Royal Heirs

Against the odds, monarchies flourished in nineteenth-century Europe. In an era marked by dramatic change and revolutionary upheaval, Europe's monarchies experienced an unexpected late flowering. *Royal Heirs* focuses on the roles and personalities of the heirs to the throne from more than a dozen different dynasties that ruled the continent between the French Revolution and the end of the First World War. The book explores how these individuals contributed to the remarkable survival of the crowns they were born to wear. Constitutions, family relationships, education, politics, the media, the need to generate 'soft power' and the militarisation of monarchy all shaped the lives of princes and princesses while they were playing their part to embody and secure the future of monarchy. Ranging from Norway to Spain and from Greece to Britain, *Royal Heirs* not only paints a vivid picture of a monarchical age, but also explores how such disparate monarchies succeeded in adapting to change and defending their position.

Frank Lorenz Müller is Professor of Modern History at the University of St Andrews. Between 2012 and 2017, he led a major research project on the role of heirs in nineteenth-century monarchies. His publications include Britain and the German Question (2002), Our Fritz: Emperor Frederick III and the Political Culture of Imperial Germany (2011) and, as co-editor, Royal Heirs and the Uses of Soft Power in Nineteenth-Century Europe (2016). He is founder-editor of the Palgrave Studies in Modern Monarchy.

Royal Heirs

Succession and the Future of Monarchy in Nineteenth-Century Europe

Frank Lorenz Müller University of St Andrews

Translation by

Rona Johnston







Shaftesbury Road, Cambridge CB2 8EA, United Kingdom

One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA

477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia

314-321, 3rd Floor, Plot 3, Splendor Forum, Jasola District Centre, New Delhi - 110025, India

103 Penang Road, #05-06/07, Visioncrest Commercial, Singapore 238467

Cambridge University Press is part of Cambridge University Press & Assessment, a department of the University of Cambridge.

We share the University's mission to contribute to society through the pursuit of education, learning and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781009069526

DOI: 10.1017/9781009071284

Originally published in German as Die Thronfolger. Macht und Zukunft der Monarchie im 19. Jahrhundert by Frank Lorenz Müller

German edition © 2019 Siedler Verlag a division of Penguin Random House Verlagsgruppe GmbH, Munich, Germany

First translated and published in English by Cambridge University Press 2023 as Royal Heirs: Succession and the Future of Monarchy in Nineteenth-Century Europe

English edition © 2023 Cambridge University Press & Assessment

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press & Assessment.

First paperback edition 2025

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library

ISBN 978-1-316-51291-3 Hardback ISBN 978-1-009-06952-6 Paperback

Cambridge University Press & Assessment has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.

The translation of this work was supported by a grant from the Goethe-Institut.

für Celia

Contents

	List of Figures	<i>page</i> viii
	Acknowledgements for the German Edition (2019)	х
	Acknowledgements for the English Translation (2022)	xii
	Introduction	1
1	'Pledge of a Blessed Future'? Royal Heirs in the Nineteenth Century	11
2	'And This Comedy That I Have to Perform before the World'	
	Royal Heirs as Sons and Husbands	52
3	'The Affair of His People' The Education of Royal Heirs in the Nineteenth Centur	y 109
4	'Making the Princess Known and Securing Friends for After Times'	
	Royal Heirs in Politics, Press and the Public Sphere	176
5	'From My Earliest Youth the Army Has Been My Absolu Love'	te
	Royal Heirs and the Militarisation of the Monarchy	239
	Conclusion	307
	Appendix: List of Rulers and Heirs	319
	Bibliography	323
	Index	346

vii

Figures

1.	'The Emperor's Pride – The Hope of His Peoples' (1858).	page 7
2.	Medal struck to mark the anniversary of the Bavarian	
	constitution (1819).	26
3.	Jean-Léon Gérôme, The Reception of Siamese Ambassadors by	
	Emperor Napoleon III (1808-73) at the Palace of Fontainebleau,	
	27 June 1861.	46
4.	Max Beerbohm's cartoon 'The rare, the rather awful visits of	
	Albert Edward, Prince of Wales, to Windsor Castle' (1921).	62
5.	The monarchy as 'Society's Idol 1841–1891' (1891).	69
6.	'Crown Prince Rudolf Presents His Father with the First	
	Volume of His Encyclopaedia of the Habsburg Empire'	
	(1885).	77
7.	'Prince Umberto, Later King Umberto I of Italy, with His	
	Bride Margherita of Savoy–Genoa' (1868).	87
8.	'Princess Anna Pia Monica' (1911).	104
9.	Henry Tamworth Wells, Victoria Regina (1887).	128
10.	'Princes Eddy and George as Cadets on the British Warship	
	HMS Bacchante' (1881).	141
11.	'Prince Wilhelm, Later German Emperor Wilhelm II, as	
	a Schoolboy in Kassel' (1874).	164
12.	Crown Prince Wilhelm wearing the colours of the 'Corps	
	Borussia' at Bonn University (1901).	172
13.	A cartoon in Munich's Volkszeitung showing Prince Ludwig as	8
	the slayer of the Prussian dragon (1896).	191
14.	José Ribelles y Helip, Allegory of Spain with Queen María	
	Cristina and Isabella II (1833).	212
15.	William James Ward, Queen Victoria as a Princess (1825).	213
16.	'Four Generations of the Bavarian Royal House' (1905).	216
17.	'The Arrival of the Norwegian King Haakon VI with His Son	
	Olav' (1905).	218
18.	'Princess Alexandra, Later Queen Alexandra, with Her	
	Daughter Princess Louise' (1866).	219

