

## Introduction (May 24, 1913)

The city of Berlin was alive with joyful exuberance. Thousands of people filled Unter den Linden from the Brandenburg Gate up the thoroughfare to the Stadtschloss, the imposing royal palace. In the skies above, the brightly decorated zeppelin Hansa buzzed loudly as it circled the palace dropping large bouquets of flowers. Inside the Stadtschloss was one of the largest gatherings of royalty in the early twentieth century. They came from the four corners of Europe to celebrate the wedding of Princess Victoria Louise of Prussia, the youngest child of Emperor Wilhelm II of Germany, to Prince Ernest Augustus of Hanover. At 5:00 p.m., a long line of pages, heralds, court officials, and military leaders led the bridal procession from the Electress's Hall to the palace chapel. The procession entered the chapel, with its marble walls, Roman arches, and high-domed cupola ceiling, led by the bride and groom. Immediately behind the young couple came an unprecedented collection of kings, queens, princes, princesses, dukes, and duchesses led by the imperial rulers of Germany, Great Britain, and Russia. Noticeably absent was eighty-two-year-old Emperor Franz Joseph of Austria.

Hosting so many reigning monarchs at one time was a first since the unification of Germany in 1871. At the wedding feast that night, some twelve hundred guests watched in awe as the blushing bride danced the *Fackeltanz*, the traditional Prussian royal wedding dance performed by candlelight. As candelabras flickered, reflecting off the diamonds, emeralds, and medals of the enthralled guests, Victoria Louise danced with her father. The king of England and the tsar of Russia had the honor of dancing with her next. As radiant as the princess was that day, there were three women whose presence not only outshone the bride but also captured public attention. The three individuals in question were the highest-ranking women in the world at that time. They were the bride's mother, Augusta Victoria, German empress and queen of Prussia (1858–1921); Queen Mary of England, empress of India (1867–1953); and Tsarina Alexandra of Russia (1872–1918).

What was it about these women that caused such a stir? How did they manage to steal the spotlight at the biggest royal wedding of the decade? The wedding of Augusta Victoria's daughter marked the first and only time in history that these three women—the reigning consorts of three of Europe's four imperial powers—were together at the same time. Many historians have speculated what must have been going through their minds on that warm, sunny day in May 1913, for what would be the last gathering of the "royal mob" before the cataclysm of the First World War only fourteen months later. It is doubtful that they had any prescience about the disasters that lay ahead for each of them.

As I delved into the lives of the empress, the queen, and the tsarina, I could not help but reflect on what they each experienced as they stood witness to the decisive collapse of Europe's empires in the first half of the twentieth century. The rule of the tsars was brought to an end by the blood-soaked Russian Revolution in 1917, replaced with the equally repressive Soviet Union. The German Empire was dissolved and reorganized into a republic at the conclusion of the First World War in 1918. Without a doubt, Great Britain enjoyed the easiest—though by no means a bloodless—transition from a vast overseas empire to a commonwealth of nations, the provenance of which began at the Paris Peace Conference in 1919 and culminated after 1945. As I pondered these women's lives and their roles as the last empresses, my mind could not help but be drawn to the story of a lesser-known imperial consort whose life was just as impacting as her counterparts and whose legacy has made a profound impact on European affairs. This individual was Princess Zita of Bourbon-Parma, empress of Austria, queen of Hungary, Bohemia, Croatia, and so on (1892–1989). Her reign came to an end when Austria-Hungary, like Germany, collapsed in 1918. With Zita's life and experiences coming into focus, I undertook to write this, my latest book. It is the tumultuous story of Europe's imperial past, a story that will take readers from the opulent world of nineteenth-century royalty to the catastrophic Great War, the various revolutions that swept the continent in its aftermath, and the decades of instability that followed.

For almost a century, historians, academics, novelists, and journalists have intricately studied the end of the imperial era. Equally scrutinized have been the significant lives and reigns of the husbands of these women—King George V, Emperor Wilhelm II, and Tsar Nicholas II. Despite this incomparable body of literature, there has never been a book that looks at the women who sat on the thrones of these great empires. To that end, *Imperial Requiem* is a collective narrative of the destruction of Europe's four empires—Austria-Hungary, Germany, Great Britain, and Russia—the turbulent aftermath, and the birth of the modern world, all filtered through the experiences of the last women who ruled them.

