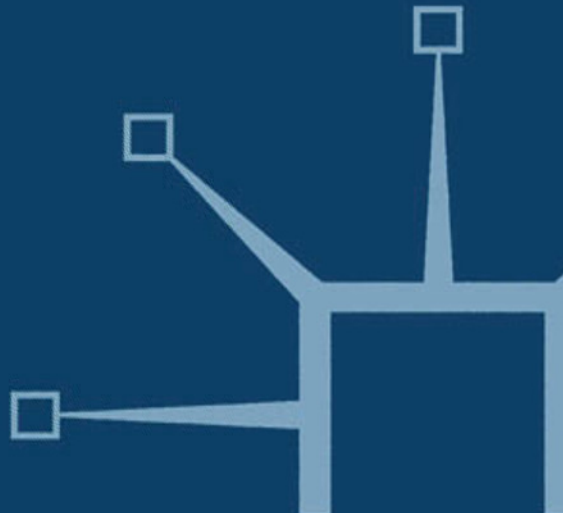


palgrave
macmillan

Monarchy and Exile

The Politics of Legitimacy from
Marie de M^odicis to Wilhelm II

Philip Mansel
Torsten Riotte



Monarchy and Exile

Also by Philip Mansel:

LOUIS XVIII

PILLARS OF MONARCHY

SULTANS IN SPLENDOUR: The Last Years of the Ottoman World

THE COURT OF FRANCE 1789–1830

CONSTANTINOPLE: City of the World's Desire

PARIS BETWEEN EMPIRES

PRINCE OF EUROPE: The Life of Charles-Joseph de Ligne

DRESSED TO RULE: Court Dress from Louis XIV to Elizabeth II

LEVANT: Splendour and Catastrophe on the Mediterranean

THE FRENCH EMIGRES IN EUROPE AND THE STRUGGLE AGAINST
REVOLUTION (*co-edited with Kirsty Carpenter*)

Also by Torsten Rott:

THE DIPLOMATS' WORD: A Cultural History of Diplomacy, 1815–1914
(*co-editor*)

THE HANOVERIAN DIMENSION IN BRITISH HISTORY, 1714–1837
(*co-editor*)

Monarchy and Exile

The Politics of Legitimacy from Marie de Médicis to Wilhelm II

Edited by

Philip Mansel

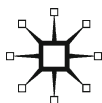
Fellow of the Institute of Historical Research, London

and

Torsten Riotte

Lecturer in History, Goethe University, Frankfurt, Germany

palgrave
macmillan



Editorial matter, selection and introduction © Philip Mansel and Torsten Riotte 2011

All remaining chapters © their respective authors 2011

Softcover reprint of the hardcover 1st edition 2011 978-0-230-24905-9

All rights reserved. No reproduction, copy or transmission of this publication may be made without written permission.

No portion of this publication may be reproduced, copied or transmitted save with written permission or in accordance with the provisions of the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988, or under the terms of any licence permitting limited copying issued by the Copyright Licensing Agency, Saffron House, 6–10 Kirby Street, London EC1N 8TS.

Any person who does any unauthorized act in relation to this publication may be liable to criminal prosecution and civil claims for damages.

The authors have asserted their rights to be identified as the authors of this work in accordance with the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

First published 2011 by
PALGRAVE MACMILLAN

Palgrave Macmillan in the UK is an imprint of Macmillan Publishers Limited, registered in England, company number 785998, of Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire RG21 6XS.

Palgrave Macmillan in the US is a division of St Martin's Press LLC, 175 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10010.

Palgrave Macmillan is the global academic imprint of the above companies and has companies and representatives throughout the world.

Palgrave® and Macmillan® are registered trademarks in the United States, the United Kingdom, Europe and other countries.

ISBN 978-1-349-32066-0 ISBN 978-0-230-32179-3 (eBook)
DOI 10.1057/9780230321793

This book is printed on paper suitable for recycling and made from fully managed and sustained forest sources. Logging, pulping and manufacturing processes are expected to conform to the environmental regulations of the country of origin.

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library.

A catalog record for this book is available from the Library of Congress.

10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1
20 19 18 17 16 15 14 13 12 11

Contents

<i>List of Illustrations</i>	vii
<i>Preface</i>	viii
<i>Notes on Contributors</i>	ix
1 Introduction: Monarchical Exile <i>Philip Mansel and Torsten Riotte</i>	1
Part I Varieties of Exile	
2 A Queen Mother in Exile: Marie De Médicis in the Spanish Netherlands and England, 1631–41 <i>Toby Osborne</i>	17
3 Gender, Exile and The Hague Courts of Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia and Mary, Princess of Orange in the 1650s <i>Ann Hughes and Julie Sanders</i>	44
4 A Life in Exile: Charles VI (1685–1740) between Spain and Austria <i>William O'Reilly</i>	66
5 Emigré or Exile? Francis Rákóczi II and His Exile in France and Turkey <i>Ferenc Tóth</i>	91
Part II The Stuarts	
6 'The Shadow of a King?' Aspects of the Exile of King Charles II <i>Anna Keay</i>	105
7 Exile or Homecoming? Henrietta Maria in France, 1644–69 <i>Karen Britland</i>	120
8 Monarchy and Exile: The Political Activities of an Exiled Royal Court and the Role Played by Its Irish Courtiers <i>John J. Cronin</i>	144
9 The Extended Exile of James III <i>Edward Corp</i>	165

Part III French Exiles

- 10 From Exile to the Throne: The Europeanization of Louis XVIII 181
Philip Mansel
- 11 Napoleon on Elba: An Exile of Consent 214
Peter Hicks
- 12 The Politics of Waiting: The Imperial Couple, Napoleon III and Eugénie 230
Heidi Mehrkens

Part IV Adversaries to Nation-Building

- 13 The Bourbons of Naples in Exile 253
Guy Stair Sainy
- 14 'To My Loyal Saxons!' King Johann in Exile, 1866 279
James Retallack
- 15 Hanoverian Exile and Prussian Governance: King George V of Hanover and His Successor in Austria, 1866–1913 305
Torsten Riotte

Epilogue Kaiser Wilhelm II

- 16 The Unicorn in Winter: Kaiser Wilhelm II in Exile in the Netherlands, 1918–1941 337
John C. G. Röhl
- Index* 353

Illustrations

1. Jean Puget de la Serre, *Histoire curieuse de tout ce qui passé a l'entree de la Reyne Mere du Roy Tres-Chrestien dans les villes des Pays Bas*, © British Library, London. 20
2. Jean Puget de la Serre, *Histoire curieuse de tout ce que passé a l'entree de la Reyne Mere du Roy Tres-Chrestien dans les villes des Pays Bas*, © British Library, London. 28
3. Jean Puget de la Serre, *Histoire de l'entree de la reyne mere du roy tres-chrestien, dans la Grande-Bretaigne*, © British Library, London. 32
4. Michiel Jansz. van Miereveldt, Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia, © The Weiss Gallery, London. 46
5. François Pascal Simon, Baron Gérard, Louis XVIII, © private collection. 188
6. Lucius Gahagan, Count de Lisle (i.e. Louis XVIII), 1812, © Philip Mansel. 192
7. François Huet Villiers, Louis XVIII at Hartwell in 1810, from a print of 1812, © Philip Mansel. 193
8. Palazzo Farnese, © Guy Stair Sainty. 257
9. King Francis II of Naples and Sicilly, © Guy Stair Sainty. 264
10. King Johann of Saxony (1801–1873), *Illustrirte Zeitung* (Leipzig), Bd. 47, Jul.–Dec. 1866, p. 285 (3.11.66). 278
11. King Johann disembarks at Pillnitz, 26 October 1866, *Illustrirte Zeitung* (Leipzig), Bd. 47 (Jul.–Dec. 1866), p. 305 (10.11.66). 293
12. F. Matania, The wedding of Ernst August of Brunswick and the Prussian Princess Victoria Luise, © Ullstein Images. 304
13. Hand-coloured lantern slide, around 1910, Schloss Cumberland, Gumden, Austria, © Ullstein Images. 319
14. Schloss Cumberland bei Traunstein, Gmunden, Austria, photograph by H. V. Haslacher, not dated, © Ullstein Images. 321

