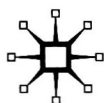


MONARCHY AND EXILE

THE POLITICS OF
LEGITIMACY FROM
MARIE DE MÉDICIS
TO WILHELM II

EDITED BY PHILIP MANSEL AND TORSTEN RIOTTE





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Monarchy and Exile

The Politics of Legitimacy from Marie de Médicis to Wilhelm II

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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.

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1

Introduction: Monarchical Exile

Philip Mansel and Torsten Rlotte

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 Leszcynski 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