4. Courts in exile: Bourbons, Bonapartes and Orléans in London, from George III to Edward VII

Philip Mansel

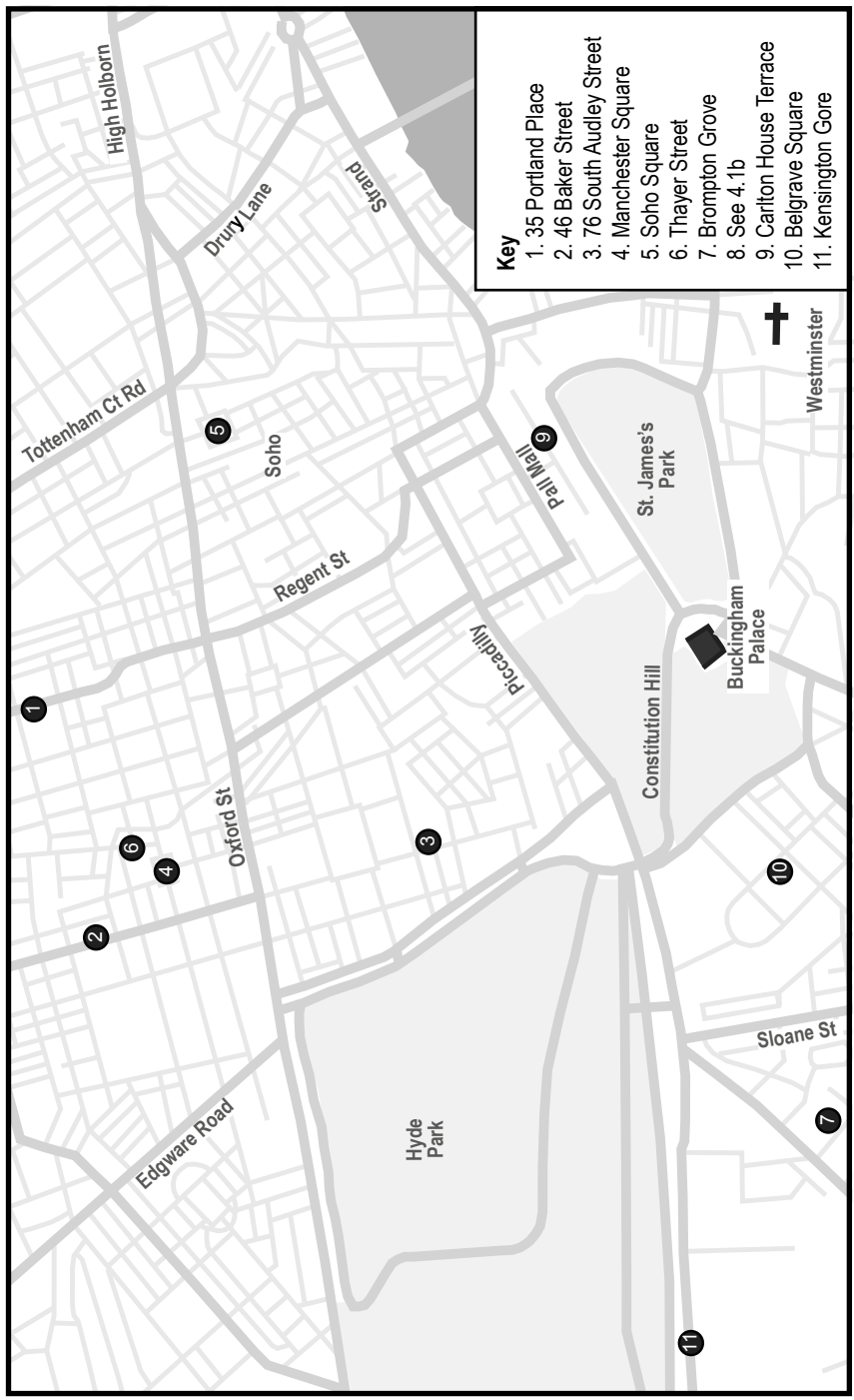
The history of French royal exiles in London confirms the exceptional intimacy of the bonds between London and Paris. French princes repeatedly chose to reside in London, rather than Brussels, Vienna or Rome. Far from being 'natural and necessary enemies', as Jeremy Black complained in a 1990 book, or the Channel being, in the words of David Starkey, 'wider than the Atlantic', from the late eighteenth century until 1919 French and British elites, and London and Paris in particular, were 'inextricably entangled'. There was an 'Anglo-French moment', almost as important as the 'Anglo-Dutch moment' in the seventeenth century.

London and Paris were the only cities in western Europe which shared proximity, a wealthy and cultivated nobility and commercial class, and status as royal capitals. They were bound to attract each other. Each became the natural model for, alternative to and refuge from the other. London provided the fascination of a parliamentary monarchy, a dynamic economy and a less rigorous (until the 1880s) censorship; Paris had the arts. France, the historian of English Francophilia Robin Eagles has written, was 'everywhere' in England, in food, manners, dress, entertainment and, especially, language. French was the second language of educated England, as of educated Europe.[1] Members of his cabinet had addressed George I in French. Horace Walpole, Edward Gibbon and William Beckford (and later Algernon Swinburne and Oscar Wilde) wrote in French as well as English.

The shuttle between London and Paris, interrupted by the Reformation, had resumed with the arrival in London in 1625 of Henrietta Maria and her enormous household and unpopular Catholic chapel.[2] Her illegitimate half-brother the duc de Vendôme, the duchesse de Chevreuse and others took refuge in London from Cardinal Richelieu's regime in Paris. Thirty years later the comte de Gramont enjoyed London and the court of Charles II so

[1] R. Eagles, *Francophilia in English Society* (2000), pp. 1, 9, 42, 48, 63, 67, 94.

[2] P. Cyprien de Gamaches, *Mémoires de la Mission des Capucins de la province de Paris près la reine d'Angleterre* (Paris, 1881), *passim*. I am grateful for this reference to Professor Edward Chaney.



Map 4.1a. Places mentioned in the text (Base map: London *c.*1850)

Map 4.1b. Places mentioned in the text outside central London (Base map: 2013)

much that he could hardly believe he had left France.[3] Other Frenchmen, such as the writer Charles de St.-Evremond in 1661, and Voltaire in 1726–8, also moved to London. By 1780 it was increasingly attractive to French people. It was the largest, richest and most modern city in Europe; it provided relative freedom; the journey took only thirty hours.

Philippe Egalité: the search for pleasure

Pleasure and freedom attracted the first French prince to live in London. Louis-Philippe Joseph d'Orléans, duc de Chartres, was so Anglophile that in 1779, although France and Britain were fighting the War of American Independence, he had imported an English orphan called Nancy Syms (later known as 'la belle Pamela', wife of Lord Edward Fitzgerald, leader of the Irish rebellion of 1798) to Paris to help teach his children English. As the war ended, he looked for what he called, in a letter to his agent Nathaniel Forth, 'a pied à terre which I want to have in London where I can arrive from Paris whenever it suits me and where I will not have to render an account of my conduct to anybody'. In 1782 he rented 35 Portland Place for 350 louis a year: London was the only city outside France in which a French prince had a residence.

Soon he was visiting London as easily as if he was arriving at one of his country estates, sometimes for as little as two weeks, choosing women 'selon les fantaisies du moment' ('according to the whims of the moment'), going to the races and visiting Brighton.[4] He often dined with the prince of Wales, a Francophile who employed French cooks and craftsmen at Carlton House, of whom Chartres's grandson would write 'I have never heard a foreigner speak such good French'.[5] Chartres was an 'enlightened' prince, who admired the House of Commons and considered, like many Frenchmen, that the British government represented 'the will of all' – a view more revealing of his opposition to French absolutism than of his grasp of British politics. London was popular with a growing number of Frenchmen, including visitors such as the duc de Fitzjames, the marquis de Conflans and the comte d'Avaray; Jean-Paul Marat (who worked there as a doctor and writer for a number of years); and the comte de Calonne, Louis XVI's finance minister, who took refuge there in August 1787, after his dismissal from office in April, to avoid prosecution in France.[6]

[3] A. Hamilton, *Count Gramont at the Court of Charles II*, ed. and trans. N. Deakin (1962), p. 10.

[4] A. Britsch, *La Jeunesse de Philippe Egalité* (Paris, 1926), pp. 393, 395, 399, 401.

[5] F.-P. duc d'Orléans, *Souvenirs 1810–30* (Geneva, 1993), p. 136.

[6] Letter of French ambassador, 20 May 1783 (E. Lever, *Philippe Egalité* (Paris, 1996), p. 213); R. Lacour-Gayet, *Calonne: financier, réformateur, contre-révolutionnaire, 1734–1802* (Paris, 1963), p. 247.