**Comment [SE2]:** CMS 2.9 advises leaving a single character space, not two spaces, between sentences and after colons used within a sentence, and this recommendation applies both to the manuscript and the finished work. Other similar instances will be modified accordingly.

**Deleted:** -

**Deleted:** Zeppelin

**Comment [SE3]:** Per CMS 7.85, adjectival compounds with adverbs ending in *ly* + a participle or adjective are not hyphenated. Other similar instances will be modified accordingly.

**Comment [SE4]:** Capitalization modified per *Merriam-Webster's Collegiate Dictionary (MWCD)*. All other similar spelling/capitalization/hyphenation modifications are made in accordance with *MWCD*.

**Comment [SE5]:** Numerals (... [1])

**Formatted:** Not Small caps

**Deleted:** the

**Comment [SE6]:** Per CMS 9 (... [2])

**Deleted:** 1,200

**Comment [SE7]:** Per CMS 6 (... [3])

**Deleted:** ,

**Comment [SE8]:** Per CMS 8 (... [4])

**Comment [SE9]:** Per CMS 6 (... [5])

**Deleted:** Empress

**Deleted:** Queen

**Deleted:** —

**Deleted:** Empress

**Deleted:** —

**Deleted:** —

**Deleted:** by

**Deleted:** lesser

**Deleted:** ,

**Deleted:** Empress

**Deleted:** Queen

**Comment [SE10]:** Per CMS (... [6])

**Deleted:** etc

**Deleted:** —

**Deleted:** ,

**Comment [SE11]:** "Like" (it (... [7])

**Deleted:** ,

**Comment [SE12]:** Per CMS (... [8])

**Deleted:**

For all the political, diplomatic, and military factors that are brought to bear in this book, at its heart it remains the story of four extraordinary women. There were, of course, other imperial consorts who were contemporaries of these protagonists, consorts of whom it could be argued they were “the last.” However, my decision in choosing the empresses I did was deliberate. Initially, I had chosen to include Empress Eugénie, wife of Emperor Napoleon III, the last French monarch. Their deposition and exile in 1871 marked the permanent end of monarchy in France. After much thought, I chose to exclude Eugénie because there was a significant generational chasm between her and the other four women—she was already eighty-eight when World War I began, but her counterparts were relatively young women. There is also a generational gap between Zita and the other three. When she became empress, she and Augusta Victoria’s daughter were the same age, but her role in the destruction of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and subsequent European events in the postwar period were too significant to be overlooked.

**Comment [SE13]:** AU: This is a bit awkward and somewhat unclear; you may wish to consider rephrasing for clarity.

**Deleted:** will

I also chose to exclude Queen Mary’s daughter-in-law Queen Elizabeth, consort of King George VI. While technically she did become empress of India upon her husband’s accession in 1936, it was a title she was forced to relinquish upon Indian independence eleven years later. The four women I chose to write about never renounced any of their titles, styles, or honors. They each held to their imperial status until the day they died. Contrastingly, Mary of England rarely ever used her imperial title. She and the other consorts of British rulers almost exclusively referred to themselves as queens. Mary’s role as empress of India and her de facto position as imperial consort of the British Empire made her inclusion in this book an obvious choice. I also did briefly consider including the beautiful yet tragic Empress Elisabeth of Austria, Franz Joseph’s wife, who was assassinated in 1898, but she was not the last empress of Austria. Like Empress Eugénie, she did not have a place in the story of *Imperial Requiem*.

**Deleted:** ,

**Comment [SE14]:** Per CMS 5.195, correlative conjunctions are used in pair to form a complete thought. Therefore, please reserve *neither* for pairing with *nor* and vice versa. Other similar instances will be modified accordingly.

**Deleted:** Nor,

**Deleted:** I

**Deleted:** ,

**Deleted:** did

**Deleted:** ,

**Deleted:** ,

**Comment [SE15]:** Per CMS 8.31, titles of nobility do not denote offices. Whether inherited or conferred, they form an integral and, with rare exceptions, permanent part of a person’s name and are therefore usually capitalized. The generic element in a title, however (duke, earl, etc.), is lowercased when used alone as a short form of the name.

In this case, the capitalization may remain as is. Other similar instances will be respected.

