Heir of the Month:

The Second Year (2014-15)

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Heirs to the Throne Project

Preface

As we look back on another year of our „Heirs to the Throne“ project, we find that our topic really is a gift that keeps on giving. The members and friends of the St Andrews team have written another dozen “Heir of the Month” essays and the variety of the topics addressed and perspectives chosen has proved to be as colourful as ever.

Our monthly offerings have dealt with countries as far-flung as Mexico, Portugal, Greece and Spain – along with old favourites such as France, Prussia, Italy and Britain – and have gazed through analytical lenses as diverse as motor cars, sepulchral monuments, choreographed travel, marriage diplomacy or literary responses to royal topics.

We are happy to collate our second clutch of twelve essays into another freely available “Royal Annual” for ease of access and to mark the ongoing commitment of our AHRC-funded venture to communicating our work and our ideas to a wide circle of readers with an interest in the history of the monarchical nineteenth century.

We are delighted to take this opportunity to thank the AHRC and the School of History for their continued support of our activities.

St Andrews, October 2015

Heidi Mehrkens

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Essays November 2014 – October 2015

Edward (David) Prince of Wales: Monarchy and Motorcars

Heidi Mehrkens

Edward Prince of Wales in 1912, portrait by Arthur Stockdale Cope (Royal Collection)

On 18 March 1913 Edward Albert Prince of Wales – known to the family as David – arrived at Cologne. Having endured a tiresome journey on the night train, he was not in the best of moods: "The Germans are very odd", he somewhat crankily wrote in his diary, "nearly all the men wear some uniform, & they all have moustaches & smoke cigars. I hope this trip will be a success." The eighteen year old heir to the throne, then a student at Oxford University, travelled through the German states twice in spring and summer 1913 in order to learn the language, to explore the cultural attractions and to spend some quality time with his royal relatives at various German courts.

It seems that the chock-a-block programme – his days filled to the brim with sightseeing, studies and the evenings with endless theatre and opera performances – occasionally got on the Prince's nerves. He enjoyed his tours about the countryside and liked some of the modern plays, but Wagner's Rheingold was not his cup of tea and, as he put it, "such a waste of time." David, who travelled incognito as Earl of Chester, was accompanied by his tutor Professor Hermann Georg Fiedler (1862-1945) and his equerry Major William George Cadogan (1879-1914). In their company the Prince of Wales travelled via Bonn, Koblenz and Wiesbaden to Darmstadt (where he spent Easter with Grand Duke Ernst-Ludwig of Hesse-Darmstadt and Grand Duchess Eleonore), Heidelberg and Karlsruhe. There he stayed with Grand Duke Friedrich II and Duchess Hilda of Baden before reaching

his final destination Stuttgart, where he received a warm welcome from Wilhelm II King of Württemberg and Queen Charlotte.

At second glance, the Prince found a lot to like about Germany, one thing in particular: "So ends my motor trip of 671 miles", David's diary proudly records on 27 March 1913. In fact, the Prince of Wales travelled all the way from Cologne to Stuttgart by car, and for a good deal of the road trip he was behind the wheel himself.

Photo, Underwood and Underwood.

"THE EARL OF CHESTER" IN GERMANY: THE PRINCE OF WALES WALKING WITH PROFESSOR FIEDLER IN COLOGNE.

The Illustrated London News, 29 March 1913

By the early twentieth century the fabrication of motorised vehicles slowly passed out of the experimental state; they had become reliable and comfortable enough to carry passengers over longer distances. The young British motoring lobby tried its best to campaign for this promising industry. Prince Edward's interest in motorcars, it is fair to say, ran in the family: In February 1896 the freshly founded London "Motor Car Club" at the Imperial Institute was visited by King Edward VII, then Prince of Wales. As the Court Circular reported, "His Royal Highness inspected the motor carriages […] and personally tested their capabilities by riding in them at various rates of speed and on steep grades." The Prince of Wales then officially opened the first international "Exhibition of Horseless Carriages" in London in May 1896.

Later that year the Motor Car Club organised the so-called Emancipation Run from London Hyde Park to Brighton (which is a famous vintage car rally today) to celebrate the 14 November 1896, when the Locomotives on Highways Act came into operation. This Act removed the speed limits which had so far restricted the use of motorised vehicles in the UK, and motorcar enthusiasts were now allowed to drive their electric-, steam- or petrol-powered vehicles at 14 mph. The enthusiastic Prince Edward bought his

first car in 1900 and a second one in 1902; both were manufactured by the Daimler Motor Company Limited. David's grandfather thus became an influential patron of the young British motorcar industry; a relationship from which both sides only stood to gain.

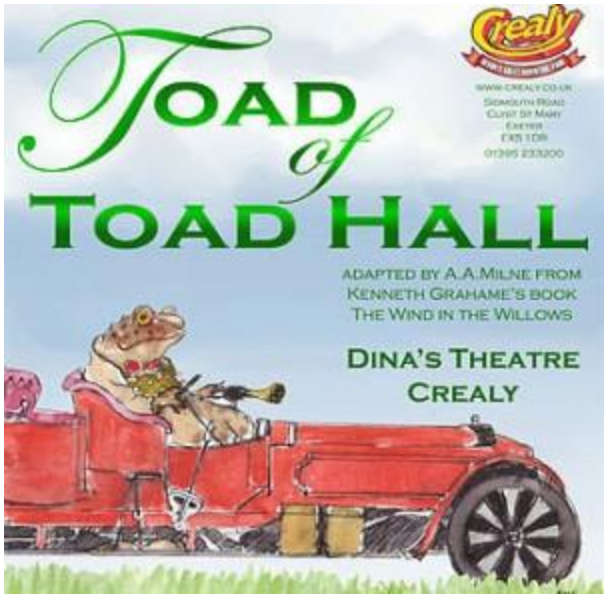
Throughout the Edwardian era motoring remained a domain of the rich: a motorcar was a luxury good. While Henry Ford gradually prepared the US market for less expensive automobiles aimed at middle class families, car owners in Britain had to be wealthy enough to afford the motor's maintenance, high taxes and the salary of both a mechanic and a chauffeur. In 1905 there were sixteen thousand private cars on British roads; however, large-scale production of cheaper cars would not begin until the interwar period.

The first Royal car 6 hp 2-cylinders 1527 cc fitted with a "mail phaeton" body purchased by the Prince of Wales in 1900

Many European royal families not only shared the interest in the new mode of travel but used the expensive motorcars as a means of representation. The London Times informed its readers in January 1901 that Leopold II, King of the Belgians, had ordered "another electric motor-car of 20-horse power, which is expected to attain a speed up to 55 miles an hour. His Majesty, who has a great liking for this form of travel, frequently drives in the suburbs of Brussels and round the Bois de la Cambre in the neighbourhood of the city." The above mentioned Grand Duke of Hesse drove a car in 1901, and motoring soon became popular amongst the Hohenzollern family as well. Their motoring pioneers were Crown Prince Wilhelm and Prince Henry of Prussia who bought the first car for the royal family in 1902. In 1912 Prince Henry would own some 19 motorcars, most of them Daimlers, and at least one motorcycle. His brother the Emperor remained a motor sceptic at first; in 1904 Wilhelm, too, bought a motor, following in the footsteps (or rather skid marks) of his Uncle Edward and the Tsar. In 1904 the Kaiser also became an honorary member of the German Automobile Club which, only a year later,

was renamed in Imperial Automobile Club. Wilhelm built up his vehicle fleet and owned 25 cars in 1914; with fifteen chauffeurs at his disposal.

With their fondness for motoring the European royal community greatly boosted the campaign for acceptability and respectability of motorcars. They honoured motor clubs with their membership and motorcar exhibitions with their presence, photographs of royals sitting in the backseat or driving a car adorned the front cover of *The Car Illustrated*magazine; they attended touring car rallies and donated prizes for racing competitions. In 1907, Emperor Wilhelm II sponsored the first "Kaiserpreisrennen" (the Emperor's prize rally) in the Taunus area.



Advert for a modern theatrical production of Milne's "Toad of Toad Hall"

The fascination of the upper class Edwardians for mobility was eternalized – and mocked – in many plays and novels. Kenneth Grahame's children's book "The Wind in the Willows", first published in 1908, features the adventures of Mr Toad of Toad Hall, the rich village squire and "Terror of the Highway" in his large and expensive motor car "before whom all must give way or be smitten into nothingness and everlasting night." Indeed, motorcars gradually changed societies as more and more of these luxury goods could be seen on roads that were not really suited for an increase in traffic. Road safety became an issue. The growing number of motorcars affected infrastructures and changed life in urban communities as well as in the city. With drivers not always in control of their cars and a population not used to sharing the roads with noisy, speeding vehicles, accidents were bound to happen. Stories of frightened horses bolting in front of motorcars, dogs and children hit by vehicles going way over the speed limit and road users ending up in hospital or even dead filled the papers. A debate in the House of Commons about the acceptable speed for motorcars resulted in the Motor Car Act of 1903. It introduced registration of motorcars and licensing of drivers in the United Kingdom and increased the speed limit to 20 mph.

Similar regulations were established on the continent yet the relationship between motorcar owners, their chauffeurs and other road users should remain tense as is proved by the bitter discussions of liability laws and luxury taxes.

The royal motoring pioneers had different reasons to engage with this emerging mode of travel. Prince Henry of Prussia was excited about new technologies. When his first car broke down during a road trip in 1902 (still a frequent event in those days), Henry tried to fix the machine together with his mechanic. Afterwards the Prince was told off by Emperor Wilhelm who did not consider getting his hands dirty on a car in public acceptable behaviour for a member of the royal family. A keen horseman in spite of his crippled left arm, Wilhelm II always took the backseat in a motorcar and let his chauffeur do the driving. Other royal motor enthusiasts, including Edward VII and his grandson David, the future Edward VIII, on the other hand, enjoyed driving themselves – preferably at a considerable speed. They loved the hands-on experience of sitting behind the wheel. Driving a car developed into a fashionable new gentleman sport.

The Gordon Bennett Cup 1905

The Prince of Wales explained the benefits of driving in a letter to his father King George V from Neustrelitz on 25 July 1913: "I am very fond of driving a motor & it is a real pleasure to me & is one of the few forms of so called sport that I can get here. It makes such a difference when I go for some motor expedition from Strelitz whether I am driving or sitting behind. I also think that apart from anything personal, driving a motor is good for one's nerve and makes one resourceful, & as I shall probably have a good deal of motoring to do in my life it does relieve the monotony of a long journey if one drives oneself. And one can only drive well, by driving constantly & getting experience."

The Prince of Wales had probably heard this advice many times from his own driving instructor, Undecimus Stratton (1868-1929), the successful manager of Daimler's London depot. In 1911 Stratton spent a few weekends at Sandringham tutoring David on the workings and driving of a motorcar. On longer trips, like the ones in Germany, the Prince was accompanied by his chauffeur and they would take the wheel in turns.

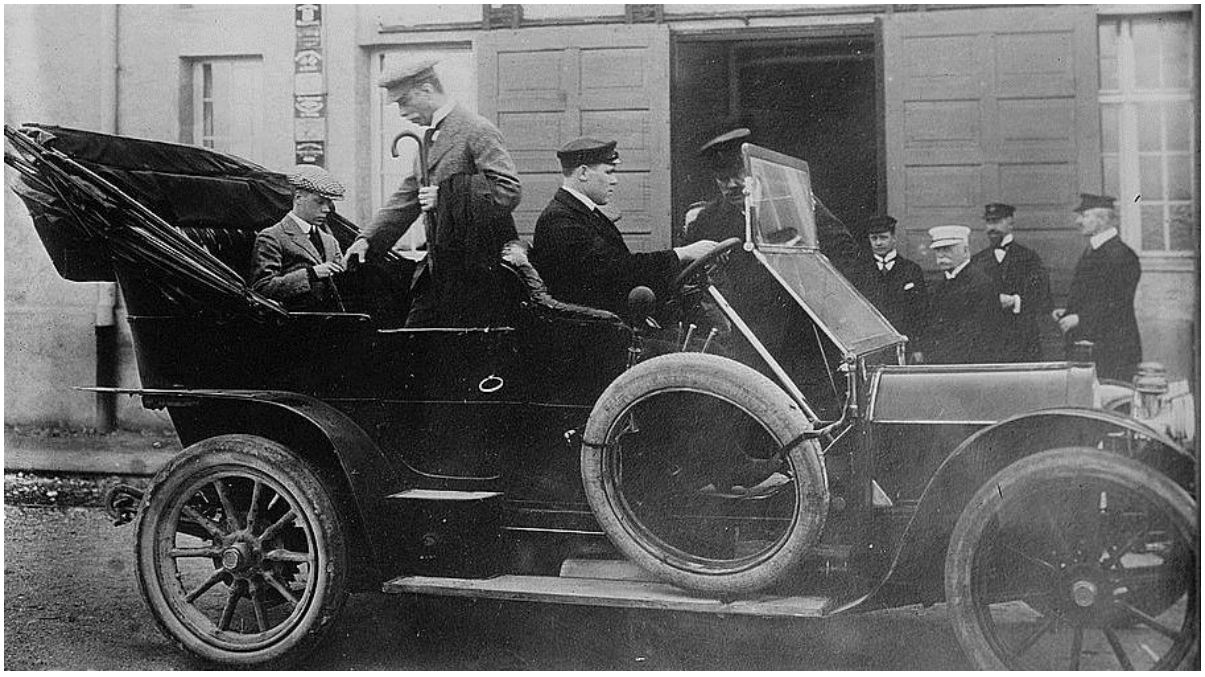
Prince George of Cumberland died in a car crash in 1912

All royal families were well aware that driving a motorcar was not without risks. In 1911 Prince Henry of Prussia was injured in a serious accident. In May 1912 Prince George of Cumberland, eldest son of the Duke of Cumberland, was tragically killed in a car crash when travelling from Prague to Copenhagen to attend the funeral of his uncle, the late King of Denmark. The motorcar came off the road, hit a tree and was wrecked. It seems therefore perfectly understandable that King George and Queen Mary were worried about their eldest son's safety whenever David went on a motor journey. He was their beloved child, and he was also the heir to the British throne.

The Prince of Wales's second trip to Germany in 1913 began on 1 July, when he travelled to Munich. Journeying via Nuremberg and Prague the party took a leisurely ten days to motor to Dresden. On 10 July, David was behind the wheel when his car approached a junction at about 40 mph. His diary states: „I slowed up, blew the horn & as it was clear

went on. At the same moment the horses of a farm cart bolted across & it looked as if all was up. But Cracknell [the chauffeur] jammed the wheel over so that we missed the cart, but struck a tree which only smashed the left foot board & a tool box!! So we had a very lucky escape & but for the tree we should have capsized. I was awfully sick about it though it was really bad luck."

It could already be expected that unpleasant consequences would follow hard on the heels of this incident. On 21 July, while David stayed in Neustrelitz with the Grand Duke Adolf and Duchess Elisabeth of Mecklenburg-Strelitz, he made a furious entry in his diary: "I had bad news. Some bloody man has let out about the accident on the way to Dresden on July 10th & Papa is very sick & has stopped my driving. It is disgraceful that people come between Papa & myself & report matters which I should do; all these beastly court officials do nothing but make trouble. I think it is Cracknell who wrote home, when he said he would not say anything!!"



The Prince of Wales in March 1913 outside the Zeppelin works at Friedrichshafen, in the back of a Pierce-Arrow automobile. Ferdinand von Zeppelin is standing to right in a white cap. Professor Fiedler is standing in the automobile

The Prince's reaction reveals the frustration he felt about being constantly surrounded by his valets, tutors and bodyguards. Naturally communication between the ruler of the British Empire and his heir cannot be compared to any other relationship of a father and

his teenage son. It was filtered through many official and unofficial channels and the Prince was not always sure whether he could count on his own party's loyalty. In secret David might have hoped to keep news of the accident from his father or postpone the moment of truth until he and the King had a private moment together. He certainly did not write to his mother about the accident. What the Prince's anger also reveals is how important driving was to him. Constantly in the centre of attention, driving created some space that David desperately wanted to preserve. Having given it a second thought, the Prince of Wales explained himself in a much calmer letter to the King on 25 July, doing his best to defend his case:

"I can give you my absolute word of honour that I always drive very cautiously & sensibly & that I never take any risks. Both Major Cadogan & Professor Fiedler will I am sure bear out what I say, & so I think it very wrong that people should go & tell you that I do things which are far from true. Accidents may happen to the best & most careful driver in the world, as they may happen at any game or sport, & I don't see why they should happen to me more than to any other person particularly as I am always so careful. Of course I have not been driving at all since I received your instructions not to do so, but I hope that you will perhaps reconsider this & give me permission to drive again when I tell you that it means a great deal to me out here. […] So I am asking if with your great kindness you will give me permission to drive my motor again. All I have said about taking great trouble & caution when I drive is absolutely sincere & true. I know you will not mind my writing all this, as you like me to tell you what I think."

A couple of days later, the Prince had every reason to be overjoyed and relieved: „I received a charming letter from dear Papa giving me permission to drive my car again", he wrote in his diary on 31 July, "he is kind & we now understand each other so well." For the young Prince, driving a motorcar was less a means of representation than rather a mode of expression. That was something the King, familiar with an adventurous and at times risky life at sea, could acknowledge. The educational trip to Germany might not have stimulated the Prince's cultural taste buds to the extent his royal parents and Professor Fiedler hoped for, yet it provided the British heir to the throne with the opportunity to travel miles and miles in a motorcar, an experience of personal freedom he seems to have thoroughly enjoyed. On a different note it certainly taught him a useful lesson in parent diplomacy.

Suggested Reading

- *A King's Story. The Memoirs of H.R.H. the Duke of Windsor*, K.G. London, Cassell and Company Ltd., 1951
- Kenneth Grahame (1913), *The Wind in the Willows*, New York, Charles Scribner's Sons: https://www.gutenberg.org/ebooks/27805
- Wolfgang König (2007), *Wilhelm II. und die Moderne. Der Kaiser und die technisch-industrielle Welt*, Paderborn u.a., Schöningh
- Sean O'Connell (1998), *The car and British society. Class, gender and motoring, 1896-1939*, Manchester, New York, MUP
- J. Wroughton (1978), '*A student prince in Germany*', *History Today* 28, 3-13
- Philip Ziegler (1990), *King Edward VIII: the official biography*, London, Collins

The author is most grateful to Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II for permission to make use of material held in the Royal Archives, Windsor.

Amedeo, Duca d'Aosta / don Amadeo I of Spain

Mission Impossible: An Italian King in Spain

Maria-Christina Marchi and Richard Meyer Forsting

Amedeo was born in 1845, only a year after his brother Umberto, the heir to the Italian throne. Owing to the small age gap the two were raised together. Brought up away from the court, in the royal residence of Moncalieri, just outside of Turin, they were educated by an important military figure, General Giuseppe Rossi, in the traditional, military-focused, Savoia style. Both brothers were immediately integrated into a narrative, typical in the history of the House of Savoy, which emphasised military bravery and a strong sense of duty. At the age of five Amedeo became a member of the National Guard in the Aosta Battalion.

Amedeo in military uniform, 1864, Archivio Bertarelli, 506, Museo del Risorgimento, Milan

The role of the soldier-prince suited him more than it ever suited his brother Umberto, and Amedeo quickly rose through the ranks – and not only because of his lineage. By 1861 the Savoia had united large portions of the Italian peninsula under their crown, and Amedeo was appointed Lieutenant-Colonel of the 5th regiment of the Aosta Brigade,

was a Major in the same regiment, and Colonel of the 1st legion of Milan's National Guard: all of this before he had even turned seventeen. Before the battle of Custoza, on 24 June 1866, though, Amedeo remained a relatively unknown figure. Most of the royal propaganda was focused on turning his father, Vittorio Emanuele II, into a heroic figure, the "Father of the Fatherland". The princes were slowly integrated into public life, with travels throughout Italy and the Levant which gave both Amedeo and his brother Umberto a little of the limelight, yet the popularity he would later experience in Italy was not yet apparent.

Bravery and duty: qualities of a king

The battle of Custoza was one of the defining moments during the Third War of Independence, which aimed to complete Italian unification. In an attempt to claim the Veneto for the Kingdom of Italy, Italian troops were sent to fight the Austrian enemy. The battle marked a brutal and humiliating loss for the Italian army, despite its numerical superiority.

Amedeo at the Battle of Custoza, 1866, Archivio Bertarelli, 506, Museo del Risorgimento, Milan

However, the damage to the military prestige of the monarchy was softened by the acts of bravery shown by the king's younger son, Amedeo. Despite warnings from his generals, Vittorio Emanuele sent both sons onto the battlefield, claiming that "if we princes of house Savoia had stayed at home when our soldiers fought, then we would find ourselves like the Bourbons of Naples [a dynasty the Savoia had deposed in their battle for national unity]. I understand the interest you take in the life of the princes, but my sons are soldiers and they must fight." (A. Trinchieri, ed., *Amedeo di Savoia: Aneddoti, Appunti, Ricordi,* 1890, p.11).

Amedeo was wounded in the battle, and although the bullet piercing his chest did not threaten his life, the injury meant he was hailed as a courageous warrior. He allegedly did not want to leave his men or the battlefield and had to be carried off by his aide-de-camp. Thereafter he refused any special treatment and insisted on other men being attended on

before him. This selflessness and bravery earned him the golden medal "for the outstanding valour demonstrated by daringly leading, at the head of his brigade, the attack on the farmhouses occupied by the enemy at Monte Croce, where, amongst the first, he was injured by a bullet." (Trinchieri, *Amedeo di Savoia*, p.14). The public response to his injury was overwhelming; he received numerous letters, and poems were dedicated to his bravery. There was a sense of gratitude for his personal sacrifice to the protection of the nation. According to one of his contemporaries, his biographer Augusto Trinchieri, the prince "exercised great charm on the people," and was a loved figure of the Savoia family. These qualities turned him into one of the most promising Catholic princes in Europe. Not surprisingly he was high on the list of candidates when Spain began its search for a new monarch after ousting Isabel II in 1868.

From Amedeo to Amadeo

Initially both Amedeo and Vittorio Emanuele II refused the crown offered by Spain, which found itself in the peculiar position of being a constitutional monarchy without a monarch. The Italian heir was diplomatically the best option, because his election would not disturb the European balance of power. Having approached various internal and external candidates and caused a diplomatic row between Germany and France over the Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen candidacy that ultimately led to war, the Spanish government once more looked to Italy. This time, Vittorio Emanuele pressured his son into accepting, in order to elevate the Savoia family's prestige on the European stage. He had already married off his daughter to the king of Portugal, and to extend his family's political reach could benefit the Italian royal house in the long run. Moreover, to place his son in an intrinsically catholic nation might garner some favour with the Catholic Church. Although it was said to be against his own wishes, Amedeo's sense of duty towards his father and country were so great that he accepted the proposal, giving up his Italian citizenship in order to save a country that was not his.

Amedeo, Duke of Aosta and King of Spain, Archivio Bertarelli, 471, Museo del Risorgimento, Milan

Despite Amedeo's qualities the Savoia's conflict with the Vatican complicated his position. 1870 saw the annexation of Rome by the Kingdom of Italy, which made it the capital of the new nation state. However, Rome became a centre of double occupation, as the Holy Sea refused to acknowledge the city's new status as "Italian." The Pope acted like a prisoner within his own home, and although not actually treated as such, tension between the kingdom and the papacy was palpable. Over the years, September 20, the date of the breaching of Porta Pia and annexation of Rome, became an ambivalent event. On one hand it was commemorated by the state as the day when Italy was truly united as one, whereas for many Catholics in Italy and abroad it became a day of mourning. The most drastic step was taken by the Pope who excommunicated the Italian king after his conquest of Rome, "occupying" the seat of the holy pontiff. Some Catholic nations found it difficult to recognise Italy's legitimacy in the light of what had happened. In Spain the Cortes, the Spanish parliament, was already troubled by the annexation of the Papal lands by the Italian army in 1865. To them Italy was born from "usurpation and a series of errors." Therefore the conflict between the Savoia family and the Catholic Church was not a promising sign for the future monarch of Spain. The piety demonstrated by Amedeo's wife, a Piedmontese noblewoman, Maria Vittoria dal Pozzo della Cisterna, and her struggle with her own king's excommunication, was of some consolation, but the situation remained very complicated.