Chartres seemed as much at home at Brooks's as Charles James Fox. He soon acquired in London the same reputation as in Paris. In 1783 the prince of Wales, no prude, called him 'a great beast' and complained of the round of entertainments caused by the duke's 'large party of French, both men and women'. His face was so red that it was said he should have been called the duke of Burgundy. Nevertheless, in 1785 the prince commissioned his portrait for Carlton House, from Sir Joshua Reynolds.[7]

'Philippe Egalité', as the duc d'Orléans (his title since his father's death in 1785) was often called, returned to London for the last time in October 1789–July 1790. After his flagrant support for the Revolutions of July and October 1789, the French government sent him on an official mission, as it wanted him out of Paris. The French ambassador, the comte de La Luzerne, reported to the foreign minister: 'the conduct of the Duc d'Orléans is as feeble in London as in Paris. Wine, horses, women, gambling and Madame de Buffon [his principal mistress] appear to be his sole occupations'. He was said to be drunk every night.[8] He was executed in Paris in 1793, devoured by the Revolution he had encouraged. However, some of his possessions continued to move to London. The Orléans collection of pictures, the finest private collection in Europe, which he had sold to pay his debts, was re-sold in London between 1793 and 1799:[9] thanks to the French Revolution, the centre of the European art market had moved to the capital of Great Britain.[10]

[7] Lever, *Philippe Egalité*, pp. 214–15; Wales to duke of York, 27 May 1783 (*The Correspondence of George, Prince of Wales 1770–1812*, ed. A. Aspinall (8 vols., 1963), i. 107 and n.).

[8] Lever, *Philippe Egalité*, p. 384; letter of 21 May 1790 (R. Heron de Villefosse, *L'Anti-Versailles, ou, le Palais-Royal de Philippe Egalité* (Paris, 1974), p. 253).

[9] J. Stourton and C. Sebag-Montefiore, *The British as Art Collectors, from the Tudors to the Present* (2012), pp. 154–5.

[10] The Wallace Collection (in Hertford House, Manchester Square, London W1), 'is a national museum which displays the works of art collected in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries by the first four Marquesses of Hertford and Sir Richard Wallace, the son of the 4th Marquess and a French mother. It was bequeathed to the British nation by Sir Richard's widow, Lady Wallace, in 1897' (Wallace Collection website). Because of the successive collectors' residence in and appreciation of France, and the opportunities for collecting provided especially by the break-up of many continental collections during the French Revolution and the Napoleonic wars, the focus of the Wallace Collection is on French paintings, furniture and gilt bronzes, Sèvres and other French porcelain, and French objets d'art. In particular, the 4th marquess of Hertford, 'like his father … was attracted by the superb craftsmanship of eighteenth-century France, but he acquired a wider range of objects and on a far larger scale. He bought pictures by Jean-Antoine Watteau, Jean-Baptiste Greuze, François Boucher and Jean-Honoré Fragonard; many fine pieces of Sèvres porcelain; furniture by the greatest French cabinet-makers such as Antoine Gaudreau and Jean-Henri Riesener, as well as miniatures, gold boxes, tapestries and sculpture' (website, with first names added).

The comte d'Artois and the Bourbons: royal refugees

Pleasure had first attracted Orléans to London; seventeen years later politics brought his cousin, Louis XVI's reactionary youngest brother the comte d'Artois. The expansion of the French Republic after 1794 alarmed the British government more than the reign of terror after 1792. It began to believe in the restoration of the Bourbons as the best guarantee of the peace of Europe, and was rich enough to grant them and other French émigrés pensions. There was a geopolitical motive. The Bourbons were prepared to give up French conquests, including the key strategic area of the southern Netherlands and the great port of Antwerp, possession of which by France – as by Germany in 1914–18 – was believed to threaten British security.

In August 1799 the comte d'Artois arrived from Edinburgh – having made an arrangement with the creditors who had confined him to the protected precinct of Holyrood House – for consultations with the British government. The foreign secretary Lord Grenville, anti-Bourbon in 1793, by 1799 believed: 'Europe can never be restored to tranquillity but by the restoration of the monarchy in France'. Pitt himself declared in Parliament in January 1800: 'The restoration of the French monarchy … I consider as a most desirable object because I think it would afford the strongest and best security to this country and to Europe' – although it was never a sine qua non of peace.[11]

Artois settled at 46 Baker Street with a small household and a pension of £6,000 a year. In London he rediscovered friends whom he had known at Versailles before 1789. The Whig leaders the duke and duchess of Devonshire, for example, held a breakfast in his honour at their villa at Chiswick on 7 July 1800. The duke's mistress Lady Elizabeth Foster wrote in her diary:

> I was very much struck with his manner and deportment. He neither seeks nor avoids talking on public affairs and even of the misfortunes of his family and country, but when he does, it is with feeling for the past, patience and firmness in the present moment, some hope for the future, without violence or resentment against the present rulers of France. It is impossible to see him and not to feel both interest and admiration for him. The Duke attended him to his carriage and marked his civility to the exiled Prince beyond what he had done to the Prince of Wales.[12]

[11] P. Mackesy, *Statesmen at War: the Strategy of Overthrow 1798–9* (1974), p. 69; Sir C. Webster, *The Foreign Policy of Castlereagh* (2 vols., 1925–31), i. 234; cf. J. Ehrman, *The Younger Pitt: the Consuming Struggle* (Palo Alto, Calif., 1996), pp. 223, 230, 344n., 347.

[12] Norwich, Norfolk Record Office, Fellowes MSS., Lady Elizabeth Foster diary, 7 July 1800.

Other English friends whom Artois visited included the duke of Portland, Lady Salisbury and Lady Harrington. Madame de Boigne, one of many émigrés who spoke and felt both French and English, disapproved of Artois's politics but found his manners, at Lady Harrington's, so noble that, beside him, the prince of Wales seemed to be his caricature.[13]

In accordance with his royal rank, and his official status as a British protégé, until his return to France in 1814 Artois held a regular levée in his residence (he moved from 46 Baker Street to 76 South Audley Street in 1805) for émigrés and English friends.[14] He attended the small French Catholic chapel in Marylebone at what was then called Little King Street (later Carlton Street, demolished in 1978), one of eight French Catholic chapels established in London. Built by émigrés themselves, it had been consecrated by the archbishop of Aix, assisted by sixteen bishops, on 15 March 1799.[15]

In London Artois – despite appearing to English friends to be a 'dear, good-natured man'[16] – also plotted against Bonaparte. Even after most émigrés returned to France during the peace of Amiens in 1802, some remained in London and provided him with a pool of followers. From London he helped to organize assassination attempts on Bonaparte by Georges Cadoudal, the Polignac brothers and others, in 1800–2 and 1803–4.[17] Later he received and corresponded with the foreign secretary George Canning and his successor the Marquess Wellesley. Although no French Bourbon was allowed by the British government to fight in the Peninsular War, on 1 September 1808 Canning wrote: 'I am at Your Royal Highness's disposal, either tomorrow or Saturday, at any hour tomorrow and at any hour from twelve to five on Saturday which may best suit Your Royal Highness's convenience'.[18]

London remained the capital of French royalist propaganda, as it would be of Gaullist propaganda in 1940–4. Works first published in London,

[13] Comtesse de Boigne, *Mémoires de la Comtesse de Boigne* (2 vols., 1998), i. 132.

[14] Cf. AN, 224 AP IV, journal du comte de Broval, 28 Jan. 1812, 2 Nov. 1813; C. Knight, *Autobiography* (2 vols., 1863), i. 238.

[15] J. Yeowell, *The French Chapel Royal in London: a Brief History of the Chapel of St Louis, Carton Street, St Marylebone* (1958), *passim*.

[16] Letter to Lady G. Morpeth, 11 Oct. 1811 (Lady Granville, *Letters of Harriet Countess Granville 1810–45* (2 vols., 1894), i. 22). The same writer, however, also called him 'so made up of noise, thoughtlessness and nonsense that it is no wonder that compassion does not occur to me … when I hear of the miseries of French royalty' (letter of 7 Nov. 1808 to Countess Spencer (*Hary-O: the Letters of Lady Harriet Cavendish 1796–1809*, ed. G. L. Gower and I. Palmer (1940), p. 285)).

[17] V. W. Beach, *Charles X of France: his Life and Times* (Boulder, Colo., 1971), p. 112.