**Deleted:** -

**Deleted:** Infanta

**Deleted:** s

Throughout their lives, mostly after marrying, these women stayed in contact with one another. Their husbands wrote to each other, passing along news between their wives. They visited one another, sometimes on official state visits, sometimes on private holidays, and often for royal weddings, which at that time seemed to occur at least once a year. Some of the empresses, like Alexandra and Mary, were fond of each other. In other cases, such as with Augusta Victoria and Alexandra, they loathed their counterparts. Along with their shared experiences as consorts, these women were also connected through bonds of family, both by blood and marriage. Augusta Victoria, Mary, and Alexandra all had ties to Queen Victoria. Augusta Victoria’s mother was Princess Adelheid of Hohenlohe-Langenburg, daughter of the queen’s elder half sister, and Frederick VIII, Duke of Schleswig-Holstein. Mary was the daughter of Princess Mary Adelaide of Cambridge, Queen Victoria’s cousin and a granddaughter of King George III, and Francis, Duke of Teck. Both Mary and Augusta Victoria would marry grandsons of the queen as well. Alexandra had a direct link with the British matriarch. Her parents were Princess Alice, Queen Victoria’s second daughter, and Grand Duke Louis IV of Hesse. Zita was on a peripheral orbit when it came to familial connections with her three counterparts. Her parents were the deposed Robert I, Duke of Parma, and the infanta Maria Antónia, one of Augusta Victoria’s second cousins.

Each of these women came to occupy one of the four imperial thrones spread across Europe. In the far corners, there was Great Britain in the west and Russia in the east, where Europe merges into Asia. In the center, Germany was situated in the north, occupying the land between France and Russia. The dual monarchy of Austria-Hungary stretched toward Russia in the east and into the Balkans in the south. The countries and courts that these princesses married into bore striking similarities in spite of their differences, which could also be said of the women themselves. By the late nineteenth century, every European nation was governed by hereditary royalty, save for France and Switzerland. These royal states saw the rest of the globe as a frenzied game of imperialist conquest, with every Great Power scrambling to build an empire, both at home and overseas. This invariably led to conflicts, especially between Britain, Germany, and Russia, who were each struggling to become the ultimate power. But what drove these imperial monarchies? Why was it so important for them to be set apart as empires? One modern historian answered these questions this way:

[In] the 1870s, Britain and Russia, along with the other Western Great Powers, had launched themselves into a violent phase of territorial acquisition, carving up the globe beyond Europe into colonies and “spheres of influence.” There are many complex and conflicting arguments as to why the (mostly) Western, (relatively) developed powers all decided they needed an empire: the natural evolution of global power politics made it inevitable that the few rich, militarily superior, technologically developed powers would dominate and exploit the other, more “backward,” weak territories; the need of the industrialized nations for raw materials,

and for new places to put their capital; a sense of fierce competition among the Great Powers and a perception that new territories were the way to steal a march on their competitors. All these aspects played their role.<sup>1</sup>

**Comment [SE16]:** AU: Please confirm the accuracy of this and all other quoted material as per your sources. Editor will correct or annotate only obvious or questionable portions of quoted material.

These ideas were critical factors in the events that shaped Europe in the decades leading up to 1914. They also fueled the leaders who instigated the First World War. As we will see, in the end, it proved to be the imperial ambition itself that helped bring these empires down.

\* \* \*

When I began writing this book in 2009, the issues I encountered were legion. Along with the normal burdens an author carries, I also found myself shouldering the legacy of my first book, *In Destiny's Hands*—an account of the five reigning children of Empress Maria Theresa. In the months that followed that book's release, I was contacted by several readers who expressed concerns over the accuracy of the facts I presented. There are many factors an author has to take into account when writing nonfiction.

Deleted: -

Deleted:

Deleted: were

In compiling a biographical narrative, one always tries to use as many primary sources as possible—direct quotes from protagonists or contemporaries are an author's favorite source. But even into the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, contemporary accounts of people or events have not always been trustworthy. They can be biased, hyperbolic, misleading, or all of the above. One witness may have recorded a series of events one way, but another witness may have had a totally different recollection of the exact same event. It can be challenging for an author to discern which piece of information is most accurate. More than once was I forced to make a judgment call when sources were vague or contradictory.

**Comment [SE17]:** Per CMS 5.46, a singular antecedent requires a referent pronoun. That is, the use of the singular "they" is discouraged. Use of the traditional, formal *he or she, him or her, and himself or herself* can be functional if used sparingly. Another option is to recast the sentence entirely. Other similar instances will be modified accordingly.