These issues notwithstanding, both the Cortes and the Italian parliament agreed to elevate Amedeo to the throne of Spain. The Cortes voted in favour of Amedeo as king (191 votes against 153) in November 1870 and on 4 December 1870 Manuel Ruiz Zorilla, president of the House of Deputies, and forty other Spanish delegates, conveyed the news of Amedeo's election to Florence, where he was declared Don Amadeo I of Spain. Before leaving his old fatherland for his adopted *patria*, Amadeo already displayed an awareness of the difficulties he would have to face. He knew that not everyone would welcome him,

that some would see him as a usurper and a foreigner. He was conscious of the difficulty of reigning in a politically divided country and he knew that he was "going to [Spain to] carry out an impossible mission." The country was divided and he feared that it would "unite against a foreign king." (Trinchieri, *Amedeo di Savoia,* p. 21). His predictions, it would seem, were to come true.

Amadeo: A new hope

Even before Amadeo's election, the ultra-Catholic Carlist branch of the Spanish Bourbon family was preparing to press its claim to the throne once more. On 18 April 1870 an assembly at Vevey in Switzerland, composed of leading supporters of the Carlist cause, had proclaimed Don Carlos the new King of Spain. The creation of a Carlist ministry in exile and military appointments to positions within Spain foreshadowed the conflict that would beset Amadeo's reign. Besides, Spain was already facing financial difficulties and had been fighting an insurrection in Cuba since 1868.

Despite the difficult situation in which Spain found itself, Amadeo's election filled liberals with the hope that his reign would open a new chapter in the country's history.

There was a sense in the international press and indeed within Spanish liberalism, that Amadeo had the qualities to overcome divisions and become the constitutional monarch so hoped for by progressives in Spain. Thus *The Times,* in a report on the election of Amadeo, stressed his virtues: "The Duke [Amadeo] has sense, courage, tact, discretion, and that happy mixture of dignity and winning affability which covered a multitude of his father and his grandfather's sins." Progressive forces invested their hope in Amadeo. They wanted him to build a more positive and modern national identity based on progress, liberty and national sovereignty, far removed from the corruption and decadence that had come to be associated with reign of Isabel II. The famous historical novelist Benito Perez Galdos wrote of how one of his friends "saw in the King a new hope for the *Patria*". Many echoed this feeling and had high expectations in their constitutionally elected monarch.

These high hopes were always going to be difficult to fulfil. Amadeo himself expressed his scepticism and seems to have been moved more by his sense of duty than optimism. In his acceptance speech he declared, "I accept the noble and lofty mission which Spain confides in me, although I am not unaware of the difficulties of my new task, nor of the responsibility I assume before history."

Amadeo I, King of Spain, Wikimedia Commons

An ominous start to the reign

Before he even arrived in Spain, Amadeo's reign received a major blow. On the 30 December 1870 General Prim died of the wounds inflicted on him by unknown assassins the day before. This cowardly attack removed one of Amadeo's key supporters in Spain. Prim had been one of the leaders of the 1868 uprising against Isabel II, a military hero of the African campaign and one of the key politicians of the post-revolutionary period. In the presentation of the candidature of the Duke to the Cortes on 3 November 1870, Prim had expanded at length on Amadeo's merits. Furthermore he formed the coalition that delivered the 191-deputy majority voting for the Duke of Aosta in the tumultuous confirmation session of 16 November 1870. Prim had been one of the few politicians able to keep together the broad alliance of the 1868 revolution. Without his political direction Spanish politics became increasingly divided and Amadeo struggled continuously to nominate a stable government. His two-year reign saw eight governments and three general elections.

The new king's task was made even more complicated by the attitude of the Spanish aristocracy. The nobility had always been the monarchy's strongest supporter, but this support waned during Amadeo's reign. The new royal family did not only induce suspicion for having been elected by the Cortes, but also lacked any roots in Spanish history. Amadeo and his wife were regarded as foreign monarchs, imposed on Spain against its traditions and ancient laws. Attempts made by Amadeo's proponents to link

the dynasty to the 1712 Treaty of Utrecht's provision of the Crown passing to the house of Savoy in case of Philip V's line failing, were largely unsuccessful. Furthermore the deeply Catholic grandees were offended by the conflict between the new Italian state and the papacy. The whole Savoy family was held responsible for the 'captivity' of the pope.

This rejection found its expression in public and private acts of defiance. One of the first examples of a public expression of the nobility's discontent occurred when Amadeo arrived in Madrid for the first time. Galdos reports how the most important noble families of Madrid conspicuously refused to fly their banners and kept their windows shut during the official festivities in honour of the arrival of the new King. His wife Queen Maria Vittoria was another target of demonstrations of hostility. She first had difficulties finding suitable chambermaids, traditionally selected from important noble families, and was later publicly slighted by noble women displaying Carlist or Bourbon insignia.

The monarch of the people?

This experience of antipathy from the nobility further encouraged the royal couple's natural inclination to forge a closer link between the monarchy and the people. Amadeo was known to go on walks through Madrid without any bodyguards, he travelled in open carriages and attended popular concerts and festivals. Before Amadeo came to Spain, there had been stories about his random acts of kindness in the streets of Turin. He continued in this vein even after an assassination attempt in July 1872; in a widely commented show of defiance he even returned to the scene of the crime the following day. Amadeo's valour was not really in question. Queen Maria Vittoria was very active in her efforts to ingratiate the new monarchy with the people of Madrid. She used some of the allowance for her son's education to fund a Kindergarten and school for washerwomen, as well as using her personal allowance to found an orphan asylum.

For some commentators this 'popular touch' amounted to a debasement of the monarchy. As the Republican Emilio Castelar argued in the Cortes, monarchy in Spain had always been based on mystery, pomp and ceremony, its "ability to represent the eternal glory of the nation." The insistence on simplicity of the new monarchy certainly did nothing to win over his aristocratic enemies. However, it could be argued that any attempt to gain their allegiance would have been futile anyway. Unfortunately for Amadeo, the same was

true for his ability to win over the mass of the population. As he wrote to his father in March 1872: "The masses, as I have already told Your Majesty, are Carlist and Republican. The clergy counts as completely Carlist and has great influence over the people living in the countryside. The aristocracy is for Alfonso." As the king realised, the Catholicism of the masses and clerical influence put him on the back foot. There were few elements Amadeo could count on, undermining his reign before it even had a chance to take root in Spain.

"In Spain the army is everything and without the army one can achieve nothing"

One of the key players Amadeo needed to keep on his side was the army. The Spanish military had played an important part in politics ever since the uprising against Napoleonic rule in 1808 and had since then guarded its right to intervene in politics in the name of the national will. In 1872 it was engaged in two wars, one in northern Spain and the other overseas, in Cuba. The king was aware of the central role the army played in Spain, writing to his father that "in Spain the army is everything and without the army one can achieve nothing." Amadeo's bravery in battle and military education probably helped his standing within the army but he had to admit to his father that "the army is where the Alfonsino sentiment is abundant." This view was confirmed by the American minister to Spain, who in June 1872 reported that "several battalions of the army have been gained over to the cause of the Prince Alfonso".

Prince Amedeo, Duke of Aosta. Illustrazione Italiana, Anno XVII, N. 4, 26 January 1890

The situation was further accentuated by the conflict over administrative reform and slave emancipation in Cuba and Puerto Rico. The powerful colonial interest groups formed into a league and together with several newspapers agitated against any notion of

colonial reform. They counted among their supporters some important members of the military establishment. This clashed directly with Amadeo's support for the government's plans for the abolition of slavery in Puerto Rico, signed into law by royal decree on 23 December of 1872. As Carmen Bolaños Mejías (*El Reinado de Amadeo de Saboya y la Monarquía Costitucional,* 2014) has argued the mobilisation against these measures prepared the ground for the conflict with the army that finally led to Amadeo's abdication.

The tension within the army reached a critical point when General Baltasar Hidalgo was appointed to a key post in the Northern Army. The choice was highly unpopular and Amadeo unsuccessfully tried to dissuade the Minister of War from making the appointment. Almost immediately the entire Artillery corps resigned in protest and demanded to be relieved from duty. There were suggestions that they pushed towards to this drastic step by colonial pressure groups. H. Whitehouse, the secretary of the United States embassy in Italy at the end of the nineteenth century, even suggests that they continued to receive their salary through the anti-abolition league. It was feared now that in the middle of two wars there could be further defections. Amadeo signed a decree for the dissolution of the artillery corps presented to him by Ruiz Zorilla, the president of the council of ministers, but the king simultaneously informed him of his determination to abdicate. He could have forced a change of ministry by blocking the appointment of Baltasar Hidalgo or refusing to sign the decree of dissolution, which sections of the army openly urged him to do. The colonial pressure groups probably expected him to name a more conservative ministry and when he abdicated and the Republic was declared, they had to realise that they had overplayed their hand.

Amaedo was unwilling to rule outside the limits of the 1869 constitution. He kept faithful to his declaration on the opening of the Cortes in April 1871, when he declared that "Within the constitutional limits I shall govern with Spain and through Spain, through the men, the ideas and tendencies which are legally suggested to me by public opinion as evinced by parliamentary majorities – the true regulators of constitutional monarchies." As Varela Suanzez-Carpenga has argued ("La monarquía en las Cortés y en la Costitución de 1869," *Historia Costitucional 7,* 2009), one of the key problems was that the rigging of elections meant that the constitutional theory and practical political realities did not necessarily coincide. The crisis of February 1873 would have demanded a more active

involvement of the King, which would, however, have meant breaking with the constitution. As Alicia Mira Abad has shown, Amadeo was never prepared to do so, declaring that looking for solutions "outside the Law should not be sought by those who promised to uphold it." (*Secularización y mentalidades: el Sexenio democratic en Alicante (1868-1875)*, 2006). In the end it was a sad indictment of the political situation Spain found itself in, that two of the main causes of the downfall of Amadeo were his willingness to press on with a law abolishing slavery and his unwillingness to break with the constitution.

Amedeo reviewing the troops with king Umberto I on the king's birthday, Illustrazione Italiana, Anno V, N.11, 1878

Amadeo was not above admitting his failure, despite having battled bravely in the face of what must be considered almost insurmountable odds. In his abdication letter he expressed his frustration: "I realise that my good intentions have been in vain. For two long years I have worn the Crown of Spain, and Spain still lives in continual strife, departing day by day more widely from the era of peace and prosperity for which I have so ardently yearned." The mission he was charged with, was impossible for him to fulfil, as he himself had to ultimately concede: "I am today firmly convinced of the bareness and the impossibility of realizing my aims".

The return of the king

"I now beg your Majesty to grant upon myself and my sons the Italian nationality, that I lost when I accepted the crown of Spain. I take the liberty to remind you what I have lost in Italy by accepting this crown." So Amedeo wrote to his father upon departing Spain and leaving a crumbling nation behind. His efforts had failed and his only desire was to return home, to divest himself of the crown and become once again the Duke of Aosta. His mission had failed but his honour remained intact.

Amedeo visiting the Cholera-stricken poor in Naples with Umberto, Illustrazione Italiana, Anno XI, N. 26, 1884

He returned to his royal duties in Italy with much ease, acclaimed for his efforts abroad, for his Spanish "adventure." He was warmly welcomed back by the government. The Prime Minister Marco Minghetti stated that "Italy… loves this Prince. He fought for us. And today we welcome him with affection." Another member of parliament, Francesco Crispi, reportedly added that, "[some of us] were opposed to the acceptance of this crown; but today we are immensely pleased not for the painful turn of events, but to see a Prince that chose the best of options, abdicating a throne where he could not reign in the name of freedom." Reintegrated into the Italian royal family and granted back his title and position as general lieutenant, Amedeo was reintegrated into Italian life without much difficulty. He represented his brother the King of Italy on numerous important occasions, at state events, leading military manoeuvres and travelling extensively with Umberto.

When he died in January 1890, the nation mourned a hero and a prince. His early demise was seen as a consequence of the heartbreak that Spain had caused him. Not only had his first wife, Maria Vittoria, died soon after their return to Italy – a death largely attributed to the stress she had endured as queen – but Amedeo also felt that he had failed in his mission to help Spain rise from the ashes of the 1868 revolt. And this he could not forgive himself. However, his disappointing rule in Spain was seen by the Italian masses as a valiant attempt to spread the Savoia's sense of freedom, and his return was not seen as failure, but rather as a homecoming. His bravery and presence at his brother's side became his distinguishing features and his short rule in Spain was soon forgotten.

Prince Amedeo's funeral, 1890. Illustrazione Italiana, Anno XVII, N. 1890

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'Distant from the court and all of its influences': The German Crown Prince at the *Prinzenschule* in Plön

Frank Lorenz Müller

In January 1904 the Prussian envoy to Saxony reported from Dresden that the Saxon Crown Prince Friedrich August had abandoned his plan to send his sons to the *Prinzenschule* (Princes' School) in Plön in faraway Holstein. He simply could not bear to be separated from them. Instead the crown prince would now try to adapt the Plön scheme for use in the Saxon capital by having his sons Friedrich August and Friedrich Christian educated alongside boys of the same age from "good Saxon families". When Kaiser Wilhelm learned about the original intention he was delighted and heartily agreed that it was important for young princes to be removed from the "limited atmosphere of the court for a while and gain a practical and wider view of the world through the exposure to new things". Unsurprisingly, the crown prince's change of heart annoyed Wilhelm II. "The point of Plön is precisely that it is not located here, but distant from Berlin!" he wrote on the margin of the report. "It would not make sense otherwise! The same goes for educating in Dresden!"[1] The Kaiser's disappointment at the Saxon decision not to send the next generation of the royal family to be educated at the "Princes' School" in Plön is understandable. After all, he had personally backed this innovative venture for some time and had entrusted his own sons – above all, Crown Prince Wilhelm – to the care of the new institution.

Kaiser Wilhelm's first son – the first of six! – was born in 1882 and named Friedrich Wilhelm Victor August Ernst. In his early years Crown Prince Wilhelm – often just referred to as "KPW" for short – underwent the standard curriculum for Hohenzollern princes. From the age of six he was instructed by the experienced teacher Heinrich Fechner, the young theologian Johannes Kessler, the French tutor Charles Giradin and later the historian and philologist Dr Paul Esternaux. The traditional military dimension of KPW's upbringing was the responsibility of his first "Military Governor", Captain Eugen von Falkenhayn, a cavalry officer who managed to instil a lifelong love of horse riding in his young ward. Having officially joined the Prussian army aged six and been promoted to corporal a year later, KPW received a commission as lieutenant in the 1st Guards

Regiment on his tenth birthday in 1892. When reflecting on his early years after the First World War, the former Crown Prince remembered that this practice of education by "third parties", such as tutors and governors, contributed to the sense of distance and stern formality that coloured his relationship with his father. He could hardly recall an image, KPW remarked, "in which I see him in playful, unforced jollity with us". With the benefit of hindsight, the prince came to express doubts about a form of "princely education, where strict courtly etiquette and the parents' fearful care combined to form binding instructions for tutors, teachers and advisers." The product of such a system would be "quite serviceable for ceremonial tasks", he mused, but unlikely to grow into a "modern human being, who was unflinchingly part of the world around him."[2]

Johann Georg Adolf Ritter von Deines (1845-1911)

Such a damning verdict must have come as a disappointment for the Kaiser, whose next steps in devising his sons' education were meant to counteract some of the very structural disadvantages mentioned in KPW's memoirs. In 1894 Wilhelm II decided to appoint a new Senior Governor for his sons and replaced Falkenhayn with Colonel Johann Georg Adolf von Deines, one of his Aides-de-Camp, a member of the General Staff and one of a relatively small number of university-educated officers. Rather than being a biddable courtier, the 50 year-old Deines turned out to hold some pretty firm ideas about the task ahead. A crown prince is not a higher form of human being, but simply one placed in a higher position, he wrote in a memorandum on princely education: "in order to form a capable [*tüchtigen*], whole man, one will have to take the same road as that for other sons of the educated classes." Deines then listed a dozen virtuous characteristics – ranging from piety, truthfulness and optimism to a sense of duty, a good memory and a love of the people – which were hallmarks of a good man. He ended by warning against "false pride" and "modern affectation".[3]

The Senior Governor was convinced that to achieve such lofty aims the princes had to be educated away from the distractions and damaging effects of life at the courts of Berlin and Potsdam. Deines may well have been persuaded of the necessity of such a step after his father sent him the recently published memoirs of Field-Marshall Albrecht von Roon, the legendary Prussian Minister of War. In 1848 Prince Wilhelm of Prussia (the later Kaiser Wilhelm I) had invited Roon to take charge of the education of his son, Prince Friedrich Wilhelm (the later Kaiser Friedrich III). Roon, however, insisted that it was important to continue "the prince's education distant from the court and all of its influences". When Prince Wilhelm and his wife Augusta refused to make this concession, the officer respectfully declined the commission. 50 years later Deines succeeded where Roon had failed – against the passionate opposition of the Empress Auguste Victoria. Crucially, he managed to win the Kaiser's backing for his plan to continue the education of Crown Prince Wilhelm and his brother Eitel Friedrich in the picturesque and somewhat tucked-away town of Plön in Holstein, about 300 kilometres north-west of Berlin.

Princes Wilhelm, Eitel Friedrich and Adalbert at Plön

Plön seemed a good choice for a number of reasons: Empress Auguste Victoria was born a princess of Holstein and having her sons educated in her ancestral lands sweetened the bitter pill of having to part with them. Moreover, it made political sense to show some dynastic commitment to this recently-annexed province, which had formed part of the kingdom of Denmark until the mid-1860s. Finally, the cadet training school founded there in 1868 was highly-regarded. Soon work started to convert a small mansion in the

grounds of Plön palace into living and teaching quarters for the princes. It had been decided that Wilhelm and Eitel Friedrich would not be taught alone, but would each have three class mates selected from amongst the local cadets. For KPW Senior Governor Deines chose Hans Ferdinand Count von Hochberg, Konstantin von Sommerfeld and Gustav Steinbömer. The new school was to be under the jurisdiction of the Prussian Ministry for Culture and Education and would follow the curricular regulations of a "*Realgymnasium*" (i.e. a secondary school emphasising modern languages and sciences, rather than classics). The central members of the teaching staff – experienced pedagogues like Esternaux or Dr Karl Sachse – were civilians. The Kaiser himself made sure that the more "modern" aspects of the curriculum received particular attention, ordering for a chemistry laboratory to be installed in the basement and increasing the number of weekly lessons in modern languages.

Soon after the royal pupils, accompanied by their mother, had arrived in Plön in April 1896, the so-called *Prinzenhaus* turned into a small but tightly-knit community. Senior Governor von Deines and teacher Sachse lived on site with the princes, other members of staff took up residence nearby in the town. In 1898, the Kaiser's third son, Prince Adalbert, arrived in Plön, with sons four, five and six – August Wilhelm, Oskar and Joachim – and their respective class mates joining the school in 1901 and 1904. Beyond the core curriculum, the establishment at Plön offered a rich provision of educational opportunities which were in line – partly at least – with the contemporary concept of Progressive Education (*Reformpädagogik*).

All six Hohenzollern princes educated at Plön

Ernst von Dryander, who instructed the princes in religious studies, recalled an educational idyll: "Everything was there to give cheer to the heart of a fresh, healthy boy. There was skilful gymnastics, rowing (first in large navy skiffs, later in smaller racing boats), swimming, drill, horse-riding – all amidst youthful cheer; occasionally fruit was harvested or potatoes dug." The boys had a garden and a little

farmhouse, and KPW also completed a mini-apprenticeship with a local wood-turner. But it was not all fun and games. As Dryander concluded, the expectations were high: "A Prussian prince should and must learn more than others. Not only that ours had to pass a regular final exam in a *Realschule* of the first order; they had to speak English and French fluently, control their horse like a cavalry soldier and ride through the countryside map in hand."[4]

For the crown prince and his brother, the arrival at Plön thus delivered a harsh reality check: their educational attainment was below the level expected of boys of their age and sharing a classroom with peers showed this up only too clearly. For months, the princes had to get remedial extra classes to enable them to catch up, but they never managed to rise above average levels of performance. This was partly due to the fact that, for all the emphasis on bringing the princes up away from the court, aspects of court life still affected their education: they still had to perform ceremonial duties; travel to Berlin, Potsdam, the naval port of Kiel or the imperial residence at Kassel interrupted their studies; and there were regular visits from exalted personages.

The Kaiser did not stop at the school very often and sometimes only stayed for minutes – literally greeting his sons and their teachers on the platform of Plön's newly-constructed "Princes' Station" – on his way to the Kiel Regatta. His few longer stopovers were memorable, though. KPW's class-mate Steinbömer recalled a jaunty monarch joking with the boys, trying to catch them out with fairly lame trick questions but impressing them with improvised mini lectures on obscure topics such as the Hall Effect in electro-magnetism. The princes' grandmother, Dowager-Empress Victoria (known as the Empress Friedrich) visited only once, but the boys' mother, Empress Auguste Victoria, was a frequent guest at Plön. She attended the lessons, quietly doing her needlework at the back of the classroom, and treated the pupils to hot chocolate and cakes in the afternoons.

The "Prinzenhaus" Plön (ca. 1920)

Notwithstanding the emphasis on the alleged "normality" of the princes' educational experience – they were not to be addressed as "Your Royal Highness" and the standard rules of the Prussian ministry were to be applied to the school – there were further aspects to their life at Plön which limited KPW's exposure to new things. The Kaiser, who remembered his own time at a public grammar school in Kassel with mixed feelings, was a keen supporter of the Plön scheme, but forbade a free intermingling between the boys at the *Prinzenhaus* and the cadets at the nearby training school or at the local grammar school. The crown prince experienced this relative isolation as painful and sought to circumvent his father's orders by taking part in sporting events involving a wider group of peers. He also does not appear to have enjoyed the relationship with his immediate tutor, Major Moritz von Lyncker, whom he recalled as very dry and serious. Nor did the lessons prove a source of fun for the heir to the throne: undoubtedly quick on the uptake, KPW nevertheless showed no particular talent for any subject and never developed any real enthusiasm for his studies. In spite of this, the prince passed his school leaver's exam (*Abitur*), which he took in February 1900, without embarrassment. A senior school official from the Prussian ministry, *Geheimer Ober-Regierungsrat* Dr Reinold Köpke, who had vetted the teaching at the "Princes' School" on previous occasions, travelled to Plön

to conduct the examination of the crown prince and his class mates. Like his father before him KPW achieved only average grades, but Kaiser Wilhelm was delighted with this outcome and awarded the helpful Köpke the suitably decorative "Order of the Royal House (2nd Class)". KPW's main teachers, Esternaux, Sachse and Girardin, each received a gift of 1,000 Marks.[5] Above all, the Kaiser was grateful to Deines for "having brought my eldest to this point" and for "all the sacrifices which you have made for him. May he continue to develop so well in the future".[6]

These high hopes were to be dashed, though, as KPW turned out to be a pretty comprehensive disappointment. There were further stages along his carefully laid-out educational journey: officer training, a few semesters at the University of Bonn and internships with government departments. But when it came to turning this increasingly pleasure-seeking, easily distracted and dissipate young man into the ideal of manly seriousness Deines had aimed for, these efforts proved as ineffectual as the years KPW spent at Plön. In an angry, war-inspired diatribe, Paul Louis Hervier delivered an utter condemnation of the Hohenzollern prince: "His aspirations led him neither towards goodness, nor towards simplicity, nor towards charity, nor towards humanity, but towards robbery, treason, enjoyment and luxury", he declared and went on to wonder whether this was "only the fruit of a too specialised education."[7] Given the care that had gone into devising a suitable education for the heir to the German throne, this attempt at explaining why KPW had grown into such a widely despised man does not appear particularly convincing.