[18] Canning and Artois sometimes corresponded four or six times a month (see Leeds, West Yorkshire Archives, Harewood papers, Canning archives, HAR\GC\56, *passim*).

such as *Journal de ce qui s'est passé à la tour du Temple pendant la captivité de Louis XVI* (1798) by Jean-Baptiste Cléry, and *Dernières années du règne et de la vie de Louis XVI* (1806) by François Hue, went through many editions, both in French and English. The list of over 1,200 subscribers to the first edition of Cléry's book, printed in French in London, was headed by THE KING, THE QUEEN (so printed) and sixteen members of the British royal family. Newspapers such as the *Courrier de Londres* (1776–1826), the *Courrier d'Angleterre* (1805–1815) and *L'Ambigu* (1802–18), written by royalists like the comte de Montlosier, Pierre-Victor Malouet, Jean-Gabriel Peltier and others, were also published in London, and distributed in Europe.[19] The coteries of émigré writers and conspirators in London were sometimes called 'la république de Manchester', owing to their many disputes, and residence near Manchester Square.[20] The principal émigré publisher and bookseller, with an office in Soho Square, was a former Benedictine called A. B. Dulau: he helped to inspire François-René de Chateaubriand to write *Le Génie du Christianisme*.[21] London also contained at least two émigré painters, who painted the Bourbons and their followers in exile: Henri Pierre Danloux, who returned to Paris in 1801;[22] and François Huet Villiers, who became 'Miniature-Painter to Their Royal Highnesses the Duke and Duchess of York' in 1804, and stayed in London until his death in 1813.

The lure of British pensions, and Britain's safety from French invasions, soon drew more Bourbons to London. Artois's second son the duc de Berri arrived in 1802, after the dissolution in Russia of the army commanded by his cousin the prince de Condé, in which he had been serving. He too led a London life, living beside his father in Thayer Street and in Brompton Grove (now Ovington Square) with a mistress called Amy Brown, buying prints and pictures, and drawing pictures of himself in a carriage escorted by liveried footmen. His two illegitimate daughters by Amy Brown were baptized at the French chapel. He later called England, echoing Philippe Egalité twenty years earlier, 'that good country where one can think at one's ease and where I have been so happy'.[23]

[19] S. Burrows, *French Exile Journalism and European Politics 1792–1814* (2000), *passim*.

[20] Colonel de Guilhermy, *Papiers d'un émigré* (1886), pp. 154, 269.

[21] An 1812 book catalogue states: 'Families, Schools and Gentlemen applying to A. B. Dulau and Co. may be supplied with the best Masters of the dead and living languages'. The firm continued until the Second World War.

[22] Baron R. Portalis, *Le Peintre H.-P. Danloux et son journal durant l'émigration* (1910).

[23] Boigne, *Mémoires*, i. 131; M. Weiner, *The French Exiles 1789–1815* (1960), p. 175; A. Castelot, *Le Duc de Berri et son double mariage* (Paris, 1950), pp. 43, 61; P. Mansel, *Paris between Empires 1814–1852* (2001), p. 151.

In 1802 the prince de Condé himself arrived in London, where his son the duc de Bourbon had been living since 1796. Having early removed his fortune from France, he was able to live surrounded by French servants, in the Palladian mansion of Wanstead (now demolished) in Essex. 'His household is maintained and organized marvellously, it is still the household of a prince: it has dignity', wrote a royalist, Madame de Lage, in 1804.[24]

London's role as capital of French royalism was confirmed by the process of reconciliation between Artois and the sons of Philippe Egalité, Louis-Philippe, duc d'Orléans, and his brothers the duc de Montpensier and the comte de Beaujolais, who after 1789 had been Jacobins and after 1792 Republicans. They had arrived in England in January 1800. Artois insisted that Orléans's letter offering 'the homage of our fidelity and our devotion' to the head of the family, the exiled Louis XVIII, and expressing regret for 'culpable measures into which I was seduced', dated 13 February 1800, be at once shown not only to senior émigrés but also to the Russian ambassador and British ministers. Only *after* Orléans had written his submission to Louis XVIII did he receive a British pension, the honour of presentation to George III and Queen Charlotte, and the opportunity to meet, at dinner in Artois's house, Lord Grenville and the Austrian, Russian and Neapolitan ambassadors.[25] The Bourbons held the keys to Europe.

In June 1800 Orléans and his brothers rented Highshot House in Twickenham (now destroyed), thus beginning their family's long love-affair with this London suburb, which lasted until the death there of Orléans's descendant ex-king Manuel of Portugal in 1932. London, a British pension, and the exaltation of the struggle against the French Republic and Empire, weakened the boundaries of nationality. Far from being a patriot who refused to fight against his fatherland, as he later claimed, in London Louis-Philippe became half-British, and wholly counter-revolutionary. He called France 'a nation rotten internally and externally'; its government was a 'disgusting edifice'. He constantly proclaimed in letters to Canning his desire to fight for England against France: 'no one has more at heart than I the health and prosperity of England'. Until after the Hundred Days he would send copies of his letters to Louis XVIII to the British foreign secretary.[26]

Finally, Louis XVIII himself arrived from Russia in England in November 1807. His motives were: poverty; fear of Alexander I's pro-Napoleonic policies after the Treaty of Tilsit; and desire for direct discussions with the

[24] Letter of 20 Apr. 1804 (Madame de Reinach-Foussemagne, *Une Fidèle: la marquise de Lage de Volude, 1764–1842* (Paris, 1908), p. 235).

[25] E. Daudet, 'Une reconciliation de famille en 1800', *Revue des deux mondes*, xxix (16 Sept. 1905), 284–319, at pp. 293–5.

[26] G. Antonetti, *Louis-Philippe* (Paris, 1994), p. 347, 21 Aug. 1802, pp. 348, 373, 480.

British government and control over Artois and the French royalists in London.[27] He wrote to Canning that 'the salvation of Europe' should come from the 'union of George III and Louis XVIII', and to Wellesley that the interests of France and England were 'inseparable'.[28]

Orléans, however, considered him 'beyond all bearing' for not following the instructions of the British government to go to Edinburgh. In his turn Louis XVIII condemned Orléans for being 'tout à fait anglais' ('totally English'). The following year, partly owing to such disputes, Orléans left for Sicily.[29] Louis XVIII was obliged to live, first at Gosfield in Essex, then at Hartwell near Aylesbury. He failed to obtain formal recognition as king of France, the right to live in or near London, or the chance to meet British ministers. British governments did not want to compromise the possibility of making peace with Napoleon. He was, however, awarded a pension of £16,000 a year.[30] (In 1811 French royalists, including refugees from uprisings in Toulon and Corsica, were receiving a total of £154,752 a year from the British government, of which £45,500 went to members of the Bourbon dynasty.[31])

Funerals advertised London's role as the capital of French royalism. Requiem Masses were held in the French chapel for Condé's grandson the duc d'Enghien, kidnapped and shot on Bonaparte's orders in 1804 (partly in retaliation for the assassination attempts organized from London by Artois); and in 1807 for Louis-Philippe's brother the duc de Montpensier, and for the last confessor of Louis XVI the Abbé Edgeworth. On 26 November 1810 the exiled 'Queen of France' Marie-Josephine of Savoy, who had been living with her husband at Hartwell, was buried in the Henry VII chapel in Westminster Abbey (where Montpensier had been buried three years earlier). There was a five-hour service in the French chapel. The funeral oration (printed by R. Juigne and sold by Bernard Dulau at his shop in Soho Square) was preached by the Abbé de Bouvens: *Oraison funèbre de la très haute, très puissante et très excellente princesse, Marie-Josephine-Louise de Savoie, reine de France et de Navarre*. The service was attended by eleven French bishops and four ambassadors: of Spain, Portugal, Sardinia and Sicily.[32]

[27] P. Mansel, *Louis XVIII* (2005 edn.), pp. 137–9.

[28] P. Mansel, 'From exile to the throne: the Europeanization of Louis XVIII', in *Monarchy and Exile: the Politics of Legitimacy from Marie de Médicis to Wilhelm II*, ed. P. Mansel and T. Riotte (2011), pp. 181–213, at pp. 193, 200.

[29] AN, 300AP (Archives de la Maison de France) II 16, Orléans to Beaujolais, 21, 26 Dec. 1807; Antonetti, *Louis-Philippe*, p. 326.

[30] Mansel, *Louis XVIII*, p. 139.

[31] Enclosed in a note of Spencer Perceval to the regent, 13 May 1811 (Aspinall, *Correspondence of George, Prince of Wales*, vii. 344).

[32] See also the note on French Catholics in London at the end of the previous chapter.

The procession taking the coffin from the French chapel to Westminster Abbey revealed the Bourbons' popularity in London. It consisted of the hearse, drawn by six horses; two carriages for the queen's household; chevaliers de St. Louis and soldiers of the French royal gardes-du-corps on foot; 'four mourning coaches' containing the French princes; and ten coaches for 'the Foreign Nobility and ambassadors'. As a sign of respect the procession was followed by the state coaches of the prince of Wales and all his brothers; of the marquess of Buckingham and Marquess Wellesley; of the prime minister Spencer Perceval 'and all the ministers'; and of 'several English noblemen and gentlemen'.[33] In the abbey the choirs of the Chapel Royal, the abbey and St. Paul's Cathedral sang hymns. A total of 300 émigrés attended the service. Despite the cold and rain 'the populace without were very numerous'.[34]

Until the end of the nineteenth century one factor connecting all French royal exiles was, as this French royal funeral in a British royal chapel confirms, the friendship of the British royal family. Already in 1808 the prince of Wales had visited Louis XVIII at Wanstead House in Essex, gone down on one knee and sworn 'to restore him to the throne of his ancestors'.[35] This was his personal policy, which he never abandoned.