Preface

This book benefited from the help of a large number of people and institutions. It is a pleasure to thank all who made this volume possible. The German Historical Institute London and the Society for Court Studies invited all contributors to a conference in London. Originally intended to ensure the coherence of the volume, it led to a lively and inspiring discussion and will hopefully prove that a multi-authored volume can provide a stimulating and coherent argument. We would like to thank the German Historical Institute London for hosting the conference and for generously funding the two-day event. We particularly thank the Institute's director, Professor Andreas Gestrich, for his support, despite his preference for other strands of historical research. He has helped substantially to make this book possible. The Society for Court Studies invited its members to our conference and ensured a knowledgeable and critical audience. Special thanks go to Jane Rafferty for translating one and editing many of the sixteen chapters of the book. Her experience – she has been in the business for almost 30 years now – proved invaluable in many respects. We would also like to thank Daniel Siegmayer for his help in producing the manuscript. At Palgrave Macmillan special thanks go to our editors Michael Strang and Ruth Ireland. It has been a pleasure working with them. Although publishing houses are under increasing pressure to opt for the grand monograph, there are topics that not only benefit from, but depend on, the expertise of a group of authors.

We are grateful that Palgrave Macmillan supported our undertaking right from the beginning to its happy end. Exile rarely has a happy ending. Even when migrants return from exile, their experience has changed their attitudes and behaviour. It would be a great achievement if readers changed their attitudes towards monarchs in exile, in order to understand better certain aspects of the origins of modern Europe.

Contributors

Karen Britland is Associate Professor at the University of Wisconsin-Madison. Educated at Oxford, Reading and Leeds, she worked for the English department at Keele University before moving to the United States. Her latest book, *Drama at the Courts of Queen Henrietta Maria* (2006), deals with the connections that the French-born queen consort maintained throughout her life with France and her Bourbon family. Her main research interest is in the royalist exiles during the English civil wars.

Edward Corp is Professor of British History at the Université de Toulouse. He has published many articles and curated two major exhibitions on the exiled courts of James II and James III. His books include *The King over the Water: Portraits of the Stuarts in Exile after 1689* (2001), and *A Court in Exile: The Stuarts in France, 1689–1718* (2004) and *The Stuarts in Italy, 1719–1766* (2011).

John J. Cronin completed an MA on early modern Ireland in NUI, Galway. He later graduated with a PhD from the European University Institute, Florence, where he wrote a thesis on 'The Irish Royalist Elite of Charles II in Exile, c. 1649–1660'. He has worked on the *Dictionary of Irish Biography* with the Royal Irish Academy and has been a researcher for Eneclann, Ireland's leading private historical research company, on the *Irish Battlefields Project* (an initiative of the Irish Department of the Environment, Heritage & Local Government). He currently works with the City of Dublin Vocational Education Committee.

Peter Hicks is a visiting Professor at the University of Bath and a research fellow at the Fondation Napoléon, Paris. He has published widely on Napoleonic history and is currently in charge of several editorial projects. Besides his publications on the eighteenth and nineteenth century, he is also the co-editor of *Paper Palaces: The Rise of the Renaissance Architectural Treatise*, and the co-translator of Sebastiano Serlio: *On Architecture*, Volumes 1 and 2.

Ann Hughes is Professor of Early Modern History at Keele University. Her special research interests are gender and politics in early modern England and print culture and religious change in mid-seventeenth-

century England. She has published widely on sixteenth-century English history, including *The Causes of the English Civil War* and *Gangraena and the Struggle for the English Revolution*. She has published widely on seventeenth-century English history, and her latest publications are an edition of the writings of the radical Gerrard Winstanley (with Thomas Corns and David Loewenstein) and *Gender and the English Revolution*.

Anna Keay studied at Oxford and London Universities. She was a curator of Historic Royal Palaces between 1995 and 2002, responsible for Hampton Court Palace and the Banqueting House (among others) and is now Properties Presentation Director for English Heritage, responsible for the interpretation and presentation of 400 of the country's historic buildings. Her latest publication deals with ceremony at Charles II's court and is entitled *The Magnificent Monarch: Charles II and the Ceremonies of Power*.

Philip Mansel is author of nine books, including lives of Louis XVIII and the Prince de Ligne, a history of Paris between Empires 1814–1852, and a history of *The Court of France 1789–1830* (1989). Six of his books have been translated into French. He is a Fellow of the Royal Historical Society and the Institute of Historical Research and editor of *The Court Historian*, journal of the Society for Court Studies. His latest book *Levant: Splendour and Catastrophe on the Mediterranean* was published in 2010.

Heidi Mehrkens is Lecturer at the University of Brunswick. After her degree in history and law at the same university, she worked as part of a research project on 'France and Germany in war (18th–20th century)'. Her doctoral dissertation on Franco-German experiences of the conflict of 1870–71 has been published in Germany as *Statuswechsel: Kriegserfahrung und Nationale Wahrnehmung im Deutsch-Französischen Krieg 1870/71* (2008).

William O'Reilly is Lecturer in Early Modern History in the Faculty of History, University of Cambridge and Associate Director of the Cambridge Centre for History and Economics. He has worked on a range of topics in early modern European history, and particularly the Austrian and Spanish Habsburgs and is the author of *Selling Souls: The Trafficking of Migrants in Europe and North America, 1680–1780* (2008). He has been awarded a Philip Leverhulme Prize for his project on Austro-Spanish relations in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Toby Osborne is Senior Lecturer at the Department of History at Durham University. He is interested in early modern court history

and diplomatic culture and has worked on the Piedmontese diplomat, abbé and art patron, Alessandro Scaglia (1592–1641). The results of his research have been published in a monograph entitled *Dynasty and Diplomacy in the Court of Savoy: Political Culture and the Thirty Years' War* (2002). His work has a strong international character, with a focus on Catholic Europe and the Italian peninsula.

James Retallack studied as a Canadian Rhodes Scholar at Oxford, where he received his DPhil in 1983. He has taught at the University of Toronto since 1987. His research interests include German regional history, nationalism, anti-Semitism, electoral politics and historiography. He has authored or edited 14 books, including *Localism, Landscape, and the Ambiguities of Place* (2007), co-edited with David Blackbourn; *The German Right, 1860–1920* (2006); *Wilhelminism and Its Legacies* (2003), co-edited with Geoff Eley and *Imperial Germany 1871–1918: The Short Oxford History of Germany* (2008). He was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society of Canada in 2011. He will soon complete a study of electoral culture and the authoritarian state in Saxony and Germany, 1860–1918.

