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HEIDI MEHRKENS

TEACHER, FATHER, KING

Royal Representations of Louis-Philippe I

In September 1841, the French ambassador to Switzerland, Count Hector Mortier, received an unusual request. A certain Ulrich von Planta informed him about a historical connection between the King of the French, Louis-Philippe I, and the castle von Planta owned in Reichenau-Tamins, a village near Chur by the Rhine¹. Von Planta explained to the ambassador:

»The reputation of Castle Reichenau, which is known for His Majesty's stay during the French Revolution, daily attracts foreigners and especially Frenchmen eager to visit the apartment His Majesty occupied under the name of Monsieur Chabos, professor at the institute at this castle which meanwhile has come to be the property of the Undersigned². To my regret I can only satisfy the requests of His Majesty's subjects by showing them a small room which unfortunately does not have the merit of having stayed intact like the one of Peter the Great at Sardum³; the depredation of the castle during the war has destroyed the very furniture used by His Majesty, leaving nothing but the wood panelling of the apartment. I have made it an agreeable task for myself to preserve this room in the way I found it. I have considered for a long time the project of compensating for the terrible losses with a decoration that is dignified and worthy of this place's history, by placing there the portrait of His Majesty and copies in oil of paintings which, in the Louvre, preserve for posterity the memory of His Majesty at Reichenau⁴.«

- 1 I am indebted to the current owners of Castle Reichenau in Tamins, Graubünden, especially Johann-Baptista von Tschanner, who kindly invited me to walk in the footsteps of 19th-century tourists and visit the Louis-Philippe room and Adolf von Planta's laboratory. I am also grateful to the House of Orléans for granting me access to archival material from the *fonds de la Maison de France* held in the Archives Nationales, Paris.
- 2 Translations into English are my own.
- 3 In 1697 Tsar Peter I travelled Western Europe under an assumed name and (among other things) studied ship building in Zaandam near Amsterdam. The modest house he lived in became a museum: <https://zaansmuseum.nl/czaar-peter-huisje/> (accessed 11 February 2019). On the tsar's Grand Embassy: Matthew S. ANDERSON, *Peter the Great*, London 1978, p. 41; Henri TROYAT, *Peter the Great*, translated by Joan Pinkham, London 1987, p. 97–99.
- 4 *La renommée que le château de Reichenau a acquit par le séjour de V. M. dans les tems [sic!] de la révolution française y attire journellement. d'étrangers et spécialement des français empressés de visiter des appartemens que V. M. y occupait sous le nom de Mons. Chabos, Professeur à l'institut de ce château qui depuis est devenu la propriété du soussigné. A mon grand regret je ne puis satisfaire au désir des sujets de V. M. qu'en leur montrant une petite chambre qui malheureusement n'a pas non plus le mérite d'être restée intacte comme celle de Pierre le Grand à Sardum; le pillage du châ-*

Von Planta asked for the king's generosity to provide him with the royal portrait, which would then adorn the rooms Louis-Philippe had once occupied at Reichenau. Von Planta assured Mortier that his request »arises from no other source than the desire to consolidate also in this little corner of the world, in a dignified visible manner, the noble memory of one of the most interesting periods in the life of a great monarch«⁵.

This article sets out to explore how Louis-Philippe I (r. 1830–1848) created symbolic representations of his kingship outside France, in the Swiss canton of Graubünden. In his letter, von Planta refers to an episode in the life of Louis-Philippe I that features in many of the king's biographies: As a young nobleman exiled from France, Louis-Philippe, then Duc de Chartres, worked as a teacher at a Bündner reform school, where he lived under an assumed name from October 1793 to June 1794. To date it has not attracted scholarly attention that until his death in exile in 1850 the monarch went to great lengths to keep memories of his time as an impoverished educator alive⁶.

Ulrich von Planta's request was granted, and I will endeavour to shed some light on the reasons behind the decision to bestow this royal favour on the Castle Reichenau in Graubünden. With his act of patronage, Louis-Philippe helped to ensure that the modest room where he used to teach Maths, Geography and History to twelve-year-olds grew into a tourist attraction, a place of curiosity that offered visitors an emotional connection with the July Monarchy. Long after the Reichenau School had closed its doors, people travelling to Graubünden learned about the hardships the king had endured and were also invited to glance at some carefully selected aspects of the human side of royal power.

An exploration of the self-representation of 19th-century rulers can further our understanding of the workings of modern monarchical institutions. Like many European monarchs of the constitutional age, Louis-Philippe I felt it necessary to make

teau au tems de la guerre ayant detruit les meubles même dont Votre M. s'était servie ne laissant exister que la boiserie de l'appartement. Je me suis fait un devoir agréable de conserver cette chambre telle que je l'ai trouvée. Je berçais depuis longtems le projet de suplérer aux pertes efrayées par une decoration digne du merite historique de ce local, en y placant le portrait de V. M., et des copies en huile des tableaux qui au Louvre conservent a la posterite la mémoire du sejour de V. M. a Reichenau. [...] Si je prens donc par la presente la liberté, Sire, de demander de la bonté de V. M. la grace de m'accorder Son portrait et des copies des dits tableaux du Louvre pour en decorer l'appartement qu'Elle a occupé a Reichenau, je prie V. M. d'être bien persuadée que cette demande de ma part n'émane d'aucune autre source que du désir fort excusable de fixer aussi dans ce petit coin de la terre d'une manière dignement ostensible la noble mémoire d'une des plus interessantes epoques de la vie d'un grand monarque. Staatsarchiv (Cantonal Archives) Graubünden (StAGR), Archiv von Planta-Reichenau, D III R/III B09: Ulrich von Planta-Reichenau (1791–1875), private correspondence, no 165: Letters from Reichenau, letter no 1.

5 Ibid. Ulrich von Planta had acquired the castle in 1819: Peter C. PLANTA, Chronik der Familie von Planta nebst verschiedenen Mittheilungen aus der Vergangenheit Rhätians, Zürich 1892, p. 377; Karl A. BIELER, Die Herrschaft Rhäziuns und das Schloss Reichenau, Chur 1916, p. 40–47.

6 On the topic of Louis-Philippe's Swiss exile see for example Guy ANTONETTI, Louis Philippe, Paris 1994, p. 252–269; Thomas E. B. HOWARTH, Citizen King. Life of Louis-Philippe, London 1961, p. 87–94; Klaus MALETTKE, Die Bourbonen, vol. 3: Von Ludwig XVIII. bis zu Louis Philippe 1814–1848, Stuttgart 2009, p. 139–140.

up for the loss of royal political power and authority, previously understood as having been bestowed on rulers by the grace of God. Constitutional monarchs adapted to changing times by tapping into alternative sources of legitimacy, and Louis-Philippe I was no exception. All 19th-century monarchs and their families developed and used soft power strategies to connect emotionally with their subjects, for example through patronage⁷. Whereas some benevolent and generous acts were aimed at particular groups, like the funding of a hospital or school, monarchs also aimed to create a coherent image of their royal persona in more general terms. As Jo Burr Margadant established for post-Napoleonic France, this personalised representation was made available to wider audiences, both real (for example court representatives) and imagined (in this case, unknown tourists in Switzerland). The private and the political domain were inseparable in these representations. Details from the private lives of rulers, as we will see, could be used for powerful political statements⁸.

An important element of royal self-representation in 19th-century constitutional monarchies was to be seen in the public sphere. Louis-Philippe's nickname »citizen king« highlights how, to some extent, the monarch endeavoured to endear the July Monarchy especially to the middle classes. Contemporary accounts famously describe how the king took walks in the park, umbrella in hand, stopping to have a chat with people of lower social rank⁹. Despite his obvious intention to be perceived as approachable, Louis-Philippe remained a stout aristocrat throughout and, especially in the early years of his reign, staged the bourgeois façade to stabilise his regime¹⁰.

7 Frank Lorenz MÜLLER, »Winning their Trust and Affection«: Royal Heirs and the Uses of Soft Power in Nineteenth-Century Europe, in: ID., Heidi MEHRKENS (ed.), *Royal Heirs and the Uses of Soft Power in Nineteenth-Century Europe*, Basingstoke 2016, p. 1–19. According to the political scientist Joseph Nye, who coined the term in 1990, soft power revolves around the ability to make others want the same outcomes as you and shape their preferences, for example by appealing to shared values, by co-opting, persuading or attracting the other: Joseph S. NYE, *Soft Power. The Means to Success in World Politics* (new edition), New York 2005, p. 7.

8 Jo Burr MARGADANT, *La Restauration du duc d'Orléans, 1814–1817: façonnement d'une figure cohérente*, in: Natalie SCHOLZ, Christina SCHROER (ed.), *Représentation et pouvoir. La politique symbolique en France (1789–1830)*, Rennes 2007, p. 199–212, 202.

9 Victor HUGO, *Les Misérables*, quatrième partie, livre premier: *Quelque pages d'Histoire*, ch. 3: Louis-Philippe, Paris 1862, p. 25–39, 30–31: »Louis-Philippe had been handsome, and in his old age he remained graceful; not always approved by the nation, he always was so by the masses; he pleased. He had that gift of charming. He lacked majesty; he wore no crown, although a king, and no white hair, although an old man; his manners belonged to the old regime and his habits to the new; a mixture of the noble and the bourgeois which suited 1830; [...] He went out with his umbrella under his arm, and this umbrella long formed a part of his aureole.«

On Louis-Philippe's umbrella as a symbol of modesty see Marie-Hélène BAYLAC, *Ces objets qui ont fait l'Histoire. Du chapeau de Napoléon au petit livre rouge de Mao*, Paris 2013, p. 279–286; on Louis-Philippe I as *roi citoyen* and representations of the royal family between 1830 and 1848: Anne MARTIN-FUGIER, *Louis-Philippe et sa famille 1830–1848*, Paris 2012, p. 35–36; Pamela PILBEAM, *The 1830 Revolution in France*, Basingstoke 1991, p. 83–84; Jo Burr MARGADANT, *Les représentations de la reine Marie-Amélie dans une monarchie »bourgeoise«*, in: *Revue d'histoire du XIXe siècle* 36/1 (2008), p. 93–117; Thibaut TRÉTOU, *Les fils de Louis-Philippe ou la gloire du roi des Français*, in: *Sociétés & représentations* 26/2 (2008), p. 71–82; Hélène BECQUET, *La monarchie de Juillet: royautés et révolutions*, in: Robert KOPP (ed.), *Romantisme et révolution(s)*, vol. 2: *De l'utopie au désenchantement*, Paris 2010 (Les entretiens de la Fondation des Treilles), p. 37–58.

