].<sup>102</sup> Having for decades claimed to be the true patriot of a country that did not recognize him, Aumale's cultural programme was now directed towards instructing his fellow French citizens. The Lenoir portraits were acclaimed by scholars as a central contribution to



**Figure 9:** *Cabinet des Clouet—vue de salle.* Musée Condé @RMN—Grand Palais/Adrien Didierjean. The Clouet room at Chantilly contains many sixteenth-century portraits of members of the Valois Court, as painted by Jean and François and Corneille de Lyon. These portraits had previously belonged to Alexandre Lenoir, the creator of the Musée des Monuments Français, and were acquired by the duc d'Aumale from the Duke of Sutherland in 1876.

102 CA, 4 PA 13, Agenda du duc d'Aumale, 25 Jun. 1876; Zvereva and Garnier-Pelle, *Le Cabinet*, 13.

the study of ‘national iconography’.<sup>103</sup> The decision to loan one masterpiece, Mignard’s likeness of the young Molière, to the section of the Trocadéro dedicated to historic portraiture at the 1878 Exposition Universelle was hailed as especially ‘moving’, because scholars had feared it was lost.<sup>104</sup> In Higonnet’s telling phrase, through such largesse Aumale managed to ‘recycle his noble privileges into nationalism’.<sup>105</sup>

In the 1860s Aumale had used the dynamism of the London market to embellish a princely residence on the banks of the Thames; in the 1870s, Aumale transferred and adapted these cultural strategies to the new terrain of the Third Republic. At this crucial juncture, Aumale rejoiced to socialize again with French scholars and collectors, whether through his 1871 election to the Académie française, or his appointment as prince-président of the Société des bibliophiles français (in these early years, many expected that Aumale would soon become president of the Third Republic, too). Similarly, the whole Orléans family continued to appreciate the publicity afforded by exhibitions, eager to loan to the patriotic, fundraising show for refugees from Alsace-Lorraine held at the Palais Bourbon in 1874.<sup>106</sup>

Most importantly, though, Aumale exploited his extensive London contacts with the aim of restoring lost treasures to France. In 1877, acting through Colnaghi, he supplemented Lenoir’s iconography with a set of 440 exquisite watercolours by Carmontelle depicting the entourage of the duc de Chartres (the young Philippe Égalité). The ensemble was acquired from a Scottish politician and collector, Major Lachlan Duff Gordon-Duff, known to Aumale during his Twickenham years.<sup>107</sup> At the Hamilton Palace sale in 1882, a high point in the craze for eighteenth-century French decorative arts, Aumale splurged £3,200 to acquire the unique, neo-Greek *bureau-cartonnier* made by Joseph Baumhauer and Cafféri for the famous Enlightened amateur Ange Laurent de La Live e Jully.<sup>108</sup> Seven years later, he acquired another block of 311 Clouet drawings through the intermediary of Colnaghi—a series that had been described by Lenoir, visited by Laborde at Castle Howard, and eventually lithographed by Gower.<sup>109</sup> Through such expenditure, Aumale was not just shopping for himself, or for his restored fantasy chateau, but on behalf of the country to which he had somewhat awkwardly returned. In January 1882, Albert Lenoir wrote to the duc:

Still full of memories of the ancient and modern riches that Your Highness has taken so much care to gather, so much art to classify, in his brilliant chateau of Chantilly, I take the liberty of writing to the patron of France the list that I have compiled, based on the notes that I possess of 132 portraits of famous men and women executed by Janet, Porbus, Corneille de Lyon, Nanteuil, Rigaud, Lenain, Drouais & Co, that Alexander Lenoir my father had amassed to build his personal collection.<sup>110</sup>

By self-consciously positioning himself as the heir to the first Lenoir, and many earlier projects of retrieval and restoration, Aumale strove to justify this homage to ‘le mécène de la France’.

103 L. Courajod, ‘Notice’, *Revue archéologique*, 33 (1877), 358.

104 P. Mantz, ‘Les Portraits historiques au Trocadéro’ in *L’Art ancien à l’exposition universelle de 1878*, ed. L. Gonse, 2 vols (Paris, 1879), ii, 424.

105 Higonnet, *A Museum*, 35.

106 Donors included the comte and comtesse de Paris, the duc de Chartres, the duc de Broglie and the comte d’Haussonville. ‘Loan exhibition for Alsace-Lorraine’, *The Saturday Review*, 15 Aug. 1874, 213.