KPW as a member of a student fraternity at Bonn University in 1901

After all, the Prusso-German court, and especially the Kaiser, appears to have done no more than grapple with a problem that occupied all of Europe's royal houses at the end of the nineteenth century: how best to educate the future monarch? In Britain, both Edward VII's sons of Edward VII (Prince Albert Victor [born 1864] and the later

King George V [1865]) and his grandsons (the later kings Edward VIII [1894] and George VI [1895]) were sent to naval training schools at Osborne and Dartmouth. When he was still the Prince of Naples, King Vittorio Emanuele III (1869) of Italy was taught alone but officially registered at and in line with the military schools in Naples and Modena. King Alfonso XIII of Spain (1885) was educated at the court by private tutors largely drawn from the military and later mingled with some peers for military exercises.

Against this background the education KPW and his brothers experienced at the *Prinzenschule* set up at Plön by his father was neither excessively focused on military matters nor lacking in progressive elements. To be sure, the progressive elements of mingling with peers and of living up to rigorous official standards appear to have been carefully circumscribed to spare the blushes of Hohenzollern offspring; and the atmosphere was definitely more courtly than austere men such as Roon or Deines would have wished, but neither the intentions behind the Plön plan nor its implementation seem to justify the negative retrospective verdicts by Hervier or the crown prince himself. Plön was certainly not the propagator for progressive constitutionalism that the radical Colonel Ludwig von Massenbach was aiming for in 1817 when he developed his plan for an "Educational Palace" for princes to be set up "far from the noise and distraction of the court, inaccessible to unctuous and fawning courtiers".[8] But the *Prinzenschule* does not appear to have been a worse, more militaristic, less progressive or more brutalising attempt at educating royal princes than the efforts in other countries. By 1910, even the Kaiser's near-inexhaustible supply of sons had dried up and when his youngest, Prince Joachim, passed his *Abitur* exam, Plön's *Prinzenschule* was wound up.

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The images of the *Prinzenhaus* and of the Hohenzollern princes at Plön in the article above have been sourced from www.ploener-ansichten.de. I am grateful to Mr Ingo Buth, who is in charge of this website, for his kind permission to use these images here.

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[4] *Im Dienste Preußens. Wer erzog Prinzen zu Königen*. Ed. by Stiftung Stadtmuseum Berlin (Berlin, 2001), 224.

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Edward Albert and Alexandra, Prince and Princess of Wales:

The Politics of a Royal Marriage

Charles A. M. Jones

Imagine, if you will, a plush drawing room brightly lit by the summer sun. Prominent in this room there is a large vase, richly gilded, with an emblazoned portrait of a King long deceased. Upon closer inspection, one will notice that the weight of this priceless object has caused great strain upon the delicate pedestal. Several prominent cracks appear at its base, ultimately threatening the longevity of the piece. This objet d'art can also stand as a metaphor for the Anglo-German dynastic network and its inability to stem the growing tide of nationalist rivalry. The following is much less a narrative of this vase's destruction, but more an examination of one of the first cracks to manifest itself – the union of Albert Edward, Prince of Wales and Princess Alexandra of Denmark in 1863.

The Prince and Princess of Wales

The royal marriage itself, though not the metaphorical crack, can be seen, as the catalyst that first brought simmering tensions out of the political and directly into the personal family sphere. The root of the hostility stemmed from a disagreement between the German Confederation (led by the kingdom of Prussia) and the Kingdom of Denmark over the governance of two duchies, Schleswig and Holstein. The situation had already caused a war between the two powers (First Schleswig War 1848-51) that resulted in a Danish victory and the London Protocol of 1852. As a result, the Duchies became separate entities under the control of King Frederick VII of Denmark. The matter remained far from settled, however, due to Frederick's childless state. The main political question became whether Frederick's chosen heir, Prince Christian of Denmark, or the German

candidate, Frederik August of Augustenborg, should succeed as Duke of Schleswig-Holstein.

In November of 1860, Albert Edward (Bertie) returned to Britain after a triumphant tour of Canada and the United States. The young prince, who had up to this point in his life been confined to the schoolroom, had metamorphosed from a shy boy into a charismatic and, to quote Queen Victoria, 'very talkative' young man. The tour had done wonders for the prince's self-esteem and had liberated his spirit. To Prince Albert's credit, considering his borderline draconian approach to Bertie's education and training, he did not attempt to crush this new found sense of self completely. He even allowed his son to smoke at the age of 19. However, he did send Bertie back to finish his studies at Oxford before enrolling him at Cambridge University in the January 1861.

The Crown Prince and Crown Princess of Prussia, later Emperor Friedrich III and Empress Victoria

Both Albert and Victoria felt that Bertie would need to be steadied, and what better way to curb a young royal stallion than to marry him off as soon as possible? The hunt for marriage prospects, though mainly for Bertie's benefit, was also a distraction for the worried Victoria. The health of her mother, the Duchess of Kent, was in decline, and the Queen herself was already showing signs of the melancholy that would leave a lasting impact on the rest of the Victorian Era.

The qualifications for a suitable bride were, on the face of it, simple enough: 1) She should be a German, 2) a Protestant, or at least willing to convert, and 3) she had to have the character and demeanour befitting a future Queen of England. To assist them on the continent in this great undertaking, the royal couple turned to their daughter Victoria (Vicky), the Princess Royal. As the wife of the Crown Prince of Prussia (later Emperor Friedrich III) she was conveniently located in Germany. Vicky already had one matchmaking success under her belt, having arranged the engagement of her sister Alice and Prince Louis of Hesse. Dutifully, the princess worked her way through all the

available brides that fit the parameters established. Though there were a few potential German candidates, Elisabeth of Wied coming the closest to being seriously considered, Vicky and her lady-in-waiting and confidante Walburga 'Wally' Paget found fault with all of them. In a letter to the Queen (20 April 1861) she complained that 'I sit continually with the Gotha Almanack in my hands turning the leaves over in hopes to discover someone who has not come to light!'

Princess Alexandra of Denmark photographed by E. Lang (1860)

Yet, there was one Princess who had been deferred from consideration: Princess Alexandra (Alix), the daughter of Prince Christian of Denmark. In previous correspondence, Vicky had mentioned Alix. Echoing the glowing reports she had heard about the young princess' charm and beauty, she had even sent a photograph to Queen Victoria as early as December 1860. Vicky's enthusiasm for the Danish beauty was clear and she thought her a perfect match for Bertie 'though I as [a] Prussian cannot wish Bertie should ever marry her'. In the same letter she offered to have Wally gather further information, a task made easier by her husband's position as British ambassador to Copenhagen. Though enthusiastic in her praise of Alix, Vicky was not unaware of the dangerous political ground she was treading on, that 'an alliance with Denmark would be misfortune for us [Vicky and Fritz] here'. Her sentiments were shared in Victoria's response to the photograph: 'Princess Alexandra is indeed lovely! […] What a pity she is who she is!' Albert's response, according to Victoria, was surprisingly uncharacteristic considering his Anglo-German views. Upon seeing her photograph, he declared that 'I would marry her at once'. More information about the 'Danish beauty' was requested and Wally was dutifully dispatched.

The later edition of Wally's reports, collected under the strictest secrecy, only confirmed the praise surrounding the Princess. By February 1861, it was beyond question that Alix was indeed a perfect match for the Prince of Wales in many ways. Yet, she remained a

politically and even personally unsuitable candidate. On one hand, the Schleswig-Holstein issue made her a politically explosive choice due to mutual Prusso-Danish animosity. Moreover, Victoria personally disapproved of the Danish royal house - a view likely based on Frederick VII's allegedly dubious morality. With these red flags raised against her, Alix was placed in a bridal limbo of sorts. She was, however, mentioned more frequently in family correspondence, especially as the pool of German princesses dried up and parental concern over Bertie increased.

In the summer of 1861, Bertie was granted permission to go to Ireland for ten weeks of military training at the Curragh. While the Prince of Wales marched and drilled, Vicky, now Crown Princess of Prussia, set up a meeting with the "Danish Pearl" at Strelitz. Vicky's opinion of the event is best captured in the letter she sent to her mother on 4 June 1861. 'Oh if she only was not a Dane…I should say yes – she is the one a thousand times over.' Alix's "bewitching" charms, however, proved stronger than any anti-Danish prejudice held by Vicky or Fritz and it was finally agreed that Bertie and Alix should meet. The encounter at Speyer Cathedral on 24 September 1861 was a carefully arranged affair managed mainly by Vicky and Fritz, no detail left to chance. To avoid controversy, Bertie, who had been aware of the meeting's significance, was officially in Germany to observe military manoeuvres at Coblenz. It appears that the only one left in the dark was Princess Alix. Though Bertie did appear to show some interest when he met the princess at Speyer, when questioned by Albert, he was adamant that he was too young and not ready for marriage. A plausible explanation for his hesitation did not take long to manifest itself.

Rumours, first circulating the barracks at the Curragh and later spread on the continent, eventually reached the attention of one Baron Stockmar, a trusted friend and longtime advisor to Prince Albert. In his letter to Albert (12 November 1861), he revealed that the Prince of Wales, during his military training in Ireland had begun an affair with a lady of easy virtues, Nellie Clifden. Albert, already suffering from his final illness, was completely devastated. Was it not bad enough that news about the possible union between Britain and Denmark had spread in the days following the meeting at Speyer? This prospect resulted in wounding letters, chiding him for even considering the possibility, from two men for whom he cared deeply, his brother Ernst (Duke of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha) and even his devoted Stockmar. Now his eldest son, the heir to a throne whose reputation he

had worked so hard to establish, had been 'initiated in the sacred mysteries of creation' by a common tart.

Albert did not confront Bertie directly, breaking the news of his knowledge of the son's indiscretion through a letter. The confrontation came during Albert's surprise visit to Cambridge on 25 November. The weather was horrible, but still father and son went for a long, private walk around the town. Details about the conversation shared between the two have been lost to history. The end result, however, was a father's forgiveness. This new dynamic in their relationship, unfortunately, would never have a chance to develop. The chill Albert caught at Cambridge exacerbated his already fragile health that had been weakened by years of overwork and constant bouts of gastric problems. He would be dead before the New Year.

The Prince and Princess of Wales with Queen Victoria in 1863

The death of the Prince Consort was a game changer in the relationship between Victoria and her children, especially Bertie. Albert's last wishes, or those Victoria interpreted as such, became law. A tour of the Levant, originally planned by Albert as a finale for Bertie's education, was embarked upon in February. Whether this was to fulfil Albert's plans or to get Bertie away from her is up for debate. In Bertie's absence, Victoria arranged a meeting with her uncle Leopold, King of the Belgians, at the palace of Laeken, in order to have Princess Alix presented to her. The young princess, wearing a modest black dress, won over the mourning Queen who gave her sanction, read as command, for Bertie to act accordingly. On 9 September, in the gardens of Laeken, the Prince of Wales dutifully proposed.

Before the newly engaged couple even had a chance to get to know one another more properly they were split apart. In November Alix was to spend a few months with Victoria and the younger children, in order to understand the life she was marrying into. Bertie, on the other hand, was sent off on a cruise in the Mediterranean with Vicky and Fritz. The marriage contract between Britain and Denmark was signed on 15 January 1863 and the date set for 10 March 1863. On the morning of the wedding Bertie and Alix accompanied Queen Victoria to the recently completed mausoleum at Frogmore. As they stood before the mortal remains of the immortal consort, the Queen brought their hands together and offered the couple 'His blessing'. In a way, this was true for a choral piece composed by the Prince Consort was played during the service. Though the wedding ceremony in St George's chapel was a solemn, mostly private affair, with Victoria tearfully observing the event from the royal closet, it was not without its controversy.

The Marriage of the Prince of Wales with Princess Alexandra of Denmark in 1863 by William Powell Frith

The heavy involvement of Vicky and Fritz in the matchmaking process further alienated them from the conservative Prussian Court, causing added strain on the relationship between Fritz and his father, Wilhelm I. Not only were Fritz and Vicky in attendance, Fritz was Bertie's best man. The British press, for the most part, followed the government's and Victoria's wish that the marriage be reported as purely a love match with no political attachments. This was meant as a peace offering of sorts to Prussia and the German Confederation. The Illustrated London News (21 January 1863) did, however, make it pointedly clear where the sympathies of the British public lay. 'It pleases us, in the present case, that the Danish people come from the same original stock as ourselves'. Despite the air of hostility, Wilhelm appeared to be in a conciliatory mood, gifting the young couple a large vase, richly gilded, with his portrait emblazoned on it. Still, his four-year-old

grandson and namesake likely best expressed Wilhelm's actual sentiments by biting the legs of his British uncles (Princes Alfred and Leopold) during the wedding.

The marriage was to prove successful – or, at least, tolerable – despite Bertie's carnal appetites. But, Prince Albert's dream of an Anglo-German led 'Family of Nations' suffered greatly as a result of this British-Danish union. Soon after the marriage, Alix's father assumed the Danish throne as Christian IX and this started a domino effect that would result in the Second Schleswig War in February 1864. Denmark's defeat, at the hands of a combined Prusso-Austrian invasion force, resulted in the loss of Schleswig-Holstein. The war had a deep impact on the Danish royal house. Alix would bear an intense hatred of Germany until her death in 1925. The political situation split the British royal family into two camps: pro-Danish (Bertie and Alix), and pro-German (Queen Victoria and Vicky). In spite of this crack, the Anglo-German family 'vase' was not yet irreparable. It was still hoped, especially by Bertie, that Fritz's ascession to the Prussian throne would help mend the familial bond. The rift was never healed, and was exacerbated by the untimely death of Friedrich III in 1888 - a mere 99 days into his reign.

Young Wilhelm succeeded his father and effectively destroyed the last Albertine hopes for a liberal Germany. Upon Victoria's death in 1901, Bertie, now Edward VII, would come into constant conflict with his nephew Wilhelm II. Competition and animosity arose between the two in the area of international affairs, causing additional cracks in the familial sphere. This came to a head in 1903-4 with Bertie's successful visit to France, which paved the way for the Anglo-French Entente Cordiale. Wilhelm, with his unstable personality, was unable to compete with his uncle's natural charm and diplomatic ability. In addition to Bertie's diplomatic successes, the Danish royal house had expanded, since 1864, into Greece, Norway, and Russia. By the time of Bertie's death in 1910, the Anglo-German family network was beyond repair. The many fractures and cracks caused to the dynastic system by ever increasing nationalist rivalries ultimately contributed to the destruction of the family 'vase' in August 1914.

Suggested reading

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Diadochos Konstantinos: The Prussian Duke of Sparta

Miriam Schneider

Dimitrios Vikelas (1835-1908), a prominent member of the Greek merchant diaspora in London and Paris, is now most famous as first president of the IOC, but was an acclaimed author in the nineteenth century. In December 1889 he published an article in the French paper "Revue des Etudes Grecques". It formed part of a wider series of regular "Greek correspondences", in which Vikelas informed the educated French public about political and economic developments in his small homeland Greece. This particular issue took its readers back to the last few days of the month of October and it portrayed the city of Athens in a state of festive emergency.

Dimitrios Vikelas, a shrewd observer of affairs in Greece. He was also the first Greek to be awarded a honorary doctor-rate by the University of St Andrews

Every day, the cannons from the port of Piraeus announced the arrival of yet another highborn guest (the King and Queen of Denmark, the Russian Tsarevich, the Prince and Princess of Wales, the German Imperial couple…). Since this unprecedented crowd of crowned heads exceeded the capacities of the small and ugly royal palace, half a dozen of Athens' most charming private villas had been 'confiscated' for the purpose of accommodating them. For ordinary mortals, it was virtually impossible to find lodgings, all hotels being fully booked and every family hosting relations from the provinces or from abroad. The population of Athens (appr. 115.000 souls) had almost doubled in size and Vikelas felt reminded of Paris during the Exhibition.

The event that was causing all this excitement was the wedding of Crown Prince Constantine (1868-1923), firstborn son of King George I of the Hellenes, and Princess Sophie of Prussia (1870-1932), the younger sister of German Emperor William II. Both as a dynastic family event and as a national occasion, it was an unprecedented affair. On the

one hand, it broke with the notoriously anti-Prussian marriage tradition of the Danish Glücksborg dynasty, of which the Greek royal house formed a cadet branch. The young Duke of Sparta (as he was officially known) had already received a remarkably German education, and his choice of bride put the final seal on the Prussian outlook that would henceforth guide his policies.

On the other hand, the marriage was regarded as an historic event by the Greek nation, not only because it was the first royal wedding to take place in Athens in the young history of modern Greece, but also because some very specific hopes were attached to the alliance with Imperial Germany: Having placed great importance on dynastic relations ever since the creation of the Greek state, the Greeks were now hoping for a boost of their aspirations for unity with the island of Crete. In Vikelas' words, an unusual explosion of joy broke through the general coldness that characterized the attitude of the Greek people towards the monarchy when the procession with the freshly married couple moved through the streets.

Constantine & Sophie in the Danish paper "Illustreret Tidende", 20 October 1889 (Kongelige Bibliotek)

Crown Prince Constantine had always been at the centre of emotional attention in unruly Athens. And he would come to polarize his nation like no other member of his dynasty. This essay examines his troublesome relationship with the Greek people by viewing it through the prism of his Prussian education and marriage. The uncommonly high hopes that his small and aspiring nation attached to dynastic alliances would be disappointed by the logics of Balkan power relations. But the Prussian education and inclinations of the Duke of Sparta would, nevertheless, eventually backlash on politics in the so-called "national schism".

The first native of the Greek Glücksborgs

Constantine had been heir to the throne from the day of his birth on 21 July / 2 August 1868. He was the firstborn child of King George of the Hellenes, formerly Prince William of Denmark. This fortunate though hardly enviable princeling had been selected by the great powers to succeed the deposed King Otto I in 1863. By producing a son only one year after their wedding, Constantine's parents had broken the spell that had lain over the reign of their childless predecessors and secured for themselves the most reliable pledge of monarchical stability: a "native dynasty". As Vikelas observed, Constantine was destined to be the first truly national King of Greece, "Greek by birth, religion, and education"[1].

A native Prince, Neos Aristophanis, 31 May 1892

Without precedent, the young Prince became a pioneer in virtually everything that happened to him, be it matters of education, ceremonial, or constitutional law. And he ignited the flammable passions of the Greek citizens, a highly political people enjoying one of the most radically democratic constitutions of the age. Only days after his birth, a first heated debate was raging in the Greek parliament regarding the title of the prince. Noble titles had been abolished by the constitution, but the King and his willing prime minister were able to circumvent the law, and Constantine would henceforth be officially known as "Duke of Sparta", although the Greek people preferred to call him "Diadochos" (heir to the throne). His age of majority, his civil list, and his military posts would be further topics of debate. But Constantine was also an object of high hopes and affection. His rites of passage in particular became highlights of enthusiasm among an otherwise reluctantly sympathetic public. The declaration of his majority in 1886 was celebrated as a national occasion attended by the entirety of official Athens, by all the

[1] „son premier roi national, Grec de naissance, de religion et d'éducation" (Vikelas, Vingt-cinq années, 505).

municipal mayors of the Kingdom and by deputations from all the Greek communities abroad. Its splendour was only surpassed by his marriage festivities three years later.

Coming-of-age celebrations,
Neos Aristophanis 14th February 1887

Falling in love with/in Prussia

Constantine was hailed as a Greek native and, therefore, great care was taken to provide him with as nationalized an education as possible. He was raised in the Orthodox faith. And his tutors included some of the most prominent professors of the young University of Athens. The most famous amongst them was Konstantinos Paparrigopoulos (1815-91), the founder of Modern Greek history and one of the spiritual fathers of the "Great Idea" (Megali Idea) of Greek territorial expansion and neo-Byzantine revival.

Strangely enough, though, the office of governor to the Diadochos was occupied by a German philologist. Dr. Otto Lüders (1844-1912), a Catholic from Prussian Westphalia, had previously been attached to the German legation as an archaeological adviser. In 1877, he became the strict but much-loved teacher of the Greek royal princes, probably as a result of his marriage to a prominent Greek lady. He would remain governor to the Diadochos for nine years and, when the Prince came of age, become his lord chamberlain.

German teachers enjoyed a good reputation in nineteenth-century royal Europe. But Lüders was still an unlikely choice. For the members of the Glücksborg royal family were renowned for their collective mistrust of everything Prusso-German, which they maintained ever since the bitter defeat of the Danish army in 1864. There was a veritable

conspiracy theory going around official Europe in the 1870s-1900s according to which the King's sisters, Alexandra Princess of Wales and Empress Marie of Russia, were trying their utmost to influence their countries' policies against Germany. King George himself was certainly more moderate in his behaviour; but he was still known for his Francophile attitudes and in 1895, Greece was the only European power not to send a squadron to the opening of the Kaiser-Wilhelm-Canal. This was done expressly in order to signal disapproval of a potential threat to Danish naval interests.

The Greeks, moreover, were a people suspicious of foreign influence ever since the debacle of the reign of the Bavarian King Otto. Lüders' position thus became increasingly undermined by Greek courtiers who resented the influence of the foreigner, objected to his openly Prussian sentiments (he refused to wear Greek uniform or to adopt the Greek citizenship), and feared that other powers might take offence.

Constantine and Sophie: Neos Aristophanis, 22 and 30 October 1889

In 1889, the year of the Greco-Prussian marriage, Lüders' opponents finally succeeded and he was dismissed. But by then, the 'damage' had already been done. As if in expression of gratitude for successfully brainwashing the Greek Diadochos, the German government offered the disgraced official a consular career.

During the prince's most formative years of his youth and adolescence, Lüders had imparted to his pupil an indelible predilection for everything Prussian. As a natural consequence of his education, Constantine had gone and continued his studies in Germany, spending three semesters at the universities of Leipzig and Heidelberg, and, much against the intentions of his Francophile father and Russian mother, also completing his military training in the German Imperial Guard. Both the Greek land and

sea forces needed reorganization and the necessary know-how was sought from relevant powers, but while the King's second son joined the Danish naval cadet academy, Constantine's was a more ambivalent choice.

In addition to his internalising of Prussian military values, Constantine's sojourn in Germany also had the lasting effect that, while staying with the Imperial family in Berlin, he fell in love with the second to last daughter of the ill-fated Emperor Frederick III. As a child of the English-born Empress Frederick, Princess Sophie was not a bad choice. But as the younger sister of the soon-to-be Emperor William II she brought Constantine into opposition with everything that his dynasty stood for. His mother, Queen Olga, was rumoured to be so upset by his choice of a Protestant, German princess that she even considered boycotting the wedding. The Greek people, however, were enthused.