10 MALETTKE, *Bourbonen* (as in n. 6), p. 173.

The king's public representation between 1830 and 1848 was a highly complex affair that went beyond the staging of approachability, to which it at times appears to be anecdotally reduced. For example, the sacrality of the royal body and office remained an important element of monarchical representation after 1830¹¹. This article sets out to explore one of the carefully interwoven and so far understudied layers of royal self-staging during the July Monarchy: There is evidence to support the notion that Louis-Philippe's royal representation drew strength from a carefully constructed narrative of the king's adventurous youth which again echoed values attributed particularly to the middle classes: a sense of duty, resilience in the face of personal loss and hardship, and a sense of responsibility for the upbringing of the next generation by means of a sound education¹². King Louis-Philippe, in other words, preferred to be seen by his subjects as a citizen king walking in the park, but also as a father and as a teacher – both figures carrying an inherent authority which complemented the authority of the king as head of state¹³.

The Reichenau example also invites questions about the relevance of continuity for the effectiveness of royal self-representation. As will be shown, Louis-Philippe, a member of the younger branch of the Bourbon dynasty, started the political instrumentalisation of his adventures in Switzerland long before he was catapulted to the throne in 1830, thereby leapfrogging the queue of succession. After the July Revolution the established narratives were continued and adapted to form a crucial element of his royal persona. Louis-Philippe I chose to build his model of kingship partly on values that had distinguished his political career during his exile and the Bourbon Restoration. It seems a valid question to ask if the long-term use of specific soft power strategies added a layer of credibility and authority to the narrative and hence strengthened the monarch's image as citizen king. Again, this is not to suggest that the monarch's personality, aims and values were the same as their public representation. For this article I will focus on those aspects of Louis-Philippe's royal image that can aid our understanding of his preferred representation as a constitutional monarch.

Von Planta's bold request for paintings to decorate his castle opens a discussion about agency in strategies of royal representation. Shaping the public image of a monarch cannot be seen as a simple top-down process; the king is never a sole actor who chooses an image and imposes it on to various passive audiences. Ulrich von Planta's suggestion how the king's stay could be remembered in Reichenau reveals

11 Grégoire FRANCONIE, Louis-Philippe et la sacralité royale après 1830, in: Hélène BECQUET, Bettina FREDERKING (ed.), *La dignité de roi. Regards sur la royauté au premier XIX^e siècle*, Rennes 2009, p. 97–115. Franconie wrote a doctoral thesis about the subject, which is not published yet: Grégoire FRANCONIE, *Le lys et la cocarde. La construction d'une dynastie nationale sous la monarchie de Juillet (1830–1848)*, Université Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne, defense of the doctoral thesis on 5 December 2015.

12 On the role of education in constitutional monarchies: Richard MEYER FORSTING, *Raising Heirs to the Throne in Nineteenth-Century Spain. The Education of the Constitutional Monarch*, Basingstoke 2018.

13 Catherine BRICE, *Métaphore familiale et monarchie constitutionnelle. L'incertaine figure du roi »père« (France et Italie au XIX^e siècle)*, in: Gilles BERTRAND, Catherine BRICE, Gilles MONTAGRE (ed.), *Fraternité. Pour une histoire du concept*, Grenoble 2012 (Les cahiers du CRHIPA, 20), p. 157–185.

that this person developed initiative and agency, too. It also reveals expectations of what a modern king should be like. Royal representation hence was a mutual affair, to be negotiated between the king and his various audiences, and at times escaping the monarch's control where actors refused to see the monarch in the way he intended or wished.

The article will first introduce how, against the backdrop of the French Revolution, a vital element of Louis-Philippe's later royal persona was developed in the form of his *alter ego*, the teacher Professor Chabos. The next section will explore how Louis-Philippe himself remembered his time in Graubünden and Switzerland, while still Duc de Chartres, until the fall of the Bourbon monarchy in 1830. This is to suggest that Reichenau around 1820 represented a romanticised image of a liberal Swiss state which helped express the political values Chartres wished to promote at the time. The third section will focus on the relevance of Reichenau for strengthening the principle of education displayed by the Orléans family, especially in the relationship between Louis-Philippe I and the heir to the throne Ferdinand-Philippe. Finally, the article will show how, in the 1830s and 1840s, various audiences shaped and developed the representation of the king in Switzerland, including the royal family.

The birth of Professor Chabos

Though born into proximity to the French throne, Louis-Philippe Duc de Chartres (1773–1850) had at first supported the Revolution and defended its ideals bravely, sword in hand, in the battles of Valmy and Jemappes in 1792. In April 1793, though, he was accused of supporting his commanding officer, General Dumouriez, who had sided with the Austrian army to overthrow the National Convention in a military coup. The 20-year-old Chartres refused to fight against revolutionary France and instead decided to flee the country. On his way to Switzerland Chartres learned about the arrest of his father, the Duc d'Orléans, and his younger brothers. His sister Adelaïde joined him in exile, as did their governess the Comtesse de Genlis¹⁴.

The life of an émigré presented the young aristocrat with many changes. During the summer months Chartres travelled through the Swiss mountains on foot, in the company of his manservant and under an assumed name, in constant fear of being found out, attacked or expelled. For the first time in his life Louis-Philippe was destitute, and he worried deeply about the members of his family in captivity. In October 1793, the young duke gladly accepted help from General Montesquiou, a fellow military officer in exile. Montesquiou arranged for him to stay at Castle Reichenau, near Chur, which would provide Chartres with both shelter and anonymity over the winter¹⁵.

14 Dorette BERTHOUT, *Le refuge en Suisse des enfants d'Orléans*, in: *Revue de la Société suisse des amis de Versailles* 5 (1960), p. 19–22 and 6 (1960), p. 15–18; Alois WEBER, *Louis-Philippe als Flüchtling in der Schweiz: Mai 1793–März 1795*, in: *Der Geschichtsfreund. Mitteilungen des Historischen Vereins Zentralschweiz* 108 (1955), p. 162–197.

15 For Louis-Philippe's correspondence with marquis Anne-Pierre Montesquiou-Fezensac (1739–1798) see Jean d'ELBÉ, *Un Prince en exil. Une correspondance inédite du duc de Chartres pendant la Révolution (juin 1793–septembre 1796)*, in: *La Revue hebdomadaire*, July 1925,

Castle Reichenau was home to a brand new educational institution, a reform school which had only opened its doors in the summer of 1793¹⁶. Montesquiou convinced one of the school's founders, his friend Alois von Jost, to accommodate the duke. It was decided that Chartres should stay under the assumed name of Professor Chabos. To protect his identity and to provide him with much-needed resources, Chartres was to work as a teacher for the institute¹⁷.

What might have turned into an uncomfortable arrangement for either sides or a clash of cultures, seems to have worked surprisingly well: Accepting the challenge for the sake of his personal safety, the aristocrat adjusted to his daily chores and without much ado became »the first *prince du sang de France* who worked [...] for a living«¹⁸. One important reason for the success of the arrangement can be found in the pedagogic values promoted at the Reichenau institute which seem to have complemented principles of the duke's education.

A brochure from August 1793 advertised the new institute as a place where Catholic and Protestant students would be educated side by side in a tolerant atmosphere¹⁹. Embracing enlightened principles, especially the philanthropist movement represented by Johann Bernhard Basedow (1724–1790), the curriculum emphasized modern languages and sciences; it aimed to educate the student holistically, according to his individual ability. Students were encouraged to learn a craft, to play outside and to take over responsibility for the learning community by a system of »republican« self-governance²⁰. The educational concept was put into practice by experienced reform pedagogues like the school's founder Johann Baptista von Tschärner (1751–

p. 259–295 and 412–427; August 1925, p. 66–81, 190–204, 338–346; Raymond RECOULY, Louis-Philippe roi des Français. Le chemin vers le trône, Paris 1930. Montesquiou also supported Louis-Philippe in regaining his family's fortune: Otto KARMIN, À la recherche de la fortune du duc d'Orléans (1793–1794). Lettres inédites du Général Montesquiou à Francis d'Ivernois, Extrait de la Revue Historique de la Révolution Française et de l'Empire d'octobre-décembre 1912, Paris 1912. The relevant papers are held in the Archives nationales, Paris (AN), AB/XIX/5350: Papiers de Jean-Henri Hottinguer et du marquis Anne-Pierre de Montesquiou-Fezensac (1790–1796).

16 Werner ORT, Die Schülerrepublik im Schloss Reichenau. Ein pädagogisches Experiment, Baden 2018; Christian I. KIND, Schloss Reichenau im Canton Graubünden ehemalige Erziehungsanstalt, Chur 1883; Alfred RUFER, Vier bündnerische Schulrepubliken aus der zweiten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts, Bern 1921, p. 27–38; Cristian CADUFF-VONMOOS, Die Bündner Schulrepubliken im 18. Jahrhundert Haldenstein – Marschlins – Reichenau, in: Terra Grischuna. Bündnerland 36/2 (1977), p. 105–108.

17 WEBER, Louis-Philippe als Flüchtling (as in n. 14), p. 178–183; Marguerite CASTILLON DUPERRON, Louis Philippe et la Révolution française, vol. 2: Le Proscrit, Paris 1963, ch. 2: Le professeur, p. 63–102; ORT, Die Schülerrepublik (as in n. 16), p. 75–81.

18 Montesquiou to d'Ivernois, 15 November 1793, in: KARMIN, À la recherche (as in n. 15), p. 7.

19 StAGR, D V/3.271.55: Prospekt nach welchem die Innhaber der Herrschaft Reichenau und Damins im lezt verwichenen Brachmonath, eine vermischte protestantische und katholische Erziehungs- und Schulanstalt, in ihrem Schlosse Reichenau, in der Republik Graubünden eröffnet haben (1793).

20 StAGR, D V/3.271.55: Johann Baptista von Tschärner, Schreiben an Herrn Doctor Heer in Glarus über die Erziehungs-Anstalt zu Reichenau in Graubündten (1795), p. 4–6; ORT, Die Schülerrepublik (as in n. 16), p. 145–174; KIND, Schloss Reichenau (as in n. 16), p. 8–9; on Basedow: Jürgen OVERHOFF, »... aber mit Lust!«, in: Die Zeit 2013/16, URL: <https://www.zeit.de/2003/16/A-Basedow> (accessed 11 February 2019).