107 Garnier-Pelle, *Trésors*, 107.

108 A. Forray-Carlier, *Le Mobilier du château de Chantilly* (Paris, 2010), 57–59 (OA 357).

109 On this transaction, Colnaghi Archives, Windmill Hill, C21–Coli/4/17.

110 CA, Na 37/6, A. Lenoir to Aumale, 25 Jan. 1882 (with thanks to Nicole Garnier).

## IV

The aim of this article has not been to offer a detailed inventory or analysis of the objects acquired by the duc d'Aumale. This has already been done to the highest standard by successive curators at Chantilly, most recently Nicole Garnier-Pelle. Rather, it has attempted to draw out from the collecting practices of the duc d'Aumale some of the interesting ways in which a history of France, as told through works of art, was put together by someone whose status as a Frenchman was in jeopardy, not simply because of the cosmopolitanism of his family, a problem he shared with much of the old nobility, but also because of explicit political prohibition. Understanding what is political about these collections offers a new way to think about collecting as a small act of cultural resistance. In the aftermath of 1848, the Orléans family realized the need to avoid any overt acts of plotting that might have compromised their position, especially considering that Napoleon III was a diplomatic ally of Queen Victoria. However, as Aumale asked in 1861, when faced with what he regarded as a libellous attack from the Emperor: 'this exile, has it made me lose the most natural right of all, that of defending my publicly insulted family, and with it, the past of France?'<sup>111</sup> If taking up the pen was one means of upholding familial honour, then tracking down objects linked to the glorious history of his ancestors, and his absent country, was another.

These 'storied' objects were, more specifically, works of art characterized by their rarity, price and exceptional execution. In collecting histories, the fine arts have always dominated discussion, a consequence of the hierarchies of value that continue to structure research. Although historians may feel uncomfortable, or unqualified, to pronounce on issues of quality, they tend to reproduce a story of 'masterpieces', since it is the origins and mobility of such high-status works of art that have been most extensively documented (and by extension, the lives of their high-status owners). Studying 'star' pieces in isolation threatens to obscure the connections across different kinds of collections—in other words, the intellectual agendas that animated the ensemble—as well as how the collector's passion initially developed through quite modest acquisitions, often beginning in childhood. Long before buying Raphaels, the exiled Aumale was collecting the autographs of Henri IV and Madame de Sévigné as 'pièces historiques'.<sup>112</sup> Everyday items can often be just as revealing about the urge to possess and touch pieces of the past; his first biographer claimed that along with the furniture, books and paintings sent over from Chantilly, it was military souvenirs, related to his own Algerian campaigns, and those of the Grand Condé, that constituted 'those glorious relics' which 'gave him at all times the illusion of the absent *patrie*'.<sup>113</sup> In analysing his purchases, it is hard to disentangle Aumale's response to beauty and craftsmanship from his belief in the invisible, and sacred, associations which tied an object to his dynasty and to France.

Though Aumale is a singular case, his methods underscore the political potential attendant upon the circulation, relocation and recuperation of works of art in a post-revolutionary context. Material culture was indispensable to the performance of regal bearing during the seemingly interminable years of forced residence in Britain. Through their possessions, whether displayed at home or lent to public exhibitions, the Orléans family advertized their Frenchness, advancing their cultural claims upon a country that did not legally recognize them as citizens. The duc d'Aumale's collecting passions provided a valuable means of integration into the British cultural elites in the 1850s and 1860s, whilst simultaneously allowing him to pose as a patriot winning back France's scattered patrimony. One journalist insisted that by 'his artistic discernment, by the choice of masterpieces exhibited in the galleries of Chantilly, he [Aumale] has

111 H. Orléans, *Lettre sur l'histoire de France* (Paris, 1861), 3.

112 Aumale to Cuvillier-Fleury, 10 Dec. 1854, *Correspondence du duc d'Aumale* (4 vols.), ii. 192–93.

113 Daudet, *Le Duc*, 95.

made a museum without precedent and without rival in Europe. In honouring the arts this way, he believed he was serving his country.<sup>114</sup> 'It is for France,' seconded Paillet, 'that he has resuscitated the château of Chantilly, that he has decorated it with an exquisite science, that he has filled it with artistic riches.'<sup>115</sup> At Orleans House, and then at Chantilly, he succeeded in reuniting a constellation of illustrious names and faces: a surrogate *patrie*, more beautiful and edifying than its modern, crisis-wracked descendant.

