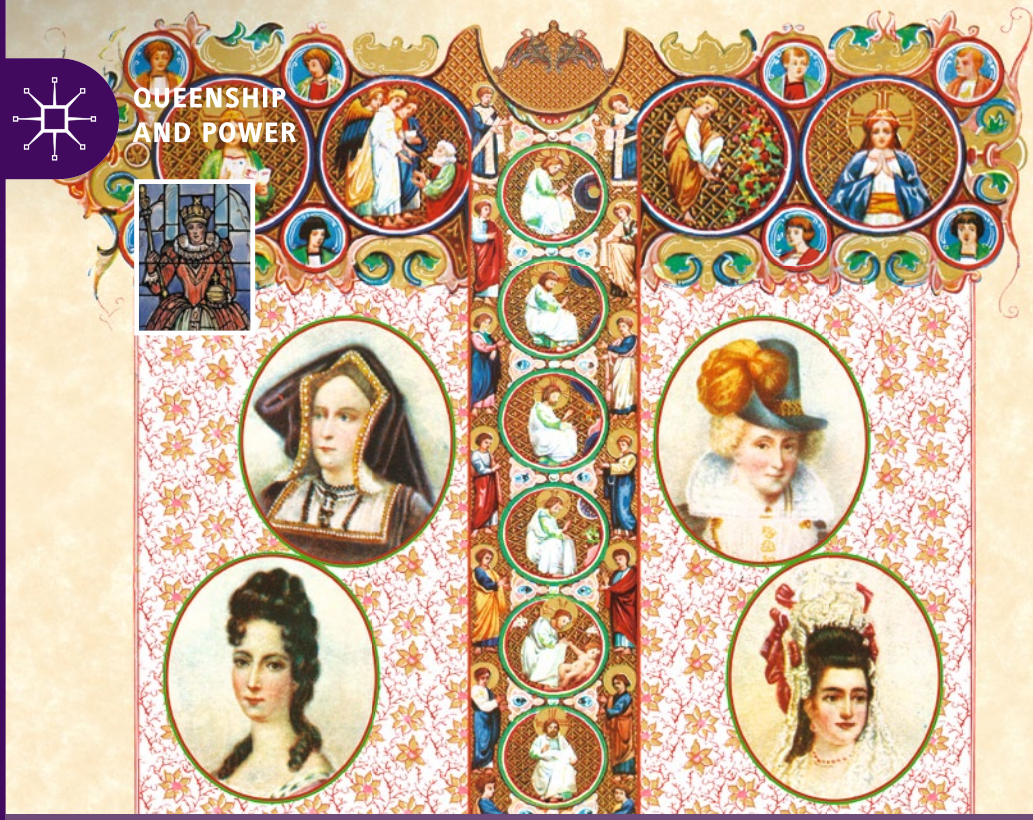
QUEENSHIP AND POWER



Tudor and Stuart Consorts

Power, Influence, and Dynasty

Edited by
Aidan Norrie · Carolyn Harris
J.L. Laynesmith · Danna R. Messer
Elena Woodacre