Seven months after the queen's funeral, on 19 June 1811, Louis XVIII and his family were the guests of honour at the fête for 3,000 in Carlton House by which the prince inaugurated his Regency. Louis XVIII had not only broken the ban on visiting London, he was given a military escort to go from South Audley Street, where he was staying, to Carlton House. The new regent welcomed him, in a room hung with fleurs de lis tapestries and a portrait of Louis XV, with the words – dynamite for an exile – 'Ici Votre Majesté est roi de France' ('here, Your Majesty is king of France'). The British government addressed him as 'M. le comte de l'Isle'; at court, however, he maintained his royal rank.[36]

As the presence of all the ministers' and all the princes' carriages at the funeral in 1810 showed, the Bourbons remained a British project. In 1811 Lord Fitzwilliam dedicated to Louis XVIII a pamphlet, in French, comparing Protestantism and Catholicism, saying 'it suffices not that your Majesty should be restored to France – it is necessary that France should

[33] *The Gentleman's Magazine*, lxxx (Nov. 1810), 502.

[34] AN, 224 AP IV, journal du comte de Broval, 27 Nov. 1810.

[35] Fellowes MSS., Lady Elizabeth Foster diary, 20 Oct. 1808, 5 Sept. 1818.

[36] Mansel, *Louis XVIII*, pp. 168–70; letter of 22 June 1811 to Mrs. Jackson (*The Bath Archives: a Further Selection from the Diaries and Letters of Sir George Jackson*, ed. Mrs G. Jackson (2 vols., 1873), i. 271); cf. F. Baron de Geramb, *Lettre à Sophie sur la fête donnée par le prince régent pour célébrer l'anniversaire de la naissance du Roi* (1811), *passim*.

be restored to your Majesty'.[37] Napoleon's defeat in Russia increased the Bourbons' chances. In London on 19 December 1812 and in early 1813, at secret meetings unknown to British historians, Louis XVIII's principal adviser the comte de Blacas promised the foreign secretary Lord Castlereagh that the king would support 'the present order of things'. (The meetings were kept secret to prevent denunciations of war-mongering by the government's enemies in Parliament, and the alienation of Britain's allies Russia, Prussia and Austria.) Louis XVIII had already begun to moderate his counter-revolutionary policies in 1800–5; but the British government pushed him further in this direction.

Declarations were the king's principal means of influencing French opinion and in the declaration of Hartwell of 1 March 1813, written with Castlereagh's help, he repeated the moderation of his 1805 declaration. It promised union, happiness, peace and 'repose'; the maintenance of 'le Code dit Napoleon' except in matters of religion, and of 'administrative and judicial bodies'; and guaranteed 'the freedom of the people'. Thereafter the British government and its agents abroad – without telling Britain's allies – provided the king with the financial means to print the declaration and to have it distributed by what Blacas called 'devoted servants who can inform the French of the king's intentions and the king of the dispositions of the interior'.[38]

The Entente Cordiale between Britain and France began in London. Already in August 1813 the British government suggested a Bourbon restoration.[39] As allied armies approached France's frontiers, and agents arrived with news of royalist activity, Artois had several meetings with Liverpool. According to his 'most secret' memorandum of 4 January, Liverpool 'urged the advantage of delay'. He demanded an 'actual rising' or the allies' consent. For once in his life relying on public opinion, Artois threatened to appeal to 'the whole world' if the British government would not give him and his sons passports to leave the country. Honour obliged them to answer 'the wishes of the French People'. At first Liverpool refused. On 17 January, however, due either to royal pressure, or to the course of the campaign in France, Liverpool accompanied the regent to call on Artois in South Audley Street.[40] On 22 January he and his sons Angoulême (who had

[37] R. Fitzwilliam, *Letters of Atticus, or Protestantism and Catholicism Considered in their Comparative Influence on Society* (1826 edn.), p. xiv.

[38] TNA, FO 27/91, note of 19 Dec. 1812; AN, 37 AP 1, Blacas to Bonnay, 17 March 1813; Archives privées, Louis XVIII to Blacas, 9, 19, 21 Feb. 1813.

[39] Webster, *Castlereagh*, i. 234.

[40] Liverpool to Castlereagh, 29, 30 Dec. 1813, 20 Jan. 1814 (Webster, *Castlereagh*, i. 510, 511, 516); BL, Additional MS. 38364 fos. 206–14, 'most secret' memorandum by Liverpool, 4 Jan.

been living at Hartwell with his uncle) and Berri set sail for the continent with British passports. They too, like Louis XVIII, had become more moderate on British soil.

On 25 January 1814, breaking British constitutional proprieties in the presence of Lord Liverpool (in order to demonstrate his ministers' approval), the regent summoned Count Lieven, the Russian ambassador, to Carlton House. He informed Lieven that peace with Napoleon – which Britain's allies were still considering – would only be a breathing space. His entire life was 'a series of bad faith, atrocity and ambition'. In the interests of European peace a restoration of the Bourbons, in whom the regent personally took 'a strong interest', should be proposed to the French nation.[41]

On this issue public opinion agreed with the regent: it was called 'insane' and 'nearly unanimous' in its opposition to peace with Napoleon.[42] The Bourbons' popularity came from their association with peace. On 24 March the royalist agent the comte de La Barthe, arriving with news of the declaration of the city of Bordeaux in favour of the Bourbons on 12 March 1814 – sparked by the arrival of the duc d'Angoulême and British and Portuguese troops – was escorted by a crowd to 10 Downing Street with shouts of: 'Bourbons for ever! God bless the Bourbons! No peace with Boney, with the invader!'[43]

London's enthusiasm for the Bourbons reached its zenith in April. On 7 April Louis XVIII was proclaimed in Paris. On 12 April the comte d'Artois made his official entry into the city; the only foreigners with him, as a sign of gratitude for British hospitality, were Lord Castlereagh and his mission.[44] In one moment, according to the marquis de La Maisonfort, author of a best-selling pro-Bourbon pamphlet printed in London, *Tableau de l'Europe* (1813), England was covered in white cockades; even the hackney coachmen in London wore them. A popular tune was called 'The white cockade'.[45]

At 3.00 p.m. on 20 April, after an attack of gout had immobilized him at Hartwell, Louis XVIII received a triumphant welcome in London. Sitting with the duchesse d'Angoulême, the prince de Condé and the regent in the regent's state coach, followed by a procession of carriages of British and French court officials, they were escorted from Stanmore, where the regent had gone to welcome the king, by the Royal Horse Guards, volunteers and

1814; Fellowes MSS., Lady Elizabeth Foster diary, 17 Jan. 1814.

[41] BL, Add. MS. 47245 fo. 107, Lieven to Nesselrode, 14/26 Jan. 1814 (secret).

[42] Webster, *Castlereagh*, i. 237–8 and n.

[43] L. de Contenson, 'Un agent royaliste en 1814', *Revue de Paris*, 15 July 1910, p. 320.

[44] C. Dupuis, *Le Ministère de Talleyrand en 1814* (2 vols., 1919), i. 221n.

[45] L. D. D. La Maisonfort, *Mémoires d'un agent royaliste: sous la révolution, l'empire et la restauration, 1763–1827* (Paris, 1998), p. 222.

Figure 4.1. Edward Bird, 'The departure of Louis XVIII from Dover, 24 April 1814'. Private collection, detail.