Deleted: non-fiction

Deleted: their

Deleted: non-fiction

Another important consideration is the concept of publishable materials. In this age when media is pervasive, information has never been more accessible than through the Internet. I received several correspondences from readers citing a fact on a website or forum that contradicted information I had presented. Simply because a piece of information is widely disseminated does not make it accurate. Furthermore, when a nonfiction author submits his or her manuscript, publishers and editors often examine the bibliography to ensure that credible sources are used. Websites—with exceptions, such as governmental, official, or academic—are rarely acceptable.

**Comment [SE18]:** Per CMS 13.19, unless introduced by *thus, as follows*, or other wording that requires a colon, a block quotation may be preceded by a period rather than a colon. Other similar instances will be modified accordingly.

Deleted: non-fiction

Deleted: :

None of these are excuses for poor nonfiction. Authors have a responsibility to present the facts, ideally without bias. Professor Abbas Milani of Stanford University aptly describes the writing process and the challenges faced by nonfiction authors in his latest book, *The Shah*.

**Comment [SE19]:** Per CMS 13.51, a period is added *before* an ellipsis to indicate the omission of the end of a sentence, unless the sentence is deliberately incomplete. Other similar instances will be modified accordingly.

Deleted: .

Though books often have the name of one person as their author, they are invariably a collective effort—every conversation, every question, every book or essay we read, every criticism, fair or unfair, that we encounter, combine to shape our vision and words and leave indelible marks on any narrative we form. I have made every effort to reduce the affects of these influences to a minimum and allow the facts, reflected first and foremost in primary documents, to speak for themselves.<sup>1</sup>

There is an element of hubris in biography as a genre. It claims to illuminate the dark corners and the infinite complexities in the life of an individual [or individuals], a life invariably shaped by concentric influences, dreams, dreams, and pressures. . . . Any narrative of a life entails a constant process of cutting, encapsulating, eliminating, glossing, and sometimes surmising. A good biography is not one that forgoes these choices, but one that makes them without any priori assumptions and in the humble recognition that the search for the truth of a life is ever-exclusive, yet never bereft of interest.<sup>2</sup>

**Comment [SE20]:** AU: Do you perhaps mean *a priori* or *prior* here?

Deleted: -

With this in the forefront of my mind, and coupled with my goal to improve upon those areas of *In Destiny's Hands* that came under scrutiny, I have written *Imperial Requiem: Four Royal Women and the Fall of the Age of Empires*. I have done my best to wean out hyperbole without compromising the narrative epic, to present the facts on their own merit, and to discern proven facts, evidentially supported

hypotheses, and reported but unsubstantiated claims in the hopes of showing every side of these women—their strengths, their weaknesses, their quirks, and even their contradictions. It is my desire that readers will see them as more than just two-dimensional women without depth or gradation. If that happens, I think I will have succeeded in my goal and done these incomparable individuals justice. Whether readers judge them as successful or failures as women, wives, mothers, and empresses, no one can deny the incredible impact they each have had. Their tales of duty, self-sacrifice, and inspiration are part of the special legacies they have left behind.

## Introduction

<sup>1</sup> Miranda Carter, *George, Nicholas and Wilhelm: Three Royal Cousins and the Road to World War I* (New York: Knopf, 2009), p. 65.

<sup>2</sup> Abbas Milani, *The Shah* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), pp. vi–vii.

Deleted: -

## Part 1: Unlikely Empresses (1858–1894)

Deleted: —

### 1: Imperial Forge

Deleted: 1901

<sup>1</sup> The title *hereditary prince* was commonly used to denote the heir of a sovereign dukedom, the ducal equivalent of a crown prince. On more than one occasion it was used for the heir to a kingdom when the succession was in question.

Formatted: Font: Italic

<sup>2</sup> John Van der Kiste, *Queen Victoria's Children* (Stroud, Gloucester: The History Press, 2009), p. 27.

Deleted: ;

<sup>3</sup> Prince Ernest was one of many sovereign princes who were *mediatized*, or dispossessed of his realm, when Napoleon reorganized Europe in 1806. Ernest I and others like him were allowed to hold on to their titles and rank, but they no longer actually had a sovereign territory to govern.