Torsten Riotte is Lecturer in History at the University of Frankfurt am Main. Educated at Cologne and Cambridge Universities, he worked at the German Historical Institute London where he edited the multi-volume edition *British Envoys to Germany, 1815–1866*. He is the author of a number of articles on British and European history and co-editor of *The Hanoverian Dimension in British History, 1714–1837* (2007) and *The Diplomats' World. A Cultural History of Diplomacy* (2008).

John C. G. Röhl is Emeritus Professor of German History at the University of Sussex, where he taught history from 1964 to 1999. His publications on the Kaiser have won him many prizes and awards and have been translated into several languages including Chinese. In 1999, he was awarded a grant by the Arts and Humanities Research Board in support of his three-volume biography of Kaiser Wilhelm II, which he is writing in both German and English. The first two volumes, *Wilhelm II. Die Jugend des Kaisers 1859–1888* (1993, English translation, 1998) and *Wilhelm II. Der Aufbau der Persönlichen Monarchie 1888–1900* (2001, English translation, 2004), have received international recognition. The third volume was published in September 2008 and will appear in English translation in 2014.

Guy Stair Sainty was educated at Westminster School, London, in Rome and at the College of Law, London. He has written extensively on the

history of orders of knighthood, notably in *The Orders of Chivalry and Merit of the Bourbon-Two Sicilies Dynasty* (1989) and *The Orders of Saint John* (1991), as well as contributing to *La Insigne Orden de Tosón de Oro* (1996). He has contributed articles on chivalry and monarchy to scholarly journals in Spain and Italy. He has also published several art exhibition catalogues. More recently, he was general editor and co-author of *World Orders of Knighthood and Merit* (2006). He is a correspondent member of the Real Academia Matritense de Heraldica y Genealogia, and a Fellow of the International Commission for Orders of Chivalry.

Julie Sanders is Professor of English Literature and Drama at the University of Nottingham. She has published widely on early Stuart literature and recently edited *Ben Jonson in Context* (2010). Her monograph on *The Cultural Geography of Early Modern Drama, 1620–1650* will be published in 2011.

Ferenc Tóth was Lecturer of Modern History at the University of Western Hungary and Lecturer at the Protestant University of Budapest. He gained his PhD from the University of Paris-Sorbonne (1995). His publications include *Social Integration of Hungarian Immigration in France during the 18th Century* and *The Career of François Baron de Tott (1733–1793)*. He is responsible for a critical edition of the latter's memoirs, and has written a *History of the Battle of Saint-Gotthard* and a *History of the Turkish-Russian War (1768–1774)*.

1

Introduction: Monarchical Exile

Philip Mansel and Torsten Riotte

Exile is one of the dynamics of European history. Not only can it induce a constant sense of danger, humiliation and exclusion. It can also provide opportunities for transformation, influence and action. In 'Reflections on Exile', Edward Said claimed that modern Western culture has been in large part the work of exiles, émigrés and refugees.¹ Said's essay is a reminder of the various forms of exile. He refers to the masses of people who fled war, persecution or individual misfortune as opposed to what he calls 'heroic' exile: 'literature and history contain heroic, romantic, glorious, even triumphant episodes in an exile's life.'²

Many historians have been interested in the former group: the refugees and displaced persons of the 19th and 20th century. Migration history represents one important way of understanding exile. Originating in the industrial and political revolutions of the 19th century, an unprecedented degree of mobility caused hundreds of thousands of people to leave their home country, with numbers dramatically increasing during the course of the 20th century. Red Cross estimates for the year 2000 assumed a figure of 500 million displaced persons worldwide.³ Historians are still discussing why these migrants left and what impact they had on specific societies.⁴

The topic of the current book is closer to the second type of exile. Although exile is not understood as 'heroic, romantic, glorious or triumphant' in a literal sense, the approach can be described as cultural and political. Historians have long researched elites in exile. The 'Hitler émigrés' are the most prominent case. Until the 1970s, a majority of scholars – amongst whom a large number were émigrés themselves – discussed the life of those artists, scientists and intellectuals who fled Nazi Germany or its satellites.⁵ Although their numbers were much smaller than the total migration figures mentioned above, the cultural

impact of the émigrés is still felt in their host countries. The émigrés put into words what others could not adequately describe: their feelings of isolation, estrangement, and loss. Hence, émigrés' works shaped our understanding of exile much more directly than statistical figures could do.⁶

Out of this tradition, new studies with a broader focus have emerged. Historians now look beyond the twentieth century and the age of extremes and examine exile in all its historic, political, and geographic dimensions. Publications such as Marc Raeff's book on Russian exiles,⁷ and Henry Kamen's study on the exiles who created Spanish culture,⁸ show that exiles made important contributions not only to the literary discourse on exile but to the politics, culture, and history of their respective countries. For the Early Modern period, Edward Chaney's path-breaking, *The Grand Tour and the Great Rebellion* on English royalists, and Tessa Murdoch's, *The Quiet Conquest* on the Huguenots, both published in 1985, underline the dynamics of exile and the varied forms of interaction between exiles and their host societies.⁹

It might seem a daring undertaking to examine monarchs in exile. Monarchy and sovereignty seem too closely connected to be separated: the king is dead – long live the king. However, the three most common reservations about researching royal exile can be easily addressed. Although royal exile is often believed to be the exception rather than the rule, every European country, with the exception of Switzerland, experienced a sovereign residing abroad during the Early Modern or Modern period. Royal exile was much more common than might be assumed. At least 40 monarchs fled their country during the long nineteenth century from 1789 to 1918.¹⁰ It would have been easy to add more chapters taken from other centuries: on Henry Tudor before 1485; Stanislas Lesczynski of Poland between 1709 and his second and final abdication in 1736; the Bonapartes between 1815 and 1848;¹¹ the Carlist pretenders to the throne of Spain after 1834; the Bourbon claimant the comte de Chambord after 1830;¹² the House of Orleans's two exiles in 1848–70 and 1886–1950; the exile of the Karageorgevich dynasty from Serbia between 1858 and its return after the murder of King Milan in 1903. The list indicates – and the examples in this collection illustrate further – how difficult it is to define royal exile. Out of the eleven dynasties discussed in this volume, five returned; but in no case did a former reigning sovereign regain his (or her) crown. Hence the majority of the protagonists *became* monarchs in exile.¹³

In addition, royal exile is often believed to have been relatively comfortable or luxurious and, hence, lacking the uncertainty and difficulties

of other forms of exile. Royal exile is often thought of as retirement, as in, for example, the cases of Napoleon III after 1871¹⁴ or William II after 1918.¹⁵ In reality, as we will see in this volume, a large number of monarchs went through severe personal difficulties and crises during their time abroad. They remained in the dark about their political and personal future, often for years. Louis XVIII changed residence nine times in fifteen years before establishing himself in England and, depending on the political circumstances of the day (and his hosts' political strategy), endured situations of great physical and psychological hardship. In this regard, royal exile differed little from other experiences of exile.¹⁶