A graphic depiction of the cession of Thessaly and South Epirus to Greece. Help from the monarchical concert of Europe was also what Greeks hoped for in 1889. (National Historical Museum, Athens)

An auspicious marriage

There were certainly no hidden agendas behind Constantine's spontaneous love affair. But as soon as the rumours were confirmed in September 1888, Greek society was alive with hope for material gains from the alliance. It was regarded as an auspicious match since, by some curious twist of fate, Constantine had happened to gain a bride named Sophie. According to an ancient legend, the Byzantine Empire would be resurrected again when a King named Constantine and a Queen named Sophia would ascend the Greek throne, bringing back forever into Greece's fold the city of Constantinople and the Hagia Sophia. "Oh, how the hearts of all the Greeks beat / when we pronounce SOPHIA,

CONSTANTINE! / We believe that you are heaven-sent / to liberate a people long enslaved", wrote even one of the most satirical papers of the age, Neos Aristophanis.[2]

Superstition combined with ideology, since the hope for the recovery of Constantinople formed part of the "Megali Idea" that inspired Greek foreign politics for much of the period from the 1880s to the 1920s. Ever since the formation of the Greek nation state in 1830, Greece had been struggling to achieve unity with all the Greek-populated territories still under Ottoman rule. In 1863 King George had brought with him an English dowry: the Ionian Islands. Following the Eastern Crisis of 1875-78 he had managed to acquire Thessaly and South Epirus. But, next to Macedonia, the island of Crete remained one of the most symbolic bones of contention. The island was plagued by regular outbursts of unrest, one of which formed the immediate backdrop to the Greco-Prussian marriage of 1889. When Sophie and Constantine drove through the streets of Athens, Vikelas remarked, refugees who had fled from a state of martial law in Crete were mingling with the crowds reminding Athenian citizens of the fate of their unfortunate fellow-Greeks. In this context, the ancient prophecy was interpreted to mean the very tangible support the Glücksborgs might obtain in their quest for unity with Crete from their new highborn relative, the mighty Hohenzollern Emperor.


ΑΚΡΟΠΟΛΙΣ

ΕΘΝΙΚΑΙ ΕΟΡΤΑΙ ΕΠΙ ΤΟΙΣ ΓΑΜΟΙΣ ΤΟΥ ΔΙΑΔΟΧΟΥ

ΕΚΤΑΚΤΟΣ ΚΥΚΛΟΦΟΡΙΑ ΑΚΡΟΠΟΛΕΩΣ ΤΩΝ ΗΜΕΡΩΝ ΑΥΤΩΝ

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ΓΟΥΛΙΕΛΜΟΣ Β'

Edition of the newspaper "Akropolis" announcing the arrival of Emperor William II

As foreign diplomats observed, the presence of all the highborn wedding guests in the capital city flattered Greek "national vanity", and Athens' countless newspapers published

[2] Ὢ! Πόσον πάλη ἡ καρδία ὅλων μας τῶν Ἑλλήνων / Καί μόνον σάν προφέρομεν ΣΟΦΙΑΝ, ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΝ! / Ἀπό Θεοῦ πιστεύομεν ἐσᾶς ἀπεσταλμένους / Νά ἐλευθερώσετε λαούς πρό χρόνων σκλαβωμένους. Neos Aristophanis, 30 October 1888.

lengthy portraits of all of them. Particular attention was paid to Emperor William II, who, as the ruler of Europe's greatest continental power, was expected to work wonders. "My dear brother-in-law", he was even reported to have said to Crown Prince Constantine after leaving the Metropolitan Cathedral, "I offer you Crete – take it!" ("Mon beau-frère, je vous offre la Crète, prenez-la!" (Deschamps)) The Greeks, remarked French journalist Gaston Deschamps, were always courting mighty men which they hoped might favour their aspirations, and they were always disappointed.

A troublesome relationship

When Dimitrios Vikelas wrote his report in December 1889, he already knew that nothing had come of the hopes attached to the Greco-Prussian marriage. The Greek government and royal family had never even wished for a political alliance. And in Germany, there had been no intention of any such offer. One month before the wedding, Chancellor Bismarck had expressly told his sovereign that the dynastic match between the two royal houses must never even appear to have the slightest political consequence. Considering Germany's interest in good relations with Turkey and the Greek tendency to be on a collision course with almost every European power, even the merest hint of a mutual understanding had to be avoided. The Emperor's visit to Athens was, thus, immediately followed by a call on the Sultan to strengthen economic ties with Constantinople, a step which, to the hopeful Greek public, felt like a slap in the face. Willingly accepted disappointment would continue to characterize the troublesome relationship that Germany shared with Greece.

Personal relations between Emperor William and the crown princely couple deteriorated when, in 1891, Princess Sophie decided to snub her ostentatiously Protestant brother by adopting the Greek Orthodox faith. She had to expect little sympathy when Greece, in 1897, lost a rash and disastrous war over Crete to the Ottoman Empire's German-trained forces. While Sophie begged for help via her family channels, William would have remained merciless if Russia and Britain had not intervened. He also opposed the candidature of Constantine's younger brother, Prince George, as high commissioner of Crete, which, following the unhappy performance of the Diadochos as commander in war, constituted the dynasty's last, futile chance to effect the cession of the island.

William's policies only changed when Greece emerged as a more helpful ally in Germany's drive for the Near East. Regarding his brother-in-law as an ideal link with a growing military power in the Mediterranean, the Kaiser was more than obliging when, in 1903, a number of Greek officers selected by the Duke of Sparta (among them the future General Metaxas!) were sent to the Berlin War Academy to learn from the teachers of their enemies. These officers would come to comprise the Crown Prince's "little court", which, in opposition to King George's Francophile policies, increasingly advocated a German-style reorganization of the Greek army.

Unfortunately, Constantine's popularity reached an all-time-low in the years 1897-1909, due to the disaster of the Greco-Turkish war and to his alleged favouritism. In 1909, a military coup even forced him and all the Greek princes to temporarily resign from their military offices. It brought Eleftherios Venizelos (1864-1936) to power, the liberal politician who, through one last revolt, had achieved what had eluded the Glücksborgs – the cession of Crete. In a strange reversal of fate, the crown princely couple, personae non gratae in Athens, were welcomed to spend a short term of exile in Germany, their eldest son George (the future King George II) even being allowed to enrol in the Imperial Guard.

THE PERSUADING OF TINO.

Punch, 24 November 1915: A relief representing (from left to right) France, Great Britain, King Constantine ("Tino"), Emperor William II, Tsar Ferdinand of Bulgaria

The Greek government would eventually invite a French military and a British naval mission to reorganize their forces, but Constantine would never forget the support he had received from the German Emperor in 1903 and 1909. When, only months after his succession to the throne in 1913, he paid a state visit to Berlin, he gave a speech in which he ascribed the Greek military

successes of the first Balkan War almost exclusively to German help.[3] It caused a veritable scandal in Greece and France and presaged what would follow in the years 1914-1917, when a major "national schism" evolved between the King and his Prime Minister Venizelos over the question of whether to enter the First World War.

As we know, Constantine and his war-weary conservative supporters refused for years to give up neutrality, while his liberal government favoured the Allied cause. One could argue that the parameters that shaped his first short reign – his decision not to enter into war with Germany – had taken their most momentous beginnings in his Prussian education and marriage.

Sugested Reading

This essay is based on documents held by the Polit. Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes, Berlin, and the National Archives, Kew.

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[3] "I do not hesitate to assert once more aloud and openly that, next to the invincible valour of my Greeks, our victories are due to the principles of war and the science of war, which I and my officers acquired here in Berlin with my dear Second Regiment of Foot Guards, at the Staff College and in intercourse with the Prussian General Staff." Constantine I, 6 September 1913.

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Archduke Ferdinand Maximilian of Habsburg: A family affair and a tottering throne

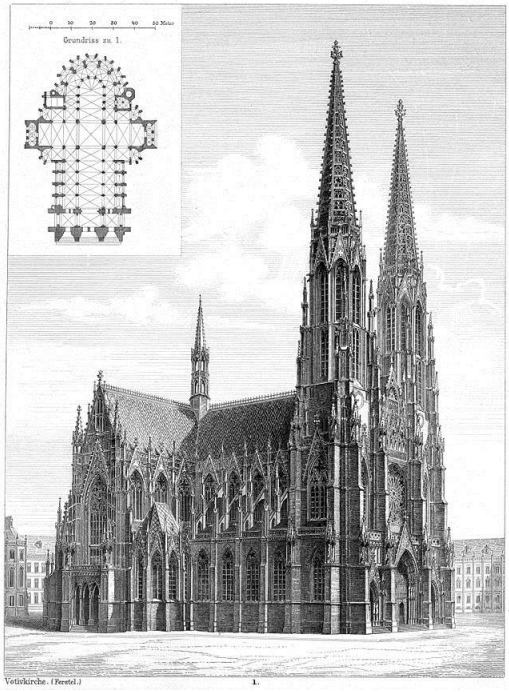
Heidi Mehrkens

Archduke Ferdinand Maximilian of Habsburg would remember the day he almost became emperor of Austria. On 18 February 1853 his brother Franz Joseph who had been on the throne for five years, was nearly killed by the hand of a lad even younger than the 23-year-old monarch himself. The emperor enjoyed taking a stroll on Vienna's city walls in the company of his aide-de-camp, Colonel Count O'Donnell. Luckily Franz Joseph was wearing his uniform of the Uhlans when the Hungarian tailor János Libényi attacked the monarch with a kitchen knife. The blade was diverted by the uniform's stiff collar and left a cut in the emperor's neck before Libényi was overpowered by O'Donnell and a brave citizen by the name of Joseph Ettenreich who happened to pass by the scene of the crime.

J. J. Reiner, Assassination attempt on Emperor Franz Joseph (1853)

This close shave left Vienna and the imperial family in utter excitement. While the assassin was first tried and then executed a week after his heinous attempt on the emperor's life, services were held to thank God for holding His hand over the youthful monarch. Since Franz Joseph was unmarried and had no children his brother Ferdinand Maximilian (born in 1832) would have succeeded him to the throne. Archduke Ferdinand Max immediately called upon the good people of Vienna for donations to build a church as a votive offering for the survival of the emperor. The remarkable act of brotherly love and Christian devotion met with an enormous response; funds were solicited from throughout the empire. The construction of the Votive Church on the Ringstraße (still a major tourist attraction in Vienna) began in 1856; the church was consecrated on 24 April 1879 on the occasion of Franz Joseph's and Empress Elisabeth's silver anniversary.

The 'Votivkirche' in Vienna



Five years after the gruesome attack on the emperor's life Ferdinand Maximilian's place in the line of succession was taken by Franz Joseph's son Rudolf (1858-89). The fact that Archduke Max remained second in line and that the heir to the throne was a vulnerable child should become a bone of contention for the two brothers soon enough.

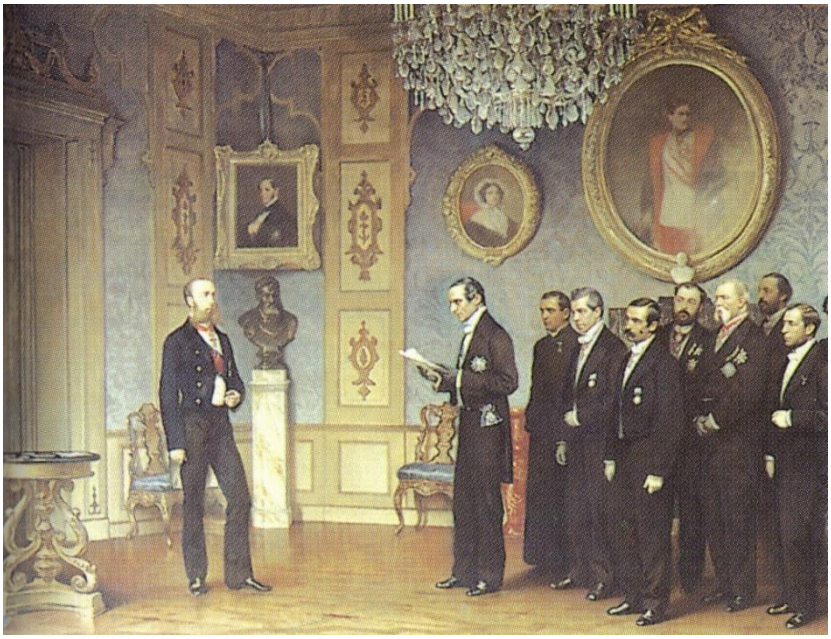
Ferdinand Maximilian was well educated, a sailor prince trained in the Austrian navy, adventurous, clever and ambitious. Unfortunately his position within the family did not provide him with anything useful to do apart from travelling. His position was that of inspector general of the navy – a high rank, but certainly not a central one. It did not improve the relationship with his elder brother that Max was also charming and approachable and a popular public figure, quite different from the aloof and self-contained emperor. In 1857 Ferdinand Max was appointed governor-general of Lombardy-Venetia. Two years later the emperor dismissed his younger brother from this position because he considered Max's policies too liberal. When Austria lost most of its Italian possessions after the war of 1859, the frustrated archduke retired to Trieste where he built Miramare Castle and spent his days reading, collecting, writing poems and dreaming of a task suitable for his talent and position.

The prospect of being a crowned monarch, for example, instead of a mere archduke was music to his ears. Early in 1863 Ferdinand Maximilian was offered the throne of Greece, after King Otto I had been expelled from the country. Even Queen Victoria supported his candidacy, and she was usually hard to win over. However, Max refused. Apart from the fact that neither he nor his wife Charlotte, a Belgian Princess he had married in 1857, really wanted to go to Greece, Max stated that he would never accept a crown that had already been offered unsuccessfully to half a dozen other princes.

Maximilian and Charlotte as a young couple (around 1857)

Another reason for passing up on the Greek throne was that there still remained bigger fish to fry. This is not the place to dwell on the French intervention in Mexico; yet since he first came up with the idea of reviving the Mexican Empire in 1861, Emperor Napoleon III had favoured Ferdinand Maximilian for the top job: the catholic archduke with his liberal and educated reputation, a dashing and daring personality, seemed perfectly capable (with a little help from French armed forces) of guaranteeing peace and order in a country wracked by civil war, poverty and social inequality. On 3 October 1863, after three years of uncertainty, mostly caused by French military setbacks against Benito Juarez's republican armed forces, Ferdinand Maximilian received a delegation of Mexican conservatives at Miramare. They opposed President Juarez and formally offered him the imperial crown of their nation. In his answer, Maximilian stressed his determination to have the Mexican people asked what kind of government they wanted for themselves – he would not become ruler unless the vote for an empire was ratified by the Mexican nation.

Both Archduke Ferdinand Max and his beautiful and ambitious wife Charlotte then became smitten with the Mexican idea. While the couple studied the history, resources and geography of their chosen nation and took lessons in Spanish with an optimism that was fuelled by the enthusiastic and supportive French court, other crowned heads remained sceptical. In March 1864 Queen Victoria noted in her diary that she could not understand why Ferdinand and Charlotte were going to Mexico. The future of this nation did not seem promising for such an undertaking, judged on the base of historical fate and political circumstance: The First Mexican empire had only lasted two years (1821-3) and ended with the execution of Emperor Iturbide.

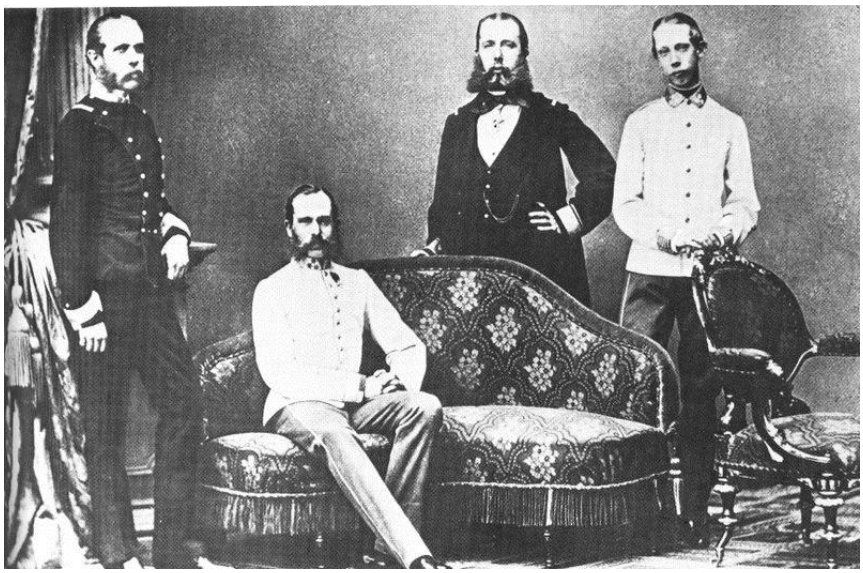


Cesare dell'Acqua, Maximilian receiving the Mexican Delegation at Miramare (1867), Historical Museum of Castello di Miramare

40 years later the Monroe doctrine would surely forbid the United States to accept a power on its borders which represented an interest imported from Europe. And had the Mexican delegation not been too confident in suggesting that the empire would be welcome throughout the country and that there was no imminent threat from the republican supporters of President Juarez?

It seems remarkable that Emperor Franz Joseph refrained from influencing his younger brother's decision. He made it very clear that the imperial adventure would be his brother's decision alone and would be kept separate from Austrian interests: In Nancy Nichols Barker's words Franz Joseph 'refused to guarantee the new empire, refused to guarantee a loan, refused to send a member of the Austrian cabinet to the offer of the crown, and even refused to permit the use of his name in the speech of acceptance.' (Nichols Barker, 235, FN 42). However, Franz Joseph neither pushed Max and Charlotte into accepting the Mexican Crown, nor did he try to dissuade them. His biographer Jean-Paul Bled assumes that Franz Joseph 'may have welcomed an ideal way of ridding himself of a brother who had perhaps become an embarrassment' (Bled, 169). Maybe he also appeared to be a rival. Following the Austrian defeat at Sadowa there had been calls for the emperor's abdication and his replacement with the popular Ferdinand Max (since the archduke had not been involved in the war he was quite naturally popular with the masses). Franz Joseph might have thought of his younger brother as a prince close to the throne and ambitious enough to claim power one day.

Of course getting rid of a brother has to be understood in exclusively dynastic terms here. Astonishingly enough, the question of succession to the Austrian throne only came up officially when Ferdinand Maximilian and Charlotte had long made it public that they would be delighted to accept the Mexican Crown. When they went to Vienna on 19 March 1864, they were presented by the Austrian Foreign Minister Count Rechberg with a 'family pact' stating that Maximilian and all his descendants would resign their succession rights in Austria. What is more, Maximilian would lose his civil list and his rights as archduke – this also included the privilege to be regent in case young Rudolf would lose his father while still being a minor.



Ludwig Angerer, Habsburg family photo showing (from left to right) Archduke Karl Ludwig, Emperor Franz Joseph (sitting), Archduke Ferdinand Maximilian, Archduke Ludwig Viktor (around 1863)

Ever since the preliminary negotiations in 1861Ferdinand Maximilian had been aware that giving up his place in the line of succession to the Austrian throne would be inevitable. Apparently he and the emperor then both had avoided to talk dynastic politics until it was high time. Max was appalled to learn he would have to give up far more than just his right to succeed; the loss of his private fortune, for example, even if he had to leave Mexico, affected him badly. Consequently he refused to sign the document.

Franz Joseph, as chief of the House of Habsburg, informed him that in this case he would refuse to authorize Maximilian's acceptance of the Mexican Crown. The archduke, deeply

hurt and upset, believed the whole affair had been deliberately set in motion by Franz Joseph behind his back and at the very last minute in order to force the issue. It would be hard to withdraw from the Mexican venture at this stage of the planning, with the international press, countless diplomats, Napoleon III and the Mexican delegation keenly watching and the general high esteem for the Habsburg prince at stake. King Leopold I of the Belgians admonished his daughter not to give way and to hold on firmly to Maximilian's birth right (as well as to the fortune of the Habsburgs). The archduke himself was ready to let go the dream of the imperial throne if he could just keep what he believed was rightly his. On 27 March he informed the Mexican delegation in Trieste that he would retire his candidacy to the Mexican throne.

Informed of this decision, the impatient Napoleon III firmly put his foot down. Maximilian received a stern telegram stating that at this point of the planning a refusal was impossible and that the archduke was under the obligation to go all the way to Mexico – this being a matter of honour of the House of Habsburg. Moreover, financial and military agreements had been signed between Napoleon and Maximilian from which the latter could not withdraw without damaging Austro-French relations.

At the same time Franz Joseph grudgingly clarified that the family pact should be seen merely as a means to keep the Austrian throne safe from harm. The marriage of Ferdinand Maximilian and Charlotte had not yet produced any offspring, but the emperor thought it best to prevent any future Mexican descendant of the archduke from hoping to succeed to the Austrian throne. The door was at least slightly open for further negotiations. Franz Joseph confirmed an earlier arrangement between the two brothers that Maximilian would be granted one hundred and fifty thousand florins annually and that a contingent of Austrian volunteers would be recruited for Mexico. He could not be moved, though, to grant his younger brother a restitution of his rights to the Austrian throne should the Mexican enterprise fail.

Emperor Maximilian I of Mexico (1864)

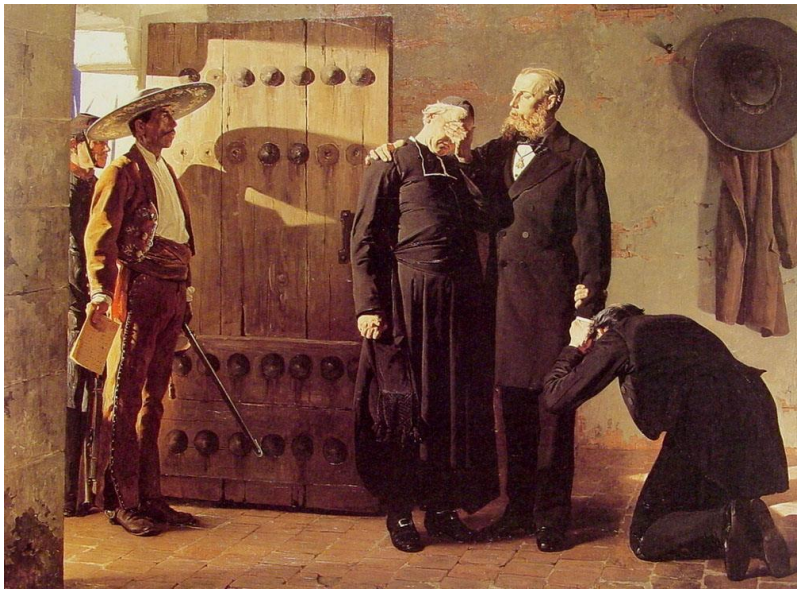
On 9 April 1864 the emperor personally went to Miramare to convince Maximilian to sign the family pact. He was accompanied by an escort consisting of their brothers, the archdukes Karl Ludwig and Ludwig Viktor, as well as an impressive line-up of imperial ministers, chancellors and even more agnates. Franz Joseph and Ferdinand Maximilian locked themselves up in the library and obviously talked for hours; both were all churned up afterwards. Ferdinand Maximilian signed the family pact. The next day, Maximilian received the Mexican delegation and declared his acceptance of the crown, once more announcing that he intended to establish a constitutional monarchy in Mexico. Four days later, on board the Austrian ship *Novara*, he and Charlotte left Trieste for good.

This was not the last to be heard of the forced agreement between the Emperors of Austria and Mexico. Maximilian still felt badly cheated on and made sure this would be noticed in Europe. When Franz Joseph opened the parliamentary session of the *Reichsrat* with a speech from the throne on 14 November 1864, he only very briefly announced the family pact. The correspondent of the London *Times* noted four days later that the emperor 'read that part of his speech in which the Emperor of Mexico is referred to very quickly, and a certain something in his intonation induced me to fancy that the subject was not to his taste.' The 'often mentioned compact' was read in the *Reichsrat*, and the *Times*, among others, published a translation of its articles.

Photograph of Empress Carlota (around 1865)

Now that the family pact was suddenly in the limelight and a document of political and public discussion, Maximilian reacted with a harsh protest letter that he sent to the Austrian court in 1865: 'It is hardly believable', he fumed, 'that a *family pact* could become a matter of an official communication, presented to be discussed in parliament, without the initial consent of the two Emperors. Nevertheless we can assure you that the Emperor of Mexico was not consulted. Without a doubt it would have been more prudent had the Emperor of Austria covered all details related to a convention forced upon his brother in a supreme moment with an opaque veil.' He further stated that it was only because of Franz Joseph's initiative that he had agreed to accept the Mexican throne (which was definitely not true) and that he had been forced to sign a paper which his lawyers and he himself considered null and void. He also attacked Franz Joseph for the involvement of the *Reichsrat* which Maximilian considered 'only competent to negotiate questions of succession which modify an act of the Pragmatic Sanction, and this only when they are summoned directly for this cause and in accordance with the princes' interest, who, in this case, have not even been consulted.' Here Maximilian clearly missed the point. The agnates of the House of Habsburg had been present as witnesses at Miramare when he signed the document; they can hardly be considered not informed. Maybe it was hard for the Emperor of Mexico to accept that neither his brothers nor any other members of the dynasty had protested against how Maximilian had been deprived of his position in the family pact.