Deleted: mediatised

<sup>4</sup> Queen Victoria to Princess Feodora of Leiningen, January 6, 1853, in *Queen Victoria: A Personal History*, [Christopher Hibbert](#) (London: HarperCollins, 2010), p. 263.

Deleted: Christopher Hibbert,

<sup>5</sup> David Bagular, *Napoleon III and His Regime: An Extravaganza* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2000), p. 218.

Deleted: , LA

<sup>6</sup> Michael of Kent, *Crowned in a Far Country: Portraits of Eight Royal Brides* (New York: Touchstone Books, 2007), p. 116.

Deleted: H.R.H. Princess

<sup>7</sup> Gillian Gill, *We Two—Victoria and Albert: Rulers, Partners, Rivals* (New York: Ballantine Books, 2009), pp. 95–96.

Deleted: -

<sup>8</sup> Hibbert, *Queen Victoria*, p. 281.

<sup>9</sup> Gill, *We Two*, p. 98.

<sup>10</sup> Robert K. Massie, *Dreadnought: Britain, Germany, and the Coming of the Great War* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1991), p. 57.

<sup>11</sup> Daphne Bennett, *Vicky: Princess Royal of England and German Empress* (London: Collins & Harvill Press, 1971), p. 212.

<sup>12</sup> Prince Francis of Teck to Princess Amélie of Teck, December 4, 1867, in *Queen Mary: 1867–1953* (London: Alfred A. Knopf, 1960), [James Pope-Hennessy](#), p. 7. The date given by Pope-Hennessy may be incorrect, since he claims it was written in the April before Princess May was born.

Deleted: James Pope-Hennessy,

Deleted: —

<sup>13</sup> Statement of Dr. Arthur Farre and Edward H. Hills, May 27, 1867, in *Her Royal Highness Princess Mary Adelaide Duchess of Teck: Based on Her Private Diaries and Letters*, (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1900), [ed. C. Kinloch Cook](#), vol. 2, p. 1.

Deleted: Ltd.,

Deleted: th

<sup>14</sup> David Duff, *Queen Mary* (London: Collins, 1985), p. 26.

Deleted: C. Kinloch Cook, ed.,

<sup>15</sup> Pope-Hennessy, *Queen Mary*, p. 23.

Deleted: , vol. II

<sup>16</sup> Kathleen Woodward, *Queen Mary: A Life and Intimate Study* (London: Hutchinson, n.d.), p. 18.

Deleted: & Co.

<sup>17</sup> Letter of Princess Mary Adelaide of Cambridge, undated, in *Her Royal Highness*, [Cook](#), p. 415.

Deleted: Cook, ed.,

<sup>18</sup> On its own merits, the request had precedent. When Queen Victoria's third daughter, Princess Helena, was married in 1866 to Prince Christian of Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Augustenburg (Dona Holstein's uncle), the queen elevated the groom to the rank and style of Royal Highness from the vastly inferior Serene Highness; and their children bore the style of Highness. In Francis Teck's case, the queen rightly feared that an elevation would set a dangerous precedent. Any of her numerous relatives could marry without concern for the monarchy or foreign policy and then expect the queen to elevate their spouses in the same way she may have elevated Francis.

Deleted: ,

<sup>19</sup> Queen Victoria to Princess Mary Adelaide of Teck, May 18, 1866, in *Queen Mary*, [Pope-Hennessy](#), p. 25.

Deleted: Pope-Hennessy,

<sup>20</sup> The calculation is based upon [http://www.measuringworth.com/calculators/exchange/result\\_exchange.php](http://www.measuringworth.com/calculators/exchange/result_exchange.php) (viewed on April 14, 2011). It is also interesting to note that Queen Victoria, upon the marriage of her daughter Louise a few years later, requested she receive a stipend of only £6,000 per year.

<sup>21</sup> Queen Victoria to Victoria, German Crown Princess, April 15, 1874, in *Queen Mary*, [Pope-Hennessy](#), p. 29.

Deleted: Pope-Hennessy,

<sup>22</sup> Woodward, *Queen Mary*, p. 30.

<sup>23</sup> Viktoria Luise, Duchess of Brunswick and Lüneburg, Princess of Prussia, *The Kaiser's Daughter*, trans. and ed. Robert Vacha (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1977), p. 53. The accuracy of Viktoria Luise's memoirs has been called into question, since she makes certain claims that are contradicted by independent sources. In cases where her recollections are contradicted by common knowledge, the other sources are used for clarification.