More importantly, monarchs in exile (and the artists that contributed to royal representation) proved eager to underline the individual suffering endured during exile. Visual representations used religious imagery. The representations of the Stuarts during their exiles after 1644 and 1688, and the Bourbons after their return in 1814/15, provide numerous examples.¹⁷ The literary scholar Helmut Koopmann has pointed to an additional aspect. Exile imagery also included an epic element. The 'oldest' exile we know is Ulysses, a *basileos* or king who loses his *oikos* or sovereignty. He travels far and masters several challenges abroad. He returns home to defeat the unworthy contenders for domestic sovereignty in order to be rightly and justly re-installed head of his house. Legitimacy was contested and had to be re-negotiated. Some of the images of 'the king over the water' and the ideas associated with them originate in classical literature.¹⁸

Finally, exile is generally remembered as defeat. The last Stuart pretenders in Rome and Florence, Napoleon I's death on St Helena, Charles X's death in Gorizia, and the German Kaiser's in House Doorn, four of the most prominent examples of monarchs in exile, represent the failure, not only of personal ambition but also of a system of government. Although victory and defeat defined the contemporary perceptions of exile, it remains questionable whether these are useful categories for scholarly debate. Louis XVIII's denunciation in 1804 of the conquests of Bonaparte as a 'perfidious system of violence, ambition without limits, arrogance without restriction', leading to wars without end, was as prophetic as the cry of Count von Platen, Foreign Minister of the exiled King Georg V of Hanover, in 1870 during the Franco-Prussian war – 'despite all the victories of the Prussian army we should not assume that peace will last [...] this is merely a truce. It is certain that Prussian militarism cannot last'.¹⁹

The 'defeated' often end as the victors. To the *retour des cendres*, the reburial of Napoleon's ashes in the Invalides in Paris in 1840, and the

return of Louis Napoleon to France in 1848,²⁰ other examples of more recent date could be added. After the fall of the Soviet Union and its satellites, many exiles returned to their former homeland. The exiles' heritage appeared more attractive than the recent Communist past. In 1992 President Yeltsin thanked Russian exiles in Paris for 'preserving our cultural heritage'.²¹ The white Russian general Denikin was reburied in state in Moscow in 2005, the Dowager Empress Marie Feodorovna (as many other exiled Romanovs have been) in Saint Petersburg in 2006. Partly because of their function in de-legitimizing the intervening Communist regimes, after over forty years in exile, ex-King Michael returned to Romania in 1992, and ex-king Simeon to Bulgaria in 1996. In 2001–05, he governed it as prime minister Simeon Saxe Coburgensky.

What are the advantages of researching royal exile? So far, historians have looked at foreign policy. In some cases, exiled monarchs contributed substantially to international history. Philip Mansel shows in his article on Louis XVIII that the exile and return of the French Bourbons can only be understood in the context of their opposition to French expansion and commitment to the frontiers of France before 1792. British support of the Bourbon dynasty was due to international strategic considerations more than to concern for legitimate sovereignty.²² The situation in France was equally affected by international politics. The return of the Bourbon dynasty was overshadowed by the allied occupation of French territory and the nation's defeat. The restoration of the Bourbons can be seen as an international event. The British government helped the Bourbons in the hope that they would return France to its old frontiers.

Louis XVIII's exile influenced both his personal decisions and his public image. Bourbon monarchy after 1814 was different to what it had been before 1789. The exile experience and the impact of royal exile on both the individual sovereign and society help us to understand changes in political attitudes and mentalities. Further examples show how royal exile changed public attitudes. Guy Stair Sainty and Torsten Riotte demonstrate that both the Kings of the Two Sicilies and of Hanover lost their thrones as a result of their opposition to Italian and German nationalism, respectively, and to those nations' unification by force of arms. The two monarchs in exile had only limited impact on international relations; but Bourbon royalism and Guelph identity remained political forces in their respective countries.²³ The German scholar Wolfgang Schivelbusch has coined the term 'a culture of defeat'.²⁴ He argues that military defeat affects policies in many other

fields, from education and welfare to finances and warfare. Monarchs in exile could be part of such a pattern of influence.

In 1866, King Johann of Saxony (a Catholic ruling a Protestant country, as James II and III had hoped to do) was able to return from six months in exile in Austria because he accepted German unification. Despite his return as King, some alleged he had been reduced to the status of mayor of Dresden. As James Retallack shows, Prussian supremacy proved as difficult for the victors as for the defeated. While parts of the Saxon public were sympathetic to the idea of a unified Germany, others proved highly critical of the Prussian-dominated German Empire. In this sense, the issue of monarchy and exile puts in question a homogeneous and deterministic picture of events. The British envoy to Saxony, Charles Edward Murray, commented in June 1866 on British newspaper coverage of Saxon defeat: 'English readers of the "Times"', he wrote, 'will of course believe that the Prussians are welcomed here as brothers, and that the Saxons wish no better and could do no better than to become incorporated with Prussia.' Murray strongly disagreed with such an assessment. Instead, he wrote that, 'the poor Saxons should feel the most intense hatred'.²⁵

Exile shows the limits of nationalism: in defence of their cause, the exiled Stuarts and Hanoverians were prepared to fight on the side of France against their own countries, as Bourbons were prepared to fight against France for Britain.²⁶ The history of Saxony, Hanover and southern Italy cannot be understood without reference to their exiled monarchs. Further examples could be added to this list: support in Hungary, Catalonia, Scotland, and Ireland for exiled monarchs show the many alternatives always existing to 'successful' supranational states – as the revival of Catalan and Scottish nationalism, and Italian regionalisms, in the 21st century reminds us.

A discussion of royal exiles helps to understand the dynamics of public debate on legitimacy.²⁷ With a contender alive, there always existed an alternative. Accounts of political debates – as far as historians are able to trace them – illustrate that the departure and absence of a sovereign contributed to the public debate. Daniel Szechi describes Jacobitism as the most successful opposition movement in the eighteenth century. Although it is still debated whether the '15 and '45 rebellions had any potential for military success, the importance of Jacobitism to the political culture of eighteenth century Britain is no longer questioned: J.C.D. Clark has established that even such a mainstream writer as Dr Johnson was a crypto-Jacobite.²⁸ Monarchs in exile could, however, fail to be incorporated in the public discourse on recapturing political power and

status, as in the case of Napoleon III after 1871 and Wilhelm II after 1918.²⁹

Exile means absence. Declarations drawn up in the exiled court were the main means of communication with the monarch's former subjects. From Charles II's to those signed by the exiled Kings of Hanover and the Two Sicilies, they show the resilience and persistence of exiled monarchs, in contrast to the silence and passivity displayed by the ancient republics of Venice, Genoa and Dubrovnik, after their extinction by Napoleon Bonaparte between 1797–1806. Persistence did not, however, necessarily mean success. Whether any of the Kaiser's publications after his departure in 1918 were taken seriously remains debatable. The published reviews imply that a majority of Germans understood the defeated Hohenzollern dynasty to be unfit for government.³⁰ Royal exile shows what studies of monarchical representations often overlook: the fabrication of monarchy is rarely a one-directional process and depends on the reader, consumer, or recipient as much as on the publicist, minister or artist.³¹

Royal exile also shows the operation of many competing views of sovereignty or political power at different levels. Monarchs in exile were closely observed. Newly established regimes considered it necessary to employ police agents to watch exiled sovereigns. The archives of the Third Republic hold numerous files on Legitimists, Orléanists and Bonapartists, detailed accounts which lasted beyond the early, critical years of the Third Republic and even the turn of the 20th century.³² The Prussian political police proved similarly alert to 'Guelph' opponents.³³ Political authorities discussed the potential danger from royalist oppositions. Cabinet ministers, diplomatists and other political representatives considered former dynasties to be a threat.