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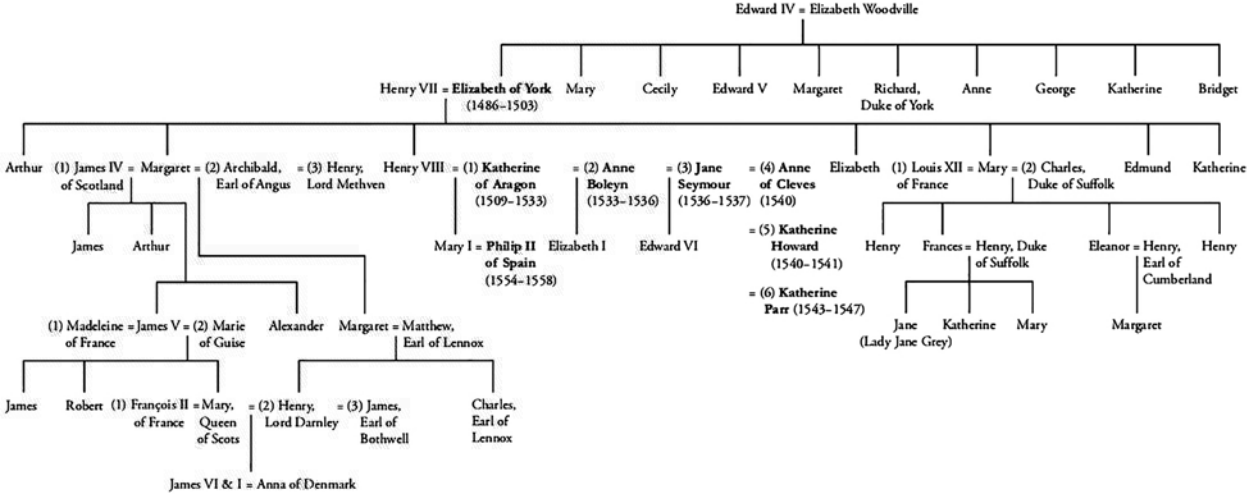
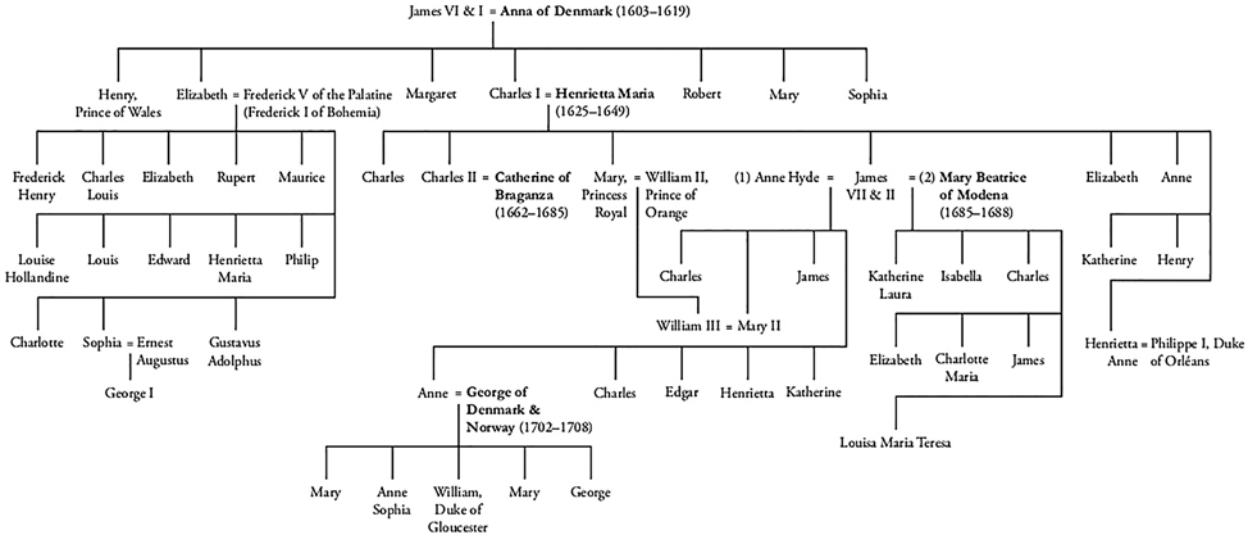

Edward IV = Elizabeth Woodville
Henry VII = Elizabeth of York (1486–1503)
Mary
Cecily
Edward V
Margaret
Richard, Duke of York
Anne
George
Katherine
Bridget
Arthur
(1) James IV of Scotland = Margaret
= (2) Archibald, Earl of Angus
= (3) Henry, Lord Methven
Henry VIII
= (1) Katherine of Aragon (1509–1533)
= (2) Anne Boleyn (1533–1536)
= (3) Jane Seymour (1536–1537)
= (4) Anne of Cleves (1540)
= (5) Katherine Howard (1540–1541)
= (6) Katherine Parr (1543–1547)
Elizabeth
(1) Louis XII of France = Mary
= (2) Charles, Duke of Suffolk
Edmund
Katherine
James
Arthur
Mary I = Philip II of Spain (1554–1558)
Elizabeth I
Edward VI
Henry
Frances = Henry, Duke of Suffolk
Eleanor = Henry, Earl of Cumberland
Henry
Jane (Lady Jane Grey)
Katherine
Mary
Margaret
(1) Madeleine of France = James V = (2) Marie of Guise
Alexander
Margaret = Matthew, Earl of Lennox
James
Robert
(1) François II of France = Mary, Queen of Scots
= (2) Henry, Lord Darnley
= (3) James, Earl of Bothwell
Charles, Earl of Lennox
James VI & I = Anna of Denmark