1835)²¹. The school's director was the well-respected Johann Peter Neseemann (1724–1801) from Magdeburg²². Only von Tscharner, Neseemann and von Jost, who oversaw the institute's administration, knew the true identity of the Duc de Chartres who would stay to teach at their school for eight months between November 1793 and June 1794.

To perform convincingly as an educator without arousing suspicion of pupils, staff or parents, Chartres needed a particular set of skills and the attitude to match. Upon his arrival at Reichenau, Director Neseemann set him a (pro forma) exam to test his abilities and was reasonably happy with the result. Neseemann reported back to von Tscharner that the new colleague was »an amiable young man who betrayed a careful education, because he was not just knowledgeable in philosophy and his native language, but moreover in the German language, Italian and English, and beyond that would be able to teach in history and geometry«²³.

Chartres certainly had enjoyed an unusual education for a *prince du sang*. The educational system of his governess Stéphanie Félicité de Genlis, who taught all children of the Orléans family, was »well known for its idiosyncratic amalgamation of various pedagogical ideas and practices«²⁴. De Genlis was inspired by the works of the Abbé Fénelon and Jean-Jacques Rousseau, especially by the latter's focus on developing the child's emotions in the same way as the ability to reason²⁵. She firmly believed in the benefits of physical exercise; under her regime the young Orléans princes slept on straw mats and rose early, they were used to frugal meals and simple clothing. In 1847, in a conversation with Victor Hugo, King Louis-Philippe I commented on his education: »She brought us up quite ferociously, my sister and I [...]. It was she who accustomed me to sleep on wooden planks. She ensured that I was taught all sorts of manual trades; today, thanks to her, I can turn my hand to any of them. [...] She was systematic and severe [...]. She made me into a pretty tough but decent man«²⁶.

It can be safely assumed that his upbringing helped the Duc de Chartres to adjust to life in exile which in turn protected his identity despite the trying and saddening events he had to face while staying at Reichenau. In November 1793, Louis-Philippe learned about the death of his father at the guillotine, which came as an enormous

21 Albert RUFER, Johann Baptista von Tscharner 1751–1835. Eine Biographie im Rahmen der Zeitgeschichte, Chur 1963, p. 105–118 on Reichenau, p. 115–117 on his educational principles; on his political career: Fritz von JECKLIN, Tscharner, Johann Baptista von, in: Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie 38 (1894), p. 705–708. URL: <https://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd117431354.html#adbcontent> (accessed 11 February 2019).

22 Werner ORT, Heinrich Zschokke (1771–1848): eine Biografie, Baden-Dättwil 2013, p. 195–200.

23 StAGR, B651/12: Von Tscharner, Geschichte des Aufenthaltes des Herzogs von Chartres in Reichenau, 1793–1794 (1817), p. 3; see also WEBER, Louis-Philippe als Flüchtling (as in n. 14), p. 181–182.

24 Bradford C. BROWN, Louis-Philippe Before the Throne: Masculine Virtue and the *Métier* of an Enlightened Prince, in: Journal of Historical Biography 12 (2012), p. 1–59, 13; Jacques Gilbert BARTHELEMY, Stéphanie Félicité, Comtesse de Genlis, Paris 2005; Jean HARMAND, Madame de Genlis: sa vie intime et politique, 1746–1830; d'après des documents inédits, Paris 1912.

25 Munro PRICE, The Perilous Crown. France between Revolutions, Basingstoke, Oxford 2008, p. 18–22; ANTONETTI, Louis-Philippe (as in n. 6), p. 105–115; Jean LUCAS-DUBRETON, La jeunesse de Louis-Philippe, in: La Revue des Deux Mondes, June 1963, p. 336–348.

26 Henri GUILLEMIN (ed.), Victor Hugo, Journal, 1830–1848, Paris 1954, p. 313–314.

blow. At the age of 20, he had become the head of the Orléans dynasty and faced an uncertain future far away from French soil, from his family connections and fortune²⁷.

Talent ennobles misfortune

The Reichenau episode featured strongly in the life of Orléans and his family, especially after his return to France in 1817. This fact deserves some attention: Once firmly back in a powerful position, with his cousins from the older branch of the dynasty restored to the throne of France, Louis-Philippe could have chosen to say nothing about the time where he had been a destitute and lonely traveller – but he did talk about it. As his biographer Raymond Recouly pointed out, »the time he spent in Switzerland marked an important stage in the development of his character and spirit. [...] He proved himself to be equal, even superior to fate. Instead of complaining, of lamenting, he resigned himself to the inevitable, to hope, to the certainty of better days to come. Without complaints he became a school teacher, in a poor school! Like any man, at the beginning of his career, who has victoriously overcome such tests, he is equipped for life. When he sees obstacles, one is sure that he will overcome them, when there are opportunities, one is certain that it will not take him long to seize them«²⁸. His time at Reichenau thus provided the Duc de Chartres with a narrative he chose to build upon once he had returned to the centre of power. At the heart of the narrative stood the idea of the aristocrat whose nobility is not expressed in idleness and luxury. Instead it shows itself in the way in which he deals with obstacles and challenges in life – a valuable talent.

Louis-Philippe Duc d'Orléans certainly had opportunity to prove himself in times of challenge: Having left Switzerland, he continued his extensive travels, which included long spells in Scandinavia, Finland, the United States, and Cuba. He then settled down in England in 1800 where he stayed until the abdication of Napoleon I. After his definite return to France in spring 1817, Louis-Philippe became »a rallying figure for those unhappy with the restored monarchy«²⁹. He embarked on creating a public persona for himself and on leaving to posterity a coherent and widely acceptable narrative of his past, especially regarding the Revolution and the relationship with his father Philippe Égalité, who had voted for the execution of King Louis XVI. The duke became a major patron of the arts; most notably he supported the painter Horace Vernet³⁰. During the second Restoration, the Duc d'Orléans filled his private gallery with portraits of his august extended family, but also with military and historical subjects. Many of the paintings interpreted scenes he had experienced himself³¹. In 1817 he commissioned four paintings from Horace Vernet: »Le Duc d'Orléans

27 CASTILLON DUPERRON, *Louis Philippe et la Révolution française* (as in n. 17), p. 74–87.

28 RECOULY, *Louis-Philippe roi des Français* (as in n. 15), p. 106 (my translation).

29 Daniel HARKETT, Katie HORNSTEIN, *Horace Vernet and the Thresholds of Nineteenth-Century Visual Culture*, Hanover, NH, 2017, p. 7; MARGADANT, *La Restauration du duc d'Orléans* (as in n. 8), p. 200.

30 Marie-Claude CHAUDONNERET, *L'État et les artistes: De la Restauration à la monarchie de Juillet (1815–1833)*, Paris 1999, p. 102–105; Jules BRETON, *Nos peintres du siècle*, Paris 1899, p. 80–82.

31 B. G. DEPPING, *Review: Notices historiques sur les tableaux de la galerie de S. A. R. Mgr. le duc*

sauvant à Vendôme un prêtre de la fureur populaire«, »Le Duc d'Orléans à l'Hospice du Mont Saint-Gothard«, »Le Duc d'Orléans passant en revue le 1^{er} régiment de hus­sards« and finally »Le duc d'Orléans dans un paysage de Suisse«³². Two of the paintings have a Swiss theme and commemorate the early years of the duke's exile 1793–1795.

Vernet's Swiss portrait (image 1) shows the duke standing in a relaxed manner in a romantic mountainous landscape, dressed not in uniform but in a black frock coat as *prince citoyen*. A contemporary commentary stressed that the artist had placed the portrait of the Duc d'Orléans in an imaginary landscape, where it seemed like Orléans »revisited one of the sites in Switzerland where, after Jemmappes, this prince lived as a simple teacher, because talent ennobles misfortune«³³.

The painting »Hospice du Mont Saint-Gothard« (image 2) features more beautiful and romantic mountains and the Duc de Chartres standing before said hospice. He addresses a monk at the window, trying to convince him to let him in, while his manservant Baudoin is knocking on the door. The scene occurred during the duke's travels in August 1793: The Capuchin monks of Saint-Gothard refused the simply clothed travellers their hospitality and made them sleep in a shabby barn rather than welcoming them inside the hospice, not knowing that they turned away a member of the French royal family³⁴. Vernet's painting immortalised this act of ignorance and righteousness which was exhibited at the Salon des Beaux-arts in 1819.

The very same Salon also featured a remarkable work of romantic art by Auguste Couder, »Le Duc d'Orléans, donnant une leçon de géographie, au Collège de Reichenau« (1818, image 3)³⁵. The painting shows a classroom at Castle Reichenau with teachers and students. Louis-Philippe Duc de Chartres is teaching geography to two students who are looking at him in admiration and with great respect. He is standing at a globe, »his thumb is resting on France, and the strong emotion his memories are causing in his mind throw him into a daydream which seems to interrupt his lesson«³⁶. In a historical sketch to accompany the painting, written in 1823, the author Jean Vatout, Louis-Philippe's librarian, provided details about the duke's poverty and the fatigue from which he suffered due to his extensive travels. He also explained the additional personnel represented in the painting, including Alois von Jost and professor Neseemann. It seems likely that Vatout, as before him Couder, learned about Reichenau and the duke's secret identity at the Orléans court.

d'Orléans; par J. VATOUT, 4 vols, Paris 1823–1826, in: Beilage zu den Blättern für literarische Unterhaltung 5 (1838), p. 1081–1083, here p. 1081: *Der König hat für seine Privatgalerie viele merkwürdige Begebenheiten aus seinem thaten-und ereignisreichen Leben malen lassen.*

32 Horace Vernet 1789–1863. Académie de France à Rome. École nationale supérieure des Beaux-Arts, Paris mars–juillet 1980, Rome 1980, p. 48.

33 Ibid.

34 Jean VATOUT, Notices historiques sur les tableaux de la galerie de S. A. R. Mgr. le duc d'Orléans, 4 vols, Paris 1823–1826, vol. 4, Paris 1826, no 114, p. 296–298; WEBER, Louis-Philippe als Flüchtling (as in n. 14), p. 176.