The king is embracing the prince regent, whose friendship, hospitality and support had helped lead to his restoration, before sailing to France on the British royal yacht, *The Royal Sovereign*.

nobles on horseback. All the British troops and noblemen wore French white cockades.[46] 'One mass of carriages', filled with spectators, stretched from Kilburn down Edgware Road and Park Lane to Piccadilly. They had been waiting four hours before the king arrived at about 4.00 p.m. White flags flew from every roof. Roofs, balconies and windows were filled with

[46] BL, Add. MS. 35160 fos 1–5, George Nayler, York Herald, 'An Account of the Entrance of His Most Christian Majesty Louis XVIII King of France and Navarre into London on 20 April 1814', 1814.

spectators.[47] As the procession reached Grillion's Hotel, 7 Albemarle Street, the crowd cheered; ladies waved handkerchiefs. Louis XVIII entered the hotel on the regent's arm.[48]

In the hotel ball room, in the presence of 150 French and English nobles, all the foreign ambassadors and the British cabinet, the regent offered his congratulations, in French: 'the triumph and joy with which Your Majesty will be received in your own capital can scarcely exceed the joy and satisfaction with which Your Majesty's restoration to the throne of his ancestors had been received in the capital of the whole British empire … May your Majesty long reign in peace, happiness and honour!' Louis XVIII expressed his 'gratitude and delight' and admiration for Britain: 'May its greatness and happiness be eternal!' Then, assisted by the prince de Condé and the duc de Bourbon, he invested the regent with his own Cross of the Order of the Holy Spirit, taken from his breast.[49]

For the next two days the charm offensive continued. Clearly the king and the regent were trying to inaugurate an era of peace between the two nations. At individual presentations, according to the writer Fanny Burney (wife of the émigré chevalier d'Arblay) 'the English, by express command of his Majesty, had always the preference and always took place of the French'.[50] At a special chapter in Carlton House on 21 April, Louis XVIII was invested by the regent with the Order of the Garter. The Corporation of the City of London, after offering its congratulations, expressed the hope that France and England would remain so 'indissolubly allied by the relations of amity and concord as to ensure and perpetuate to both, and to Europe at large, uninterrupted Peace and Repose'. Louis XVIII replied in English: 'neither myself nor my Family will ever forget the Asylum afforded us, nor the Stand which has been made against Tyranny by England, whose powerful aid has enabled my people to speak freely their sentiments of loyalty'. In a speech after dinner at Carlton House on 22 April 1814, he attributed 'the restoration of our house on the throne of its ancestors', after divine providence, 'to the counsels of Your Royal Highness, to this glorious country and to the steadfastness of its inhabitants'. On 23 April, having bidden a last farewell to the regent after dinner on board the royal yacht *The Royal Sovereign*, he sailed for France from Dover, with a loan of £100,000 from the British government to pay for his journey – preceded or followed by most of the

[47] Alexander d'Arblay to Monsieur d'Arblay, 22 April 1814 (F. Burney, *The Journals and Letters of Fanny Burney (Madame D'Arblay)* (8 vols., 1978), vii. 318).

[48] French exiles in London chose the best hotels: Grillion's Hotel was a direct ancestor of the Connaught Hotel, the London home of many Free French in 1940–4.

[49] *The European Magazine*, i (1814), 384–5.

[50] Journal, 22 Apr. 1814 (Burney, *Journals and Letters*, viii. 309).

French émigrés in London.[51] Lord Liverpool commented, on Louis XVIII's reception in London: ' I never saw so much enthusiasm in my life on any occasion'.[52]

The Bourbons left London physically, but not mentally. From the moment the king returned to Paris, British visitors could count on a warm welcome at court. Louis XVIII also blew them kisses in the street. Anglophilia became a factor in French politics. Reports of the king's pro-British speeches in London, and frequent consultations in Paris with the British ambassador the duke of Wellington, lost him some of his initial popularity.[53] Nevertheless, both Louis XVIII and Charles X (as Artois became on his brother's death in 1824) practised a pro-British foreign policy, remarkable in a country which had been fighting Britain for the last twenty years. At Navarino in 1827 the French and British navies co-operated for the first time since the reign of Louis XIV. A club dedicated to union between the two nations, called the Cercle de l'Union, was founded in Paris in 1828, under royal patronage, on the model of London clubs.[54]

Even after the restoration of their dynasty in Paris, however, London continued to attract some French princes. While 'all the world' was said to be in Paris, in 1815–17 Orléans rented a house later known as Orléans House, in 'dear old Twick', to show his disapproval of Louis XVIII's ultra-royalist ministry in Paris. Since he had recovered his fortune in France, it was grander than Highshot House, with a garden on the Thames. His wife, Marie-Amélie of Naples, found that London's lack of monuments made it more like a large village than one of the first cities in Europe, but praised what she called the tranquillity of Twickenham, 'far from the world and its intrigues'.[55] In reality her husband continued his own intrigues, printing *Extrait de mon journal du mois de mars 1815, à Twickenham de l'imprimerie de G. White*, which defends his own conduct and condemns Louis XVIII's.[56] Seven months after the king had appointed a more moderate ministry, on 9 April 1817, the Orléans left, needing ten carriages to convey them and their households back to Paris.[57]

[51] BL, Add. MS. 35160 fos 6–7; Mansel, *Paris between Empires*, p. 54.

[52] Liverpool to Castlereagh, 26 Apr. 1814 (Webster, *Castlereagh*, i. 538).

[53] Mansel, *Paris between Empires*, pp. 54, 58–9.

[54] Mansel, *Paris between Empires*, p. 157.

[55] Marie-Amélie, *Journal de Marie-Amélie, reine des Français, 1800–66* (1981 edn.), p. 215, 25 March 1815, p. 218, p. 227, 31 Dec. 1815.

[56] L.-P. d'Orléans, *Extrait de mon journal du mois de mars 1815* (Twickenham, 1816).

[57] T. H. R. Cashmore, *The Orléans Family in Twickenham 1800–1932* (2nd edn., Richmond, 1989), p. 6.

The son of the prince de Condé, the duc de Bourbon, 'enslaved' by his English mistress Sophie Dawes, refused his father's pleas to return to Paris and stayed in London until Condé's death in 1818.[58] Orléans and Bourbon were not exiles, but French princes who, for political or personal reasons, preferred (like Philippe Egalité in 1782–90) London to Paris.[59]

After he ascended the throne in 1830, Louis-Philippe continued his cousins' Anglophile policies. It was said that an English accent was enough to ensure a welcome at court. He continued to consult the British ambassador on policy. His refusal to go to war against Britain in 1840 lost him popularity in France and may have contributed to his overthrow in 1848.[60]

Louis-Napoléon and the Bonapartes: imperial pretenders

Some Bonapartes, like their enemies the Bourbons, also became Londoners and Anglophiles in this period. Despite their leadership of France's war against Britain in 1803–14 and 1815, the Bonapartes in London show a pattern of liberty, fraternity, opportunity – and love affairs – similar to the Bourbons and Orléans. London weakened national boundaries for Louis-Napoléon as well as for Louis XVIII and Louis-Philippe.

Joseph Bonaparte, Lucien Bonaparte and Achille Murat arrived in London in 1831, sensing the weakness of the July Monarchy in France. The first two stayed until 1837 and sometimes attended the French chapel (which in 1823 the French ambassador Prince Jules de Polignac had raised to the status of a royal chapel under the grand almoner of France). Louis-Napoléon, the future Napoleon III, came in 1831 and returned in 1838. After 1838 his uncles and father lived as exiles in Florence or Rome, far from the public gaze. In London, a convenient observation post for France, and a symbol of modernity, Louis-Napoléon lived as a dynastic pretender. He felt safer there than in his previous residence, Switzerland, which had expelled him at the request of the French government in 1837.[61] He entertained notables like Benjamin Disraeli and Edward Bulwer Lytton in a house he leased in Carlton House Terrace, and went to see French plays performed at the St. James's theatre. He admired the moral and material conquests of England and planned to unite France and England through their interests.

At the same time he was planning a Bonaparte restoration. His political programme, and determination to reduce pauperism, were outlined in his own *Des Idées Napoléoniennes* (1839) and in *Lettres de Londres* (1840), written

[58] Mansel, *Paris between Empires*, p. 151.
[59] Marie-Amélie, *Journal*, pp. 232–3, 17 July 1817, p. 241, 8 Apr. 1817.
[60] Mansel, *Paris between Empires*, pp. 269, 364.
[61] A. Dansette, *Louis-Napoléon à la conquête du pouvoir* (Paris, 1961), p. 137.

by his follower the duc de Persigny: a propaganda work which stresses his ideas, the 'seductive distinction' of his manners, and the number of his British friends.[62] It was with rifles and uniforms bought in London that he sailed in 1840 to launch a doomed coup at Boulogne. Thus London was a spring-board for Bonapartist plots in 1838–40, as it had been for royalist plots in 1799–1814.[63]

In 1843–4 London was also used as a political base by the legitimist pretender the comte de Chambord, grandson of Charles X (the former comte d'Artois). Renting a house in Belgrave Square, he then toured the factories of the Midlands as well as a large number of sympathetic country houses. About 2,000 French royalists, including the aged Chateaubriand, came to acclaim him in London and to hear him promise to defend 'les libertés nationales'.[64]

Louis-Napoléon lived in London again, after his escape from prison in France, in 1846–8. He visited the Anglo-French salon of Lady Blessington and the comte d'Orsay in Kensington Gore, went to parties and country houses, joined the Army and Navy Club and acted as a special constable during Chartist scares in 1848.[65] It was from London that he left for Paris on 24 September 1848, partly financed by Miss Howard, a beautiful English courtesan with whom he had been living in Berkeley Street.[66] He took with him plans for modernizing Paris, in part inspired by his years in London.