James VI & I = Anna of Denmark (1603–1619)
Henry, Prince of Wales
Elizabeth = Frederick V of the Palatine (Frederick I of Bohemia)
Margaret
Charles I = Henrietta Maria (1625–1649)
Robert
Mary
Sophia
Frederick Henry
Charles Louis
Elizabeth
Rupert
Maurice
Louise Hollandine
Louis
Edward
Henrietta Maria
Philip
Charlotte
Sophia = Ernest Augustus
Gustavus Adolphus
George I
Charles
Charles II = Catherine of Braganza (1662–1685)
Mary, Princess Royal
= William II, Prince of Orange
(1) Anne Hyde =
James VII & II
= (2) Mary Beatrice of Modena (1685–1688)
Elizabeth
Anne
Charles
James
William III = Mary II
Katherine Laura
Isabella
Charles
Elizabeth
Charlotte Maria
James
Louisa Maria Teresa
Katherine
Henry
Henrietta Anne = Philippe I, Duke of Orléans
Anne = George of Denmark & Norway (1702–1708)
Charles
Edgar
Henrietta
Katherine
Mary
Anne Sophia
William, Duke of Gloucester
Mary
George

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This project has been many years in the making, and I am so very delighted that the hard work of our contributors can finally make its way out into the world. Along the way, I have incurred a number of debts, and I am grateful for the support and encouragement from a number of people, including Nikki Clark, Mitchell Gould, Katarzyna Kosior, Esther van Raamsdonk, Mike Rose, and Jayne Sweet. I am also very grateful for the expert editorial assistance provided by Luke Holloway, as well as his general enthusiasm for the project. Finally, I thank Joseph Massey, my unofficial co-editor of this volume, for reading chapter drafts, co-writing the introduction with me, saving me from my Anglo-centrism, and for being on hand to discuss various aspects of both the volume and the project more generally.

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Lastly, I thank my valiant and indefatigable co-editors, who enthusiastically agreed to work with me on this project (a project that ended up consuming their lives for a significant amount of time), and whose insight, patience, and camaraderie has made this project much stronger than it might otherwise have been.

Aidan Norrie

Praise for *Tudor and Stuart Consorts*

"These readable and incisive essays bring to life the astonishing range of consorts in the Tudor and Stuart periods, including the six wives of Henry VIII, two foreign princes, and even the wives of Oliver Cromwell and his son. Consorts' fertility (or lack of it) shaped national stories, but this collection shows that they mattered in other ways too and how they contributed to the political, cultural, and religious life of England and Scotland."

—Lisa Hopkins, *Sheffield Hallam University, UK*

Contents

Notes on Contributors

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identity through an ecocritical and spatial lens. Her work routinely straddles the boundary between literature and history; she is also interested more widely in the literature, history, and culture of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century England.

Julie Farguson is a college lecturer at St Hilda's College, Oxford. She is a historian of early modern Britain (*c.*1660–*c.*1750) and its interactions with Europe, with a particular interest in the interplay between the visual and politics. She is the author of articles and essays on this subject in the later Stuart period as well as a monograph, *Visualising Protestant Monarchy: Ceremony, Art and Politics after the Glorious Revolution, 1689–1714* (2021).

Jemma Field is Associate Director of Research at the Yale Center for British Art. A specialist in Jacobean England and Scotland, her first book—*Anna of Denmark: The Material and Visual Culture of the Stuart Courts, 1589–1619*—was published by Manchester University Press in 2020. Her current research examines the relationship between the Stuart court and London's mercantile and artisanal communities.

Mitchell Gould is an independent scholar based in Toronto, Canada. He completed his Master of Arts in History at Queen's University with a thesis that examined the use of Jews and Jerusalem in early modern English sermons and Catholic texts. His current area of interest examines the references and influences on the Jewish textual tradition during the English Reformation.