Deleted: ,

Deleted: ,

Deleted: ,

<sup>24</sup> An important addition to this is the fact that the formation of the German Empire did not necessarily elevate the Hohenzollerns to the status of an "imperial family." While the monarch and his crown prince bore imperial rank and style, the rest of the Hohenzollerns continued to only be entitled to use the royal titles of Prussia. Going forward, the Hohenzollerns as a whole will be referred to as the Prussian royal family, distinguishing them from the emperor, empress, crown prince, and crown princess.

Deleted: ,

Deleted: Inc.,

<sup>25</sup> Clark, *Kaiser Wilhelm II: A Life in Power* (Kobo desktop version, 2009: retrieved from <http://www.kobobooks.com>), [chap. 2](#), para. 1.

Deleted: ,

<sup>26</sup> The Ernestine duchies are a number of Saxon duchies whose founders were the various sons of Ernest, Elector of Saxony (1441–1486). There had been almost two dozen of these states since the fifteenth century, but the ones that still existed in 1871 were Saxe-Altenburg, Saxe-Meiningen, Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, and Saxe-Weimar-Eisenach.

Deleted: Chapter

Deleted: —

<sup>27</sup> Clark, *Kaiser Wilhelm II* (Kobo desktop version), [chap. 2](#), para. 4.

<sup>28</sup> Hesse was known after 1816 as Hesse and by the Rhine. Up until 1866, it was also more commonly referred to as Hesse-Darmstadt to distinguish it from the northern state of Hesse-Cassel. For the sake of brevity, from this point forward the state—and its royals—will be referred to simply as Hesse.

<sup>29</sup> Matthew Dennison, *The Last Princess: The Devoted Life of Queen Victoria's Youngest Daughter* (London: Weudebfeld & Nicolson, 2007), p. 50.

<sup>30</sup> Hibbert, *Queen Victoria*, p. 441.

<sup>31</sup> Robert K. Massie, *Nicholas and Alexandra* (New York: Atheneum, 1967), p. 29.

<sup>32</sup> Sophie Buxhoeveden, *The Life and Tragedy of Alexandra Feodorovna, Empress of Russia* (London: Longmans, Green, 1928), p. 15.

<sup>33</sup> Catrine Clay, *King, Kaiser, Tsar: Three Royal Cousins Who Led the World to War* (New York: Walker, 2006), p. 111.

<sup>34</sup> Princess Alice of Hesse to Queen Victoria, undated, 1873, in *Alice, Grand Duchess of Hesse, Princess of Great Britain and Ireland* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1885), ed. Karl Sell, p. 313.

<sup>35</sup> Van der Kiste, *Queen Victoria's Children*, p. 28.

<sup>1</sup> Geoffrey Wakeford, *Three Consort Queens: Adelaide, Alexandra & Mary* (London: Robert Hale, 1971), p. 158.

<sup>2</sup> Gelardi, *Born to Rule*, p. 8.

<sup>3</sup> Woodward, *Queen Mary*, p. 52.

**2: "Sleeping Beauty!"**

<sup>4</sup> Dennison, *The Last Princess*, p. 51.

<sup>5</sup> David Duff, *Hessian Tapestry* (London: Frederick Muller, 1967), p. 121.

<sup>6</sup> Massie, *Nicholas and Alexandra*, p. 29.

<sup>7</sup> Coryne Hall, *Little Mother of Russia: A Biography of Empress Marie Feodorovna* (Teaneck, NJ: Holmes & Meier, 2001), p. 151.

<sup>8</sup> Alice, Grand Duchess of Hesse, to Queen Victoria, March 23, 1877, in *Alice, Grand Duchess of Hesse*, ed. Sell, pp. 359–360.

<sup>9</sup> Alice, Grand Duchess of Hesse, to Queen Victoria, June 6, 1877, in *ibid.*, p. 362.

<sup>10</sup> Van der Kiste, *Queen Victoria's Children*, p. 107.

<sup>11</sup> Julia P. Gelardi, *In Triumph's Wake: Royal Mothers, Tragic Daughters, and the Price They Paid for Glory* (New York: Saint Martin's Press, 2008), p. 292.

<sup>12</sup> Packard, *Victoria's Daughters*, p. 167.