35 Xavier SEYDOUX (ed.), Les catalogues des Salons, vol. 1 (1801–1819), Paris 1999, p. 328; Nouvelles des Arts, in: Journal des artistes 13/1 (1839), p. 112; VATOUT, Notices historiques (as in n. 34), vol. 4, no 21, p. 62–64. The description is referring to a lithograph after the painting, by Gilles-Louis Chretien (c. 1825).

36 VATOUT, Notices historiques (as in n. 34), vol. 4, no 21, p. 64.

At the same time, what alternative sources of information were available in Switzerland? What details of the trials and tribulations of the exiled Duc de Chartres were known among the Swiss locals? Years after the event, one of the conspirators who had kept the duke's identity a secret, Johann Baptist von Tscharner, wrote his memories of Chartres's time at Reichenau. These were published in Heinrich von Zschokke's »Überlieferungen zur Geschichte unserer Zeit« early in 1817³⁷. Von Tscharner stressed in the introduction that he felt obliged to rectify some false or superficial accounts that had been printed in Swiss and German newspapers over the past year. When the Duc d'Orléans and his family returned to Paris in April 1817, the widely read »Bayreuther Zeitung« quoted von Tscharner's piece extensively, thus spreading knowledge of the adventures and talents of Professor Chabos further among an educated German-speaking readership³⁸. From von Tscharner's memoir readers learned about the conspiracy to hide the duke at Reichenau and about Louis-Philippe's admirable qualities as a teacher. »It is unusual«, von Tscharner wrote respectfully, »that princes have internalised the sciences to the extent that they can teach others«³⁹. The article frequently refers to the Duke's professionalism as a man of science, for example by explaining that Chartres had to take an exam before being allowed to teach. It also stresses the fact that Professor Chabos received no special treatment in the Reichenau seminar by pointing out that Chartres dined with the pupils and teachers and lived in a room that was simply furnished.

It is a romanticised image of a prince who has fallen on hard times and accepted having to take his fate into his own hands. Von Tscharner presents the exile at Reichenau as a perfectly valid solution to an acute problem. Working as a teacher, educating the next generation, is shown as completely reconcilable with the duke's position as a *prince de France*. His nobility can be seen exactly in his ability to endure his isolation, far from home and his loved ones. This is also Couder's message when he depicts Chartres with his hand on the globe, gazing longingly out of the window, dreaming his way back to France.

And yet von Tscharner's account reveals another layer of this narrative which goes beyond the immediate biographical episode and shows his agency and intention when writing the piece. The article places Louis-Philippe firmly in the landscape of a friendly and neutral Switzerland, whose inhabitants were ready to protect the refugee from persecution in his own native country: »He [Chartres] was quite certain that in no other state he would have found a warmer reception«⁴⁰. Von Tscharner uses his account to point out the values of the Swiss republican system, which for him cherished freedom and independence. He explains to the readers who might not

37 Johann Baptist von TSCHARNER, Ludwig Philipp, gewesener Herzog von Chartres, jetzt Herzog von Orléans, während seines Aufenthalts in Graubünden, in den Jahren 1793 und 1794, in: Überlieferungen zur Geschichte unserer Zeit 7 (1817), p. 195–201. Undated versions of the manuscript are held in StAGR, for example D V/3.271: Familienarchiv von Tscharner–St. Margarethen, Chur (varia), no 55: Geschichte des Aufenthaltes des Herzogs von Chartres in Reichenau, 1793–1794. A typed copy is held under B 651/12.

38 Bayreuther Zeitung no 97, 23 April 1817, p. 387–388 and no 99, 25 April 1817, p. 394–395.

39 VON TSCHARNER, Ludwig Philipp (as in n. 37), p. 196.

40 Ibid.



Image 1: The Duc de Chartres as *prince citoyen* in a romantic Swiss landscape, photo © Château de Versailles, Dist. RMN-Grand Palais/Christophe Fouin.



VERNET (Emile Jean Horace),

Image 2: Vernet's interpretation of the Saint-Gothard episode from 1818, photo © RMN-Grand Palais (domaine de Chantilly)/Gérard Blot.



Image 3: Auguste Couder's classroom scene at the Reichenau school, featuring »Professor Chabos«: Lithography by Charles-Etienne-Pierre Moritte after a painting by A. Couder, » Le Duc d'Orléans donnant une leçon de géographie dans le collège de Reichenau«, author's private collection.



Image 4: A Winterhalter copy of Auguste Couder's portrait of the Duc de Chartres can still be seen in Reichenau today, photo © RMN-Grand Palais (domaine de Chantilly)/G rard Blot.

be familiar with the history of Graubünden that at the time of Chartres's exile it had been a free and democratic state and not yet a Swiss canton⁴¹.

The stunning beauty of the alpine landscape provides the background for a rite of passage in a similar account, published already in 1797 and likely written by Reichenau's director Johann Nesemann. Nesemann does not mention Professor Chabos. Writing only three years after the duke's departure, he might have felt obliged to keep the secret. Instead, Nesemann praises the personal development of the Duc de Chartres, who had come to Graubünden valuing republican ideals and individual freedom above all else. Chartres then had found himself in an ideal environment, with time to reflect on his life, which even deepened his wish to become »a citizen just like other citizens«⁴². Meeting the hard-working people of Switzerland and Graubünden while travelling both countries on foot, drinking only the purest spring water and eating dark, delicious bread, the article suggests that the duke had learned to respect, even to love, the simple life. Both von Tscharner and Nesemann used the duke's perceived outsider perspective to flag up problems in their republican system, from political disharmony to a lack of public spending on infrastructure. Clearly their narratives move the Reichenau episode beyond a local anecdote, and even though it recalls events from 1793, the intended audience was politically minded citizens of the Swiss cantons during the last years of the Ancien Régime and their revolutionary years of nation state building⁴³.

In the same way I would argue that the Swiss landscape paintings commissioned by the Duc d'Orléans in 1817 are more than mere representations of personal memories. They, too, carry political messages. The romantic mountains and clear springs of Switzerland represent an ideal landscape in more than one way; their imprinted republican values support the prince's self-presentation in these early years of the restoration of the French monarchy. They hint at his well-known sympathies for the French Revolution, but at the same time reflect his departure from this difficult episode in his life and the life of his family. Conspicuously, the Swiss theme keeps featuring in the artwork the duke commissioned for his private gallery in the early 1820s: Some examples are Achille Etna Michallon's »Vue des glaciers de Grindelwald« (before 1820), Guillaume Frédéric Ronmy's »Vue du collège de Reichenau« (1817), or Alexandre Joseph Steuben's »Le Serment des trois Suisses« (1822)⁴⁴.

41 Georg JÄGER, Artikel Graubünden, in: Historisches Lexikon der Schweiz (2018), URL: <http://www.hls-dhs-dss.ch/textes/d/D7391.php> (accessed 11 February 2019): Between 1524 and 1803, Graubünden was a free state (*Freistaat Gemeiner Drei Bünde* consisting of Gotteshausbund, Grauer Bund, Zehngerichtenbund). 1799–1803 it was part of the Helvetic Republic (as canton Rätien) and became a Swiss canton in 1803. Mark LERNER, The Helvetic Republic: An Ambivalent Reception of French Revolutionary Liberty, in: French History 18/1 (2004), p. 50–75.

42 [Johann Peter NESEMAN], Etwas aus dem Leben des unglücklichen Herzogs von Chartres, in: Der Helvetische Volksfreund, February 1797, week 3, p. 50–52 (part 1); March 1797, week 1, p. 66–68 (part 2), here: part 1, p. 51. The journal was edited by Heinrich Zschokke and J. U. Sprecher in Chur; Zschokke hence played a vital role in spreading the word about Professor Chabos among German speaking readers.

43 Clive H. CHURCH, Randolph C. HEAD, A Concise History of Switzerland (Cambridge Concise Histories), Cambridge 2013, p. 132–161.

44 VATOUT, Notices historiques (as in n. 34), vol. 4: no 61, p. 173; no 83, p. 228; no 143, p. 379.

Given the patriotic undercurrent present in the Swiss sources and the remarkable interest in the subject at a turning point in his life, I would therefore argue that for Louis-Philippe around 1820 the Swiss landscapes were more than a »precious souvenir with which he wished to decorate his gallery at the Chateau de Neuilly«⁴⁵. They were a political statement and, at this stage of the duke's career, a carefully calculated means for self-promotion. Through the medium of his art, the duke made it very clear that as *prince libéral* he supported values that were completely compatible with the constitutional monarchical system and at the same time avoiding the dangerous spirit of the French Revolution which had been finally laid to rest. This also invited the idea that his august cousins from the older branch of the family, currently in charge of running the country, did not have the same set of skills to offer⁴⁶.

Father and son

The romantic Swiss images did not mean, though, that good old Professor Chabos was forgotten. One could say he was very much present when the Duc and Duchesse d'Orléans raised their children, especially their eldest son and heir Ferdinand-Philippe (1810–1842), who until 1830 was known as Duc de Chartres. Horace Vernet's painting *Le duc de Chartres tenant un cerceau* (1821) plays with the Reichenau motif. It shows the ten-year-old prince outside his school; he is wearing the same plain clothes as the other pupils from which he can only be distinguished by his positioning in the centre foreground of the painting. Unlike the other boys who are engaged in their play, Ferdinand seems to pause. His gaze is absent-minded, as is the gesture of merely holding hoop and stick instead of playing with them. Mirroring his father in Couder's Reichenau painting, touching the globe, this young prince too seems to see into the future, towards a worthy task to fulfil⁴⁷.

The painting is interesting on another level. As the patriarch of an extended family, Louis-Philippe had a keen interest in the education of his children which he planned carefully. When in 1819 the Duc d'Orléans sent his eldest son Ferdinand to the renowned lycée Henri IV, a public school, this decision caused much alarm in the royal dynasty. King Louis XVIII confronted the duke in a long and heated conversation. He feared that the younger branch of the family would underestimate the dangers of mingling with the subjects: »It is necessary that a prince always remains a prince, early on in life he needs to get used to the superiority he will exercise over other people.« For the Duc d'Orléans, however, princes needed to learn to obey first before they could be trusted with a responsible position, as he explained to the king: »There is not one among your marshals, Sire, who has not been a soldier or at least a subaltern officer, who has not been on familiar terms. [...] I think it advantageous that princes also have to go through this inferiority. Far from diminishing their status in

45 BERTHOUT, *Le refuge en Suisse* (as in n. 14), p. 18.

46 MARGADANT, *La Restauration du duc d'Orléans* (as in n. 8), p. 211–212.

47 Horace Vernet 1789–1863 (as in n. 32), p. 65; for a scholarly biography of Ferdinand d'Orléans see Joëlle HUREAU, *L'espoir brisé. Le duc d'Orléans 1810–1842*, Paris 1995, on his education at Henri IV see p. 73–76.

society, I believe that it is the best means to enable them to support themselves in their position«⁴⁸.