Carolyn Harris is an instructor in History at the University of Toronto School of Continuing Studies. She received her PhD in History from Queen's University at Kingston in 2012. Carolyn is the author *Magna Carta and Its Gifts to Canada* (2015); *Queenship and Revolution in Early Modern Europe: Henrietta Maria and Marie Antoinette* (2015), which won the 2016 *Royal Studies Journal* book prize; and *Raising Royalty: 1000 Years of Royal Parenting* (2017).

Courtney Herber holds a PhD in history from the University of Nebraska-Lincoln, specialising in Medieval and Renaissance Studies. Her doctoral project focused on the roles performed by foreign-born early modern English consorts in the Tudor and early Stuart periods and how networking, ritual, and intercession were necessary for the maintenance of monarchical power in the period. She is also interested in the posthumous representation of historical figures on the stage and in modern popular culture.

Emelye Keyser recently completed her PhD in early modern English and Scottish literature at the University of Virginia, where she also teaches first-year writing and introductory literature courses. She has written on Shakespeare, political theory, utopian studies, the environment, and the Scottish court; her favourite author from the period is King James VI & I.

Samuel Lane is a doctoral student at Christ Church College, Oxford. His doctoral research considers the bishops of fourteenth-century England, but he also has broader interests in English political, military, and religious history from the Norman Conquest to the Henrician Reformation.

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Lloyd Llewellyn-Jones is Professor of Ancient History at Cardiff University. He has major research interests in monarchy, court society, dress history, gender, and sexuality. He has published extensively on courts in the ancient world, but has strong interests in early modern European history too. He is currently writing *Anne Hyde and Mary Beatrice of Modena: Wives of James II, the Last Catholic Consorts*, which will be published in Routledge's Lives of Royal Women series.

Joseph Massey was born and raised in Carlisle, Cumbria, and is passionate about his native county's heritage and landscape. He studied history and history of art at Oxford, Edinburgh, and Manchester Metropolitan universities, focusing on the monarchy of sixteenth-century Scotland and Jacobean Britain. Joseph completed an apprenticeship in Collections Management at the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, and has worked or volunteered at numerous museums, galleries, and historic sites across Cumbria.

Danna R. Messer is a specialist in Welsh queenship in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and is the author of *Joan, Lady of Wales: Power and Politics of King John's Daughter* (2021). She works for Arc Humanities

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Aidan Norrie is Lecturer in History and Programme Leader at University Campus North Lincolnshire and the Managing Editor of *The London Journal.* Aidan is the author of *Elizabeth I and the Old Testament: Biblical Analogies and Providential Rule* (2023), and has co-edited several collections, including *Women on the Edge in Early Modern Europe* (2019; with Lisa Hopkins), and *From Medievalism to Early-Modernism: Adapting the English Past* (2019; with Marina Gerzic).

Stephanie Russo is Associate Professor in the Department of English at Macquarie University, Australia. She has published extensively on women's historical fiction and women's writing of the early modern period, and has focused particularly on representations of monarchy, revolution, fashion, and marriage. She is the author of *The Afterlife of Anne Boleyn: Representations of Anne Boleyn in Fiction and on the Screen* (2020) and *Women in Revolutionary Debate: Female Novelists from Burney to Austen* (2012).

Valerie Schutte has published widely on royal Tudor women, book dedications, and queenship. She has published two monographs: *Mary I and the Art of Book Dedications: Royal Women, Power, and Persuasion* (2015) and *Princesses Mary and Elizabeth Tudor and the Gift Book Exchange* (2021). She has edited or co-edited six volumes on Mary I, Shakespeare, and queenship, and has more under contract. She is currently working on a cultural biography of Anne of Cleves.

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Abbreviations

Add.	Additional
BL	The British Library, London
BnF	The Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris
CSP	*Calendar of State Papers*
HMSO	His / Her Majesty's Stationery Office
L&P	*Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII*
MS	manuscript
ODNB	*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online edition
SP	State Papers
STC	*A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, and Ireland and of English Books Printed Abroad 1475–1640*, ed. by A.W. Pollard and G.R. Redgrave, rev. by W.A. Jackson, F.S. Ferguson, and K.F. Pantzer (London: Bibliographic Society, 1976–1991).
TNA	The National Archives, Kew
Wing	*Short-title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales, and British America, and of English Books Printed in Other Countries, 1641–1700*, ed. by Donald Wing (New York: Modern Language Association of America, 1972–1988).