Maximilian's empire was not to last; it ended with his execution on 19 June 1867, only three years after he had laid the foundations for a second imperial rule in Mexico. The reasons are manifold, but unsettled matters of succession clearly contributed to its downfall. The emperor and empress did not have children to secure their newly founded nucleus of a dynasty. The forced adoption of the grandson of Emperor Iturbide in 1864 turned out to be a fatal idea, linking the historical failure of the first imperial enterprise to the second one. Moreover, it created, from the start, the impression that the Habsburg dynasty would not be willing or able to produce a line of succession alone.



Jean-Paul Laurens, The last moments of Maximilian, Emperor of Mexico (1882)

The whole tragic affair of Maximilian's death by Benito Juarez's firing squad on Campanas Hill has naturally attracted much more attention than the somewhat dusty family pact of 1864. Yet it can be stated that the unsettled question of succession and of the former archduke's position within the Habsburg dynasty still mattered when Maximilian lost his tottering throne and was finally executed. Apparently Juarez's envoy in Washington, Romero, had justified arresting the emperor and his trial on the ground that Maximilian 'had resigned his right as an Austrian Prince and would always remain a Pretender to the Mexican throne' (*The Times*, 2 July 1867). After that an imperial family council in Vienna, the correspondent explained, had discussed to restore to Maximilian 'all the rights as an Austrian Archduke which he had abdicated on ascending the Mexican throne on condition that he should renounce his pretensions as Emperor of Mexico'. As so often, too little was done too late.

The question of the Austrian succession thus mattered for several reasons: First, the Mexican politicians pondering the future of their state were very much aware that it mattered to them, if not now, then later. Second, it seems none of the European powers actually made a straightforward attempt to save Maximilian's life; this might very well have been subtly influenced by the fact that he was not considered an agnate of the House of Habsburg anymore. And – to make it three – what about the possible effect the renunciation of his rights and position within the family had on Ferdinand Maximilian? The novelist Fernando del Paso uses artistic licence to describe the former archduke of Austria and count of Habsburg as an uprooted personality, troubled by the loss of status even though he just won a glittering crown. To some respect we can imagine Maximilian as legally and maybe also emotionally deprived of his place within his family and at the

same time unable to establish a new dynastic position. With the emperor trapped in dynastic no-man's-land, no ruler or government within the widespread European monarchical family actually felt responsible, neither for Maximilian's life in Mexico, even less for his death.

Suggested Reading

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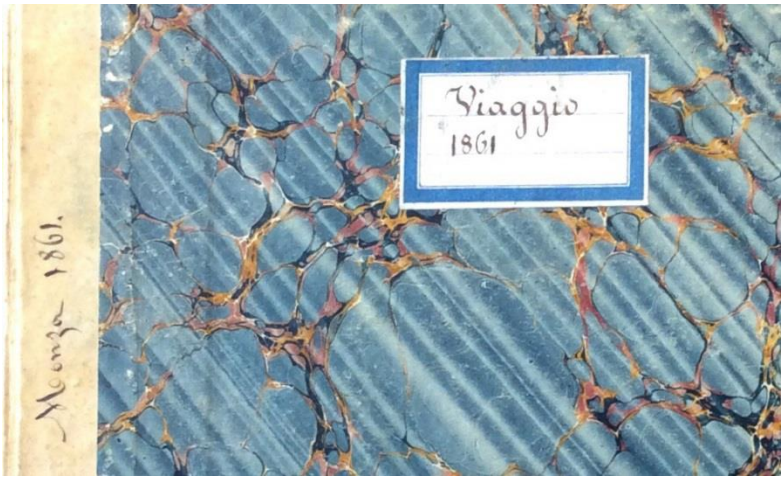
The Savoia Princes on the Road

Maria-Christina Marchi

'1861, September 16, Monday: Monza, Milan and Desenzano.

His Majesty having granted his sons the permission to travel in order to visit the battlegrounds at San Martino, Emilia, Umbria, the Marche and Toscana, the Royal Highnesses, accompanied by their *Governatore,* Cav. Rossi, and by the *Ufficiali d'ordinanza*, Sir Perrone, Knight of San Marzano, as well as by Professor Sismonda, set off from Monza at 4 ¼ a. m. on the sixteenth by carriage so as to reach the train station that leads from Milan to Desenzano. They met SE General La Marmora, Count Pasolini, Sir Beretta and Colonel Bariola at the jetty, whose job it was to accompany the Royal Highnesses to the battlefield of San Martino and narrate to them that great day which bestowed much glory on our armies.'

This note, written by one of their attendants, chronicles the journey the princes undertook to visit recently annexed provinces in the wake of Italian unification. Crown Prince Umberto (1844-1900) and his brothers Amedeo (1845-90) and Oddone (1846-66)* had suddenly become princes in a much larger kingdom that was composed of regions wholly unknown to them.



The itinerary of the 1861 tour (Archivio di Stato di Torino, Sezione Corte)

Umberto in particular, as heir to these new lands, needed to gain better knowledge of the various cultures and regions – and the people living there should become more familiar with their new royal family and especially with their future king. Loyalty to the new

monarchy was a central objective in the years after unification, and the king was made the centrepiece of the Risorgimento myth – alongside the military hero Giuseppe Garibaldi and the charismatic republican thinker Giuseppe Mazzini. The Crown was part of this 'holy trinity' which had 'liberated' Italy from the tyrannous rule of the Bourbons and the oppressive regime of the Pope. The narrative built around Vittorio Emanuele, *father of the fatherland*, was crucial to the effort to unite the country more deeply than mere geographical boundaries could. The Crown, it was thought, was the only power with which all inhabitants were familiar, a possible force of cultural unification. Many members of the government believed in the powerful symbolism that the Crown could provide, for, as Prime Minister Francesco Crispi, a Sicilian, famously put it, 'monarchy unites us'.

Crown Prince Umberto around 1862; the photograph was taken by Disderi.

One of the most effective ways to make the Savoia dynasty a central point of national identification was for the princes to set out on 'educational' trips, and show themselves to the population. It would allow for people from all social backgrounds to develop an interest in the new royal family, help legitimise the Savoia's claim in Italy, and also demonstrate that the monarchy aimed to be in touch with its people. The wording of the Savoyard constitution had been changed from proclaiming Vittorio Emanuele King 'by the Grace of God' to proclaiming him King of Italy 'by the Grace of God and the Will of the People' – a claim that the Crown intended to use in order to gain popular support in the years following unification. Thus, sending the princes on a journey across a large portion of the newly annexed regions, especially the areas that had, until recently, formed the Papal State, was strategically important: It generated legitimacy and popularity, as well as allowing the princes to broaden their knowledge of unified Italy and see the world beyond Piedmont.

During the nineteenth century the concept of royal travel – reminiscent of travelling courts of the medieval period – was being revived in many parts of Europe. In Italy, the act of royal personages literally approaching their subjects rather than having them come to the royal sphere, marked the beginning of an elaborate strategy designed to make the monarchy the central focus of *Italianness*. Although documents dating from 1853 show that the Savoy princes had travelled throughout Piedmont in a very similar manner, collecting poetry and gifts along the way from their subjects, the change in scale and in aim of these tours meant that their purpose was not only to remind people of the Crown, but to consolidate its presence throughout the country.

The importance of the princes' post-Risorgimento journey in 1861 was highlighted by its magnitude and its careful documentation, which stressed the educative value of the trip – both for the princes and the people they were visiting. The train with the royal party would stop at each of the bigger stations, like Bergamo and Brescia, where the exalted travellers briefly met with the authorities. In Brescia the city's governor, *Commendadore* Natoli, 'asked for the honour of accompanying the royal princes to Desenzano'.

In Desenzano, their first official stop, the princes were greeted by the mayor, the city council, the parish priest and a 'great crowd of people' – an important fact for a monarchy that was trying to build up its popularity in the newly annexed territories. In the evening the princes dined with the most important local figures, including nobles and the head of the local *Carabinieri*, in order to instil a sense of rapport with the ruling elites. Moreover, the princes' visit to the battlefield of Solferino and San Martino was charged with symbolic importance: The victory of Solferino, where the allied French and Sardinian armies had won a decisive battle during the Second Italian War of Independence in 1859, had been an important step towards Italian unification.

Carlo Bossoli (1815-1884): The Battle of Solferino (1859)

This first visit set the military tone of their entire trip. The next stop, Montechiari on 17 September 1861, featured a military manoeuvre of the sixteenth division, which was led by General La Marmora, a hero of the Risorgimento battles, celebrated both in the north and in the south. In S. Lorenzo a Torri the town's population as well as the National Guard welcomed the guests with the royal fanfare. Here they visited the Picenardi Villa, home of the Marchese Araldi, where a commemorative stone was unveiled in honour of one of Vittorio Emanuele's ministers, Luigi Count Cibrario. Various aspects of royal duty were compressed into each visit: Military display as well as cultural and commemorative occasions allowed the princes to engage with different facets of their role and demonstrated their 'interests' in a broader spectrum of the population, from soldiers, to intellectuals, to children.

Prince Amedeo di Savoia

The narration of their journey is very detailed. In each town they were received by the mayor and the most powerful local figures; they were acclaimed by the crowds and shown a military parade. In return the princes rode around the town in their carriage. Their visits were all similar in style and it was made sure that the princes would dedicate enough time to each stop, bestowing on it the royal experience.

Their stop in Borgo San Martino on 23 September was fairly typical:

> 'In Borgo San Martino the kings' sons were met by Rimini's governmental authorities, who escorted them all the way to the gates of the city where they were then received by the Mayor amongst the cheers of the citizens and the harmonies of the Republic of San Marino's musical band, and they accompanied them with great fanfare to their destination, the *Hotel della Spada.* From their room the princes watched the National Guards' march by, and all of the authorities (bar the ecclesiastical ones) paid the troops homage.'

This example not only reveals the princes' level of involvement in the events and their heightened visibility; it also highlights the rift between the new monarchy and the church – a rift that was less visible in the north, when they were received by the local parish priest in Desenzano. The second part of the journey took the princes into what would have previously been part of the Papal States. The loss of those territories had enraged Pius IX and ultimately resulted in the king's excommunication from the Catholic Church. Consequently, priests and members of the clergy had been encouraged to abstain from political involvement in the new kingdom.

The narrative thus reveals that those involved in government and with the Crown were aware of the problems that beset the new kingdom, and the fact that these are picked up by the author, shows that there was an attempt to deal with them by popularising the image of the young princes.

Moreover, the awareness that the Church was not going to be available as a nationalising tool, helped to develop a strategy aimed at a secular *ersatz* religion: the Crown. Faith was one thing that all Italians had in common, but because of the stand the Vatican had taken against the monarchy, unity had to be sought elsewhere. The Crown, with its 'liberal' ways and heroic identity, seemed a plausible choice.

Moreover, the cultural as well as commemorative events that marked the princes' journey demonstrated the desire to 'invent tradition' and link the Savoia name to a local history, which was slowly being nationalised.

For example, during their stop near Pavia, the princes visited the rooms were Francis I of France had stayed during the Battle of Pavia in 1725. Strictly speaking, this could be interpreted as an act of homage to an 'invader' of Italy. Instead, the visit represented a kind of continuity between the rulers of the past and those of the present. History was appropriated by the Savoia and turned into an 'Italian' tradition, rather than maintaining its local character.


MINISTERO DELL' INTERNO

Dispaccio Telegrafico

Da Cagliari 19. Giugno ore 11, 30. ant.

Ieri R.R. Principi visitarono chiese e stabilimenti diversi. Largirono L 1000. ai poveri della città; L 500. agli asili infantili; altre L 500. ai poveri di S. Antioco e Carloforte. Alle 5. pranzo dal prefetto, invitati diversi;

Extract from a telegraphical dispatch from the 1862 journey (Archivio di Stato di Torino, Sezione Corte)

In 1862 the princes went on the road again, but this time they visited the Southern regions not touched during their first official tour. According to a letter dated 31 May 1862, all three princes were to visit Sardinia, Sicily and the Neapolitan provinces. They basically retraced Garibaldi's steps during the Expedition of the Thousand in 1860. After setting off from Genova – just like the revolutionary and his band of volunteers – they made their way to Sicily, stopping in Sardinia to greet their old subjects, since Sardinia had always been a part of the old Savoia kingdom.

There is no overall narrative account for this trip, however telegrams regularly sent to Turin document the journey. Like on their first tour the princes attended a mixture of military and cultural events. There were also a few innovations, such as the giving of prizes at competitions and acts of charity. In Sardinia they gave L. 1,000 to the poor as well as L. 400 to the local nursery. The princes were 'welcomed everywhere with applause and with enthusiastic *evviva*… military bands, roads covered in flags and flowers…' Overall, it sounded like their visits were both appreciated by the local populations and served as successful media exploits. The press coverage of royal events, such as the royal wedding between Umberto and Margherita in 1868, would emerge as a crucial way of propagating the popularity of the crown, with articles which promoted loyalty to the ruling family. Reports of events such as the royal visits of 1861 hid the unstable political situation and violent clashes in the southern parts of the peninsula and directed the public gaze at the monarchy instead.

For the princes themselves this trip was designed as explicitly educational; it also took the princes beyond Italy in an attempt to kick-start their international formation. The princes visited Constantinople, Smyrna, Rhodes, Cyprus, Syria, Egypt and the cities of

Tripoli and Tunis. This extended itinerary was chosen to allow the princes mental and cultural growth. Like in many other royal families in Europe, experiences abroad were seen as key to the education of any royal prince.

Prince Oddone di Savoia

Thus both trips illustrate how the strategy concerning the public image of the princes developed and how they came to serve as a symbolic representation of a charismatic monarchy, detached from party politics and mainly interested in the welfare of its people. The decision to send the princes on these journeys together demonstrated an effort to bring the Crown closer to the people and use it to bridge the gap between the new 'legal' Italy – an Italy managed and created by the government – and its acquired populations. It also helped consolidate the longevity of the dynasty and reinforced the notion that they were intrinsically connected to the people. Although neither the diary nor the telegrams explicitly state this plan, an underlying desire to understand the new regions and to put the princes in touch with the various cultures and people shines through their carefully planned itineraries and the constant obligation of the princes to engage with the people as personally as possible.

Overall, these travels reflect a cultural strategy aimed at the development of a sense of *italianità* – the innate Italian-ness everyone possessed but which needed to be shaped – through the Crown, and more specifically through the princes, was taking shape right from the beginning of Italy's existence as a unified kingdom. Umberto, Amedeo and Oddone had to be ready to lead this new country, but more importantly, the people were given the chance to get in touch with royalty and meet them first hand. The Crown attempted to appear more accessible. As political commentator Angelo Camillo de Meis pointed out in his pamphlet *The Sovereign*, in order for the monarchy to survive it had to

modernise and 'a modern monarch is he who can think what the public thinks' and whose dynasty is 'liberal and unifying'. To a certain extent this is what the Savoia were trying to achieve – or at least, this was the image of themselves that they were trying to propagate, and royal travels, such as those undertaken by the princes, were only the first step towards this new monarchical modernity.

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* In the text the author always refers to 'the princes' yet he never calls them by name. According to other sources Umberto and Amedeo were definitely present, but it is hard to understand whether Oddone travelled with his brothers. Since his health was precarious, his presence cannot be assumed with certainty.

Princes' Itinerary, September – October 1861	
16 September	Monza to Desenzano
17 September	Desenzano to Montechiari, Castiglione and Cremona
18 September	Cremona
19 September	Cremona to Crema and Lodi
20 September	Lodi to Bologna

21 September	Bologna to Ferrara and back
22 September	Bologna to Imola, Faenza and Ravenna
23 September	Ravenna to Rimini
24 September	Rimini to Pesaro and Ancona
25 September	Ancona
26 September	Ancona to Jesi
27 September	Jesi to Castelfidardo and Loreto
28 September	Loreto to Macerata, Tolentino and Foligno
29 September	Foligno to Trevi, Spoleto, Terni, Piediluco and Terni
30 September	Terni to Spoleto, Assisi and Perugia
1 October	Perugia
2 October	Perugia to Foligno and Urbino
3 October	Urbino to Fossombrone, Fano and Pesaro
4 October	Pesaro to Rimini and Bologna
5-8 October	Bologna
9-12 October	Firenze
13 October	San Rossore
14 October	San Rossore to Pisa, Viareggio, Pisa and Firenze
15 October	Firenze to Livorno
16 October	Livorno to La Spezia, Genova and Moncalieri

Princes' Itinerary, 1862	
Sardinia	Island of the Maddalena, Porto Torres, Sassari, Alghero, Oristano and Cagliari
Sicily	Touching the main ports along the coast, such as Palermo, Trapani, Grigenti, Siracusa and Messina
Naples	Following the coast and stopping in Reggio and Taranto
Turkey	Constantinople and Smyrna
Rhodes and Cyprus	
Syria	Tripoli, Beirut, St John of Airi, Jaffa and a trip to Jerusalem
Egypt	Alexandria, Cairo and Suez
Barbareschi States	Tripoli and Tunis
return to Genoa	

How to lose friends and alienate people: The transformation of the image of Ferdinand VII

Richard Meyer Forsting

A quick search on Ferdinand VII will return his two enduring and most famous bynames: *el Rey deseado* (the desired king) and *el Rey felon* (the felon/criminal king). These diametrically opposed attributions might seem surprising at first, but they are simply the result of a transformation of Ferdinand VII's image over time. The former byname was attributed to Ferdinand while he was still heir to the throne and briefly during his early reign (March-May 1808), whereas the latter emerged during the last ten years of his reign, the so called 'ominous decade' (1823-33). How does a king go from being the desired one to ending as the felon, the criminal king?

Ferdinand as Prince of Asturias as painted by Goya in 1800

The answer lies in the mythical image of Ferdinand that was constructed while he was still Prince of Asturias (1789-1808) and then during his exile in France (1808-14), as well as in his subsequent inability and active refusal to conform to the expectations thus formed. This is the story of the construction and diffusion of that myth, its endurance and its clash with the reality of Ferdinand VII's conservative upbringing, absolutist camarilla and reactionary convictions. It is a demonstration of how the dynastic position of an heir, and his lack of direct involvement in government allows for the construction of an idealized conception of the future king. Once on the throne, the heightened expectations and positive attributions would clash with the reality of the king's rule, which can make it

increasingly difficult to sustain the previously constructed myth. This is also a story of missed opportunities and failure: Ferdinand missed the opportunity to use the prestige he acquired as heir to modernise and regenerate the monarchy, thus ultimately entering history as the felon who failed to bring constitutional rule to Spain.

El principe innocente – The innocent prince

When Ferdinand was born at the Escorial on 14 October 1784, he was only the fourth in line to the throne, behind his brothers and his father. However, within one month of his birth his brothers (twins) had died and shortly after his father came to the throne, the physically rather weak and sickly prince was sworn in as Prince of Asturias. During his formative years Ferdinand was, on the wishes of his parents, kept at a distance from government and administrative business. His early years did certainly not point to him becoming the great promise of regeneration of the Spanish monarchy. At the same time the court favourite Manuel Godoy rose to an ever more powerful position in the kingdom, so that he ended up being seen by many as the true ruler of Spain. The struggle against the *Prince of the Peace,* a title Godoy received from Carlos IV to the chagrin of Ferdinand (it was customary that only royal offspring were allowed the title prince), became an important element in the rise of Ferdinand and his growing popularity. In October 1802, Ferdinand married Maria Antonia de Borbon, whose mother was a firm opponent of Godoy and his promotion of an alliance with France. Encouraged by his wife and entourage Ferdinand became increasingly active trying to undermine Godoy. This found its expression in a satirical campaign against Godoy in the winter of 1806 when prints were distributed amongst the nobility and the populace which discredited the court favourite, and by association Ferdinand's parents. The growing number of Godoy's enemies subsequently became closely associated with the heir to the throne, earning them the denomination *grupo fernandino.* Despite the fact that this group was conservative and largely disgruntled with reforms weakening their privileges, their opposition to Godoy found wide resonance among a public that was dissatisfied with the apparent corruption of the court and suffered under an economic crisis.

In October 1807 a conspiracy against Godoy was discovered, which directly implicated Ferdinand. As MIGUEL ARTOLA has shown, the ultimate aim of this conspiracy was to

force the resignation of Charles IV and place Ferdinand on the throne. The lightness of the punishment handed out to the conspirators and the Prince of Asturias were seen by many as proof that the whole affair was in fact a grand ploy by Godoy to discredit the heir to the throne and his followers. Charles IV decided to publicise the affair in the official newspaper, the *Gazeta de Madrid*, thus giving it a public and high profile. Ferdinand thus came to be the focal point of opposition to the unpopular Godoy. The myth of the 'innocent prince' fighting the corrupt and evil court favourite was born.

The tense situation at court came to a head on 17 March 1808, with the events that came to be known as the *Motin de Aranjuez* (Mutiny of Aranjuez). Aided by important sectors of the court and a popular riot at the royal residence of Aranjuez, Ferdinand forced the abdication of his father and the arrest of Godoy; the latter only just escaping with his life. The crowds in front of the palace balcony, conveniently assembled there on 19 March 1808, proclaimed Ferdinand their new king. The usual procedure of referring the abdication to the Cortes was skipped and the accession constructed as a spontaneous decision by the people rejecting Godoy and acclaiming their new king.

As LAPARRA has put it, the important thing was 'the hope that a virtuous and innocent prince would bring about the regeneration of the monarchy', not procedural detail. During the following brief first reign of Ferdinand VII some of these hopes seemed to be fulfilled. The king and his entourage relentlessly persecuted Godoy and some of his most unpopular reform measures were overturned. Most importantly for Spanish liberals he released some prominent political prisoners such as the famous liberal lawyer and writer Jovellanos; it appeared that a more enlightened reign was being ushered in. In fact, though, the liberation of prisoners was more about revenge on Godoy than a wish to do away with political repression. Nevertheless, the liberals preferred to laud the new king and represent his fight against Godoy as a struggle of good against evil, with virtue triumphing over corruption. Ferdinand could do no wrong, he was hailed as *el rey innocente, el mas amado* (the most beloved), *el mejor de los monarcas* – the best of all monarchs. By doing so they not only gave a very idiosyncratic interpretation to events but also (deliberately) ignored the dubious legality of his accession, his reliance on the disgruntled nobility and his deep conservatism.

The coup, while portrayed as a popular uprising, was in fact planned and executed by a group of courtiers close to Ferdinand, who were more interested in rolling back the substantial reforms of the armed forces and stopping the expropriation of church lands than in the plight of the people. Furthermore the liberals overlooked Ferdinand's complete lack of 'enlightened' inclinations. As MORAL RONCAL has shown, the education of Ferdinand and his brother Don Carlos remained closely wedded to absolutist conceptions of government and religion. His teacher José Escoiquiz, a conservative cleric and opponent of Godoy, had been and remained a key influence on Ferdinand. He was one of the main directors of the camarilla pushing for a coup against Godoy and later on convinced Ferdinand VII to leave Spain for the meeting with Napoleon that cost him the throne. Rather than interpreting the first measures of Ferdinand VII as enlightened, it is perhaps more reasonable to see the policies adopted by Ferdinand VII as demagogical, making use of the popular hatred toward Godoy to further his own popularity. But this interpretation did not serve the aim of the liberals when the War of Independence broke out – they chose to put their hope in the young monarch.