According to Hervé Robert, Ferdinand d'Orléans received at Henry IV, where he was taught until 1825, an education that was »remarkable for a prince in its variety, supervision and intellectual demands«⁴⁹. The education of the young Duc de Chartres received considerable attention in the public sphere at the time, where it was lauded by liberal writers like Paul-Louis Courier and Stendhal. Courier seemed particularly impressed by the fact that the young duke was educated »just like all children of his age; no distinction, no difference«⁵⁰. This only underlines the political relevance of the educational programme the Duc d'Orléans laid out for his family, as opposed to the Bourbons who raised their children traditionally, away from prying eyes. Jo Burr Margadant has shown how the family's commitment to the principle of merit exposed them »to the consequences for their own reputation of the success or failure of their offspring«⁵¹. Since the Orléans children were bright, won prizes at the end-of-year ceremonies and were accepted among their classmates, one could say that the strategy was successful in increasing the social capital of the family⁵².

One person who knew the Orléans family well at the time was Alexandre Dumas père (1802–1870). In 1823, at the beginning of his career, he acquired an administrative position at the Palais-Royal, in Louis-Philippe's office, which he held for several years⁵³. His memoirs tell us how frequently references to Professor Chabos were made in the 1820s, the decade when the duke and duchess raised their children. Dumas oversaw giving out billets to visitors who came to see the apartments in the Palais-Royal on Saturdays⁵⁴. Accompanied by a footman, visitors were invited to admire the paintings in the gallery. According to Dumas, the last item to be shown on every tour was Couder's painting of the Duc d'Orléans teaching at Reichenau. Placed in front of the painting, visitors were informed about the background of Orléans's exile in Graubünden and how he had come to stay at Castle Reichenau. At the time Dumas decided »to visit this room where the current king of the French, earning five francs a day, spent one of the most honourable years of his life«⁵⁵.

Dumas travelled to Switzerland in July 1832. He found Castle Reichenau in private ownership of Ulrich von Planta, the school having been closed in 1804. Upon

48 AN, 300 AP IV 113: Notes et souvenirs de Marie-Amélie, duchesse d'Orléans (copie): Conversation du 1^{er} novembre 1819 entre Louis XVIII et Louis-Philippe, published in: Hervé ROBERT (ed.), Ferdinand-Philippe d'Orléans duc d'Orléans, Souvenirs 1810–1830, Genève 1993, p. 407–415, 411.

49 ROBERT (ed.), Ferdinand-Philippe (as in n. 48), p. 15.

50 Paul-Louis COURIER, Simple discours de Paul-Louis (Courier), vigneron de La Chavonnière, aux membres du conseil de la commune de Véretz, département d'Indre-et-Loire, à l'occasion d'une souscription proposée par Son Excellence le ministre de l'Intérieur, pour l'acquisition de Chambord, Paris 1821, p. 12.

51 Jo Burr MARGADANT, Representing Queen Marie-Amélie in a »Bourgeois Monarchy«, in: Historical Reflections/Réflexions Historiques 32/2 (2006), p. 421–451, 428.

52 MARTIN-FUGIER, Louis-Philippe et sa famille (as in n. 9), p. 159–161.

53 ANTONETTI, Louis-Philippe (as in n. 6), p. 497, 508, 511.

54 Alexandre DUMAS, Mes mémoires. Dixième série, Paris 1863, ch. CCLII, p. 116–121. The memoirs were first published between 1852 and 1856.

55 Ibid., p. 118.

his arrival, Dumas penned a letter which addressed not the king himself, but Prince Ferdinand, now heir to the throne of the July Monarchy⁵⁶. The letter expressed his strong emotions when visiting Louis-Philippe's room. He explained to Ferdinand that only one of the old teachers was still alive (Zschokke) and one of the old students around (von Tschärner's son) and expressed his concerns that the memory of the place might very well die with this older generation of people involved in the school. »This memory, so honourable to all Frenchmen, which deserves to be ranked among our national memories, threatens to disappear with the generation of the elderly ceasing to exist, if we don't know a man with the heart of an artist, noble and grand, who will not allow being forgotten, so we hope, what is honourable for him and for France«⁵⁷. This person should be Ferdinand d'Orléans, representing the next royal generation. Dumas had supported the July Revolution in 1830, but Louis-Philippe's first years on the throne had not strengthened his trust in the king. Like many liberal-minded supporters of the constitutional monarchical system at the time, his hopes were on Ferdinand to become the true integrative figure capable of rallying the nation behind the throne. His letter invited Ferdinand, explicitly as »élève à Henri IV«, to accept responsibility for strengthening the constitutional aspects of the monarchy, of which education as value formed an integral part.

Three years later, Ferdinand d'Orléans visited Reichenau as the first member of the dynasty's younger generation. In the summer of 1835, the heir to the throne travelled in Switzerland under the name of the Count of Neuilly⁵⁸. In a letter to his father he described his experience:

»Our journey which continues most gaily has now developed a new interest for me. Since the lake of four cantons and up to here, through Uri, the Grisons, and St Gall, our route has been the one you have followed. But this country has changed a lot since you visited it. Wonderful roads, where large carriages can travel throughout, follow the San Bernadin, the Splügen and the St Gothard; pretty inns in every village and even at the summit of the mountains spare the traveller the necessity to fall back on the [...] hospitality of the Capuchin monks: Their hospice is even destroyed [...]. At Reichenau also the school does not exist anymore, around 1820, the colonel de Planta, who seems to me to be the Marquess of Carabas⁵⁹ of this country, built in the spot of the old college buildings an immense house of questionable taste, the garden of which reaches from one bridge to the next and has an immensely beautiful view. The tax collector⁶⁰ who served as my cicerone knows all the details about your stay

56 Dated 29 July 1832, exactly two years after the July Revolution which had brought Louis-Philippe d'Orléans to the throne. The letter was first published in Dumas's travel book in 1834: ID., *Impressions de voyage en Suisse*, vol. 3, Paris 1869, p. 91–95 (first edition in instalments 1833–1837). The text is also available in DUMAS, *Mes mémoires* (as in n. 54), p. 118–121.

57 DUMAS, *Impressions de voyage* (as in n. 56), p. 93.

58 HUREAU, *L'espoir brisé* (as in n. 47), p. 261.

59 Possibly a reference to a character from Benjamin Disraeli's first novel *Vivian Grey* (published in 1826).

60 Reichenau-Tamins was a customs office at the time, as mentioned in Peter Conradin von TSCHARNER, Georg Wilhelm ROEDER, *Der Kanton Graubünden, historisch, geographisch*,

at Reichenau; without recognising me, he successively told me all of them. [...] I have tried to memorise as much of the information as I found possible, to be able to answer to the best of my ability the questions you might wish to ask me, Sire, about these places which interest you so much. Thinking about the life you had to live and of which it is difficult for us to gain an idea, in the midst of comfort and the amenities of our current position, one senses that, having gone through such deprivations and hardships, you have dearly earned the right to not suffer anymore⁶¹.«

The dialogue between the generations in this letter is revealing, with the king's son and heir travelling in the footsteps of his father, following his very route in Switzerland. Ferdinand appears well informed about his father's adventures in Graubünden, and he even refers with irony to the Saint-Gothard incident. Clearly, stories and experiences have been passed on from Louis-Philippe to his son – in fact, to all his children, as we will see. It also seems obvious that, in 1835, Louis-Philippe still had a lively interest in Reichenau, which is expressed in Ferdinand's eagerness to report back even the tiniest detail of his travels. The tone of the letter is humble and respectful; nothing hints at the son challenging the father's authority. In fact, the king's experiences at Reichenau serve as an example for the younger generation, implying that Ferdinand and his siblings owed their position to the efforts and sacrifices made by their father whose authority, as a teacher, biological father and king, could not be challenged. Ferdinand's obedient tone expresses rather tellingly the silent agreement father and son had reached at the time: Whereas in the early years of the July Monarchy Ferdinand tended to disagree publicly with his father over politics, by 1835 he acted with more restraint and kept a low political profile⁶².

statistisch geschildert: ein Hand- und Hausbuch für Kantonsbürger und Reisende, St. Gallen 1838, p. 107. This local guidebook does not mention Louis-Philippe's stay at Reichenau.

- 61 *Notre voyage qui continue de la manière la plus heureuse a acquis pour moi un nouvel intérêt. Depuis le lac des quatre cantons jusqu'ici, à travers Uri; le Tessin; les Grisons & St Gall, notre route a été celle que vous aviez suivis. Mais ce pays a bien changé depuis que vous ne l'avez visité. Des routes magnifiques & où les plus grosses voitures peuvent trotter partout; passent sur le San Bernadin; le Splügen & le St Gothard; de jolis auberges dans chaque village & même au sommet de la montagne épargnent maintenant au voyageur la nécessité de recourir à l'hospitalité [...] des capucins: Leur hospice est même détruit [...]. A Reichenau aussi le collège n'existe plus, vers 1820; le colonel de Planta; qui me paraît être le marques de Carabas de ce pays là; a fait bâtir sur l'emplacement des anciens bâtiments du collège, une immense maison d'assez mauvais goût; dont le jardin s'étend d'un pont à l'autre & a une fort jolie vue – Le percepteur du péage qui m'a servi de cicérone possède parfaitement tous les détails de votre séjour à Reichenau; et sans me connaître; il me les a tous successivement racontés. [...] J'ai cherché à recueillir le plus de renseignements qu'il m'a été possible; afin de pouvoir répondre de mon mieux aux questions que vous pourriez avoir à m'adresser, Sire, sur des lieux qui nous intéressent tous si vivement. En se reportant à la vie que vous avez dû mener, & dont il est nous-même difficile de nous faire une idée, au milieu du confort & des douceurs de notre position actuelle, on sent que vous avez acheté bien cher par tant de privations et de malheurs le droit d'être heureux et de ne plus souffrir! AN, 300 AP IV 140: Lettres recueillies par la Reine Marie-Amélie concernant les voyages de son fils aîné le duc de Chartres, fol. 38: Ferdinand-Philippe d'Orléans to Louis-Philippe, Rapperschwyl, 8 July 1835.*
- 62 Heidi MEHRKENS, *The Impossible Task of Replacing a Model Heir: The Death of Ferdinand-Philippe d'Orléans and the »New France«*, in: Frank Lorenz MÜLLER, Heidi MEHRKENS (ed.),

On a different level we learn from both correspondences that the 1830s witnessed an increasing interest in Reichenau as a touristic site. Dumas and Ferdinand were shown around by a tour guide who provided interesting stories, which suggests that strangers, who wished to see the Louis-Philippe room, were allowed into the castle and grounds. How did people learn about this place, especially those not close to the inner circle of the Orléans?