After the proclamation of the Empire in 1852, his Anglophilia helped to create the Crimean alliance which united Britain and France in war against Russia in 1854–6. His state visit to London and Windsor during that war, in April 1855, was a triumph, with more ovations than Louis XVIII had received in April 1814. In a speech in English to the Corporation of London in the Guildhall on 19 April, asserting the 'sentiments of sympathy and esteem' which he retained since his exile in London, Napoleon III said he represented 'a nation whose interests are today everywhere identical with your own (immense cheering) … England and France are naturally united on all the great questions of politics and of human progress which agitate the world … I see in the moral as in the political world for our two nations but one course and one end (loud cheers)'. When they went to the opera, Queen Victoria wrote in her journal: 'never did I see such crowds at night, all in the highest good humour … cheering and pressing near the carriage'.[67]

[62] See, e.g., J. Barnes, *Lettres de Londres* (Paris, 1840), p. 53.
[63] I. Guest, *Napoleon III in England* (1952), pp. 20, 49, 56, 65, 75, 155.
[64] D. de Montplaisir, *Le Comte de Chambord, dernier roi de France* (Paris, 2008), pp. 203–4.
[65] Dansette, *Louis-Napoléon*, pp. 140, 214; Guest, *Napoleon III*, p. 67.
[66] S. A. Maurois, *Miss Howard and the Emperor* (1957), pp. 42–3, 46.
[67] Guest, *Napoleon III*, pp. 124, 126.

In March 1871 he returned to England in very different circumstances, after six months as a prisoner following defeat in the Franco-Prussian War. He insisted on living in England, rather than Switzerland or Italy, because of its freedom. Despite relative poverty, the grandest of all French exiled courts in England gathered around him at Camden Place in Chislehurst (then in Kent, now in south-east London), where the Empress Eugénie and their son the prince imperial had been residing since September 1870. It included his grand chamberlain the duc de Bassano, his cousins the duc and duchesse de Mouchy and the ex-minister Eugène Rouher (who founded a Bonapartist newspaper, *La Situation*, in London), as well as aides-de-camp, chamberlains and about twenty-five servants.[68]

Queen Victoria had come to like Napoleon III for his 'constant kindness', and for being a 'faithful ally'. She visited Chislehurst several times: 'the poor Empress looked so lovely in her simple black', she wrote in her diary. There were other English and French visitors after Sunday Mass. In 1872 there was a New Year reception.[69] From Chislehurst the emperor directed the Bonapartist party and press in France until his death in January 1873.[70] During the lying-in-state there was a 'great and pressing crowd at the gates'. His funeral at St. Mary's church on 15 January was a Franco-British occasion, attended by about 30,000 people, from both countries, including senators, marshals Canrobert and Leboeuf, workers, members of the Bonaparte dynasty and the prince of Wales. The British lord chamberlain Lord Sydney and the French grand chamberlain the duc de Bassano were both in attendance. The prince imperial was 'vociferously cheered along the line of route', by cries of 'Vive l'Empéreur!' 'Vive Napoléon IV!' 'Vive la France!' and 'Vive l'Angleterre!'[71] For *The Graphic* it was proof that 'imperialism is still a living creed': 'tout peut se rétablir' ('everything can be re-established').[72]

The prince imperial – 'Napoleon IV' – held rallies at Chislehurst, on St. Napoleon's Day, 15 August, and on his eighteenth birthday on 16 March 1874. Thousands came. Chislehurst briefly resembled a suburb of Paris.[73] He studied at King's College London and the Royal Military Academy Woolwich, and made speeches praising 'the friendship which now united England and France'.

[68] L. Girard, *Napoléon III* (Paris, 1986), p. 497; R. Schnerb, *Rouher et le Second Empire* (Paris, 1949), p. 287; H. Kurtz, *The Empress Eugénie, 1826–1920* (1964), pp. 255, 256.

[69] Guest, *Napoleon III*, pp. 167, 173, 177; Kurtz, *Empress Eugénie*, p. 275.

[70] See, e.g., the letters of 10 June and 6 Aug. 1871 to Eugène Rouher about forthcoming elections, sold by Nouveau Drouot, 6 March 1987.

[71] *Illustrated London News*, 25 Jan. 1873, pp. 81, 88, 90.

[72] Girard, *Napoléon III*, p. 501; *The Graphic*, 25 Jan. 1873.

[73] Kurtz, *Empress Eugénie*, p. 280.

Anglophilia, however, helped to kill him. Driven by accusations that his father had been a coward, and by a desire for military fame, he volunteered for the British army, writing 'I could not be satisfied to remain aloof from the fatigues and perils of that army in which I have so many comrades'. He was killed on 20 June 1879 in the first Zulu War.[74]

His funeral at Chislehurst on 12 July was the last ceremony of the Second Empire. The Bonaparte family, 'the great officers of the Imperial Crown' and many other court officials were in attendance. Many British came, because of his popularity and his tragic death fighting in the British army. Queen Victoria herself attended – an honour she extended to few of her own subjects – as did senior army officers, 200 cadets of the Royal Artillery, the prince of Wales and the crown prince of Sweden. Thirty-two special trains ran, bringing about 30,000 people in all, according to the *Illustrated London News*.[75] In her letter of condolence the queen told the empress that her son was 'loved and respected by all'.[76] His heirs, his cousins Prince Napoleon and Prince Victor Napoleon, were not. Bonapartism as a political force was finished.

Two monuments to the last Napoleons survive in England. One is St. Michael's Abbey, Farnborough, a grandiose domed basilica in 'flamboyant' French neo-gothic, decorated with Bonaparte bees and eagles and housing the tombs of Napoleon III, his wife and son. The basilica and adjoining monastery were erected by Gabriel Destailleur on the orders of the Empress Eugénie beside Farnborough Hill, her residence from 1883. The abbey's construction had been the motive for her move from Chislehurst, where she lacked space and local support: proximity to Windsor must have been another attraction. Until her own funeral there in 1920, in the presence of George V and Queen Mary, and the king and queen of Spain, she made Farnborough Abbey a living museum of the First and Second Empires, filled with Napoleonic portraits, sculpture and memorabilia. Her household was French, but her servants (around thirty in all) mainly English. Annual memorial Masses in honour of Napoleon I, Napoleon III, the empress and their son are said there by the Benedictine monks to this day.[77] The second monument is the memorial effigy of the prince imperial, erected at the suggestion of Queen Victoria in St. George's chapel, Windsor – another

[74] Kurtz, *Empress Eugénie*, p. 298; A. Filon, *Memoirs of the Prince Imperial, 1856–79* (1913), pp. 111, 165, 167.

[75] *Illustrated London News*, 16 July 1879, p. 27.

[76] Kurtz, *Empress Eugénie*, pp. 310–12.

[77] A. McQueen, *Empress Eugénie and the Arts: Politics and Visual Culture in the 19th Century* (Farnham, 2011), pp. 296–307; and W. Smith, *The Empress Eugénie and Farnborough* (Winchester, 2001), *passim*.

sign, like Montpensier's tomb in Westminster Abbey, of the friendship between the French and British monarchies.[78]

The House of Orléans: permanent exiles

After 1789–90, 1800–8 and 1815–17, London was again the residence of the Orléans, from 1848 to 1871 and 1886 to 1906. Four Coburg-Orléans marriages – a shared programme of constitutional monarchy embodied in the Quadruple Alliance of 1834 – and exchanges of visits in the 1840s, had made the Orléans and the British royal family cousins, allies and friends. Naturally Louis-Philippe and his family chose England as their refuge after the revolution of 1848 in France. As 'comte de Neuilly', he asked the queen for the hospitality he had once enjoyed as duc d'Orléans.[79]

The queen lent Louis-Philippe and his wife Claremont House in Surrey, the large Palladian mansion which had been bought for Princess Charlotte and Prince Leopold on their marriage in 1816. Visits between the two royal families were frequent.[80] Soon Claremont, like Hartwell during the residence of Louis XVIII, was full from the cellars to the attic. The king's youngest son the duc d'Aumale described the Orléans as 'fort calmes, fort tristes, fort pauvres' ('very calm, very sad, and very poor').[81] Although the king gave up hope of return to France, saying that all respect had died there, he was visited by many French politicians including the duc de Broglie, François Guizot and Narcisse-Achille de Salvandy.[82] There were painful discussions with his sons over the revolution of 1848. They blamed it on their father's refusal to reform. He complained: 'Qu'ai je fait pour être si dépopularisé?' ('What have I done to become so unpopular?').[83] On 20 July 1850 he attended the first communion of his grandson and heir, the comte de Paris, in the French chapel royal in London. He died on 26 August. His funeral, organized by his aides-de-camp and family at the Catholic church of St. Charles Borromeo, Weybridge, was attended by about 200 people including the ambassadors of Portugal, Naples, Spain and Brazil, and some of his favourite artists like Eugène Lami and Ary Scheffer.[84]

[78] Kurtz, *Empress Eugénie*, pp. 323–4, 354.

[79] For the queen's sympathy, see extracts from her diary for Feb. and March 1848, in J. Duhamel, *Louis-Philippe et la première entente cordiale* (Paris, 1951), pp. 347–58.