<sup>13</sup> Mary Adelaide, Duchess of Teck, to the Countess of Hopetown, December 17, 1878, in *Her Royal Highness*, Cook, vol. 2, p. 105.

<sup>14</sup> Queen Victoria to Princess Victoria of Hesse, December 14, 1878, in *Advice to a Grand-daughter: Letters from Queen Victoria to Princess Victoria of Hesse* (London: Heinemann, 1975), ed. Richard Hough, p. 9.

<sup>15</sup> Gelardi, *Born to Rule*, p. 8.

<sup>16</sup> Mary Adelaide, Duchess of Teck, to the Dowager Countess of Aylesford, January 17, 1879, in *Her Royal Highness*, Cook, vol. 2, p. 105.

<sup>17</sup> Princess Beatrice to Mary Adelaide, Duchess of Teck, January 22, 1879, in *The Last Princess*, Dennison, p. 120.

<sup>18</sup> Mary Adelaide, Duchess of Teck, to Lady Elizabeth Biddulph, February 25, 1879, in *ibid.*, p. 107.

<sup>19</sup> Buxhoeveden, *Alexandra Feodorovna*, pp. 8, 12.

<sup>20</sup> Carolly Erickson, *Alexandra: The Last Tsarina* (New York: Saint Martin's Press, 2001), p. 18.

<sup>21</sup> Buxhoeveden, *Alexandra Feodorovna*, p. 111.

<sup>22</sup> Packard, *Victoria's Daughters*, p. 286.

<sup>23</sup> Buxhoeveden, *Alexandra Feodorovna*, p. 110.

<sup>24</sup> Gelardi, *Born to Rule*, p. 13.

<sup>25</sup> Marie Bothmer, *Sovereign Ladies of Europe* (London: Kessinger, 2005), p. 198.

<sup>26</sup> Marguerite Cunliffe-Owen, *Imperator et Rex: William II. of Germany* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1904), p. 52.

<sup>27</sup> Axel von Schwering, *The Berlin Court Under William II* (London: Cassell, 1915), p. 57.

<sup>28</sup> Bothmer, *Sovereign Ladies*, p. 199.

<sup>29</sup> Bothmer, *Sovereign Ladies*, p. 199.

<sup>30</sup> Hibbert, *Queen Victoria*, p. 443.

<sup>31</sup> Ursula von Eppinghoven, *Private Lives of the Kaiser and Kaiserin of Germany: Secret History of the Court of Berlin* (New York: Henry W. Fischer, 1909), vol. 1, pp. 180–181.

<sup>32</sup> Victoria, German Crown Princess, to Prince Wilhelm of Prussia, May 7, 1878, in *Young Wilhelm: The Kaiser's Early Life, 1859–1888*, trans. Jeremy Gaines & Rebecca Wallach (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998), John S. C. Röhl, p. 330.

<sup>33</sup> Cunliffe-Owen, *Imperator et Rex*, pp. 53–54.

<sup>34</sup> Prince Wilhelm of Prussia to Frederick VIII, Duke of Schleswig-Holstein, undated, 1879, in *Young Wilhelm*, Röhl, p. 337.

<sup>35</sup> Röhl, *Young Wilhelm*, p. 349.

<sup>36</sup> Karl Shaw, *Royal Babylon: The Alarming History of European Royalty* (Kobo desktop version, 2011: retrieved from <http://www.kobobooks.com>), [chap. 5](#), para 42.

Deleted: Chapter

Deleted: ,

Deleted: Baroness

Deleted: & Co.

Deleted: & Company

Deleted: Karl Sell, ed.,

Deleted: & London

Deleted: Sell, ed.,

Deleted: -

Formatted: Font: Not Italic

Deleted: For

Deleted: .

Deleted: Cook, ed.,

Deleted: vol. II,

Deleted: Richard, Hough, ed.,

Deleted: Cook, ed.,

Deleted: II

Deleted: Dennison,

Formatted: Font: Not Italic

Deleted: .

Deleted: & London

Deleted: Count

Deleted: et al

Deleted: & Company, Ltd.

Deleted: Berlin Court Under Wilhelm II,

Deleted: Countess

Deleted: , vol. I

Deleted: -

Deleted: John S.C. Röhl,

Deleted: —

Deleted: -

Deleted: Röhl,

Deleted: Chapter