The book is a contribution to the discussion about the nature of monarchy. It sheds new light on the nature of legitimacy, and the nature of 'the family of kings'.³⁴ Despite the contemporary belief in dynastic marriage as a political instrument, in reality family ties and feelings of solidarity between monarchs were generally weak.³⁵ Legitimacy was less important than strategy. Charles II received less help from his cousins, the Kings of France and Denmark, than from Philip IV of Spain: indeed Louis XIV allied with a regicide, Cromwell. In his exceptional generosity to James II and III after 1688, Louis XIV may have been motivated by opposition to William of Orange and the Anglo-Dutch alliance, as well as by monarchical and religious solidarity. Similarly, the exiled Louis XVIII received little help from his cousins the Bourbon kings of Spain and Naples. Nor did George V of Hanover obtain support

from his British cousins, Queen Victoria and the Duke of Cambridge.³⁶ Austria supported and gave asylum to the Kings of Saxony and Naples, the Grand Duke of Tuscany, and the Dukes of Parma and Modena out of opposition to German and Italian unification – although Franz Joseph probably also saw himself as upholder of the monarchical principle in Europe.

The discussion of monarchs in exile will help in understanding the nature of the monarchical system, what ceremonies and customs survived in exile, who remained loyal and why, how exiles remained in touch with the former homeland, and how they adapted to life abroad. Exiled monarchs show what forces united, or divided, dynastic Europe and the relative importance of international politics and dynastic loyalties in the destinies of monarchies. Charles II followed the ceremonies of the Anglican Chapel Royal and touched for the king's evil;³⁷ Charles VI maintained a separate household as King of Spain in Vienna after 1711.³⁸ Louis XVIII made new appointments to the *Maison du roi* and organized such ceremonies as the marriage of Madame Royale, daughter of Louis XVI, to her first cousin, the duc d'Angouleme, in the palace of the Dukes of Courland in Mittau in 1799, and the state funeral of his wife the last Queen of France, Marie Josephine of Savoy, in Westminster Abbey in 1810.³⁹ The Guelph dynasty made spectacular marriages, such as that of the Duke of Cumberland to Princess Thyra of Denmark in 1878 and of Prince Ernst August to Princess Viktoria Luise of Prussia in 1913.⁴⁰

Another device was the continued creation of knights of the respective monarchies' orders of chivalry. Hence the competitions between Stuarts and Hanovers for control of the Order of the Garter (the latter dynasty changing its riband colour to 'true blue', darker than the blue of the Stuart order); the development of two rival Orders of the Golden Fleece, awarded by rival kings of Spain in Madrid and Vienna; the 'confraternity of orders' established by the exiled Louis XVIII and Paul I.⁴¹ Some exiled monarchs were sufficiently wealthy or politically useful to maintain their own regiments – the present Grenadier Guards and Life Guards of Elizabeth II have their origins in the exiled army of Charles II;⁴² Louis XVIII had regiments on the pay roll of the British and Austrian armies;⁴³ the King of Naples kept forces fighting the Italian army in the south in the 1860s.⁴⁴

The eleven dynasties selected for this volume represent a sample of European princes who lived outside their former sovereign territory. They were selected because they show the changes that occurred in royal sovereignty, legitimacy, and public debate in the 300 years before

the Great War. Independent of gender, rank, and territory, a royal exile's main task remained the upholding of his or her status. Princes were expected to gather a group of loyalists, create a court, and recover sovereignty. Such activism had little chance of success, if it was not perceived as potentially successful. To provide for the future, exiled princes needed to be accepted by the European elites, the family of princes in particular. Their public image had to reflect their royal status. Hence the importance of the arts, literature and historiography to exiled monarchs in order to uphold the idea of loyal support, political power and legitimate rule.

In this context, the Stuarts represent the nexus, and principal literary reference, in the history of royal exile. No other dynasty had such a prolonged experience of exile, between 1644 and 1660, and 1688 and 1807, which explains why four essays deal with that dynasty. The Stuarts' exile proved how important an exiled dynasty could be in crystallizing national sentiment. The exiled Stuarts were focuses for Irish and Scottish nationalism.⁴⁵ They also show that the state in Early Modern Europe had not been detached from the person of the monarch.⁴⁶ As John Cronin demonstrates, parts of Ireland even paid taxes to the exiled Charles II. Regional realities differed from metropolitan demands. Their restoration in 1660 made the example of the Stuarts attractive to other exiled dynasties. It is surprising to see that not only the Catholic Bourbons saw their own exile of 1789 to 1814 in the light of the Stuarts.⁴⁷ Even the Protestant Hanoverian dynasty proved eager to imply a historical continuity. George V of Hanover paid a historian, Onno Klopp, to write a history of the House of Stuart, a publication that was perceived as a five volume pamphlet in support of Hanoverian legitimism.⁴⁸

After the middle of the eighteenth century, ideas of sovereignty were transformed. Loyalist elites found themselves confronted with new concepts of nation and state that challenged royal sovereignty and legitimate rule. The three chapters on France show how Louis XVIII hoped to win French hearts by representing himself as a pacific and European monarch.⁴⁹ Napoleon I failed to find a balance between charismatic leadership and legitimacy.⁵⁰ Napoleon III depended as much on military success as on public support.⁵¹ All three sovereigns can be seen as representatives of changing ideas of sovereignty.⁵² During the nineteenth century, the modern nation state gained increasing control over public life. Many loyalists had to withdraw from active politics. Royal exile was confronted with modern concepts of the state and an increasing bureaucracy. The qualities of a monarch became increasingly irrelevant to the failure and success of a national economy and – to a lesser

extent – foreign policy. Representative aspects of monarchy gained new dimensions, not least due to new forms of media such as photography and film. Two competing narratives exist for monarchy at the end of the nineteenth century. One is a narrative of decline. Stripped of political power, increasingly questioned by democratic ideas and bourgeois thinking, European monarchy represented an anachronistic species on the verge of extinction.⁵³ The other narrative sees monarchical Europe, thanks to the legacy of failed revolutions, as powerful enough to cause the outbreak and the catastrophic results of the Great War. The German case provides the most prominent example. John Rohl's epilogue on the exile of the Kaiser illustrates both German society's demand for a new form of leadership and Wilhelm II's inability to meet it.⁵⁴

Rohl's interpretation of the Kaiser should remind us that the book also discusses the importance of character in history. For some – for example James III in Rome – as for many twentieth century exiles, their place of exile became the new homeland: the comte de Chambord felt more at ease in Austria, where he had lived since the age of twelve, than in France when he revisited it, for the first and last time since 1830, in 1873. On the other hand their character and resilience, and a favourable situation in their former homeland, enabled Charles II, Louis XVIII and King Johann from Saxony to return to the throne in 1660, 1814 and 1866 respectively. European history could have followed many different paths. Exiles and the defeated can affect events as well as nationalists and conquerors. *Monarchy and Exile* hopes to show that W.H. Auden was wrong when he wrote in 1937:

History to the defeated
May say Alas.
But cannot help
Nor pardon.