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Preface

Royal consorts have played an important role throughout English (and British) history. Yet, their lives and tenures have been treated unevenly by successive generations of scholars and popular historians. This volume, along with its three companions, aims to redress this uneven treatment.

As the success of the *Penguin Monarchs* series has shown, there is much interest in more analytical biographies of royals—for academics and interested readers alike. While the last two decades have seen the publication of a plethora of both scholarly and popular biographies on England's consorts, there is no single, scholarly compendium wherein all the consorts since the Norman Conquest can be consulted: it is this curious lacuna that these volumes seek to fill. In bringing together an international team of experts, we have endeavoured to create a vital reference work for scholars, students, and the wider public.

While all consorts held an equal position—that is, they were all spouses of a reigning monarch—their treatment by both history and historians has varied considerably. Some, like Eleanor of Aquitaine, Margaret of Anjou, Anne Boleyn, and Prince Albert, have been the subject of countless biographies, articles, and cultural works and adaptations. On the other hand, non-experts could be forgiven for not being aware of Berengaria of Navarre, Isabella of Valois, Catherine of Braganza, or Adelaide of Saxe-Meiningen. Certainly, the surviving evidence for the tenures of each consort differs greatly, and other factors must be examined—it is no coincidence that each of these four 'unfamiliar' consorts was not the mother of their husband's successor. Nevertheless, these volumes treat the consorts as equitably as possible, offering biographies that provide an

insight into how each consort perceived and shaped their role, and how their spouse and subjects responded to their reign. While all occupying the same office, each consort brought their own interpretation to the role, and by contextualising a consort's tenure against both their predecessors and successors, these volumes illuminate some fascinating continuities, as well as some unexpected idiosyncrasies.

In putting these volumes together, numerous—and sometimes competing—factors were carefully considered. On the one hand, we erred on the side of inclusivity throughout, hence the inclusion of Margaret of France, Elizabeth Cromwell, and Dorothy Cromwell—the wives of Henry the Young King, and Lords Protector Oliver Cromwell and Richard Cromwell, respectively. There can be no doubt that these women all functioned as a consort in the 'traditional' sense of the term during their husband's period in power. Conversely, we have not included Geoffrey V, Count of Anjou, or Guilford Dudley—husbands of Empress Matilda and Lady Jane Grey, respectively. There is much more to be said on the issue of monarchical succession in England: scholars especially still have yet to really come to terms with how to conceptualise the succession when it deviates from the 'ideal'—that is, when the deceased king (yes, king) was succeeded by his eldest son. The absence of Geoffrey and Dudley here should not be taken as an endorsement of the view that their wives did not rule England: rather, we acknowledge that regardless of the political power their wives wielded, they themselves did not function as consorts to their wives. It is for this reason, and this reason alone, that they do not appear within these pages. These men certainly supported their wives—indeed, much more could be said about the 'soft power' they exercised—but like Sophia Dorothea of Celle and Wallis Simpson, they themselves did not serve as the consort of a reigning monarch.

In addition to the biographies of the consorts, the volumes contain several thematic essays, which present cutting-edge research on specific groups of consorts, showing the value in considering them both individually and collectively. Such chapters are an important corrective to older, and in some places still engrained, notions that because most consorts were women, they were only concerned with producing heirs, gossiping, embroidery, and courtly entertainments. Such views, thankfully, are no longer in the mainstream, due particularly to the burgeoning work in the field of queenship studies. As these thematic essays and the biographies themselves show, a successful consort had to juggle multiple roles, including shrewd financial management, effectively overseeing diplomacy and

court intrigue, dealing with political upheaval, balancing the needs of their natal family against those of the English monarchy, and of course navigating pregnancy and childbearing—all the while ensuring that they retained good relationships with their spouse and their subjects. These chapters all demonstrate—to varying degrees—that a 'successful' reign as monarch often correlated with a consort who was able to successfully juggle the diverse roles expected of them.