[80] See the letters in *The Letters of Queen Victoria: a Selection from Her Majesty's Correspondence between the Years 1837 and 1861*, ed. A. C. Benson and Viscount Esher (3 vols., 1908), ii. 160–5.

[81] Aumale to Cuvillier-Fleury, 30 June 1848, Atthalin to Mme. Atthalin, March 1850 (A. Teyssier, *Les Enfants de Louis-Philippe et la France* (Paris, 2006), pp. 195, 202).

[82] Antonetti, *Louis-Philippe*, p. 933.

[83] Marie-Amélie, *Journal*, p. 545.

[84] D. Paoli, *Fortunes et infortunes des princes d'Orléans* (Paris, 2006), pp. 32, 54.

Thereafter the widowed Queen Marie-Amélie continued to live at Claremont, a guest of the queen, with members of her family; they founded the Claremont Harriers for hunting. Devoted courtiers such as Raoul de Montmorency, Anatole de Montesquieu and Comtesse Mollien came from France. She disliked what she called the 'atmosphère lourde et énervante' ('heavy and irritating atmosphere') of England, and spent much of her time writing letters.[85]

The rest of her family and their households settled nearby in Richmond and Twickenham. They became the court suburb of the Orléans, as Chislehurst would be of the Bonapartes. East Sheen and later Bushey House near Hampton Court, again lent by Queen Victoria, were used by the duc and duchesse de Nemours; Mount Lebanon House in Richmond by the prince and princesse de Joinville; and the widowed duchesse d'Orléans lived in Cambourne Lodge in Richmond. All were accompanied by French servants and courtiers.[86] In time the housheolds became less French. According to the 1861 census only one of the duc d'Aumale's twenty-three servants was English; in 1871 he had eight English servants. Rosa Lewis, later famous as owner of the Cavendish Hotel, began as a kitchenmaid in the household of Aumale's nephew the comte de Paris.[87]

Aumale was the richest of the Orléans princes, thanks to the intrigues of his father and Sophie Dawes, who had combined to persuade the duc de Bourbon to leave Aumale most of his fortune. In 1852 he bought Orléans House, where his parents had lived in 1815–17. He gave fêtes there to benefit the French Société de Bienfaisance of London, and until his death in 1897 was president of the Twickenham Rowing Club. A celebrated bibliophile, he began to collect in London some of the treasures now on display in France in his château of Chantilly, including the *Très riches heures du duc de Berri* and the 'Orléans Madonna' by Raphael.[88] One purpose was to assert the grandeur of his dynasty and remind the outside world of its existence. He added a library and picture gallery to Orléans House and also subsidized sympathetic newspapers in France. For him, however, as he wrote, 'nothing can replace the absent fatherland'.[89]

Most of the Orléans spent every evening together, in one of their houses in Richmond or at Claremont, in 'une intimité complète' ('complete

[85] M. A. Trognon, *Vie de Marie-Amélie* (Paris, 1871), pp. 342, 348, 368.

[86] Paoli, *Fortunes et infortunes*, p. 97; R. Bazin, *Le Duc de Nemours* (Paris, 1903), pp. 313, 330, 336, 376, 335; and see Cashmore, *Orléans Family*, *passim*.

[87] Cashmore, *Orleans Family*, pp. 12, 23.

[88] 'Orléans House: a history' (2008) <http://www.richmond.gov.uk/home/leisure_and_culture/arts/orleans_house_gallery/orleans_house_-_a_history.htm> [accessed 6 Nov. 2012].

[89] R. Cazelles, *Le Duc d'Aumale* (Paris, 1984), p. 289.

intimacy').[90] Perhaps because of the unpopularity of their father's Anglophilia in France, the rise of exclusive nationalism after 1850, or the self-sufficiency of large families, they lived in a French ghetto: 'Claremont was entirely French', wrote one of their courtiers. They did not interact with the English as easily as the Bourbons, the Bonapartes or Louis-Philippe himself. Aumale's neighbour, adviser and friend was a political hostess – 'dearest Frances' – Lady Waldegrave, chatelaine of Strawberry Hill. She helped to win him support in the London press.[91] However, she admired Napoleon III and the prince imperial, in part for their love of England: 'the Orléans princes have never had the pluck to take the same line', she complained in 1879.[92]

Marriages and funerals, for which hundreds specially crossed the Channel, helped the Orléans to remind France of their existence. The duchesse d'Orléans's sons the duc de Chartres and the comte de Paris were married – in both cases to first cousins, daughters of the prince de Joinville and the duc de Montpensier – in St. Raphael's church, Kingston, in 1863 and 1864 respectively: Marie-Amélie was cheered by spectators at the latter wedding, which was also attended by the prince and princess of Wales.[93] Thereafter, to the delight of the local tradesmen, the young couples settled in Morgan House, Ham and York House, Richmond (now Richmond Chamber of Commerce, the only Orléans residence in the borough which has not been demolished), respectively. On 24 August 1864 – the day before the feast of St. Louis – the comte and comtesse de Paris made a grand entry into their new residence: the vicar read an address of welcome. There were flags, music, cheering school-children, games, illuminations and fireworks.[94]

The funeral of Marie-Amélie on 3 April 1866 was far better attended than that of Louis-Philippe in 1850 – a sign of the respect which she inspired and of her close relationship to the royal families of Europe. Like that of Marie-Josephine in 1810, it was an act of defiance against the regime in Paris. It was attended by the general staff of Orleanism – Adolphe Thiers, Guizot, Charles de Rémusat and Tanneguy Duchâtel in the same carriage; the marquis d'Harcourt, the comte d'Haussonville, the journalists Saint-Marc Girardin and Lucien-Anatole Prevost-Paradol – as well as by her

[90] Marquise d'Harcourt, *Madame la duchesse d'Orléans* (Paris, 1859), p. 200.

[91] O. W. Hewett, *Strawberry Fair: a Biography of Frances, Countess Waldegrave 1821–79* (1956), pp. 236, 250.

[92] Hewett, *Strawberry Fair*, pp. 257, 265.

[93] Marquis de Flers, *Le Comte de Paris* (Paris, 1889), pp. 120, 123; <http://www.richmond.gov.uk/local_history_french_royal_residencies.pdf> [accessed 6 Nov. 2012]; Marie-Amélie, *Journal*, p. 579.

[94] Cashmore, *Orléans Family*, p. 20.

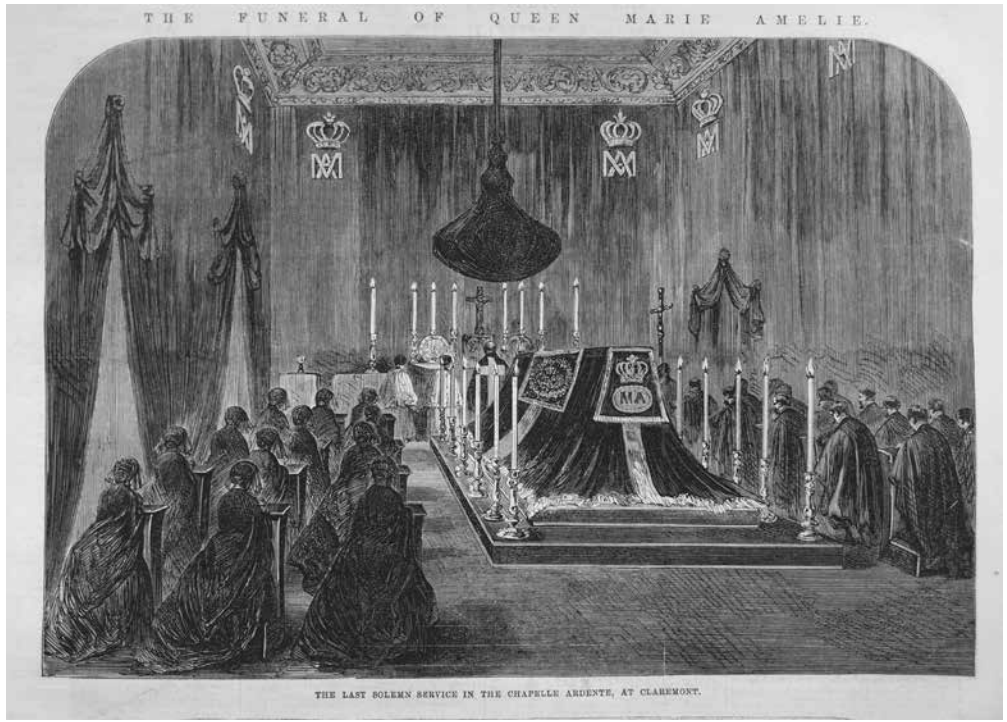


Figure 4.2. 'The chapelle ardente of Marie Amelie in Claremont House, Surrey, April 1866'. *Illustrated London News*, 14 April 1866, private collection.