El Rey deseado - The desired King

When, on 24 March 1808, Ferdinand moved to Madrid, where crowds once more acclaimed him as the rightful king, the capital had already been in control of Napoleon's forces. Godoy had allowed French forces into the capital to undertake a joined French-Spanish campaign against Portugal. The problem for Ferdinand VII was that Napoleon did not recognise him as legitimate king of Spain. This was most clearly expressed by the French emperor addressing him as *Su Alteza Real* (Your Royal Highness) instead of *Su Majestad* (Your Majesty) in his correspondence with Ferdinand. Hoping for a meeting with Napoleon, which would legitimise his rule and give it the military support it needed, Ferdinand left Spain for Bayonne in France. There he was unexpectedly reunited with his father. Napoleon pressured Ferdinand and Charles into passing their rights to the throne onto him. On 12 May 1808 Ferdinand issued a manifesto to the Spanish nation, declaring this transfer of rights and calling on the Spanish to accept Napoleon's orders.

In Spain this provoked numerous uprisings and the formation of Juntas (Councils), which held onto Ferdinand VII as their rightful king and declared war on the French empire. It

was in this confused political environment and the ensuing conflict that an absolutist prince could become the great liberal hope. It has been demonstrated that the new authorities were largely responsible for creating a positive image of Ferdinand VII, casting the king in the role of the victim; first of the interior tyrant (Godoy) and now of the external tyrant (Napoleon). As LA PARRA puts it, from then on 'the myth is propagated systematically and intentionally'. The transfer of his rights was portrayed as illegitimate, as it was forced and the prince was being held in captivity against his will.

***Ferdinand VII disembarks at Puerto de Santa María*, painting by José Aparicio (Museo del Romanticismo, Madrid)**

The Juntas saw it as their mission to 'inspire in the people enthusiasm and ardour for the defence of the Patria and the King', to quote the *Suprema Junta de Gobierno de Sevilla.* The myth of the innocent king, the 'desired king' as he now became known, was vital to unite the Spanish in a fight against the external enemy. The great worries of the Juntas were that divisions would rip the movement apart and that the liberal elements could become radicalised. The figure of Ferdinand VII was the perfect antidote to both those dangers.

However, when the Cortes convened in Cadiz, the first signs began to emerge that Ferdinand co-operated rather willingly with his capturer. Indeed his correspondence with Napoleon proves that the 'desired king' congratulated the emperor on his victories over the rebellious Spanish forces and even expressed the desire to become his adopted son. While the published letters were rejected as forgeries and French propaganda, the deputies at Cadiz sought to restrict the king's power and explicitly based the monarch's legitimacy on the agreement of the nation. As RICHARD HOCQUELT has argued this implied the emergence of a new monarchical culture, which affirmed the pre-eminence of the sovereignty of the nation. The balancing act performed by the liberals was to keep with the dominant discourse of the innocent, virtuous desired king, when the actions of

that very monarch made them lose confidence in his sincerity and take precautionary measures by limiting his prerogatives and resting his legitimacy on popular assent. However, as the MARQUES DE MIRAFLORES, witness to the events, pointed out, the myth surrounding Ferdinand VII 'invested him with immense moral force that made him the arbiter of all situations, from his accession to the throne to his death'. Unfortunately for the liberals their doubts proved well founded and the return of the king was to destroy their hopes for a regenerated and constitutional monarchy.

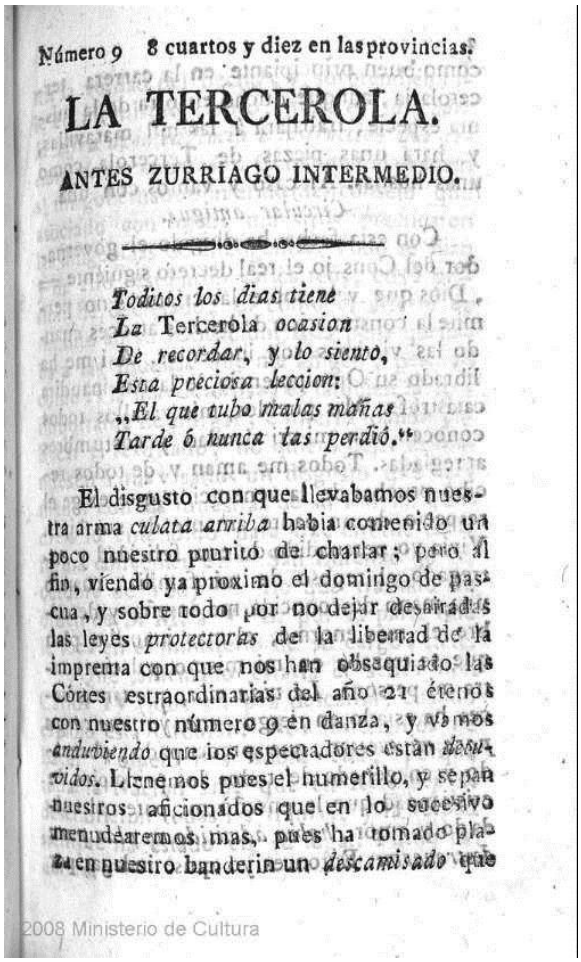
***El rey engañado* - The deceived king**

Maybe the most surprising aspect of the myth surrounding Ferdinand VII is its durability. Toward the end of the war, when doubts over his actions were spreading, the Cortes still employed the same language portraying Ferdinand as 'innocent and helpless' and 'captive and oppressed'. (See for a good example of this rhetoric *Representación* to Ferdinand VII at Cervantes Virtual). Furthermore the myth was not even completely discarded on Ferdinand's return to Spain, despite his complete disregard for the constitution and his persecution of liberals. On his return on 22 March 1814, Ferdinand VII refused to swear an oath to the constitution and formed an alliance with General Elio and other conservative military leaders so as to restore absolute power to him. One of his first acts upon his return was to decree the suppression of the constitution and have some of the most prominent liberal deputies of the Cortes thrown into prison. It was the beginning of six years of harsh repression and persecution. The plots of liberal army officers against the regime were dealt with ruthlessly, mostly involving the execution of their leaders. However, in 1820 the young officer Rafael del Riego succeeded in his rebellion and forced the restoration of the 1812 constitution, initiating the three years of liberal rule known as the *Trienio Liberal*.

In March 1820 Ferdinand swore an oath to the constitution and famously declared, 'let us march, and me first, down the constitutional path'. While it might be assumed that this Pauline conversion was rather unconvincing after the events of the last six years, the myth of the innocent prince was resurrected and underwent another interesting metamorphosis. The positive image of the king had become so widely popularised and ingrained in public discourse that liberal writers and politicians found it hard to

contradict it now. Instead of condemning the king for his past behaviour and making him repent publicly, the liberal authorities and media sought to excuse his actions. They attributed the unconstitutional actions of Ferdinand VII to inexperience, his ignorance to the absence from the *patria* and most importantly they pointed to the bad advice he had received from his camarilla. The king had been misled by the absolutist elements around him and could hence not be considered to have acted freely. The insistence on the king's personal innocence kept the mythical image of Ferdinand alive.

This theory of the *rey engañado* (deceived king) became a type of official doctrine, despite the doubts many must have privately harboured about the sincerity of the monarch's constitutionality. The insistence on the innocence of the king was also widely diffused through plays, discussions in the emerging café culture and liberal newspapers. One particularly illustrative example is a drama entitled *Fernando VII desengañado por los heroes de la nación* (Fernando VII disabused by the heroes of the nation), which was performed at a patriotic society in Palencia in 1820. The title's translation is not straightforward, but the word *desengañado* (disabused/set right) encapsulates the idea that previously the king had been *engañado* (cheated/abused) and was now finally free. Thus even some of the more radical and prominent liberals and patriotic societies were publicly defending the king.



Número 9 8 cuartos y diez en las provincias.

LA TERCEROLA.

ANTES ZURRIAGO INTERMEDIO.

Toditos los dias tiene
La Tercerola *ocasion*
De recordar, y lo siento,
Esta preciosa leccion:
„El que tubo malas mañas
Tarde ó nunca tas perdió."

El disgusto con que llevabamos nuestra arma *culata arriba* habia comenido un poco nuestro prurito de charlar; pero al fin, viendo ya proximo el domingo de pascua, y sobre todo por no dejar desairadas las leyes *protectoras* de la libertad de la imprenta con que nos han obsequiado las Córtes estraordinarias del año 21 éramos con nuestro número 9 en danza, y vamos *anduviendo* que los espectadores están *desvividos*. Llenemos pues el numerillo, y sepan nuestros aficionados que en lo sucesivo menudearemos mas, pues ha tomado plaza en nuestro banderin un *descamisado* que

The infamous 9th issue of *La Tercerola*, which in its article 'Al Rey' published one of the fiercest attacks on Ferdinand VII (Madrid, 1822)

The myth only entered its dying phase when elements close to the palace, probably with Ferdinand's consent, attempted a coup against the constitution on 7 July 1822. Now the more radical liberal press no longer held back about its reservations concerning the king and his actions. The infamous radical

newspaper *El Zurriago* and its sister publication *La Tercerola* started re-publishing Ferdinand VII's letters to Napoleon and called for the king to be declared unfit to rule. However, the government and mainstream liberal press still held onto the monarch and even started persecuting those directly attacking the king. In 1823 the Holy Alliance decided to invade Spain to overthrow the constitutional system and restore order to the increasingly unstable Peninsula. When Ferdinand refused to accompany the liberal government and much of its remaining force during their flight to Cadiz, the Cortes finally declared him 'morally impeded' to rule Spain. After the swift success of the foreign invasion, Ferdinand was restored to absolute power once more and unleashed an even more repressive and ruthless reaction than in 1814. This last decade of his rule was to become known as the *decada ominosa.* Perhaps the strength of the myth is best encapsulated in many liberals trusting Ferdinand's initial promise of a pardon to all those involved in the constitutional project. Many paid with their life for their trust and mythical belief in the goodness of their king. One of them was the leader of the 1820 rebellion, Rafael del Riego. He was publicly hanged in Madrid's Plaza de la Cebada on 7 November 1823.

El Rey felon **- the felon King**

In light of his stern absolutism and the complete betrayal of liberal hopes invested in him, it is not surprising that Ferdinand has entered history as *el Rey felon,* the felon or the criminal king. The liberals found it extremely hard to break with the myth of the innocent prince and even tried to exculpate him from his action in exile and the six years of repression following his return. However, they ultimately had to accept the reality that Ferdinand was neither liberal nor constitutional. Spanish liberalism had invested its hope into an 'innocent prince' that turned out to be an unapologetic absolutist. The king under whose banner they had fought and died against Napoleon betrayed them.

It had been possible to portray and imagine Ferdinand in his role as heir and exile as the liberal hope for regeneration in opposition to an internal and external enemy. His lack of involvement in government affairs meant that it was relatively easy to ignore his reactionary tendencies and conservative upbringing. However, the myth was impossible

to sustain when Ferdinand became king and decided to rule in complete contrast to the image that had been projected onto him.

Not the look of a constitutional King: Ferdinand VII with the insignia of the Order of the Golden Fleece. Painting by Vicente López, 1830 (Palacio de España, Rome)

Heirs have the opportunity to acquire considerable political capital without having to actively engage in government affairs. Once the heir ascends the throne, the myth surrounding him as king depends on his actions and his achievements. In the light of the disappointment of the liberals with Ferdinand's return it is remarkable that the myth of the heir was able to live on for such long time in the figure of the king. Ferdinand VII failed to use his considerable political capital to regenerate the monarchy and rest it on a constitutional foundation. In the end he even lost his prestige among the ultra conservative forces in the kingdom who joined his brother in a struggle against his heir, Isabel II, after his death in 1833. Indeed he managed to lose almost all his friends and allies, forcing his wife into an alliance with his old enemies, the liberals, to support her daughter's claim to the throne. The liberals meanwhile never forgave Ferdinand VII, who to them would always remain the felon King.

Suggested reading

Miguel Artola (1957), *Memorias de tiempos de Fernando VII*, Madrid, Atlas

Fernando Díaz Plaja (1996), *Fernando VII: el más querido y el más odiado de los reyes españoles*, Barcelona, Planeta-Agostini

Richard Hocquellet (2001), *Résistance et révolution durant l'occupation napoléonienne en Espagne, 1808-1812*, Paris, la Boutique de l'histoire éd.

Lopéz la Parra, “La metamorfosis de la imagen del Rey Fernando VII entre los primeros liberales”, http://www.cervantesvirtual.com/nd/ark:/59851/bmcww811

Marqués de Miraflores (1834), *Apuntes histórico-críticos para escribir la historia de la revolución de España desde el año 1820 hasta 1823,* 3 vols, London, Ricardo Taylor

Antonio M. Moral Roncal (1999), *Carlos V de Borbón, 1788-1855*, Madrid, Actas Editorial

Planning a Crypt to teach the Nation:
Crown Prince Friedrich Wilhelm and his Dynastic Politics of Memory

Frank Lorenz Müller

In 1909 Thomas Mann published his satirical novel 'Royal Highness' set in the fictional German Grand Duchy of Grimmburg. The story's eponymous anti-hero, the somewhat melancholy Prince Klaus Heinrich, suffered quietly from that perennial affliction of the minor royal: the boredom that springs from the lack of meaningful occupation. "In his daily life he had nothing to do", we learn about him; "it was important and decisive whether a greeting or a gracious word had gone well, whether a gesture had appeared winning yet dignified. … Sometimes he thought that it would be good to have a proper surname, to be called Dr Fischer and have a serious profession."

The problem of how to cope with dignified tedium was by no means restricted to Imperial Germany's fictional princes. Watching the decades crawl past as he was waiting for the throne, Crown Prince Friedrich Wilhelm of Prussia (1831-1888) had to grapple with the same problem. "In order to make people talk about him every now and then," the socialist weekly *Der Sozialdemokrat* acidly remarked in 1883, "he has to engage in the silliest nonsense, clearly the result of the deadliest boredom: playing schoolmaster, splashing about with soldiers in the swimming pool and more such things."

Heinrich von Angeli (1840-1925): Crown Prince Friedrich Wilhelm of Prussia, 1874
(Wikimedia Commons)

As befitted an implacably anti-monarchical publication, *Der Sozialdemokrat* chose to point to the less serious and, perhaps, less dignified ways in which the crown prince chose to fill some of the many empty hours that came with a role Friedrich Wilhelm himself described as that of an "idle observer". Some of the projects and pastimes to which the heir to the Prussian and German thrones dedicated his copious

spare time were much less frivolous, though, and were rather more sophisticatedly attuned to the political culture of the day than his visits to the local school or the Potsdam public baths. Above all, Friedrich Wilhelm appears to have had a keen sense for the importance of the Politics of Memory (*Geschichtspolitik*) and an eye for the means of disseminating a suitably patriotic and dynastic version of the past.

A true child of his time, the crown prince shared in the nineteenth century's infatuation with History and its capacity for teaching valuable lessons to the present generation. He was also a noticeably proud scion of the Hohenzollern dynasty with a keen sense of Prussian superiority. As such he fully endorsed the Borussian interpretation of Prusso-German history advocated by historians such as Johann Gustav Droysen, Heinrich von Sybel or Max Duncker. This ranged from his passionate belief in Prussia's entitlement to Germany's ancient imperial crown, to the celebration of a strong, martial state, from a deep reverence for great individual rulers to his consistent emphasis on the Hohenzollerns' Protestant Christianity. A passionate amateur historian, Crown Prince Friedrich Wilhelm devoted himself to extended periods of study in the archives to collect papers relating to his grandmother, Queen Louise. He arranged funding for a long-term editorial project about the history of Elector Friedrich Wilhelm of Brandenburg (1620-1688) and sought to set up a library comprising a copy of every edition of every book by King Friedrich II (1712-1786).

This high regard for the historical record of his Hohenzollern ancestors and his worry that the Prussian dynasty's new imperial dignity was not communicated to the people in a sufficiently awe-inspiring manner led the crown prince to take on a great didactic task. In a memorandum he composed in March 1876 he summarised his central objective as follows: "The deeds and governmental acts of our *Kurfürsten* [=electors] and kings must be presented in concise language, historically true and easily understandable for everyone who passes by." He dreamed of a prominent dynastic mausoleum-cum-monument in the heart of Berlin. In it – next to the sarcophagi marking the final resting place of his royal ancestors – tablets would be installed "to signify in very few words, yet in a manner that even the least educated classes of the people would find comprehensible and lucid, the activities of those rulers for the welfare of the country and the dignity of the house."

The crown prince's plans for this publically accessible Crypt Church – to be erected either next to, or as part of Berlin Cathedral – occupied him for more than a decade. It was designed to enable visitors to time-travel over four centuries right up to the mid-nineteenth century along a dynastic trajectory. Beginning with Elector Friedrich I (1372-1440), the first Hohenzollern ruler in Brandenburg, and in strictly chronological order, a bay would be set aside for every ruling member of the dynasty – even for the ones who were interred elsewhere. No expense should be spared and only precious materials were to be used: marble, granite or terracotta – but no "common sandstone." As each monumental tomb was to be designed in line with the age in which the ruler lived and the finest works of art from those periods should serve as examples, the crown prince spent years scouring Europe in search of suitable sculptures. He amassed drawings, photographs and notes and eventually made his selection. As late as 1887, just months from his death, he compiled yet another list of sepulchral monuments which could inspire the design of the crypt. By then he had located suitable examples of outstanding works of art in Basel, Bremen, Regensburg, Bologna, Breda, Granada, Zurich, Venice, London, and many other cities.

Even more care was lavished on the tablets that would front each individual bay and tell the story of the Hohenzollerns' individual and collective greatness in words that everyone could understand. Friedrich Wilhelm pored over these succinct paeans of praise, drafting and re-drafting them and then sent them to a group of friends and eminent historians for feedback. The cream of the Borussian crop of professors were consulted, among them Leopold von Ranke, Heinrich von Sybel, Johann Gustav Droysen, Max Duncker and Hans Delbrück. He found them, on the whole, to be a rather tame audience who did little in the way of criticising their noble colleague and offered, above all, generous helpings of warm words.

Droysen, who responded within less than a week of being sent the first batch of texts, thought these epitaphs "entirely worthy of the monumental position for which they are intended." Leopold von Ranke got himself tied up in a number of technicalities concerning some dates and suggested a tiny stylistic change for Joachim II's epitaph, but ended reassuringly by declaring that it made him happy to know Friedrich Wilhelm engaged in "such beautiful work." Max Duncker was confident that the plan would meet with "the undivided applause and lively joy of the Fatherland." The archivist and historian Paul

Hassel already foresaw a beautifully patriotic scene: "Thousands, from every class (*aus allen Schichten des Volkes*), that is how I imagine it, will enter the Campo Santo on festive occasions, especially on the memorial days of the kings and queens."

Johann Gustav Droysen (Wikipedia)

Buoyed by such praise, Friedrich Wilhelm pressed on and moved along, from elector to elector and from king to king, painting a beautiful picture of a coherent, continuous and cumulative effort by a succession of Hohenzollern rulers. It was to them that Germany owed their modern, martial, well-administered, Protestant nation state. The Borussian core of Friedrich Wilhelm's version of the past thus ran through this beauty parade of monarchs like through a stick of Brighton Rock: The crown prince began with Elector Friedrich I (1372-1440), who was "highly esteemed in Germany as a hero and statesman", overcame party strife and restored "public order." Elector Albrecht (1414-1486) was a "mighty warlord," whereas Elector Johann (1455-1499) became the "founder of an independent administration." Elector Joachim II (1505-1571) was not only "inclined toward the gospel according to the teaching of Luther since his youth", but, as an imperial general, also led troops to protect the German lands against the Turks. Elector Johann Georg (1525-1598) kept strictly to Luther's teachings and offered a safe haven to those persecuted for their faith, while it was to his son, Joachim Friedrich (1546-1608), that the country owed the foundation of its civil service. Elector Georg Wilhelm (1595-1640) laid the foundations of the Brandenburg army.

The second batch of the crown prince's sketches began with one of his favourite ancestors: Friedrich Wilhelm, the Great Elector (1620-1688). He was described as a "true hero," victorious in "memorable campaigns," responsible for building a "blossoming, viable unitary state, a centre of protestant freedom" and "truly German in his convictions." The crown prince's account of King Friedrich Wilhelm I (1688-1740) praised this monarch's creation of a "strong army, always ready to strike," his root and branch reform of the civil service, his care for the peasantry (*Bauernstand*) and his military conquests. There were

warm words even for the altogether unimpressive King Friedrich Wilhelm II (1744-1797), whose highly controversial 1788 decree was now celebrated as a "religious law against sectarianism and heresy" designed to protect "proper Protestant teachings (*den lauteren evangelischen Lehrbegriff*)". When the crown prince finally got to his own grandfather, King Friedrich Wilhelm III (1770-1840), he was already dying of throat cancer. The text, praised by Hans Delbrück, depicted the king as the author of the reforms of Prussia's army, administration and social order at the beginning of the century and ascribed the foundation of the *Zollverein* in 1830 to Friedrich Wilhelm III's desire for a "firm connection of the German tribes (*Stämme*)."

Eagle-eyed aficionados of Prussian history will have noticed a glaring gap in this royal list: King Friedrich II (1712-1786) – the "Great". In the case of this *über*-ancestor, Friedrich Wilhelm was simply overcome with awe and – after numerous fruitless attempts to capture the greatness of this monarch in a few words – eventually settled for an epitaph of, as he saw it, majestic brevity: "King Friedrich II—called 'the Great' by contemporaries and posterity."

By the mid-1880s, the crown prince had also settled on a plan for housing his grand narrative in an appropriately grand building. The replacement for Berlin's cathedral, as designed by the architect Julius Raschdorff in consultation with Friedrich Wilhelm, would have inscribed the crown prince's monarchical politics of memory brashly onto the cityscape of the German capital. Entitled "A Concept by His Majesty the Emperor and King for the Construction of the Cathedral and the Completion of the Royal Palace in Berlin" Raschdorff's drawings document how the new building was to communicate a political message: the unity of the Reich was embodied in the person of the emperor and indissolubly linked to the Prussian dynasty. Under its three domes the new cathedral was to house three separate spaces: the sepulchral or crypt church (*Grabkirche*) with its array of Hohenzollern tombs, a central ceremonial church (*Festkirche*) and the preaching church (*Predigtkirche*) to be used by the cathedral parish. Both the cathedral and the adjacent royal palace were to be dwarfed by a gigantic new campanile, while a large equestrian statue of Emperor William was to be placed in front of the central arch. Within three weeks of his father's death, the crown prince, now Emperor Friedrich III, ordered that the question of a re-building of Berlin cathedral "be addressed immediately."

Friedrich III did not live to see work start on this monumental new building. His son, Emperor Wilhelm II, honoured his father's wishes, though, and oversaw the construction of the considerably smaller – yet still massive – *Berliner Dom* which dominates the *Lustgarten* to this very day. Crown Prince Friedrich Wilhelm's plans for a Crypt Church and a new cathedral in Berlin were not his only forays into the field of using architecture to communicate a dynastic message, though. In 1885 work commenced to restore the famous Castle Church (*Schlosskirche, as pictured left*) in Wittenberg, where Luther had nailed his 95 theses to the door in 1517 – thus marking the dramatic beginning of the German Reformation. Ever since he had found this famous building in a state of disrepair in the early 1880s, Friedrich Wilhelm had pushed for money to be made available not only to restore the church, but to turn it into a shrine celebrating the Hohenzollerns' role as Germany's leading Protestant dynasty. With the Prussian eagle serving as the weather vane and the statues of 16th-century Hohenzollern princes adorning the interior of the renovated Castle Church, the famous building was transformed into a classic example of *architecture parlante*, talking – not so subtly – about the greatness of the Prussian dynasty.