— lines he himself later called 'quite inexcusable'.⁵⁵

Notes

1. Edward W. Said (2001) 'Reflections on Exile', in Edward W. Said, *Reflections on Exile and other Literary and Cultural Essays* (London: Granta), pp. 173–86, here p. 173.
2. *Ibid.*
3. Helmut Koopmann (2001) 'Exil als geistige Lebensform', in Helmut Koopmann (eds) *Exil. Transhistorische und transnationale Perspektiven* (Paderborn: Mentis), pp. 1–2, here p. 2.

4. The following three publications offer a good starting-point for any reader interested in migration history: Jan Lucassen and Leo Lucassen (eds) (1997), *Migration, Migration History, History. Old Paradigms and New Perspectives* (Bern, Frankfurt a.M., New York, et al.: Peter Lang); Nancy L. Green (2002), *Repenser les Migrations* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France); Klaus J. Bade (eds) (2007), *Enzyklopädie Migration in Europa vom 17. Jahrhundert bis zur Gegenwart* (Paderborn: Schöningh).
5. Daniel Snowman (2002), *The Hitler Emigrés. The Cultural Impact on Britain of Refugees from Nazism* (London: Chatto & Windus). See the historiographical discussion and bibliography in Jochen Oltmer (2010), *Migration im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert* (Munich: Oldenbourg), pp. 61–126, 127–60.
6. C.-D. Krohn/ P. von zur Mühlen/ G. Paul/ L. Winckler (eds) (1998), *Handbuch der Deutschsprachigen Emigration 1933–1945* (2nd ed., Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft).
7. Marc Raeff (1992), *Russia Abroad. A Cultural History of the Russian Emigration, 1919–1939* (Oxford: OUP).
8. Henry Kamen (2007), *The Disinherited. The Exiles who Created Spanish Culture* (London: Allen Lane).
9. Edward Chaney (1985), *The Grand Tour and the Great Rebellion. Richard Lassels and 'The Voyage of Italy' in the Seventeenth Century* (Geneve: Slatkine); Tessa Murdoch (1985), *The Quiet Conquest. The Huguenots 1685–1985* (London: Museum of London).
10. Torsten Riotte (2009), 'Der Abwesende Monarch im Herrschaftsdiskurs der Neuzeit. Eine Forschungsskizze am Beispiel der Welfendynastie nach 1866', *Historische Zeitschrift* 289, pp. 627–7, here p. 630. See also the articles by Heidi Mehrkens (2008), 'Rangieren auf dem Abstellgleis. Europas Abgesetzte Herrscher 1830–1870', in Thomas Biskup/ Martin Kohlrusch (eds) *Das Erbe der Monarchie. Nachwirkungen Einer Deutschen Institution seit 1918* (Frankfurt and New York: Peter Lang); and Hans Henning Hahn (1983), 'Möglichkeiten und Formen Politischen Handels in der Emigration. Ein Historisch-systematischer Deutungsversuch am Beispiel des Exils in Europa nach 1830 und ein Plädoyer für eine International Vergleichende Exilforschung', *Archiv für Sozialgeschichte* 23, pp. 123–61.
11. Euler (2008), *Napoleon III. in Seiner Zeit*, 2 vols, (Hamburg: Verlag Dr Kovač).
12. Daniel de Montplaisir (2008), *Le comte de Chambord. Dernier Roi de France* (Paris: Perrin).
13. In addition to the chapters in this book, see Anna Keay (2008), *The Magnificent Monarch. Charles II and the Ceremonies of Power* (Cornwall: Continuum), particularly pp. 45–80, and Edward Corp (2004), *A Court in exile. The Stuarts in France* (Cambridge: CUP), particularly pp. 104–35, Edward Corp (2009), *The Jacobites at Urbino. An Exiled Court in Transition* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan), pp. 43–76, Philip Mansel (2005), *Louis XVIII* (London: John Murray), pp. 77–169.
14. Johannes Wilms (2008), *Napoleon III. Frankreichs Letzter Kaiser* (München: C.H. Beck), p. 265 writes that Napoleon led the life of a 'country gentleman' in Chislehurst. Eric Anceau's interpretation in his (2008), *Napoleon III. Un Saint-Simon à Cheval* (Paris: Tallandier), pp. 545–58, sees Napoleon's exile after 1871 slightly differently and the ex-emperor 'more decided than ever'

- to regain power. However, both agree that his ill health did not allow further political ambition.
15. John C.G. Rohl (2009), *Wilhelm II. Der Weg in den Abgrund* (Munich: C.H. Beck), pp. 1246–326; Martin Kohlrausch (2005), *Der Monarch im Skandal. die Logik der Massenmedien und die Transformation der Wilhelminischen Monarchie* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag), pp. 301–472.
 16. Wilhelm Bingmann (1995), *Louis XVIII. von Frankreich im Exil. Blankenburg 1796–1798* (Frankfurt a.M.: Peter Lang), and Philip Mansel (2005), *Louis XVIII*, pp. 56–76, 77–109.
 17. Paul Kléber Monod (1993), *Jacobitism and the English People* (Cambridge: CUP), particularly Chapter 1: Laws of Man and God, pp. 15–44. For Louis XVIII: Natalie Scholz (2006), *Die Imaginierte Restauration. Repräsentation der Monarchie im Frankreich Ludwigs XVIII* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft), pp. 92–100.
 18. Helmut Koopmann (2001) (eds), *Exil. Transhistorische und Transnationale Perspektiven* (Paderborn: Mentis), p. VII; Ernst Doblhofer (1987), *Exil und Emigration. Zum Erlebnis der Heimatferne in der Römischen Literatur* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft).
 19. Philip Mansel (2005), *Louis XVIII* (London: John Murray), p. 136. See also Jean-Paul Bertaud (2009), *Les Royalistes et Napoléon* (Paris: Flammarion), pp. 170–3; Jasper Heinzen (2007), 'The Guelph Conspiracy: Hanover and the European system 1866–1870', *International History Review* 29, 2, 281.
 20. Robert Tombs (1996), *France 1814–1914* (London and New York: Longman), pp. 312–17. For the legacy of Napoleon and its importance to Napoleon III, see Sudhir Hazareasingh (2004), *The Saint-Napoleon. Celebrations of Sovereignty in Nineteenth-century France* (Cambridge/ Mass. and London: Harvard University Press).
 21. The *Independent*, 8 February 1992
 22. For a detailed discussion see Reiner Marcowitz (2000), *Großmacht auf Bewährung. die Interdependenz Französischer Innen- und Außenpolitik und ihre Auswirkungen auf Frankreichs Stellung im Europäischen Konzert 1814/15–1851/52* (Stuttgart: Thorbeck).
 23. For Hanover: Jasper Heinzen (2010), *Hohenzollern State-Building in the Province of Hanover, 1866–1914* (unpubl. PhD thesis: Cambridge University).
 24. Wolfgang Schivelbusch (2001), *Die Kultur der Niederlage. Der Amerikanische Süden 1865; Frankreich 1871; Deutschland 1918* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft).
 25. Charles August Murray to the Earl of Clarendon, No 36, Dresden, 28 June 1866, The National Archives, FO 68/142.
 26. Jasper Heinzen (2007) lists the relevant literature on Hanoverian military conspiracies against Prussia. For the rebellion in 1715 and 1745 see Daniel Szechi (2006), *1715. The Great Jacobite Rebellion* (New Haven/ Conn.: Yale Univ. Press) and Daniel Szechi (1994), *The Jacobites. Britain and Europe 1688–1788* (Manchester: Manchester University Press).
 27. Peter Burke (1992), *The Fabrication of Louis XIV* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press) and Jens-Ivo Engels (2000), *Königsbilder. Sprechen, Singen und Schreiben über den Französischen König in der Ersten Hälfte des Achtzehnten Jahrhunderts* (Bonn: Bouvier). For 'Legitimism' as ideology see Geoffrey Cubitt (2003), 'Legitimism and the Cult of Bourbon Royalty' in