Queen Marie-Amélie had lived in Claremont House as a guest of Queen Victoria, since her flight from France in 1848. From basement to attic the house was filled with her relations and courtiers.

grandson the king of the Belgians, the prince of Wales, her own family, and the ambassadors or ministers of Austria, Prussia, Bavaria, Belgium, Italy, Portugal, Saxony, Spain, Brazil and Mexico. A total of 150 carriages followed the procession, which was watched by all of Esher. The queen was buried in the dress she had worn when fleeing France in 1848.[95]

The Orléans returned to France when the laws of exile were repealed by Thiers's government in 1871. Incredibly, they were passing through the corridor connecting Dover station and the Lord Warden Hotel, on 20 March, at exactly the moment that the ex-Emperor Napoleon III arrived there from his prison in Germany. The Empress Eugénie curtsied. The men passed by without a word, merely raising their hats.[96] One exiled French court was going to London; another was leaving it. Aumale and Nemours, however, may have kept properties in England – not sure if they would have to return.[97]

Particularly after the deaths of the prince imperial in 1879 and of the legitimist claimant the comte de Chambord in 1883, the chances of the comte de Paris, whom French monarchists called Philippe VII, increased. He seemed moderate and reliable; the Third Republic appeared unstable and divided. In the elections of 1885 the right did well. On 14 May 1886 in the Hôtel de Matignon, rue de Varenne, he gave a lavish reception for 4,000 people – ambassadors, nobles and 'the elite of the world of science, the arts, literature and the magistrature', in honour of the wedding of his daughter Amélie to the duke of Braganza, heir to the throne of Portugal.

Republican authorities were offended. They had not been invited: moreover their carriages could not get through the streets to reach the Chamber of Deputies in time for a parliamentary debate. *Le Temps* claimed that there were two governments in France, republican and royalist: 'the pretender acting openly as a king has constituted around himself a veritable court'. A law was passed on 11 June exiling all heads of dynasties claiming the throne of France.[98]

The comte and comtesse de Paris returned to Twickenham, where (since they had sold York House, assuming they would not need it again) they lived in Sheen House and in Stowe in Buckinghamshire. The London region now contained two rival French courts: the Empress Eugénie in Farnborough and the comte de Paris in Twickenham. In Sheen House, Paris, although often accused of being weak, cosmopolitan and over-gentlemanly, frequently received men come to discuss French politics; in

[95] *The Golden Era*, 20 May 1866; *Illustrated London News*, 7 Apr. 1866, p. 331.
[96] Guest, *Napoleon III*, p. 174.
[97] Cashmore, *Orléans Family*, p. 15.
[98] Flers, *Comte de Paris*, pp. 289, 295, 297.

Figure 4.3. 'The funeral procession of Queen Marie Amelie, April 1866'. *Illustrated London News*, 14 April 1866, private collection.

The queen's funeral was attended by the prince of Wales, the queen's grandson the king of the Belgians, other royal relations, ambassadors and Orleanists who had come especially from France to show support for the exiled dynasty. She was buried in the Catholic chapel of St. Charles Borromeo at Weybridge. After 1871 her remains were taken to France, where she is buried with Louis-Philippe in a marble tomb in the Orléans mausoleum at Dreux.

1887 the marquis de Breteuil described him as 'overwhelmed with visits and does not have the time to be bored or even to suffer from exile'.[99] The elegant Charles Swann, in Proust's *A la recherche du temps perdu*, has 'letters from Twickenham' in his pocket.

Another marriage, between Paris's next daughter Hélène and the son of the prince of Wales, the duke of Clarence, was favoured by Queen Victoria, still a family friend, but prevented by religion. As inflexible on faith as his cousin Chambord had been on the flag, Paris refused to let his daughter convert to Protestantism.[100]

Paris died at Stowe on 8 September 1894 and was buried in the church of St. Charles Borromeo, Weybridge. It was the last but one of the grandiose French dynastic funerals in England: Marie-Josephine in 1810; Louis-Philippe in 1850; Marie-Amélie in 1866; Napoleon III in 1873; the prince imperial in 1879 (the last would be the Empress Eugénie in 1920). Since he was the last serious pretender to the French throne, it can be said that, while Bonapartism had been buried at Chislehurst, royalism was buried in Weybridge.[101] One commentator, J. E. C. Bodley, who criticized his 'incapacity to touch the imagination of the people of France', called his death an event of 'complete insignificance'.[102]

After the funeral, however, his son, the duc d'Orléans, born in Twickenham in 1867, received 1,000 French royalists at the Grosvenor Hotel Victoria (since it was the station for Paris) – one of the last French royalist rallies in London. He held another at York House in Twickenham in January 1900. Princess Hélène married the duke of Aosta in St. Raphael's, Kingston on 25 June 1895; her sister Isabelle married a cousin, the duc de Guise, in 1899.

Orléans was rich, right-wing and unhappily married to an archduchess. Increasingly restless, he moved between England, Sicily and Belgium. Moreover, his pro-Boer attitude during the Boer War lost him many English friends. In 1906 he sold York House to a Parsee millionaire. Brussels became the headquarters of the House of Orléans, until the next comte de Paris returned to France, after the laws of exile were repealed, in 1950.[103]

[99] Marquis de Breteuil, *La Haute Société: journal secret 1886–9* (Paris, 1979), p. 123, 19 June 1887; cf. p. 361, 11 May 1888.

[100] Paoli, *Fortunes et infortunes*, pp. 295, 300.

[101] There were few royal mourners and little space devoted to it in the *Illustrated London News*, 15 Sept. 1894, p. 336.

[102] J. E. C. Bodley, *France* (2 vols., 1898), ii. 332, 347.

[103] Cashmore, *Orléans Family*, p. 23; Paoli, *Fortunes et infortunes*, pp. 295, 314, 318; E. Mension-Rigau, *L'Ami du prince: journal inédit d'Alfred de Gramont 1892–1915* (Paris, 2011), pp. 25, 98.

Figure 4.4. Case with volumes on the Galeries Historiques de Versailles, reproducing pictures in the museum established there in 1837 by Louis-Philippe (photo © Christie's and Co.).

These books were given to the Travellers Club in 1859, by Louis-Philippe's grandson the comte de Paris, and his uncles the duc de Nemours, the prince de Joinville and the duc d'Aumale, who lived in exile in Twickenham from 1848 to 1871. The last three had been elected honorary members in 1849 'upon expulsion from France'; the first was appointed a visitor in 1858. At the height of the Second Empire, such a present served to remind members of the Travellers Club of the Orléans princes' existence. The Travellers Club's other prominent French members included the comte d'Orsay, Talleyrand, Thiers and, elected in 1871, in their turn, as honorary members on expulsion from France, Napoleon III, the prince imperial and the duc de Persigny.

In conclusion the exiled French courts in London were important both for Franco-British relations and for French politics. They show that, contrary to traditional narratives of hereditary enmity, Francophilia could be as widespread in England as Francophobia. The large attendance at the principal French royal and imperial funerals in London, and the ovations given by Londoners to Louis XVIII in 1814 and to Napoleon III in 1855, showed that French monarchs could be extremely popular in Britain.

Anglophilia, for its part, could be as characteristic of France as Anglophobia. All three dynasties remained Anglophiles in France. They initiated the pro-British foreign policies of the Restoration, the July Monarchy and the Second Empire. London and Paris were never closer than in the years between 1814 and 1870.

London was an incubator of French monarchies as well as Franco-British alliances. For almost a century London, as a capital of French royalism, Orleanism or Bonapartism, was as much part of French politics as it is today, as the seventh largest French city, with 100,000 French voters. National frontiers were porous. For many Frenchmen, due to their country's revolutions, Paris represented instability, London legitimacy – and lucidity. Its proximity, modernity and freedom made London a better observation post and spring-board than Vienna, residence of Napoleon's son the duc de Reichstadt in 1815–32, or Frohsdorf, the Austrian castle where the comte de Chambord lived.

Their years in London helped to modernize French pretenders and to ensure that, in 1814, 1848 and 1871, they were welcomed back in France. As their ceremonies and rallies in London suggest, the king or emperor 'over the water', could appear a plausible political alternative to a vulnerable regime in Paris. Indeed, French pretenders in London were often more realistic about French interests and French diplomacy than the government in Paris.[104] Exiles can be more lucid than men in power.

All three dynasties failed. However, all three had had more followers than would, at the beginning of his London years, the next French leader to establish his headquarters there – namely General de Gaulle.

[104] See, e.g., Bazin, *Duc de Nemours*, p. 442, for Nemours's expressions of horror at the folly of the French government in 1870, playing with the blood and future of France; or Louis-Napoléon's concern, in London before 1848, for the living conditions of French workers compared to Louis-Philippe's indifference; or, before 1814, Louis XVIII's frequently expressed desire for peace and European reconciliation.