A palace fit for a sovereign, but in which no monarch would live, Chantilly housed collections that trumpeted the past glories of French civilization—and the contribution of the Orléans and Condé princes to it. Not simply a place haunted by death, visitors constantly remarked on how the elderly proprietor was rejuvenated through talking about his purchases. 'Those who knew the Duc d'Aumale at other people's houses never saw him at his best,' recalled English radical Charles Dilke, a frequent visitor to the Chantilly library in 1895 and 1896, 'for it was the treasures which he gathered round him in the home of the Condés which alone brought forth that biographic history in which he excelled.'<sup>116</sup> The vision of the past he enacted through collections was deliberately inclusive, juxtaposing rival traditions, and has rightly been called 'progressive'.<sup>117</sup> Mementos related to the ordeal of French royalists in the age of revolutions—such as the white flag of the *émigré* armies, under the command of the prince de Condé, or the relics related to that prince's son, the duc d'Enghien, killed by Napoleonic firing squad in 1804, co-exist with an emphatic belief in the tricolour, albeit flecked with fleur-de-lys, painted on a huge scale on the ceiling of the entrance hall in 1892 by Diogène Maillart in an allegory called *Espérance* [Figure 10].<sup>118</sup> Chantilly was conceived as the self-conscious climax, and terminus, of liberal monarchism in France.

However, this visible pledge of accommodation with the republican tradition did not blind Aumale to the dangers ahead. Chantilly remained a symbol of, and setting for, the resurgent royalist cause; in October 1885 it was sumptuously decorated to celebrate the marriage of Marie, daughter of the duc de Chartres, to Prince Waldemar of Denmark.<sup>119</sup> In deciding to ultimately donate the chateau and its contents to a learned society, Aumale told his brother Nemours that this was the best way to preserve the building from the scourge of 'dismantling (*démembrement*) and dispersion' that had befallen their father's collections and estates after 1848. The danger lay not just with the French taxation and inheritance system, but also any future confiscations which might be visited upon his nephew, the comte de Paris.<sup>120</sup> His words were prescient. In 1886 the anxious Republican government once again expelled the Orléans family from France, and stripped Aumale of his military rank; in retaliation, he publicly revealed that Chantilly was to be donated to the Institut de France. Louis Gonse commented at the time:

The heir of the Montmorency and the Condés replied with a chivalrous generosity to the policies of ostracism inflicted upon him. Such an example of magnanimity is uniquely fitting to comfort all those who put the love of the fatherland, and the respect for its past, above and beyond political interests.<sup>121</sup>

114 T. Froment, 'Le Duc d'Aumale', *Le Correspondant*, 25 May 1897.

115 Paillet, *Son Altesse*, 4.

116 C. Dilke, 'Memoir' in E. Dilke, *The Book of the Spiritual Life, with a Memoir of the Author by the Rt Hon Sir Charles Dilke* (London, 1905), 97.

117 M. Schumann, 'La Pensée politique du duc d'Aumale', *Revue des deux mondes* (Dec. 1986), 675–87.

118 Clinchamp, *Chantilly*, 171–72.

119 G. Poisson, *Les Orléans: une famille en quête d'un trône* (Paris, 1999), 316.

120 Cited in D. Paoli, *Fortunes et infortunes des princes d'Orléans (1848–1918)* (Paris, 2006), 281.

121 L. Gonse, 'Donation du domaine de Chantilly à l'Institut de France', *Chronique des arts et de la curiosité*, 9 Oct. 1886.





**Figure 10:** Diogène Ulysse Maillart, *L'Espérance*, exécuté pour le grand escalier du château de Chantilly (1892) (@RMN—Grand Palais (domaine du Chantilly)/René Gabriel Ojeda). In 1892 Diogène Maillart painted a patriotic allegory on the ceiling above the central staircase at Chantilly in which the figure of Hope holds the tricolour flag and gestures towards a shining star just out of reach.

Gonse's homage failed to grasp that 'political interests' had conditioned Aumale's collecting and calculations at every turn. But he was right to suggest that Chantilly's ultimate survival, via the Institut, owed everything to Aumale's conviction that the noble old France he believed in was now irrecoverable, and could survive only as a beautiful memorial.