French biographical works on the Duc d'Orléans had been readily sharing information about his years in exile since the 1820s. Arnault's »Biographie nouvelle des contemporains« from 1824, for example, features a long article on the duke's life which refers to his time at Reichenau Castle⁶³. Contemporary memoirs also occasionally referred to the Reichenau episode⁶⁴. From 1830, in the wake of the July Revolution, the print market boomed with biographical works on Louis-Philippe's life; many of them used and quoted directly from Arnault's dictionary⁶⁵. Authors who welcomed the establishment of the July Monarchy used the same elements of the Reichenau narrative that had been established by the Duc d'Orléans: The Saint-Gotthard episode is shared with readers (including references to Vernet's painting) to underline how »courageously« the duke in his exile had braved »fatigue, sorrow and poverty«⁶⁶. These accounts also tend to stress the monarch's professionalism and talent as a teacher⁶⁷.

In Switzerland, the events of 1830 also revived an interest in Louis-Philippe and his connection to Reichenau. Extracts of von Tschärner's seminal piece from 1817 were published in local newspapers⁶⁸. The next part will discuss another vital source that helped to create knowledge of Reichenau and explained its connection to the French royal family: The 1830s and early 1840s saw the rise of professional tourist guides and travel books produced to accompany travellers abroad. Maybe unsurprisingly, busy Professor Chabos found his way into this blossoming literary genre, too.

Sons and Heirs: Succession and Political Culture in Nineteenth Century Europe, Basingstoke 2016, p. 196–210, 196–197.

63 Antoine Vincent ARNAULT, *Biographie nouvelle des contemporains ou Dictionnaire historique et raisonné de tous les hommes qui, depuis la Révolution française, ont acquis de la célébrité par leurs actions, leurs écrits, leurs erreurs ou leurs crimes, soit en France, soit dans les pays étrangers [...]*, 1820–1825, vol. 15, Paris 1824, p. 225–245, 232–233.

64 For example: *Voyages et souvenirs du duc de Richelieu, Président du Conseil des Ministres*, publ. by L. T. D'ASFELD, Paris 21827 (first edition 1826), p. 165–167.

65 Eugène BOUTMY, *Une veillée au corps-de-garde du Palais-Royal, ou Louis-Philippe, roi des Français*, Paris 1831, p. 93–97; Émile Marco DE SAINT-HILAIRE, *Vie anecdotique de Louis-Philippe duc d'Orléans, lieutenant général de ce royaume [...]* par un grenadier de la Garde nationale, Paris 1830, p. 83–87.

66 DE SAINT-HILAIRE, *Vie anecdotique* (as in n. 65), p. 79: »Monsieur Horace Vernet turned [this episode] into a touching tableau that was for a long time admired at the public exhibition of the Royal Museum.« BOUTMY, *Une veillée* (as in n. 65), p. 90.

67 DE SAINT-HILAIRE, *Vie anecdotique* (as in n. 65), p. 84; BOUTMY, *Une veillée* (as in n. 65), p. 93.

68 Alfred RUFER, *Über den Aufenthalt des Herzogs von Orleans in Graubünden*, in: *Bündner Zeitung* 7 (1830). Rufer claims that von Tschärner's article had been sent to the duke in 1817 for his approval.

Un de ses plus beaux titres

19th-century guidebooks, like the modern versions today, had multiple functions. They were for example used to prepare a journey at home, as well as to be consulted at the sites of travel. From the 1830s, guidebooks were more standardised than earlier travelogues, fitted easily in a travel bag and made recommendations on tours or accommodation in a neutral expert voice, »to meet the requirements of an increasingly commodified ›leisure migration‹ in an age of industrial capitalism«⁶⁹.

The first edition of the »Handbook for travellers in Switzerland«, published by John Murray in 1838, catered to a British audience. Concerning Reichenau, it informed its readers that »in 1793 a young man calling himself Chabot [sic] arrived [at the castle] on foot, with a stick in his hand and a bundle on his back. He presented a letter of introduction to M. Jost, the head master [...]; and for 8 months gave lessons in French, mathematics, and history. This forlorn stranger was no other than Louis-Philippe, King of the French, then Duke de Chartres, who had been forced [...] to seek concealment here in the performance of the humble duties of a schoolmaster«⁷⁰. The publishing house Baedeker followed suit with its German-speaking guide to Switzerland in 1844; here too travellers learned about the illustrious teacher at the Reichenau School⁷¹. Guidebooks were frequently reprinted and translated soon after their original publication date; the Baedeker, for example, was published in several French editions⁷².

From the mid-1830s the narrative of Professor Chabos was thus made available to (broadly speaking) Western European audiences that did not necessarily share an interest in French dynasties and royal biography, but a fascination for mountaineering in Switzerland and sightseeing. From Jemima Morrell's journal of the first conducted Thomas Cook tour to Switzerland in 1863 we learn that both the Baedeker and Murray guidebooks were essential tools for preparing the journey as well as for looking up information on the spot⁷³.

69 Rudy KOSCHAR, »What ought to be seen«: Tourists' Guidebooks and National Identities in Modern Europe, in: *Journal of Contemporary History* 33/3 (1998), p. 323–340, 326.

70 [John MURRAY], *A Handbook for Travellers in Switzerland, Savoy and Piedmont*, London 1838, p. 204. The entry is still reprinted in the 17th edition (1886), p. 255, and into the 20th century.

71 Karl BAEDEKER, *Die Schweiz. Handbüchlein für Reisende, nach eigener Anschauung und den besten Hülfquellen bearbeitet*, Koblenz 1844, p. 480; see also Werner K. ELIAS, *Outstanding Travel Guides of the 19th Century*, in: *Reisen und Leben* 22 (1991), p. 3–5, URL: <http://www.bdkr.com/rul.php?art=278> (accessed 11 February 2019).

72 Carl [sic] BAEDEKER, *La Suisse. Manuel du voyageur par C. Baedeker. Traduit de l'allemand [sur la 4^e édition] par C. F. Girard, professeur à l'université de Bâle. Deuxième édition refondue*, Koblenz 1854. Reichenau is mentioned p. 317. The same year also saw the 5th edition of the German edition. The first edition of the French classic »Guide Joanne« also mentions the episode: Adolphe JOANNE, *Itinéraire descriptive et historique de la Suisse, du Jura français, de Baden-Baden et de la Fôret-Noire [...]*, Paris 1841, p. 548.

73 *The History of Tourism. Thomas Cook and the Origins of Leisure Travel* (4 vols), vol. 2: Jemima MORRELL, *Miss Jemima's Swiss journal. The first conducted tour of Switzerland [in 1863]*, reprinted from the 1963 edition, London 1998, p. 23, 43, 55, 63. The Baedeker guidebook receives frequent humorous references in Mark TWAIN's novel »A Tramp Abroad«, first published in 1880.

Given the growing interest in organised travel for leisure in Switzerland, better transport and communication systems plus readily available information on its beautiful landscape and interesting sites, it seems understandable that in 1841 Ulrich von Planta felt entitled to write to the King of the French and ask for support in setting up a tourist attraction at Castle Reichenau. In December 1845 von Planta was rewarded for his patience when Camille Bachasson, Count Montalivet, wrote to him on behalf of the monarch: »The King, who has never forgotten the welcome he received in 1793 at the Reichenau College, wanted to give to this institution a token of his appreciation. In consequence His Majesty has decided that two portraits representing two different epochs in His life, 1793 and 1845, will be commissioned to M. Winterhalter, one of our most distinguished painters, and offered in his name to Reichenau College. [...] It is a pleasure, Monsieur, to send you this precious token of the King's recognition for Reichenau College and for a country where he had found, in difficult times, such a hospitable welcome«⁷⁴.

A mere two weeks later the portraits arrived in Reichenau, and Ulrich von Planta expressed his deep-felt gratitude to Montalivet. In his letter he highlighted the potential of the newly decorated room to enhance the king's royal representation in Switzerland: »The Reichenau school, which acquired historic fame by the stay of which His Majesty has kept such a kind memory, as such does not exist anymore«, von Planta explained, »it is now the domicile of my family, but the modest apartment the Duc d'Orléans occupied in the castle, was conserved with special care amidst the changes made to the rest of the building. It is an object of interest and curiosity for many visitors of all nations, from now on their satisfaction will be vividly enhanced by the two admirable paintings I will put in the room and which will be accompanied, as far as it is up to me, by what might serve to commemorate the honour of Reichenau to have been offering, in 1793, asylum to the illustrious exile«⁷⁵.

This last section sets out to explain how, with Planta's initiative in the early 1840s, the two narratives that had developed side by side in Switzerland and in the Orléans dynasty started to merge. It seems fair to assume that the king kept the memory of Professor Chabos alive for a reason. It certainly suited his image of the self-made,

74 *Le Roi, qui n'a jamais oublié l'accueil, qu'il reçut en 1793 au Collège de Reichenau a voulu donner à cet établissement une marque de son souvenir. Sa Majesté a décidé en conséquence que deux portraits le représentant à deux époques différentes de Sa vie, 1793 et 1845 seraient commandés à Monsr. Winterhalter, un de nos peintres les plus habiles et seraient offerts en son nom au collège de Reichenau. [...] Je suis heureux, Monsieur, d'avoir à vous transmettre ce précieux témoignage de la haute bienveillance du Roi pour le collège de Reichenau et pour un pays où il a trouvé dans des temps difficiles un accueil si hospitalier.* StAGR, D III R/III C. 200: Marthe Camille Bachasson, Graf Montalivet (1801–1880), Intendant général de la Liste civile to Oberst Ulrich von Planta-Reichenau, Paris, 2 December 1845 (copy).