When he solemnly opened the restored building in 1892, Emperor Wilhelm II used the occasion to stage the Hohenzollerns' pre-eminence to the full. And while he did not realise his father's plans for a patriotic crypt, Wilhelm II adapted the patriotic idea at its core in his own inimitable way. In a special edition of the official *Reichsanzeiger* issued on 27th January 1895 – his 36th birthday – the emperor announced his intention to "commemorate the glorious past of our fatherland". Wilhelm would therefore pay to have "marble statues of the princes of Brandenburg and Prussia – beginning with Albrecht the Bear and ending with the Kaiser and King Wilhelm I … erected in sequential order along the *Siegesallee*."

The Siegesallee in Berlin (Wikimedia Commons)

A mere six years later the *Siegesallee* project was finished. The street that ran from the *Kemperplatz* to the Victory Column outside the *Reichstag* building – right through Berlin's popular *Tiergarten* Park – was lined with 32 sculptural ensembles. The statues were hewn from gleaming white Carrara marble and depicted each ruler in his prime. Meticulous care had been taken to ensure that every last uniform button was historically accurate. Soon an official guidebook was at hand to reinforce the monarchical message. Sanctioned by the Prussian Ministry of Education, the slim volume was sold by veterans for a mere 50 *Pfennige*. For all its lack of subtlety the Kaiser's marble marketing effort appears to have worked: soon schools organized outings to the *Siegesallee*; families enjoyed patriotic stories while strolling along the sculptures; and on holidays representatives of military or religious organizations would lay wreaths at the feet of individual statues.

Simplicissimus: „Childlike Games", 15 October 1901

There were, of course, catcalls from within the artistic community as to the merit of these statues and the Berliners' proverbial penchant for irreverence quickly turned the dreary file of monarchs into *Die Puppen* (The Dolls). The Munich-based satirical journal *Simplicissimus* commented on the patriotic thoroughfare with a wry cartoon: It showed commonplace household items and toy soldiers neatly arranged to resemble the row of royal worthies. The withering caption, evoking the idle games of a bored boy, read "Childlike Games. Little Willy plays Berlin" – thus suggesting that the problem of exalted boredom may not have been restricted to those waiting for a throne, but could also afflict those already occupying one. In both cases

– with Crown Prince Friedrich Wilhelm planning such ventures and Kaiser Wilhelm II delivering them – it seems, though, that the arts of exercising soft power to cajole, persuade, bamboozle or persuade the audience constituted the kind of skill late-modern monarchs found hard to ignore.

For a fuller discussion of the issues addressed in this essay (as well as bibliographical and archival references), please consult: Frank Lorenz Müller (2012): "The Prince, the Crypt, and the Historians: Emperor Friedrich III and the Continuity of Monarchical Geschichtspolitik in Imperial Germany", German Studies Review 35, 3, 521–40.

I am grateful to Dr Hans Zimmermann (of Herzogin Anna Amalia Bibliothek Weimar, Projekt www.simplicissimus.info) for his kind permission to use the image "Kindliches Spiel" (Simplicissimus, Jhg. 6, Heft 30, 15 Oct. 1901).

Dom Pedro V King of Portugal: The Sorcerer's Apprentice

Charles A. M. Jones

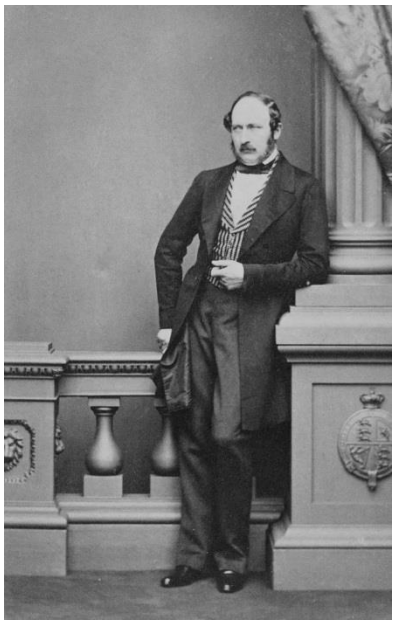
Unlike most of the other "Heirs of the Month" explored in this series Dom Pedro was already a reigning monarch during the period at the centre of this essay. Though no longer waiting in the wings, he was nevertheless an 'heir' to a new era. The political landscape of early nineteenth-century Europe was undergoing a dramatic shift from a system that encouraged fierce competition between states to one of peaceful cooperation. From 1815 onward, the Concert System was established and the five Great Powers - Britain, Russia, Austria, Prussia and France - mediated the conduct of international diplomacy.

Franz Xaver Winterhalter (1805-73): Pedro V, King of Portugal (1837-61), 1854 (Royal Collection)

At the same time, monarchy, as an institution, was systematically becoming integrated into the state. The lengthy process of this integration, lasting well into the nineteenth century, provided monarchy with a brief opportunity to carve itself a practical role within the concert system. During this period, the term "monarchical principle"* was utilised in an attempt to define the new role monarchs would have to play, but the exact meaning of what this principle constituted would remain a source of debate between autocratic-conservative and more liberal-constitutional voices. Despite this disagreement, the need for closer inter-monarchical collaboration was recognised by Europe's royal houses and various means of communication were exploited and expanded.

It is within this atmosphere of carefully constructed correspondence networks and royal visits that Prince Albert, the husband of Queen Victoria and a central figure within the Coburg family's pan-European network, attempted to further expand dynastic and

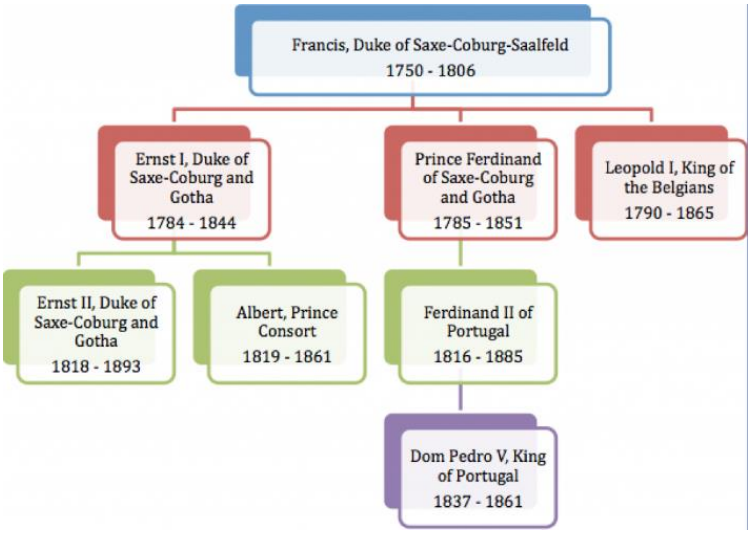
political ambitions by mentoring the next generation of up and coming monarchs. Albert, a devotee of the monarchical principle, was also a firm advocate of constitutional government. He believed that in order for the institution to survive, a constitutional system was a necessity to safeguard monarchy against revolution. He further believed that unless change was instituted from above, the masses would not only make the change themselves, but would dictate the terms. With limited success in presenting his case to monarchs of his generation, he set his eyes upon the future.



John Jabez Edwin Mayall (1813-1901): Carte-de-visite photograph of Prince Albert, 1861 (Royal Collection)

When writing to his daughter, another one of his apprentices, on 13 November 1861, only days after Pedro's early death, Prince Albert clearly expressed the high hopes he had placed in his royal pupil: '…he was qualified to effect infinite good for a degraded country and people, and also to uphold with integrity the monarchical principle, and to strengthen the faith in its blessings, which unhappily is so frequently shaken to its foundation by those who are its representatives.'

Albert's biographers often cite the tragic death of the young King of Portugal, on 11 November 1861, as a starting point marking the Prince Consort's final decline and death on 14 December 1861. This is not done without a certain degree of justification. Pedro, in addition to being a beloved nephew (and quasi surrogate son), was an eager participant in Albert's dynastic ambitions: A network of monarchs, linked by blood, as an additional balance to the concert system. Albert's diary entry for 24 November records that his nights since the event had been 'almost wholly wakeful', suggesting a fairly dark melancholy. Consider if you will: Albert and Pedro had actually only been in each other's physical company for a total of just over a month in eight years. Their paternal-filial bond was formed largely through correspondence and mutual admiration.



Family Tree (by Charles Jones)

Pedro's character: A question of duality

Pedro was a complicated figure especially in his own country. Upon the death of his mother, Queen Maria II, in November 1853, the 16 year-old Pedro ascended the throne with his father, Ferdinand, acting as regent. His legacy in Portuguese history is passionately debated. He is generally regarded as a popular and progressive monarch. His reign, though short at just eight years, witnessed a period of progress in education, technology, infrastructure and public health. During the cholera outbreak of 1856 and a yellow fever epidemic the following year, Pedro built a lasting reputation amongst the Portuguese populace that bordered on sainthood. He had remained in Lisbon, without regard for his own safety, in order to supervise hospitals and to visit the afflicted. In 1857 Albert would describe this selfless act in letter to his brother Ernst as "very heroic". This reputation was intensified exponentially in the years following his premature death.

The young King, in spite of his gilded reputation, also has his fair share of detractors. His greatest failing was his personality. Pedro was by nature a pessimist, but his was a particular brand of pessimism that was not attractive in a constitutional monarch. His relationship with Portugal was difficult to say the least. He regarded the country as backward, corrupt and in desperate need of modernisation. He despaired the subjects that divine providence had given him, much less the politicians, who were, in his opinion,

of such an inefficient breed that he was obliged to intervene. He had a volatile temper and reacted immaturely to criticism. By his own account, 'My good mother (Maria II) told me often when I was a child, "your passion is to torment yourself"'.
In short, Pedro was a monarch who meddled in politics too often, was too suspicious of those around him and, to a certain degree, distained his subjects. Yet, he was undeniably gifted, which, far from improving his situation, made it all the more difficult. He had a brilliant mind with liberal views in an unstable and backward Catholic state. As a result there were irreconcilable differences between King and country.

The first meeting: Pedro's Grand Tour

Albert's first meeting with his nephew occurred during the latter's Grand Tour on 3 June 1854. Pedro, travelling with his younger brother Luis, was escorted from Southampton station to Buckingham Palace. Before the month was over, a lasting bond had been forged between the 35 year-old uncle and the 17 year-old nephew. During their stay, the young gentlemen were treated to a host of entertainments: operas, dinners, and even a rail journey to Wales, stopping at major cities along the route. Pedro returned these kindnesses by charming his royal hosts, impressing them with his knowledge and liberal views. By the 18th of the same month, Albert was already advising the young King, helping him with his draft reply to the Lord Mayor's address at Mansion House the following day. The visit officially came to an end on 3 July, with great sadness on both sides.

Photograph of a group including members of the Portugese Royal Family; seated in front: Infanta Donna Antonia (1845-1913) and King Pedro V (1861) (Royal Collection)

On 3 September, during a state visit to Emperor Napoleon III at Boulogne, Albert's and Pedro's paths crossed again. Pedro, on his way to Ostend and Osborne for the return leg of his tour, yet again made a favourable impression on his uncle. The following day Albert sent a telegram to

Victoria asking her to keep the young royals at Osborne until his return. On 9 of September Albert returned to Cowes, on the Isle of Wight, just in time to catch his nephews before they returned to Lisbon. In his diary, Albert thanked a 'piece of Portuguese backwardness' - a coaling mishap on the royal yacht - 'for the pleasure of seeing him again for a few minutes'. With the Grand Tour over and Pedro back in Portugal, the longest period these two men would be in each other's presence ended, with the exception of a brief visit in August of 1855. Writing from Balmoral on 5 September 1857, Albert related to Pedro that since their first meeting: 'I always knew that our family ties were to turn into friendship…that is, a harmony of feelings and character. You can count on my friendship; and I'm glad to find that you feel you need to bond with me'.

Albert's feelings were reciprocated as Pedro returned the compliment in a letter to his bride on 19 March 1858: "I traveled so for the first time and was lucky to find in my path, Prince Albert, whose friendship … has brought me so much happiness'. This bond of friendship and mutual trust was further developed in their correspondence between 1854 and 1861. In his letters to Pedro, Albert acted as a teacher, mentor, advisor and, often enough, even a surrogate father. Pedro played the role of scholar and apprentice. It is fair to say, that apart from his beloved daughter Vicky, Pedro was probably the closest individual to Albert of the younger generation.

Advice fit for a King

On 4 September 1855, twelve days before Pedro came of age (at 18) and was proclaimed King in his own right, Albert already sent his congratulations. In this first, of 34 surviving letters, he set the tone of the relationship by telling the young monarch that the 'Holy Spirit appreciates a good will and honesty…so if you want to attract, follow these virtues'. Thus the life-long, though tragically short, apprenticeship began.
As discussed earlier, Pedro had a tendency of champing at the bit with regard to dealing with his government. Albert, in the same letter of 4 September, shared his view that the happiness and wellbeing of a state could only be achieved through Divine Governance – that is to say, an imitation of a universal "natural law" by a sovereign through just use of the monarchical principle that encourages the creation of 'good laws, institutions and useful healthy established principles'. Albert further stated that a constitutional

government, though at times a burden for a monarch, does have its share of benefits including a protective shield against fallout from unpopular policies or in times of financial crisis.

Portrait of King Pedro V.

In another letter (25 October 1855) Albert was complimentary of Pedro's commitment to his duty, but he also cautioned him on the necessity of practicing the art of patience in regards to government or put at risk the fruits of his efforts. In an attempt to encourage, Albert recommended that Pedro keep the following lines, from a poem by Goethe, as a personal motto:

'Wide the world, life never resting
Long the years of modest questing
Always delving, always founding
Never ending, often rounding
Faithfully the old retaining
New finds, open-minded, gaining
Pure the aims, promising the chances
Well! One should make some advances.'

Albert and Pedro were both avid readers, so when Pedro asked for recommendations, Albert was keenly forthcoming. In addition to sending along some precious volumes, he provided the young king with a brief description of each publication and, if the work was found to be especially invigorating or educational, an abridged review. A good example of the latter is the following review of Charles de Montalembert's, *The Political Future of England* (1855): 'It is a true masterpiece and very easy to read. England is the chosen theme, but it addresses the Continent; so everything you said is also perfectly suited to Portugal, and I believe that nothing could be more useful than translate it into Portuguese and disseminate it widely there'.

The reading materials provided, though largely of an educational bent, are refreshingly diverse and even liberal for a monarch of the period. Some of the gems include Pepys's Diary which he advised Pedro to read first 'because it is exhilarating', Ludlow's Memoirs

'A Republican who considered Cromwell too monarchical', and the speeches of that infamous English regicide, Oliver Cromwell, by T. Carlyle. Albert, likewise, made sure to have a copy of *The Economist* regularly sent to Lisbon in order to keep the King well versed on important economic and trade developments.

As early as 13 December 1855, Albert was already stressing to his nephew the importance of having both a private secretary and a librarian. This was particularly important given his exalted position. Speaking from his own personal experience, he pointed out that without reliable men in these positions, 'I am afraid you will succumb to the weight of your work'. This advice must not have been taken to heart, because the sentiment was repeated in 1857. Albert, for a second time, mentioned the importance of hiring a private secretary and librarian, this time even going so far as to provide Pedro with the qualities he should be looking for in both. The ideal candidate for a private secretary should be 'smart, efficient and hardworking, not too old,' and able to relieve him from the 'consuming burden of paperwork and prepare for you the analysis of the issues' as required. In a librarian, scholarly training is ideal. He should be in constant touch with advances in science and be able to maintain 'books and papers in order, and keep you always informed on 'everything that goes on in the great world'. Furthermore, the librarian should be able to assist in addressing issues e.g. education and hospitals. Albert's last point on the subject was, 'If an individual with this profile cannot be found in Portugal, it is preferable to hire a foreigner than to not hire anyone'. It is evident, from the list of qualifications for these positions, that Albert used his own staff as a model for Pedro to emulate.

Albert's lectures on the importance of Pedro maintaining his health is a common theme in the correspondence, dating all the way back to November of 1855. The young king, ironically like his uncle, made a bad habit of working himself to exhaustion. By 30 January of 1857, Albert had good reason to be concerned. After disturbing reports of Pedro's self-neglect and, upon viewing a photograph, Albert observed that it 'shows you sick and afflicted'. In the manner of an intervention, he wrote out a proposed list of how Pedro should put his 'house in order'. In addition to the suggestions, which had, by this stage, morphed into quasi-demands, he reiterated that he must get a private secretary and librarian to remove some of the burden. He also stated, explicitly in his fourth and final

point, that a Queen was needed, not only to provide a sense of domestic normality and stability but also to improve Pedro's health by encouraging the better angels of his nature. Albert had good news for his nephew; he had found an ideal prospect, Stephanie of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen. Not only was she a catholic, but she also was also well linked to the Prussian Royal House.

Stephanie of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen (1837-1859)

Marriage: An 'heir' necessity

For Albert, finding a suitable bride for Pedro had been a project long before the intervention letter of 1857. Princess Stephanie of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen was exactly what was needed. She was young, good looking, well educated, Catholic, and most important of all, she was not of Bourbon or Habsburg blood. This, in Albert's eyes, would further improve the future stock of the Portuguese Royal House. In a letter to Pedro (29 March 1857), who was dragging his feet, he wrote that he did not believe that a better candidate could be found, 'at least the Gotha Almanac tells me there is little choice'. He pressed the case further by pointing out that he would have the advantage of marrying a liberal Catholic princess raised in Protestant House. After further negotiations and some additional light prodding by Albert, who was acting as negotiator between the two houses, the union was officially proposed and consented to by June 1857. In his congratulatory letter of the 26th, with the marriage date now set, Albert suggested that Pedro should appoint an official negotiator. His last item of business was handling the delivery of the letters between the King and the family of his new bride.

Pedro and Stephanie were wed by proxy on 29 April 1858 in Berlin. Afterward the new Portuguese Queen made her way to Britain. Like Pedro, on his Grand Tour in the summer of 1854, Stephanie charmed everyone she met. The actual wedding took place in Lisbon on May 18, 1858. The marriage did not last long. The young queen died on 17 July 1859, from diphtheric angina that she contracted while opening the new railway at Vendas

Novas. The death was a terrible blow for the family and it appears to have reawakened the morbid side of Pedro's character who, in responding to a minister's letter of condolences, stated 'I and my peoples have been companions in misfortune'. On the 20 July Albert wrote to Vicky stating 'I tremble for Pedro, whose deficiency in vivacity and cheerfulness… found its only compensation in his home happiness'.

In Pedro's letter to Albert, the sense of loss still echoed, 'She was too good, my Stephanie, and a sense of duty urged us both. We were happy in our most hidden privacy, and we were able to defend it'. The letter ends with a request for Albert's assistance in designing a hospital for poor children, which Stephanie had intended, now to be built in her memory.

The royal couple, 1858

Tragic death of the young King

The last letters exchanged between Albert and Pedro (16 May and 22 August 1861) discussed the necessity of the king's remarriage. There appeared to have been a proposal of a union between the Portuguese and Spanish Houses, which Albert admitted he was surprised to hear. He went further by weighing the pros and cons of such a match. On a personal level, the Infanta's character left much to be desired and the blood 'promises little spiritual health, moral or physical'. On a political level, it offered the benefit of a better relationship with Spain. However, the likelihood of Portugal being dragged into Spanish disputes also increased. Towards the end, Albert advised caution, but he need not have worried. In his response Pedro stated that he had declined the offer. But his letter also revealed a lingering sense of depression and melancholy. On 11 November 1861, aged only 24, Pedro succumbed to typhoid fever. The young King's death had a profound effect on Albert, as he related in a letter to King Wilhelm of Prussia dated 22 November, 'I loved him and valued him greatly, and had great hopes'. Victoria shared their grief in a letter to daughter Vicky: 'It has been a terrible blow to us – & to dearest

beloved Papa – who found in him one entirely worthy of himself – which he alas! does not find in those where it was most expected and wanted.'

Three weeks after writing these letters, Albert would also be dead, thus ending the dreams of what might have been the fruitful collaboration of a gifted master and his talented apprentice – heir to a better future when monarchy would "effect infinite good."

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* In short, the notion of the Monarchical Principle is the breadth of the role played by the monarch in the operation of the state. The extent of the parameters to which a prince might govern is dependent on a state's orientation on a liberal/conservative scale e.g. a constitutional (Britain) vs. autocratic (Russia) monarchical system.

‘The Last and Best of her Race’: The Varied Reaction on the Death of Princess Charlotte of Wales

Jennifer Henderson Crane

With the recent birth of the daughter of the Duke and Duchess of Cambridge in May 2015, Britain can once again boast a Princess Charlotte. Charlotte Elizabeth Diana’s full name immediately conjures two very special namesakes: the Queen, Elizabeth II, and the child’s late paternal grandmother, Diana, Princess of Wales. However, there is a third namesake, one that may be missed by many of today’s generation. The name, Charlotte, widely popular amongst current children, has not garnered much royal usage in the past two centuries, aside from a smattering of nineteenth-century princesses bearing it as one of many middle names. The last time it was bestowed on a British princess as a first name, aside from the short-lived daughter of the Duke and Duchess of Clarence in 1819, was in 1796 when Princess Charlotte Augusta was born to George, the Prince of Wales, and his wife, Princess Caroline of Brunswick. Princess Charlotte’s death at the age of twenty-one after she had endured more than two days of labour caused an outpouring of grief from all over Britain and prompted many other European royals to don mourning for the lost English Princess. Donations from the public flooded in to contribute toward a suitable monument to the queen they would never crown, and many shops soon found themselves out of mourning attire.

Portrait of Princess Charlotte Augusta of Wales, by Thomas Lawrence

While many grieved over her death and that of her stillborn son, Princess Charlotte’s demise also inspired a different reaction, and thus it pointed to the inconsistencies granted to one born to a life of recognition in contrast to so many others. This essay will focus upon the aftermath of Charlotte’s death, providing a glimpse of the variations of how Britain mourned a lost heir.

Since the sorrowful events that began on 5 November, when the stillborn prince was delivered, and his mother's passing the following day, the princess's very name has evoked one word: tragic. She had been *the* hope for Britain: despite her grandparents, George III and Queen Charlotte, having thirteen children (another two, both sons, died in early childhood), Charlotte emerged as the sole legitimate heir amongst numerous other grandchildren sired in adulterous affairs. Her father, with his spendthrift behaviour and penchant for womanising, was already unpopular with the public and many of his brothers were viewed in the same light. The Prince of Wales's girth and reputation for gluttony eventually prompted his critics to dub him the "Prince of Whales," and he provided nearly constant fodder for political cartoonists.

The Prince Regent: 'Gent. No Gent & Re.gent!!', by George Cruikshank, 1816

Sadly, the marriage that had produced Charlotte was doomed from the very start. Prince George was said to have been so shocked and disappointed by the first sight of his bride at their 8 April 1795 wedding at St James's Palace that he immediately called for a brandy to brace him for the inevitable events to follow. Their only child, Charlotte, was very likely the product of their wedding night as she was born nine months later, almost to the day, on 7 January 1796 at Carlton House, the Prince of Wales's principal London home.

Marriage and the creation of a child did not add any warmth to the relationship between George and Caroline. The Prince of Wales detested his wife for her coarse behaviour and

inattention to personal hygiene, as well as for her flouting of the societal niceties that were *de rigueur* at the English court; years later he attempted to divorce her, but the proceedings ultimately failed. Their tiffs were no great secret, and even found their way into family folklore. In her autobiography, *My Memories of Six Reigns*, Princess Marie Louise, a granddaughter of Queen Victoria born in 1872, recounted a stay spent at Cranbourne Tower, near Windsor Castle, where, she related, "Queen Caroline was interned with Princess Charlotte during one of the unfortunate quarrels between this rather tempestuous lady and George IV." Princess Charlotte's betrothal and eventual marriage to Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg on 2 May 1816 held the promise of a brighter future, but one that never came to fruition.