viii

	List of Figures	ix
19.	'Archduke Franz Ferdinand on His World Tour' (1893).	223
20.	Max Koner, Emperor Wilhelm II (1890).	240
21.	Ferdinand Georg Waldmüller, Portrait of the Later Emperor	
	Franz Josef I of Austria (1830–1916) as a Grenadier with Toy	
	Soldiers (1832).	254
22.	'Alfonso XIII as a Youth' (undated).	258
23.	Émile Jean Horace Vernet, The Duke of Chartres on Horseback	
	(1832).	263
24.	Olaf Gulbransson, Imperial Manoeuvres (1911), in	
	Simplicissimus.	267
25.	'The Prince of Wales as a Soldier in the First World War'	
	(1914).	279
26.	'Our Crown Prince at War' (undated).	288
27.	'Crown Prince Rupprecht' (undated).	299
28.	'The Unveiling of the Cenotaph in London	
	(11 November 1920)' (1920).	305



Acknowledgements for the German Edition (2019)

For years, I have tested the patience of my friends and family with stories about royal heirs. I have pestered colleagues, archivists and librarians with queries and requests. I have relied on the generous support of institutions kind enough to fund historical research. Now that this book is finished, the least thing I can do is to record my gratitude. It is to this pleasant duty that I would now like to turn.

This book is one of the many fruits of a project financed by the Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC) and hosted by the University of St Andrews between 2012 and 2017. The support offered by these two institutions was crucial. Without it, the small band of historians researching the roles of *Heirs to the Throne in the Constitutional Monarchies of Nineteenth-Century Europe (1815–1914)* (http://heirstothethroneproject.net) could never have been formed. I would like to thank my fellow team members – Amelia Carruthers, Jennifer Henderson Crane, Dr Charles Jones, Dr Carmina López Sanchez, Dr Maria-Christina Marchi, Dr Richard Meyer Forsting, Lynneth Miller, Dr Mariko Okawa, Dr Miriam Schneider and, above all, Dr Heidi Mehrkens – for our wonderful time together and for our many cheerful and instructive conversations. That my colleagues have made a huge contribution to this volume will be obvious to any reader, and I am particularly grateful for their help in the course of the final writing process.

I have also benefited enormously from the assistance I have received from other scholars, who kindly responded to my pleas for help and shared their expertise with me. I am indebted to Alma Hannig, Trond Norén Isaksen, Professor Axel Körner, Professor Jes Fabricius Møller, Professor Jane Ridley, Christoph de Spiegeleer, Dr Andrew Thompson and Dr Valentina Villa.

The archival research I undertook for this book would not have been possible without the knowledgeable and patient help offered to me by archivists in Altshausen, Amberg, Berlin, Dresden, Munich, Stuttgart, Oxford and Windsor. I would especially like to acknowledge the assistance I received from Dr Robin Darwall-Smith (Oxford), Dr Albrecht

x

Acknowledgements for the German Edition (2019)

Ernst (Stuttgart), Dr Eberhard Fritz (Altshausen), Dr Gerhard Immler (Munich) and Dr Gerhard Keiper (Berlin). I am indebted to Her Majesty, Queen Elizabeth II, for her gracious permission to let me consult and quote from material kept in the Royal Archives. My thanks also go to the librarians at St Andrews University Library and at the *Staatsbibliothek* Berlin. I wrote the bulk of this book during a sabbatical year in Berlin in 2016–2017 and I am indebted to Heike Fritz, who looked after me in the glorious new reading room of the *Staatsbibliothek* Berlin/Unter den Linden.

Both for my family and for me, the year in Berlin was a great joy in so many ways. For that, I would like to thank both my many old Berlin friends and also the new ones: Professor Birgit Aschmann and Britt Schlünz as well as the equally charming and musical men, women and youngsters of the *Blechmontage* brass ensemble. I would also like to thank the staff of the IBZ, where we found a welcoming home.

My parents, Hedi and Erhard Müller, lovingly looked after us in Berlin, and they also carefully read and commented on the early drafts of this book. My friends and colleagues Dr Bernhard Struck and – as always – Professor Dominik Geppert lavished much care on my manuscript and improved it in countless ways. I would like to thank them, as well as Dr Saskia Limbach, who compiled the bibliography, for their expertise, meticulousness and encouragement.

Working with Siedler Verlag was a real pleasure. I am indebted to Jens Dehning for his support and feedback. Ditta Ahmadi was a judicious, expert and delightful editor.

Finally, I would like to thank my family: my sons Hugo and Nicholas, who will, I hope, have happier lives ahead of them than the many princes who populate the pages of this book. Without the cheerfulness and affection of these two splendid boys, the years I spent with my royal heirs would have been far less enjoyable. I would especially like to thank my wonderful wife Celia for the almost three decades of loving support of the author. As a small gesture of my appreciation of this kind of dedicated championing of historical research, I dedicate this book to her – with much love.

xi

Acknowledgements for the English Translation (2022)

I am delighted that my 'Royal Heirs' are now also available in English, and I would like to thank the people who have helped to make this happen. At Cambridge University Press, I am indebted to Liz Friend-Smith, Atifa Jiwa, Natasha Whelan and Elliott Beck for their warm support of this project. I am grateful to Steven Holt for his sharp-eyed and professional copy-editing. Above all, I owe a huge debt of gratitude to Dr Rona Johnston Gordon who produced an elegant and sure-footed translation of the German original and lavished meticulous care on my text – removing the numerous glitches that I had failed to spot before. I would also like to thank the Goethe-Institut for its generous contribution towards the cost of the translation.