75 *Le Collège de Reichenau qui a acquis une célébrité historique par le séjour auquel Sa Majesté a voué un souvenir si bienveillant n'existe plus comme tel il est l'habitation de ma famille, mais le modeste appartement que le Duc d'Orléans a occupé dans ce château, fut au milieu des changements apportés au reste des bâtiments, conservé avec des soins particuliers. Il est l'objet de l'intérêt curieux de nombreux visiteurs de toutes nations; dorénavant leur satisfaction sera vivement rehaussée par ces deux admirables tableaux que j'y placerai et qui seront accompagnés autant qu'il dépendra de moi de ce qui peut servir de commémoration de l'honneur qui a eu Reichenau d'être en 1793 l'asyle de l'illustre Exile.* StAGR, D III R/III C. 200: Oberst Ulrich von Planta-Reichenau to Marthe Camille Bachasson, Graf Montalivet, Chur, 17 December 1845 (copy).

unpretentious, approachable king still at a time when the July Monarchy finally seemed consolidated after the tumultuous 1830s. With his positive response to Ulrich von Planta's request, Louis-Philippe seized the opportunity to establish Reichenau actively as a site of commemoration which allowed visitors to see handpicked elements of his royal persona.

The two copies of Winterhalter portraits the king donated to Reichenau can still be seen in the Louis-Philippe chamber today. The paintings were chosen to demonstrate complementary aspects of his royal representation: The teacher (or: Professor Chabos) is represented by »Louis-Philippe d'Orléans duc de Chartres (futur roi Louis-Philippe) à Reichenau« (image 4). Winterhalter painted it after an original by Couder that went missing in 1848. The youthful Duc de Chartres, whose simple clothes do not reveal his noble rank, is depicted standing at an open window through which Graubünden's magnificent mountains can be seen in the background. Next to him stands a table with a globe, books and maps – references to Louis-Philippe's »profession« as a geography teacher, but also to his position as an exile. Chartres has an air of having just finished his studies to welcome students to class.

On the opposite wall of the room hangs a copy of the official portrait »Le Roi Louis-Philippe« from 1839. The king is »clearly presented as the epicentre of power«⁷⁶, standing upright and serene in his uniform of a National Guard commander. There is no throne but also hardly a reference to the constitutional charter of 1830 in this painting. Both portraits together create a dualism that could be understood as a development: The poor aristocrat-teacher turns into the powerful head of state, hence he leaves his past behind. I prefer the alternative interpretation that both portraits worked together simultaneously in representing different aspects of the royal persona. In 1845, the teacher was not an element of the past. Instead, Professor Chabos formed part of the present monarchical representation.

Some examples might help to support this claim. They show how, in the 1840s, Louis-Philippe did not find it difficult to consolidate his powerful and serene presence with the youthful figure of Professor Chabos. On 10 October 1844, while attending a dinner at Windsor Castle, he impressed Queen Victoria with vivid stories from his adventurous youth. As the Queen noted in her diary: *The King [...] talked to me of his youth & the time when he was at a school ›dans les Grisons‹ receiving only 20 frcs a day, & having to brush his own boots, etc —. He went under the name of Chabot [sic] & taught there! What an eventful life his has been! He certainly is a most interesting man*⁷⁷.

76 Michael MARRINAN, *Painting Politics for Louis Philippe: Art and Ideology in Orleanist France, 1830–1848*, New Haven, CT, 1988, p. 15; BIELER, *Die Herrschaft Rhäzüns* (as in n. 5), p. 42. Winterhalter listed the 1839 portrait in his personal account of his works: RICHARD ORMOND, CAROL BLACKETT-ORD, *Franz Xaver Winterhalter and the Courts of Europe, 1830–70*, London 1988, p. 228 (no 46).

77 Queen Victoria's Journals, entry Thursday, 10 October 1844. Princess Beatrice's copies, vol. 18, p. 97–98, URL: <http://www.queenvictoriasjournals.org> (accessed 11 February 2019). The Letters of Queen Victoria, vol. 2 (of 3), 1844–1853, A Selection from her Majesty's correspondence between the years 1837 and 1861, ed. by Arthur Christopher Benson (Viscount) ESHER, London 1908, p. 24–26. See also Winterhalter's painting »The Reception of Louis-Philippe, King of the French, at Windsor Castle, 8 October 1844« (1845–47, Royal Collection Trust).

In 1847, the chemist Adolf von Planta (1820–1895), Ulrich von Planta's son, visited Paris, where he was not only invited to dine at the Tuileries but also to meet the royal family for tea. On these occasions, too, Louis-Philippe entertained the table and his guest with humorous episodes from his time in Switzerland. When ice sorbet was served for dessert, he exclaimed: *Monsieur de Planta, voici de la glace du Kunkels*⁷⁸. One could argue that here Adolf von Planta became living proof of the king's connection to Graubünden. The king drew attention to his being at ease with his past as an exile – including a reference to his former role as a geography teacher who knew his Swiss mountains by heart – by inviting Planta into the royal sphere and treating him as a guest of honour.

Meanwhile in Reichenau, the space created for Louis-Philippe's royal representation not only attracted tourists, but also members of the dynasty. Following the example of Prince Royal Ferdinand in 1835, most of the king's male descendants seem to have visited Reichenau at various stages in their lives. Many of these visits seem to have occurred after the downfall of the July Monarchy: Louis-Philippe I was dethroned in the February Revolution of 1848 and died in exile in England two years later. His death changed the character of Castle Reichenau from a space of leisure and entertainment to one of commemoration and pilgrimage, especially for members of the former royal family. Ferdinand-Philippe, his eldest son, had died prematurely in 1842. Ferdinand's widow, Duchesse Hélène, and their two sons visited Reichenau in the summer of 1852⁷⁹. The fourteen-year-old Philippe Comte de Paris (1838–1984), impressed by the family history the place was still breathing, wrote to his grandmother the former Queen Marie-Amélie a letter that strikingly mirrors the experience of his father's visit in 1835:

»We have been missing you on this beautiful journey, but especially at Reichenau where we visited the Castle with great interest. We found there the von Planta, the owners of the castle. They showed us the apartment that Grandpa occupied when he was a teacher; they have kept it in the same state, it is in a long corridor in the oldest part of the castle. There's a log stove in the middle, the chamber is small, on one end one sees a portrait of Grandpa as king and on the other as a teacher. One can also see a letter of M. de Montalivet, and under Grandpa's quill a letter of General Dumas. One reads over the door an inscription which states that Grandpa lived in this room in 1793. The von Planta have told us a mass of anecdotes about Grandpa's stay. We saw the signatures of uncle Aumale and uncle Montpensier in the large book⁸⁰.«

78 VON PLANTA, *Chronik der Familie von Planta* (as in n. 5), p. 378; the king is referring to the Kunkelspass near Reichenau. Hansjürg GREDIG, Artikel Planta, Adolf von (Reichenau), in: *Historisches Lexikon der Schweiz* (2018), URL: <http://www.hls-dhs-dss.ch/textes/d/D28911.php> (accessed 11 February 2019). Von Planta's laboratory and equipment, set up in 1852, are still intact today.

79 Renate LÖSCHNER, *Helene Herzogin von Orléans: eine Mecklenburgerin im französischen Königshaus des 19. Jahrhunderts*, Berlin 2009, p. 74–75.

80 *Nous vous avons tous bien regretté dans ce beau voyage, mais surtout à Reichenau où nous avons visité le château avec bien de l'intérêt. Nous y avons trouvé les Planta, possesseurs du château. Ils nous menèrent dans l'appartement que Bon-papa a habité pendant qu'il était professeur; on l'a*

Unfortunately, I was unable to locate the guest book mentioned to shed light on the names of visitors over the years. What we can take away from this letter though is that the king's younger sons, the Duc d'Aumale and the Duc de Montpensier, visited Reichenau at some point between 1835 (Ferdinand's stay) and 1852 using their real names. Duchesse Hélène and her sons revealed their identity to the family von Planta as well. We also learn that the Louis-Philippe room gradually changed its appearance – the guest book hints at von Planta's wish to keep some reference from his visitors for the future. Von Planta had added an inscription in marble over the door of the room, still to be seen today, that reads in the original French *Louis Philippe Duc d'Orléans réfugié en ces lieux d'Octobre 1793 à Juin 1794 y cultivait les sciences*. Montalivet's letter from 2 December 1845 decorated the room. Another letter by Louis-Philippe's aide-de-camp General Dumas, dated Claremont 31 December 1850, announced Marie-Amélie's donation to Reichenau of a quill that had been used by the late king. The quill decorates the chamber today, as does a lithograph showing the king's grandsons on horseback, donated to Reichenau in September 1852 by Duchesse Hélène⁸¹.

Marie-Amélie travelled to Reichenau in June 1854, a journey she described as »precious and venerated pilgrimage for us [...] I thought about how glad poor Father was to see these places again and to show them to me«⁸². An anonymous account of this journey appreciates how »the memory of Professeur Chabaud [sic] and King Louis-Philippe is loyally and respectfully conserved by the Planta family«. Marie-Amélie signed the guestbook on this occasion with words that reveal her fond memories: *Veuve du Professor Chabaud, c'est un de ses plus beaux titres*⁸³. The deliberate reference to Professor Chabos gave authority to the narrative that had been built up carefully and over decades by the king himself. At this site of memory, it was emotionally shared and passed on by his family.

In the 1850s the castle welcomed tourists from near and far. We cannot be sure about the intentions and expectations of these visitors, very likely aristocrats and as-

conservé dans le même état, il donne sur un long corridor qui forme la plus ancienne partie du château. Il y a un grand poêle dans le milieu; la chambre est basse, d'un côté on voit un portrait de Bon-Papa comme roi et de l'autre comme professeur. On voit aussi une lettre de M. de Montalivet, et sous la plume de Bon-Papa une lettre du Général Dumas. On lit sur la porte une inscription qui marque que Bon-Papa a habité cette chambre en 1793. Les Planta nous ont raconté une masse d'anecdotes du séjour de Bon-Papa. Nous avons vu les signatures de l'oncle Aumale et de l'oncle Montpensier dans le grand livre. AN, 300 AP III 91 (Archives de la Maison de France) Marie-Amélie Reine des français (1782–1866): Lettres de ses petits-fils Philippe Comte de Paris, et Robert Duc de Chartres, et lettres de la Duchesse de Chartres (1848–1866), no 26: Villeneuve, 9 August 1852.