- Nicholas Atkin and Frank Tallett (eds), *The Right in France. From Revolution to Le Pen* (London and New York: I.B. Tauris), pp. 51–70.
28. J.C.D. Clark (1994), *Samuel Johnson – Literature, Religion and English Cultural Politics from the Restoration to Romanticism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
 29. For the legacy of Napoleon III: John Rothney (1969), *Bonapartism after Sedan* (Ithaca/ New York: Cornell University Press). For Wilhelm II: Arne Hofmann (1998), *‘Wir Sind das Alte Deutschland, das Deutschland Wie es War...’. Der ‘Bund der Aufrechten’ und der Monarchismus in der Weimarer Republik* (Frankfurt a.M.: Peter Lang); Friedrich Freiherr Hiller von Gartringen (1976), *‘Zur Beurteilung des “Monarchismus” in der Weimarer Republik’* in Gotthard Jasper (ed.), *Tradition and Reform in der Deutschen Politik. Gedenkschrift für Waldemar Besson* (Frankfurt a.M.: Propylän); and Jack Sweetman (1973), *The Unforgotten Crowns. The German Monarchist Movements, 1918–1945* (PhD thesis: Emory University).
 30. Chapter 16 in this volume and Martin Kohlrausch (2005), *Der Monarch im Skandal. Die Logik der Massenmedien und die Transformation der Wilhelminischen Monarchie* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag), pp. 335–59.
 31. Peter Burke (1992), *The Fabrication of Louis XIV* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press) and Jens-Ivo Engels (2000), *Königsbilder. Sprechen, Singen und Schreiben über den Französischen König in der Ersten Hälfte des Achtzehnten Jahrhunderts* (Bonn: Bouvier) . See also Hannah Smith (2006), *Georgian Monarchy. Politics and Culture, 1714–1760* (Cambridge: CUP) and Johannes Paulmann (2000), *Pomp und Politik. Monarchenbegegnungen in Europa Zwischen Ancien Régime und Erstem Weltkrieg* (Paderborn: Schönigh).
 32. ‘Surveillance des Différents Partis et Mouvements. Bonapartistes, Royalistes, Boulangistes, Nationalistes, Antisémites, Cléricaux, 1871–1915’: Paris, Archives Nationales, F7 12428 à 12521.
 33. ‘Welfische Agitationen, Oktober 1886–bis September 1914’, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes, R4199–R4205; ‘Hannover. Verhandlungen mit Agenten des Königs Georg’, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes, R 3028; ‘Politische Personalien von Welfisch Gesinnten Beamten und Pastoren, 1899–1904’, Niedersächsisches Hauptstaatsarchiv Hannover, Hann 122a, No 2749.
 34. For a discussion of the idea of a society of princes see Lucien Bély (1999), *La Société de Princes. XVIe–XVIIIe Siècle* (Paris: Fayard).
 35. I am grateful to Daniel Schönplflug for allowing me to read the manuscript of his forthcoming book on Hohenzollern marriages from the seventeenth to the twentieth century where he discusses the foreign political dimension in more detail: Daniel Schönplflug (2009), *Die Heiraten der Hohenzollern. Verwandtschaft, Politik und Ritual im Europäischen Kontext 1640–1918* (unpubl. Habil. Thesis: FU Berlin).
 36. As well as Chapters 10, 13 and 15, see also Torsten Riotte (2008) ‘The House of Hanover. Queen Victoria and the Guelph Dynasty’, in Karina Urbach (ed.), *Royal Kinship. Anglo-German Family Networks 1815–1918* (München: K.G. Saur), pp. 75–96.
 37. Anna Keay (2008), *The Magnificent Monarch. Charles II and the Ceremonies of Power* (Cornwall: Continuum), particularly the appendices on pp. 212–4.
 38. See Chapter 4 in this volume.

39. Philip Mansel, Chapter 10 in this volume.
40. Torsten Riotte (2008), 'The House of Hanover. Queen Victoria and the Guelph Dynasty' in Karina Urbach (ed.), *Royal Kinship. Anglo-German Family Networks 1815–1918* (München: K.G. Saur) and Chapter 15 in this volume.
41. Philip Mansel, Chapter 10 in this volume.
42. Philip Mansel, (1984) *Pillars of Monarchy: An Outline of the Political and Social History of the Royal Guards, 1400–1984* (New York: Quartet Books), p. 11.
43. Philip Mansel Chapter 10 in this volume.
44. See Guy Stair Sainty, Chapter 13 in this volume.
45. Chapter 8 in this volume. For a critical discussion, see Margaret Sankey and Daniel Szechi (2001), 'Elite Culture and the Decline of Scottish Jacobitism 1716–1745', *Past and Present* 173, pp. 90–128.
46. Albrecht Koschorke, Susanne Lüdemann, Thomas Frank, Ethel Matala de Mazza (2007), *Der Fiktive Staat. Konstruktionen des Politischen Körpers in der Geschichte Europas* (Frankfurt a. M.: Fischer Taschenbuchverlag).
47. Geoffrey Cubitt (2007), 'The Political Uses of Seventeenth-century English History in Bourbon Restoration France', *The Historical Journal* 50,1, 73–95; Daniel de Montplaisir (2008), *Le comte de Chambord. Dernier Roi de France* (Paris: Perrin), pp. 119–26.
48. Lorenz Matzinger (1993), *Onno Klopp, 1822–1903. Leben und Werk* (Aurich: Ostfriesische Landschaft).
49. Reiner Marcowitz (2009) 'Vergangenheit im Widerstreit. Die Restauration 1814/15–1830', in Reiner Marcowitz and Werner Paravincini (eds), *Pardoner et Oublier? Les Discours sur le Passé Après l'Occupation, la Guerre Civile et la Révolution* (Munich: Oldenbourg), pp. 111–23.
50. Michael Kertauret (2009), 'Napoléon et la Quatrième Dynastie. Fondation ou Restauration?' in Hélène Becquet and Bettina Frederking (eds), *La Dignité de Roi. Regards sur la Royauté au Premier XIX Siècle* (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes), pp. 35–48.
51. Eric Anceau (2008), *Napoleon III. un Saint-Simon à Cheval* (Paris: Tallandier); John Rothney (1969), *Bonapartism after Sedan* (Ithaca/ New York: Cornell University Press).
52. Robert Tombs (1996), *France 1814–1914* (London and New York: Longman), pp. 120–3.
53. Lothar Machtan (2008), *Die Abdankung. Wie Deutschlands gekrönte Häupter aus der Geschichte fielen* (Berlin: Propyläen).
54. Next to John C.G. Rohl (2009), *Wilhelm II. Der Weg in den Abgrund* (Munich: C.H. Beck) and Martin Kohlrausch (2005), *Der Monarch im Skandal. Die Logik der Massenmedien und die Transformation der Wilhelminischen Monarchie* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag), see the introduction in Holger Afflerbach (2005), *Kaiser Wilhelm II. als Oberster Kriegsherr im Ersten Weltkrieg. Quellen aus der Militärischen Umgebung des Kaisers, 1914–18* (Munich: Oldenbourg), and Stephan Malinowski (2004), *Vom König zum Führer. Deutscher Adel und Nationalsozialismus* (Frankfurt a.M.: Fischer Taschenbuchverlag), pp. 228–59.
55. We are grateful to Richard Davenport-Hines for this information.