The women and men whose lives are detailed in the following pages occupied a unique position at the side of their spouse. While the roles, rights, and privileges of a monarch have been understood and largely defined (although of course these have been fiercely debated and contested), the position of their consort has, and continues to be, far less regularised, and much more nebulous. These biographies show that a monarch's consort could have a profound effect on the nation—for both good or ill—and that the role was ultimately shaped by its incumbent in ways far more significant than have been previously recognised.

Aidan Norrie

CHAPTER 1

The Tudor and Stuart Consorts: Power, Influence, Dynasty

Aidan Norrie and Joseph Massey

In the preface to the fourth edition of her famous *Lives of the Queens of England*, Agnes Strickland offered an astute observation on queenship:

> The queens of England were not the shadowy queens of tragedy or romance, to whom imaginary words and deeds could be imputed to suit a purpose. They were the queens of real life, who exercised their own free will in the words they spoke, the parts they performed, the influence they exercised, [and] the letters they wrote.[1]

[1] Agnes Strickland [and Elizabeth Strickland], *Lives of the Queens of England, From the Norman Conquest*, 4th ed., 8 vols. (London, 1854), 1:xvi.

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Strickland has been (justifiably) criticised for the various interjections, judgements, and opinions that are strewn throughout her biographies, especially given their obvious contradiction to her maxim, "'Facts, not opinions,' should be the historian's motto."[2] Nevertheless, this observation about the role of a queen consort remains relevant to scholars today, and we hope that this volume, along with its companions, emphasises the important duality of premodern consortship, when the personal and the political were publicly and powerfully intertwined. As Queen Clarisse told her granddaughter Mia in *The Princess Diaries* (2001), "People think princesses are supposed to wear tiaras, marry the prince, always look pretty and live happily ever after. But it's so much more than that. It's a real job"—and nowhere was this more true than in premodern monarchies, where the monarch was intimately involved in the nation's governance.[3]

Strickland also made an interesting observation concerning the relative 'fame' of England's royal consorts: "The personal histories of the Anglo-Norman, several of the Plantagenet, and even two or three of the Tudor and Stuart queen-consorts, were involved in scarcely less obscurity than those of their British and Anglo-Saxon predecessors."[4] Despite being penned in 1854, this observation is still valid today: Elizabeth of York, Catherine of Braganza, and Mary Beatrice of Modena (to say nothing of George of Denmark) still do not have the popular profiles of their fellow consorts Katherine of Aragon, Anne Boleyn, and Henrietta Maria. This imbalance is perhaps because, barring a few notable exceptions, the Tudor and Stuart consorts are seldom considered together in a thematic or comparative way.[5] There are joint biographies of some of the queens—especially the wives of Henry VIII—but these often pit the consorts against one another, especially in the Katherine of Aragon/Anne Boleyn/Jane Seymour saga, and they generally do not dwell on the role of a consort.

[2] Strickland, *Lives of the Queens of England*, 1:xi.

[3] *The Princess Diaries*, dir. Garry Marshall (Walt Disney Pictures, 2001).

[4] Strickland, *Lives of the Queens of England*, 1:x.

[5] See: Retha Warnicke, "Queenship: Politics and Gender in Tudor England," *History Compass* 4, no. 2 (2006): 203–227; Valerie Schutte, "Royal Tudor Women as Patrons and Curators," *Early Modern Women* 9, no. 1 (Fall 2014): 79–88; Anna-Marie Linnell, "Writing the Royal Consort in Stuart England" (PhD thesis, University of Exeter, 2016); Retha M. Warnicke, *Elizabeth of York and Her Six Daughters-in-Law: Fashioning Tudor Queenship, 1485–1547* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017); and Courtney Herber, "Towards Consortship: Performing Ritual, Intercession, and Networking in Tudor and Early Stuart England" (PhD thesis, University of Nebraska-Lincoln, 2020).

This volume, along with its companions, emphasises the office of consort, acknowledging not only that it was formalised enough to justifiably be studied as a post like that of privy councillor (for example), but also that it was shaped by the incumbent in more significant ways than have hitherto been recognised.