- 81 »Le Comte de Paris et le Duc de Chartres dans le Parc de Claremont«, after an 1849 painting by Alfred de Dreux. AN, 300 AP IV 114* (Fonds Nemours) Marie-Amélie: Notes et souvenirs 1830–1852: Retour de la Reine de Séville à Claremont, mai–juin 1852 [sic! 1854 would be correct], p. 11–12.
- 82 *Pèlerinage cher et vénéré pour nous [...]*. AN, 300 AP IV 206* (Fonds Nemours) Marie-Amélie: Lettres au duc de Nemours, vol. 6 (1853–1855), no 46: Heidelberg, 4 June 1854 (copy).
- 83 »Le souvenir du Professeur Chabaud et du Roi Louis-Philippe est fidèlement et respectueusement conservé par la Famille Planta.« AN, 300 AP IV 114* (Fonds Nemours) Marie-Amélie: Notes et souvenirs 1830–1852: Retour de la Reine de Séville à Claremont, mai–juin 1852 [sic!], p. 12.

piring middle-class, with money to spare and time at their hands. They might have been royalists or, Baedeker in hand, merely looking for a beautiful and historic site to explore. Whatever their motives to come, visitors had a chance to engage with the acts of royal and dynastic commemoration displayed at Reichenau. Take Geheimrat Kestner, for example, from Hannover in Germany. He visited Reichenau in August 1855, admired the small collection of exquisite portraits and read with deep emotion the queen's guestbook entry⁸⁴. Kestner shared this experience democratically with Marie-Amélie's second eldest son the Duc de Nemours who paid his respects to von Planta in August 1863, completely in line with a family tradition that had been established decades earlier⁸⁵.

Legacy

In conclusion, I would like to suggest some lines of enquiry based on the material presented in this piece. The article aimed to draw attention to the connection between monarchy and tourism in the modern age. The Tsar Peter House in Zaandam near Amsterdam, »in which the tsar had worked with his own hands«⁸⁶, developed into a major tourist attraction, visited by various members of the Romanov dynasty and European royalty⁸⁷, but also by members of the middle-class. Albert Lortzing's comic opera »Zar und Zimmermann« (Tsar and Carpenter), which was first performed at the Altes Theater in Leipzig in December 1837, created a lasting and romanticised legacy of Peter the Great's Grand Embassy⁸⁸.

To my knowledge no opera has ever been written about Professor Chabos. Castle Reichenau is not a museum, but in private ownership today as it had been in 1793. And yet, here, too, a place came to be identified with a monarch that was neither a glittering palace nor a glorified battlefield. It seems that Reichenau and Zaandam satisfied a public interest in the human, accessible side of monarchical power, which included its humble beginnings. They became spaces of commemoration and of pilgrimage, for the contemporaries as well as for the dynasties themselves. Think of

84 Gotthilf Heinrich von SCHUBERT, *Erinnerungen aus dem Leben ihrer königlichen Hoheit Helene Louise Herzogin von Orléans gebornen Prinzessin von Mecklenburg-Schwerin. Nach ihren eigenen Briefen zusammengestellt*, Stuttgart 1862, p. 97–98.

85 Suzanne d'HUART (ed.), *Journal de Marie-Amélie, reine des Français, 1800–1866*, Paris 1980, n. 568: *En août 1863, le duc de Nemours visita à son tour Reichenau et lut avec émotion ce que sa mère avait écrit sur le registre des visiteurs, où les noms français étaient nombreux*. On political strategies of monarchs and their families in exile see Torsten RIOTTE, *Der Monarch im Exil. Eine andere Geschichte von Staatswerdung und Legitimus im 19. Jahrhundert*, Göttingen 2018.

86 VOLTAIRE, *Œuvres complètes. Œuvres Historiques. Première Partie*, Paris 1835: *Histoire de Russie. Seconde Partie*, ch. VII: *Prise de Vismar. Nouveaux voyages du czar*, p. 3211.

87 According to TROYAT, Peter the Great (as in n. 3), p. 98, visitors include Grand Duke Paul of Russia, Joseph II, Gustave III, Alexander I, Napoleon and Marie Louise, and Alexander II. The wooden house, built in 1632, was surrounded in 1823 by a protective shell, to allow continuous access for visitors. The current stone shell dates from 1895.

88 Lortzing also wrote the libretto after Georg Christian Römer's »Der Bürgermeister von Saardam, oder Die zwei Peter«, which itself was based on the French play »Le Bourgmestre de Saardam, ou Les deux Pierre« by Anne-Honoré-Joseph Duveyrier de Méléville and Jean-Toussaint Merle (1818). Gaetano Donizetti had set the same story in his 1827 opera »Il borgomastro di Saardam«. The correct Dutch spelling of the city's name is Zaandam.

Castle Arenenberg, in Thurgau, Switzerland, which is famous for its connection with the Bonaparte family and as the final domicile of Hortense Beauharnais. Or Ajaccio, Corsica, where we see Empress Eugénie and Prince Imperial Napoléon-Eugène-Louis Bonaparte visit their dynasty's place of origin in 1869: »The Empress and the Prince visited the house where the Emperor Napoleon was born – a very humble dwelling in an obscure street. The Prince, however, was so overjoyed to find himself there, that he ran from room to room, asking questions of the Empress, who had visited the house on a former occasion. He was shown the bed on which his great-uncle Napoleon I. first saw the light, and, boy-like, he at once stretched himself full length upon it. This room was filled with portraits of the Buonaparte family, to which on this visit the Empress added one of her son«⁸⁹.

The patterns are strikingly similar: An inherent connection with family history, spanning generations, is expressed in the portrait gallery, but there is also the claim of authenticity – the actual room of Louis-Philippe, the very bed of Napoleon, Tsar Peter's original accommodation –, which is skilfully linked to the position of power these dynasties later achieved. The Reichenau example was chosen to approach the question why subjects were interested not only to see the grand palaces, but also places where royals had experienced the simple life, and why the families made such efforts to preserve those and, even more baffling, agreed to share them with the public.

The theme of the working ruler also deserves closer attention, especially its appearance in different monarchical systems (including 18th-century Tsarist Russia) and the increasing role it played on the constitutional agenda of 19th-century monarchies. The Reichenau example highlights that nobility could be defined in different ways beyond the biological restrictions of lineage and succession. His contemporaries defined Louis-Philippe's stint as a lowly teacher as an honourable task that had enriched the aristocrat's life in many respects and equipped him for his kingship. His nobility was seen to be defined by his worth, and not only by his ancestry. Royal cultures of merit developed throughout Europe after the Napoleonic Wars, with many monarchs choosing to create a self-image as semi-professional soldiers or intellectuals⁹⁰. Future generations also were expected to develop professionalism. In the second half of the 19th century it became more and more the norm to send royal heirs and princes to University (talented or not) and to test their progress with exams. This effort was made necessary by the newly defined relationship between the monarchy and their audiences, with rulers going a long way to ensure subjects' loyalty and affection.

The Reichenau case has shown that Louis-Philippe's complex image as citizen king was carefully developed by him over the years. It successfully implemented a narrative of authority based on two foundations, neither of which had anything to do with his social status as a nobleman: the teacher and the father. As Catherine Brice

89 Ellen BARLEE, *Life of the Prince Imperial*, London 1880, p. 119–120.

90 Frank-Lothar KROLL, *Monarchen als Gelehrte. Zum Typus des *homme de lettres* in den deutschen Fürstenstaaten des 19. Jahrhunderts*, in: König Johann von Sachsen. *Zwischen zwei Welten*, publ. by Sächsische Schlösserverwaltung und Staatlicher Schlossbetrieb Schloss Wesenstein, Halle/Saale 2007, p. 135–140.

has shown, the Father-King as a traditional, pre-revolutionary motive continued to be used for royal self-representation in constitutional monarchical environments⁹¹. The Teacher-King however refers back to the merits of achievement and education, valued particularly by middle-class groups in European societies. A king who is also a (professional) teacher can claim authority not only to educate his children but a whole nation. The teacher narrative was applied in the daily political practice of the July Monarchy: Louis-Philippe's engagement as patron of the arts and sciences is reflected in the transformation of the palace of Versailles from a residence into the Museum of the History of France, inaugurated in June 1837 and open to the public⁹². Prince Royal Ferdinand was a patron of public educational institutions, like the *Société pour l'instruction élémentaire*⁹³.

Finally, this article engaged with questions of agency and negotiation processes between the monarch and his audiences. Louis-Philippe I had an interest in sharpening his self-representation into an effective tool of royal soft power. And yet the monarch was never fully in control of his image, in this case due to the parallel storyline created in Switzerland. The self-image promoted by the king was roughly in tune with his representation at Reichenau Castle and in Swiss publications, which hailed the admirable personal attitude of the impoverished young duke and his deep-felt respect for republican values. Possibly damaging elements of Professor Chabos's adventurous life were, in silent agreement, left out of this narrative, such as Louis-Philippe's conflictual relationship with his father Philippe Egalité, or his not-so-secret love affair with the Italian cook at Reichenau, Marianne Banzori⁹⁴. Representations of constitutional monarchy in the 19th century were meant to show the human side of power – but certainly not unfiltered.

91 BRICE, *Métaphore familiale et monarchie constitutionnelle* (as in n. 13), p. 157–185.

92 Valérie BAJOU (ed.), *Louis-Philippe et Versailles*. Publié à l'occasion de l'exposition »Louis-Philippe et Versailles« présentée au château de Versailles du 6 octobre 2018 au 3 février 2019, Paris 2018.

93 AN, 300 AP III 174, *Archives de la Maison de France: Ferdinand Philippe duc de Chartres et d'Orléans (1810–1842). Mort du Duc d'Orléans. Lettres de Condoléances à la duchesse d'Orléans et au comte de Paris, projets de réponses et écrits divers (1842)*, no 181, 20 July 1842.

94 CASTILLON DUPERRON, *Louis Philippe et la Révolution française* (as in n. 17), p. 87, 94–102.