Part I

Varieties of Exile

2

A Queen Mother in Exile: Marie De Médicis in the Spanish Netherlands and England, 1631–41

Toby Osborne

Marie de Médicis (1575–1642), daughter of Grand-Duke Francesco I of Tuscany and Archduchess Joanna, and the queen consort of Henri IV of France, was widowed on 14 May 1610 following the assassination of her Bourbon husband. For the next four years, until September 1614, she acted as regent of France on behalf of her elder son, Louis XIII, but thereafter the relationship became increasingly problematic, culminating in the fall in 1617 of her favourite, Concino Concini, and her temporary internal exile at Blois. During the 1620s, when Cardinal Richelieu assumed power as Louis's creature, her alienation from her elder son became still more pronounced because of her growing hostility to the Cardinal-Minister's policies and his successful working relationship with the king. After she failed to oust the cardinal through a court coup, more famously known as the Day of Dupes (11–12 November 1630), she withdrew from court, first to internal exile at Compiègne. In July 1631 she slipped out of the French kingdom to self-imposed exile abroad, never to return. Between 1631 and the autumn of 1638 she was in the Spanish Netherlands; after passing through the Low Countries, she crossed the Channel to England, where she remained until the summer of 1641. Returning to the Continent, she passed once again through the Low Countries on her way to the imperial city of Cologne where, on 3 July 1642, she died.

Interest in Marie de Médicis, as an exile in the Spanish Netherlands in particular, has in the last decade undergone something of a surge, long overdue since the publication in 1876 of the now-dated work by the Belgian historian, Paul Henrard, and that of another Belgian historian, Ernest Gossart, writing in 1905 on princely exiles in Brussels.

Thanks, in particular, to the art historian Cordula van Wyhe, we now have a deeper understanding of the exiled Marie de Médicis as a patron and collector, and more knowledge of her confessional identity, elements that, as van Wyhe has noted, were overlooked in major exhibitions as recently as 2004 and 2005, which dealt with her only as a Dowager-Queen of France.¹ Recognition, more broadly, should be given to the works of historians such as Luc Duerloo who have done much to elucidate the identity of the Spanish Netherlands in the early seventeenth century, the period when the region once again had a functioning princely court and when the Archdukes harboured a remarkable number and range of religious, political and, indeed, sovereign exiles.² Likewise, the work of Caroline Hibbard, and, more recently, of Karen Britland, have added to our understanding of the confessional and cultural roles Marie de Médicis played at the Stuart court, which, it will be seen, were not entirely welcome or positive.³

Marie de Médicis's case study crystallizes a number of themes central to this collection of essays devoted to monarchy in exile. What grade of sovereignty, if any, did she enjoy? Was she, indeed, a monarch, if by that term we are specifically to understand a royal ruler? We might ask more generally whether exile itself raised such questions about the degrees and nature of princely sovereignty. The very presence of a sovereign in a foreign territory required hosts to consider problematic issues of protocol, especially acute for exiled ruling sovereigns whose going into exile might well have been seen as an act of abdication. These questions of status, coupled with that of public image, thoroughly permeated Marie de Médicis's experiences in the 1630s, in both the Spanish Netherlands and England, and underpin this essay: of how she constantly presented herself as the afflicted mother, a royal sovereign, who wanted nothing else but peace with Louis XIII; of how, in turn, she was presented by her propagandists as a legitimate queen mother with monarchical authority and a distinctively female identity; finally, of how her presence in the Spanish Netherlands and England created dilemmas and resentment for her hosts who were required to provide for her as a queen mother, but who also remained uncertain of how trustworthy she and her various household officers and followers were, and of how far they should accord her royal rights.

Although Marie de Médicis was the maternal grand-daughter of Emperor Ferdinand I, she herself had not been born into a royal dynasty. Whatever their claims about themselves, or their efforts to secure monarchical status from the mid-sixteenth century, the Medici were a grand-ducal family, and even that status had only been acquired in uncertain terms in 1569. Her royal powers, such as they were,

seemingly derived from her status as Henri IV's wife. In the canvas, *The Consignment of the Regency*, one of the Luxembourg Cycle commissioned by the Queen Mother from Peter-Paul Rubens in 1622, in part to commemorate her dead husband, though also deliberately used to confirm certain monarchical images of herself, Henri IV hands his wife the orb of state decorated with a *fleurs de lys*, a clear statement of the royal power invested in her, even if the orb itself was not a customary object of French regalia.⁴ Marie de Médicis had been crowned Queen of France the day before her husband's assassination, and she continued to enjoy a degree of sovereign power as a widow of Henri IV and mother of Louis XIII. That was confirmed by a *lit de justice* in Paris the day after the assassination, at which the Queen Mother was seated on the same level as her nine year old son, beneath a canopy that signified shared sovereignty with the new king. The assumption of Louis XIII's majority in 1614, however, left her in an anomalous position.⁵ Had her royal powers existed only so long as either her husband was alive or she was formally Louis XIII's regent? This was the subject of debate and reflection in France from 1614 onwards, as the Luxembourg Cycle testified, and the 1630s brought this thorny issue to the fore once again. For Marie de Médicis, the entire period in exile was a continuation of the political, and public, debate about the nature of her status. The Queen Mother and her polemicists actively sought to construct images of her legitimate and indelible authority, as they had done since 1610, and then again in different circumstances after 1614.

Marie de Médicis's historiographer, Jean Puget de la Serre, for one, had few doubts about the grade of his patron's authority. De la Serre had travelled with the Queen Mother into exile, and remained with her until he returned to France in 1639 after she had gone to England. It was hardly surprising, then, that his object during his years in exile was to uphold the international status of his patron, even if he found employment with Richelieu when he eventually returned to his homeland. Over the course of the 1630s, he produced three major works in support of the Queen Mother to mark, in turn, her ceremonial entries into the Spanish Netherlands (1631), the Dutch republic (1638) and England (1638), each one accompanied by a series of high-quality illustrations, the works of some of Europe's finest engravers, principally Cornelius Galle and Wenceslaus Hollar.⁶

On the frontispiece of the first pamphlet, the *Histoire curieuse de tout ce qui c'est passé* published by Balthasar Moretus at the Plantin Press in Antwerp in 1632 for Marie de Médicis's arrival in the Spanish Netherlands, the Queen Mother and the Infanta Isabella Clara Eugenia, Governess of