Scholars have, of course, recognised that consorts brought a unique perspective to their tenure as consort. Yet, this uniqueness is often attributed—not wholly inaccurately—to the fact that consorts hailed from a variety of European royal families with a range of different and distinctive customs (as was the case with Anne of Bohemia, Anne of Cleves, and Catherine of Braganza).[6] It has also been linked to their husbands' actions (or inactions), which forced them to adopt a more expansive role, especially in times of conflict (as was the case with Matilda of Boulogne, Margaret of Anjou, and Henrietta Maria).[7] Nevertheless, this uniqueness was still perceived as being confined within a number of fixed expectations, which is why a not insignificant number of consorts were castigated both by their contemporaries and by scholars for not adapting to the customs of their new home.

As the chapters in this volume show, however, what actually unites all these consorts is that they exercised power and influence in unique and specific ways. Taken collectively, then, these chapters show that we as scholars need to move to a model of consortship that emphasises flexibility, opportunity, and individuality, rather than attempting to prescribe boundaries that do not actually fit the historical reality. A key question arises from considering the chapters together: if so many consorts can be described as challenging convention, did that convention in fact exist?

As queenship scholars have shown, there are four key attributes that a successful consort generally needed to display or achieve: to produce sons to inherit and daughters who could be married off to secure diplomatic alliances; to be universally viewed as pious, virtuous, and chaste; to intercede on behalf of their subjects; and to practice good lordship over their

[6] In addition to Valerie Schutte's chapter on Anne of Cleves and Sophie Shorland's on Catherine of Braganza in this volume, see Kristen Geaman's chapter on Anne of Bohemia in *Later Plantagenet and Wars of the Roses Consorts: Power, Influence, and Dynasty*.

[7] For Matilda of Boulogne, see Heather Tanner's chapter in *Norman to Early Plantagenet Consorts: Power, Influence, and Dynasty*. For Margaret of Anjou, see Carole Levin's chapter in *Later Plantagenet and Wars of the Roses Consorts*. In addition to Susan Dunn-Hensley's chapter on Henrietta Maria in this volume, see also: Michelle Anne White, *Henrietta Maria and the English Civil Wars* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006).

lands and use their income to provide patronage. These categories, however, are incredibly flexible, open to interpretation, and have to respond to the contemporary context, and it was also understood that there was space for action beyond these concerns. Paradoxically, focusing on the individual consort—as we do in this volume—provides a much clearer view of the shifting, rather than unchanging, nature of the role. We hope that in focusing on what each consort brought to the office, this volume will stimulate further research on these consorts that moves beyond debates of exceptionalism or subversion, and instead takes a more holistic view of how consorts fulfilled their duties, interacted with their spouses and subjects, and sought to pursue their own interests and goals.[8] While we will never know the answer to this question, it is interesting to consider whether Katherine Parr or Henrietta Maria, for instance, agreed with contemporaries that their actions were indeed controversial, or whether they thought they were merely conforming to the role of a consort, as they understood it to be.

Religion, Gender, and Consortship

Religion and gender are key threads that connect many of the consorts in this volume. The religious upheaval of the early modern period brings many of them together, as the Reformation and its consequences affected the tenure of each consort, whether explicitly or implicitly. This, after all, is the only volume of the four in which some of the consorts have different confessional identities to their spouses—indeed, a confessional identity that often brought them into conflict with their new subjects. In a relatively short amount of time, we see the transition from Elizabeth of York, whose Catholic beliefs typified a homogenous Europe-wide understanding of Christian queen consortship, to George of Denmark, who was the first consort after the enaction of the Act of Settlement, which required that the monarch be in communion with the Church of England, and prevented them from marrying a Catholic. None of the consorts in the companions to this volume had to cope with changing confessional

[8] While slightly earlier than the period covered by this volume, the chapters in Heather J. Tanner, ed., *Medieval Elite Women and the Exercise of Power, 1100–1400: Moving Beyond the Exceptionalist Debate* (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019), demonstrate why noble and royal women should be integrated into historical accounts, rather than treated as exceptional (and thus separate). See also: Louise J. Wilkinson and Sara J. Wolfson, "Introduction: Premodern Queenship and Diplomacy," *Women's History Review* 30, no. 5 (2021): 713–722.

situations; this means that the ways in which the Tudor and Stuart consorts negotiated both the conflict caused when their confessional identity clashed with that of the Church of England, and when their confessional identities were used to attack the policies and even legitimacy of their spouses' regimes, emphasises the importance of analysing the consorts more comparatively—after all, Katherine Parr's reformist beliefs are seldom analysed alongside the Stuart Catholic queens, while George of Denmark's Lutheranism is often overlooked altogether. This dimension also highlights the very real and more institutionalised function that a consort served, irrespective of the way the consort themself exercised power and influence.