Following her death, more tragedy was to come. Her obstetrician, the acclaimed *accoucheur* to the aristocracy Sir Richard Croft, found himself at the centre of an investigation. He had gained notoriety whilst attending on Georgiana, the Duchess of Devonshire, when she gave birth to her third child in May 1790; his fame ultimately led to his appointment to care for Princess Charlotte during her pregnancy. One of the fiercest criticisms of Croft was his failure to make use of the various available instruments, such as forceps, to help the princess during her labour. There were also suggestions that he had been asleep during her travail.

Princess Charlotte with her mother, by Thomas Lawrence

His was a precarious position: his patient was the heir to the throne, the child she was to bring into the world was also an eventual heir. As handy as these instruments were, there was always a risk of danger: misuse could cause irrevocable damage, possibly endangering future childbearing—disastrous for a future queen regnant. Post-mortems on both Charlotte and her stillborn son exonerated the doctor from any wrong-doing, but the tragedy had already done its work on Croft. Three months later, whilst caring for another patient in labour in February 1818, Sir Richard Croft committed suicide. Sometime before, he had written to Baron Stockmar, a friend of Prince Leopold and one

who would factor heavily in the life of his niece, Queen Victoria, that, "My mind is in a pitiable state." What happened in the wake of Princess Charlotte's death was too much for him to bear.

For many in the country, the demise of the princess brought much grief. Henry Brougham, a legal adviser to Princess Caroline, wrote with a sentiment echoing that felt by countless others: "It really was as though every household throughout Great Britain had lost a favourite child." For one, the loss was the most profound: Prince Leopold, a widower who had been married for less than two years and was now a father to a stillborn son. In a letter to Sir Thomas Lawrence, a prolific painter, who had a close association with the royal family and was often commissioned to portray them, including Charlotte, Leopold wrote: "Two generations gone. Gone in a moment! … My Charlotte is gone from the country—it has lost her." His despair did not go unmarked by others. Thea Holme, in her work *Prinny's Daughter*, noted that Baron Stockmar saw that November as the ruin of Leopold, writing that, "without Charlotte he was incomplete. It was as if he had lost his heart." He buried his wife and child on 19 November 1817 in St George's Chapel near Windsor Castle; the fact that she, if events had turned out differently, could have sat upon the throne in the same castle so near her tomb was a painful twist of fate.

The Betrothal of Princess Charlotte of Wales and Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg-Saalfeld, by George Clint, c.1816

A glorious monument, paid for by public subscriptions, was created by the sculptor Matthew C. Wyatt (1777-1862); he had also been behind statues of the Duke of Wellington and Lord Nelson. Crafted in white marble, Charlotte rests at the bottom, draped with a shroud, only the fingers of one hand visible. Cloaked mourners, kneeling in grief, surround her. Above, the Princess is seen ascending to Heaven, flanked by angels, one carrying her infant son. The classical design, with an almost Grecian aspect to Charlotte's robe, empathises the reverence felt for her. There

was some consternation, though, on the memorial's placement as it was installed inside St George's Chapel rather than in a more public location. According to C. Andrews in his 1828 book, *Visitants Guide to Windsor Castle and its Vicinity*, in the spring of 1826, after it was unveiled, the public were invited to see "the majestic edifice." While Wyatt's creation was undoubtedly seen as fitting, there were those who felt the money was misspent. In a piece written by archival personnel of St George's Chapel, it is recorded that London newspapers received numerous letters decrying the amount lavished on the monument, as more fitting tributes could have been paid in honour of Charlotte. Another citizen, in writing to *The Times* in February 1818, held a more pragmatic view of the monument. If money was to be spent on such a memorial, it should celebrate all her personal goodness and that, above all, it should "not be the mere mausoleum of her exalted rank."

Cenotaph commemorating Princess Charlotte in St George's Chapel in Windsor. Lithograph after a sculpture by M.C. Wyatt, 1826 (© Wellcome Images)

There was another who felt that all the outpouring of grief over Charlotte was misdirected, and that was writer Percy Bysshe Shelley (1792-1822), who was married to Mary Shelley, author of *Frankenstein*. Shelley was so taken by what he had witnessed that he set to work on a piece dedicated to it: *An Address to the People on The Death of Princess Charlotte*, published shortly after the tragic events on 6 November. He was not hard-hearted about her demise; his introduction mourns the fact that a young woman, only too recently happy and well, was now suddenly lying dead in her tomb. However, Shelley very quickly brought up the heart of his discussion, that such a death in childbirth is all too common:

> How many women die in childbed and leave their families of motherless children and their husbands to live on, blighted by the remembrance of that heavy loss? …

> Men have watched by the bedside of their expiring wives, and have gone mad when the hideous death-rattle was heard within the throat…

Shelley indeed saw the Princess's death as a tragedy for her family, just like for any other family losing a wife, mother, daughter and sister. In other words, Charlotte's passing was in no way remarkable—it was only remarkable because of who she was and the position she would have held had she lived. For the countless other women and their bereaved kin, Shelley caustically observes, "none weep for them—none mourn for them—none when their coffins are carried to the grave … turn aside and moralise upon the sadness they have left behind." He does not chastise those who sincerely wept for their lost Princess, though, as it was the mark of good people. It was Shelley himself who wrote that she was "the last and best of her race."

But, again, reflecting on her death he unapologetically remarked that there were countless others like her, who were good and loving, yet cut down in the prime of their lives: "The accident of her birth neither made her life more virtuous nor her death more worthy of grief. For the public she had done nothing, either good or evil … She was born a Princess…" His *Address* is a plea for to others to recognise those souls who also deserved compassion and sympathy, though they do not glitter with gems and crowns. Though they shed tears for Charlotte, so his message want, their energies would be better cast on those who would benefit more from such endeavours, drawing particular attention to the legacy of Brandreth, Ludham and Turner.

Percy Bysshe Shelley, by Alfred Clint

On 6 November 1817, the very day of the princess's death, Jeremiah Brandreth, William Ludham, and Isaac Turner met their ends upon the scaffold, as Shelley related, by "hanging and beheading," after having been charged with treason for participation in the Pentrich Uprising in June of the same year. There is, according to Shelley, some question as to exact involvement of others, as he wrote that Brandreth claimed that he had

been set up by William J. Oliver, a government spy: "OLIVER, *brought him to this…but for* OLIVER, *he would not have been here* [original italics]." Turner also proclaimed the involvement of Oliver, Shelley asserted; Shelley recorded that Turner was said to have shouted, whilst the noose was being readied about his neck, "THIS IS ALL OLIVER AND THE GOVERNMENT [original capitalization]." These men had family and friends whom loved them, and themselves held their own virtues. But here Shelley draws a distinctive line between the men and Princess Charlotte, suggesting their lower "station" allowed for them to be so expendable, so they were less worthy of public outcry and indignation. In a tone that chimes with potent relevancy with today's question of capital punishment, Shelley saw that society needed a re-examination on such punishments, that "some restraint ought … to be imposed on those thoughtless men who imagine they can find in violence a remedy for violence." Remember Charlotte, his piece concludes, but also remember those others also equally deserving of memorials.

The death of Princess Charlotte, a devastating knell for the royal family, touched the lives of many in Britain and abroad, and her fate in childbed was one shared by innumerable other women. And whilst it brought sadness, her death also brought about another English queen. That November of 1817 saw the elimination of any legitimate heirs beyond the Prince of Wales and his siblings. Whilst there had been five sisters in the family, by this time one had already died, one remained unmarried, and the other three who had married were all childless. Even if one had produced a legitimate child, however, it was highly unlikely they would have been contenders for the throne being superseded by the male line. Prince George, as the eldest son, was fifty-five in 1817, and his youngest brother forty-three. If they were going to produce legitimate heirs, now was the time to do it.

A veritable marriage race began in earnest. Prince Edward, Duke of Kent, with the hindsight of history, was the winner, but there was a tragic catch. He married the widowed Princess Victoire of Saxe-Coburg-Saalfeld, the elder sister of Prince Leopold. She already had two children by her late husband, Charles and Feodore; by royal estimates, this was solid evidence that Victoire could be expected to produce more offspring for her new husband, the Duke of Kent. In this, she did not disappoint. She and the Duke married in May 1818, and by that time the following year she had given birth to a healthy daughter. The Duke of Kent would not live to see his daughter grow up; he died

in January 1820. When it came time for the infant princess's christening, one of the names presented to the Prince of Wales for his approval was Charlotte; however, this honour was rebuffed. Instead, the infant was christened Alexandrina Victoria, for the Russian emperor and the baby's mother; in time, the child would be known by her second name, a name given to an age of empire. For such a fleeting moment, Britain may have indeed had a Queen Charlotte.

History is liberally littered with 'what-ifs', and it does make for interesting arguments. Given the length of Victoria's reign, and her tumultuous journey to the throne and thereafter, it is tempting to debate how her cousin would have fared as sovereign, but there are a considerable number of variables that prevent its further exploration within the limits of this essay. Shelley called Princess Charlotte "the best and last of her race." Was she truly? Or was it because she died before time allowed her to give way to Hanoverian leanings? November of 1817 obliterated any chance of knowing for sure.

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Prince Imperial Louis Napoléon Bonaparte: A Child of France

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When the French novelist Alphonse Daudet published his ballad in prose *The Dauphin's Death* in a Parisian literary journal in 1866, he certainly left many a reader misty-eyed. The poem's main character is a little prince, a sick and suffering boy who is finding it hard to accept that his exalted position as heir to the throne of France will not in the least protect him from dying. Daudet describes how the whole court is waiting with bated breath for the worst to happen and even the church bells remain anxiously silent. The king, desperate and full of grief, has locked himself into a chamber, 'all alone, at the end of the castle… Majesties do not appreciate if one sees them cry'. The queen however never leaves the dauphin's bedside and holds her son's hand 'with tears streaming down her beautiful face, sobbing loudly in front of everyone, just like a draper's wife would have done'.[1]

Page from a 1907 edition of 'La Mort du Dauphin' with illustrations by O.D.V. Guillonnet

The little prince remains utterly unaffected by the whole commotion. Sweet-natured and in all innocence he tries his best to console his mother by explaining to her that nothing could happen to him since the dauphin lives forever and therefore cannot die. Well, just to be on the safe side the little prince then calls for forty guards to surround his bed – in case the reaper were to try to sneak in and snatch him anyway.

Yet still everyone around him is crying, even the soldiers, brave old troopers, are too touched to speak. The adults' strange behaviour causes the boy's confidence to dwindle and the prince politely enquires if his little friend Beppo would possibly be so kind as to die in his place (and of course be paid generously for this favour). When the dauphin is gently reminded by the family priest that he could not even take his beautiful and richly embroidered clothes to heaven, to mark out his rank amongst the other angels, he finally bursts into tears: 'But then', the prince exclaims, 'being dauphin really means nothing!' (*'D'être Dauphin, ce n'est rien du tout!'*)

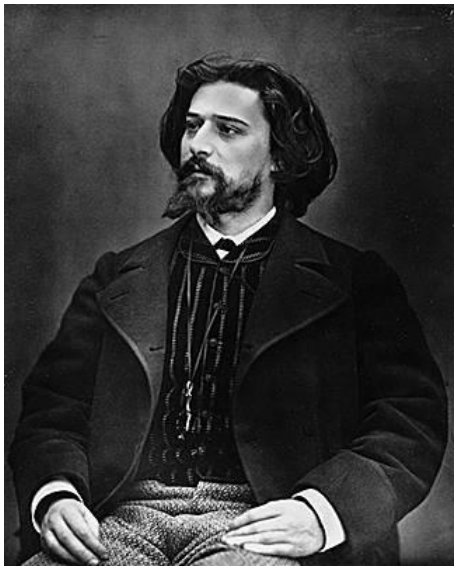
Louis Joseph Dauphin de France, painted by Elisabeth Viguée le Brun in 1787

Even though Alphonse Daudet's little prince remains nameless, the poem clearly refers to the ancien régime monarchy. The title *Dauphin de France* had been given to the heirs-apparent of the ruling Houses of Valois and Bourbon since the fourteenth century; the last prince to be styled dauphin was Louis Antoine d'Artois, Duc d'Angoulême, eldest son of King Charles X and heir to the throne 1824-30. An illustrated version of Daudet's poem, which became famous as a children's book, identified the dying prince with the eldest son of King Louis XVI and Queen Marie-Antoinette: Dauphin Louis-Joseph, who succumbed to tuberculosis in 1789, at the tender age of seven.

Whether poor little Louis-Joseph was in fact the child Daudet had in mind when writing the piece in 1866 cannot be said with certainty. The author came from a legitimist family in the south of France. Yet for several years he had earned a living in Paris as secretary to Charles Duc de Morny, a half-brother of Emperor Napoleon III. Daudet's biographer Sachs suggests that the successful novelist and playwright worked in an 'ideological vacuum' and never aspired to be a political writer. Being close to the Bonaparte Court, while part

of a family that kept fond memories of the Bourbons, Daudet certainly never turned into a critic of the institution monarchy as such.

The poem was written and published fourteen years after the establishment of the Second Empire and at first sight it seems strangely out of place, evoking strong reminiscences of a long gone age of absolute monarchs whose right to rule had been thought to stem directly from the will of God. The healing royal touch, which was supposed to be passed on down the royal lineage, remained a widely-held belief way into the nineteenth century, but the last monarch to perform the elaborate ritual to heal the King's Evil was Charles X in 1825.



Alphonse Daudet in a photograph by Carjat (1870)

But was Daudet's poem not as much about the constitutional future of the French monarchy as about its absolutist past? Emperor Napoléon III and Empress Eugénie had only one child, a son: Prince Imperial Napoléon Eugène Louis Bonaparte; and here a connection between the poem and dynastic reality might well be assumed. Born in March 1856, Prince Louis had grown to be a ten year old little rascal and (quite unlike Daudet's dauphin on his sickbed) he was constantly reassured that it *meant a lot* to be Bonaparte's heir and the future Napoleon IV – the destiny of a young and ambitious royal dynasty.

As soon as the empire had been re-established in December 1852, the former Prince-President Louis Napoléon Bonaparte went to great lengths to secure the future of the new royal regime. He was well aware that his empire was a construct without proper dynastic tradition and hence built on shaky foundations: Born from a veritable *coup d'état*, the regime rested mainly on widespread reverence for the still glorious name Bonaparte. When he came to the throne, Napoleon III was known as an unmarried adventurer and notorious womanizer; thus establishing a dynasty was of utmost importance to the emperor.

The modifications made to the constitution of 1852 regulated questions of hereditary succession and confirmed the authority of a Bonaparte dynastic house law. Due to the lack of his own family tree Napoleon started off by patronizing his cousins who were entitled to succeed him to the throne. The altered constitution now provided regulations for an adoption in case the emperor should remain without offspring, adding much to the chagrin of his cousin and next in line Prince Jérôme Napoléon 'Plon-Plon' Bonaparte (1822-91), who might have preferred the emperor to remain the ever careless and unmarried ladies' man with no legitimate children at all.

Indeed securing a suitable bride to realize his dream of a new, thriving dynasty turned out to be a challenging task for Napoléon III. The royal houses of Europe refused to marry one of their princesses to a parvenu and his self-declared democratic empire, both the product of the political and social earthquake that was the 1848 revolution. No less a man than Victor Hugo spread the word of *Napoleon Le Petit* (as opposed to his immortal uncle Napoleon Le Grand) and like Hugo and his liberal friends many dynasties considered the emperor a criminal and a *filou* and certainly not equal to one of the established Houses. Hence Napoléon III had nothing to gain from a personal alliance with the European royal circle – it was made utterly clear that he did not belong to them.

He eventually married the Countess Eugénie de Montijo (1826-1920), 'a young Spanish lady, of good family and great personal attractions', as the *London Times* stated on 21 January 1853, a week before the ceremony took place. The engagement met with opposition even in the French imperial family because Eugénie's rank was considered too low for her to become empress. The *Times* commented in the same article that the marriage 'will not have the effect of raising its [the imperial Court's] dignity in the estimation of foreign States or of society at large. (…) The marriage of the Emperor increases the probability that those hereditary and dynastic claims will be persisted which have not been acknowledged by the rest of Europe.'

The empress and her son, portrayed by Winterhalter in 1857

When, three years later, Eugénie gave birth to a healthy son the couple was overjoyed. Prince Louis was welcomed into the world with a hundred and one gun salute and styled *Child of France*, just like a royal prince from the House of Bourbon in the direct line of succession would have been. Why this recourse to a tradition from the ancien régime which, incidentally, outraged France's legitimist groups?

In an address to the Senate, responding to the warm congratulations on the occasion of the birth of his son and heir, Napoléon explained: 'I purposely make use of this expression. In fact, the Emperor Napoleon, my uncle, who had applied to the new system created by the revolution all that was great and elevated in the old régime, resumed that old denomination of 'Enfants de France'. And in truth, gentlemen, when an heir is born destined to perpetuate a national system, that child is not only the offspring of a family, but he is truly, also, the son of the whole country, and the name indicates his duties. If this was true under the old monarchy, which more exclusively represented the privileged classes, with how much more reason ought it not to be to-day, when the Sovereign is the elect of the nation, the first citizen of the country, and the representative of the interests of all?' (*London Times*, 20 March 1856)

This rather bold bridging of a historical gap between two very different monarchical systems was again accompanied by modifications to the constitution: On 17 July 1856, when the little prince was four months old, an impressive total of 25 articles regulating in great detail a possible regency for the empire were decreed by the senate. They even included the oath of allegiance sworn to the minor on the throne in case his father were to die before Louis's coming of age at eighteen. This precautionary measure was a remarkable break with the constitution of the July monarchy which had not provided

regulations for a regency at all – a fact that backfired when the heir to the throne Ferdinand Philippe Duc d'Orléans suddenly died in 1842 and a regency law had to be arranged in great haste.

Prince Louis Bonaparte was raised as heir-apparent to the imperial throne, and to a certain degree his education also recurred to earlier monarchical systems: The strong focus on military training from a very tender age was meant to endear the prince to the army, traditionally strong supporters of the Bonaparte regime. And unlike the sons of King Louis-Philippe I, Loulou (as was his pet name) was educated at home and not sent to a public school.

The prince in 1862, portrayed by Antoine Valentin Jumel De Noireterre

Napoléon wanted to spare the boy the humiliation of open criticism expressed by opponents of the regime. Opposition was growing against the emperor in the late 1860s, especially within the middle classes, and sending the prince to school on a daily basis, so the imperial couple decided, would have exposed him to insults or actual dangers. In order to make up for the solitary education and to create the illusion of competition with a peer group, the prince, from 1867, followed the same course of study as was taught at the renowned Lycée Bonaparte. From home the prince wrote a weekly composition with the seventh form of this school and learned the names of the best pupils without ever studying with them directly.

Nevertheless the prince was frequently seen in public. Louis accompanied his father and fulfilled constitutional duties from a very young age: He was, for example, present at the annual openings of parliament and styled president of the Paris Exhibition by the emperor in 1867, at the age of eleven. His royal duties inevitably brought the boy into

contact with the different political groups and parties, and the emperor was not always able to avoid getting his son caught up in the crossfire of political opinion.

Ever since the 1740s (and until today) the best high school students within the French education system in France and abroad receive a prize in the Amphitheatre Richelieu at the Sorbonne, in the celebrated and highly renowned competition of the *concours général*. In the summer of 1868 Napoléon III granted his son the honour to distribute the annual awards. Yet apparently no responsible person seems to have taken the pains to scrutinize the list of prize-winners: One of the awards was given to the son of the deceased republican parliamentarian Louis-Eugène Cavaignac. The father had refused to swear an oath of allegiance to the emperor and been sent to jail for his oppositional political stance; the widow and son now refused to accept his prize from the hands of Napoleon's heir. What is more, this act of disobedience was met with a prolonged, rather insolent applause by the audience. The prince, utterly humiliated, cried in the carriage on his way home. As Louis's tutor Augustin Filon recalled in his memoirs: 'When we got back to Fontainebleau, the Emperor and Empress had already heard of the incident. The Prince was never again exposed to possible adventures of this kind' (Filon, 43). Prosper Merimée, a friend of the family, stated rather dryly that in his position Louis ought to learn sooner rather than later to confront the opposition.

There were more dangers imminent to a young child and heir than just differing political opinions. In March 1866, six months before Daudet's poem was published, the prince suffered from an attack of measles and had to stay in quarantine for several weeks. The empress did not leave her son's bedside. The indisposition of the young royal was anxiously reported in the national and international press, expressing the concern of the imperial parents and the whole Court of France. In the same year two abscesses developed in the prince's hip and had to be removed by surgery in March 1867. The operation was a success, but Louis recovered only gradually. For two months the prince's illness was discussed in the press until it was announced at the end of May 1867 that he was about to resume his official duties.

The Four Napoleons, illustration around 1857

To conclude, Daudet's poem was written at a time when the monarchical idea was really in need of some support. Napoléon III had a difficult standing in the mid-1860s, when the unpopular handling of French foreign affairs in Mexico and the disastrous effect of Austria's defeat in the war against Prussia had revived the republican opposition in France. Right from the beginning Louis, in his function as heir to the throne, played an important part in rallying public support for the dynasty, and his well-being was considered a matter of national importance.

The fictitious dauphin on his deathbed and the imperial prince shared the same place within the family; they were not only heirs, but beloved sons of caring parents. The strong emotions described by Daudet might have helped the reader to evoke not only a nostalgic image of the past, but to feel with the current royal family: The Bonapartes were often seen in public and represented as a happy family, seemingly sharing the same joys and suffering the same losses as their subjects, and their dignity and piety were meant to set an example. This apolitical image of royalty was especially meant to appeal to the aspiring middle classes – like the readers of the literary journal Daudet addressed with his poetry.

What is more, Napoléon III himself carefully knitted political connections with the nation's royal past, by styling his son *Child of France* and making use of ancient Bourbon traditions. One reason to have his son educated at home was to distinguish his regime

from the July Monarchy. He also presented his son publically on occasions linked to the ancien régime, like the venerable award ceremony of the *concours général*. Destined to become the future of the Bonaparte dynasty, little Prince Louis was at the same time educated to develop a sense of the royal past – a connection Daudet might have touched upon in his poetical work that popularized emotional bonds and parental love within the royal family. Thirteen years later the author actually came back to the topic of an approachable, humanized monarchy, when he published his novel *Kings in Exile* about a dethroned royal family in republican Paris. Again, it was nothing but a sad reminiscence: By 1879 the star of the Bonaparte dynasty was burnt up and its heir Prince Louis, who never succeeded to the throne, buried together with the Second Empire.

Suggested Reading

- Ellen Barlee (1880), *Life of the Prince Imperial of France*, London
- Alphonse Daudet (1902), *Thirty years of Paris and of my literary life*, translated by Laura Ensor, London, J.M. Dent & Co.
- Alphonse Daudet (1879), *Les Rois en Exil* (English version on archive.org: https://archive.org/details/kingsinexile02daudgoog)
- Augustin Filon (1913), *Memoirs of the Prince Imperial (1856-1879)*, London
- Jean-Claude Lachnitt (1997), *Le Prince Impérial 'Napoléon IV'*, Paris, Perrin
- Murray Sachs (1965), *The Career of Alphonse Daudet. A Critical Study*, Cambridge, MA

[1] 'Et le roi ? Où est monseigneur le roi ?… Le roi s'est enfermé tout seul dans une chambre, au bout du château… Les Majestés n'aiment pas qu'on les voie pleurer… Pour la reine, c'est autre chose… Assise au chevet du petit Dauphin, elle a son beau visage baigné de larmes, et sanglote bien haut devant tous, comme ferait une drapière.'
Alphonse Daudet (1866), La Mort du Dauphin, in: L'Evénement, 13 October, and: Lettres de mon moulin (1869): https://fr.wikisource.org/wiki/Lettres_de_mon_moulin/Ballades_en_prose