Gender is also a key consideration of this volume: not only do many of the queens consort subvert traditional gendered expectations (or are at least viewed as doing so), but this volume also covers the period in which England had to wrestle with its first male consorts. The accession of Mary I in 1553 and Queen Anne in 1702 meant that the role of consort was no longer the exclusive domain of women. As the relevant chapters in this volume show, the consortships of Philip II of Spain and Prince George of Denmark had to be theorised in new ways to accommodate the 'masculine' nature of the incumbent consort. These men had to deal with the fact that they were inhabiting a role that was almost universally perceived as being for women (and was thus viewed as inherently feminine), and they had to grapple with the tension of being inferior in rank to their wives in an extremely and rigidly patriarchal society.

As Theresa Earenfight has famously observed, the various types of queen were well established in premodern Europe, with a specific adjective routinely attached to a queen to denote her proper status.[9] Before the accession of England's first queen regnant/female king in 1553, England had only experienced queens consort, queens dowager, and queens regent. Thanks to the Europe-wide understanding of the various types of queen, the ways that women could move between, or simultaneously occupy, these types was well understood and to a substantial degree standardised. Male consorts, however, turned these understandings upside down: power in premodern Europe was by fault gendered male, and there were no

[9] Theresa Earenfight, "Without the Persona of the Prince: Kings, Queens and the Idea of Monarchy in Late Medieval Europe," *Gender & History* 19, no. 1 (2007): 1–21. See also: William Monter, *The Rise of Female Kings in Europe, 1300–1800* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012).

English examples of men being subjected to the authority of women, except in isolated and specific instances.[10] Matters were further complicated by the fact that Philip II was a king in his own right, meaning in England he was Mary's inferior in rank, but her equal on the outside. As Mitchell Gould's chapter shows, this was a tension that Philip was constantly butting up against, and one with which he was never fully reconciled. This gendered understanding of power is perhaps part of the reason George of Denmark never became king consort. While Julie Farguson's chapter persuasively argues that even if George had been offered the title he probably would have rejected it, the decision to not adopt the title has ensured that a king is viewed as being inherently superior to a queen regnant. This is not mere academic theorisation, either: as the recent case of Prince Henrik of Denmark (late husband of Denmark's Margrethe II) shows, there is an unresolved conflict between royal spouses that indicates the engrained patriarchal views of monarchy.[11] At the most basic level, there is no reason why the husband of a queen regnant should not be a king consort, in the same way that the wife of a king is a queen consort. Perhaps the relative lack of male consorts in both England and Europe more generally has caused the question to be overlooked. This might change in the not too distant future, though, given that of the twelve current monarchies in Europe, women are expected to inherit four thrones when their fathers' reigns come to an end.[12]

Finally, and as was mentioned in the book's Preface, we have erred on the side of inclusivity when it comes to the chapters included in each volume. In what is possibly a first, we have decided to include a double biography of Elizabeth Cromwell and Dorothy Cromwell alongside the Stuart

[10] A good example is Margaret of Anjou assuming the leadership of the Lancastrian faction during the Wars of the Roses to fight her husband and son's position.

[11] See: Trond Norén Isaken, "The Prince Who Would Be King: Henrik of Denmark's Struggle for Recognition," in *The Man Behind the Queen: Male Consorts in History*, ed. Charles Beem and Miles Taylor (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 244–260; and "Denmark's Prince Henrik, who wanted to be king, dies at 83," *BBC News*, 14 February 2018, https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-43054758.

[12] The heirs of the kings of Spain, The Netherlands, Sweden, and Belgium are all female. In addition, Crown Prince Haakon of Norway's eldest child is Princess Ingrid Alexandra, and since a 1990 constitutional amendment, Norway has practised absolute primogeniture, meaning that if/when she succeeds her father, she will be the first queen regnant of Norway (excluding the regency of Margaret I between 1387 and 1412). It is also worth noting that the co-princes of Andorra are the Bishop of Urgell and the President of France, meaning that should France elect a female president, she would be the first female co-prince of Andorra.