



QUEENSHIP
AND POWER



Hanoverian to Windsor Consorts

Power, Influence, and Dynasty

Edited by

Aidan Norrie · Carolyn Harris

J.L. Laynesmith · Danna R. Messer

Elena Woodacre

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Queenship and Power

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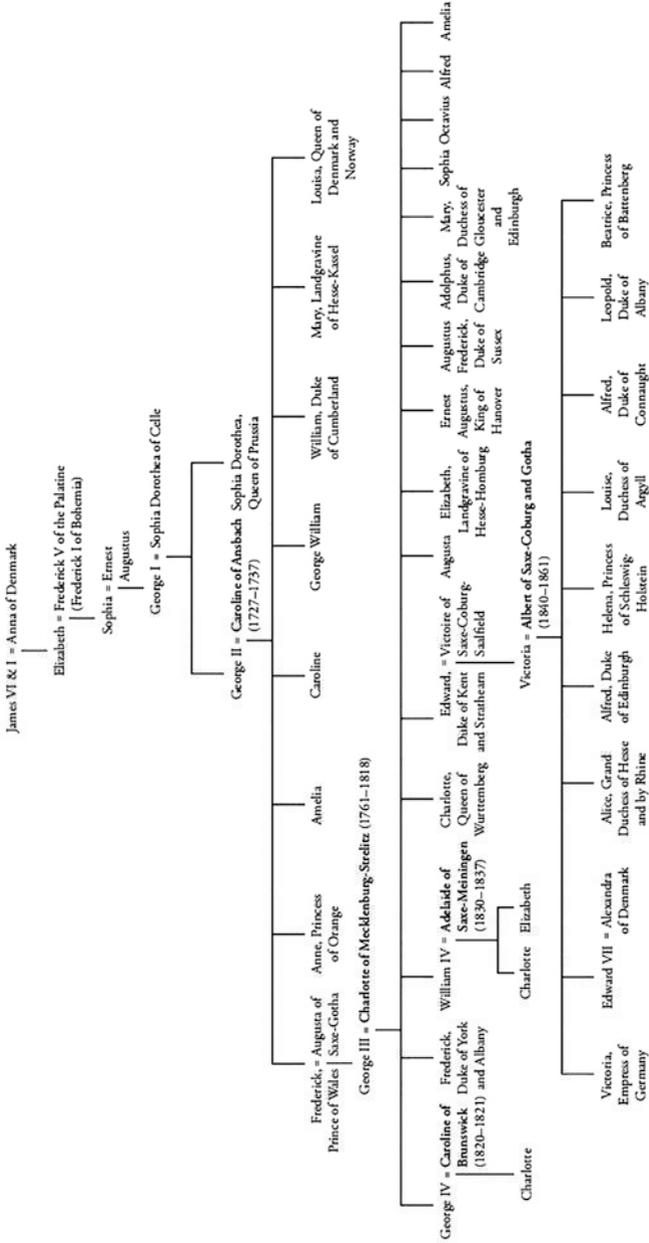
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Carolyn Harris

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Aidan Norrie

Praise for *Hanoverian to Windsor Consorts*

“Spanning Hanoverians to Windsors, this fascinating and insightful collection reveals the creative agency of consorts. These finely crafted studies explore the consorts’ responses to surprisingly long-lasting assumptions about a consort’s identity and functions. Crucially, this compelling volume shows how access to an increasingly global stage and emerging forms of media opened up significant dynamics of power for consorts and established new mechanisms for both opportunity and oppression.”

—Susan Broomhall, *Australian Catholic University*

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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 essays 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



Hanoverian to Windsor Consorts: Power, Influence, Dynasty

Carolyn Harris

The Hanoverian, Saxe-Coburg and Gotha, and Windsor consorts were married to reigning sovereigns during the development and evolution of the constitutional monarchy, and their position was shaped by two pieces of parliamentary legislation passed more than three hundred years apart. Both laws were primarily concerned with succession to the throne, but the historical context for each act, and the specific clauses concerning the marriages of people in the line of succession, defined the ideal royal consort from the eighteenth century to the twenty-first century. The very existence of legislation with clauses concerning the royal consort demonstrates that this position continued to be significant as the political and cultural role of the monarchy transformed over the past three hundred years. Royal consorts were a focus of popular scrutiny, and their marriages, family lives, and public image intersected with wider debates concerning religion, philanthropy, gender roles, Britain's place in the wider world, and press coverage of public figures.

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THE ACT OF SETTLEMENT

In 1701, the Act of Settlement restricted the English succession to the Protestant descendants of Sophia of Hanover, a granddaughter of James VI & I through her mother, Elizabeth of Bohemia. The Act of Union of 1707 extended this legislation to Scotland, preserving the union of crowns, which had existed in Britain since James VI of Scotland succeeded to the English throne as James I of England in 1603. Although Queen Anne, who succeeded to the thrones of England and Scotland in 1702, was unwilling to allow Sophia or her children to reside in the United Kingdom during her reign to prevent a rival court from forming around the heir to the throne, Anne's biographer Edward Gregg concludes that "every piece of evidence suggests that the princess warmly supported the Hanoverian succession."¹ Anne was a devout Protestant and the Act of Settlement would not only ensure that her successors were also Protestant but also ensure that future consorts shared the Protestant faith of her husband, Prince George of Denmark.

The Act of Settlement declared that all future monarchs and consorts must not be Catholic, stating "all and every Person and Persons that then were or afterwards should be reconciled to or shall hold Communion with the See or Church of Rome or should professe the Popish Religion or marry a Papist should be excluded and are by that Act made for ever [incapable] to inherit possess or enjoy the Crown and Government of this Realm."² Scholarly and popular analysis of the Act of Settlement focuses on the dozens of people subsequently excluded from the throne,³ but the settlement of succession on Sophia of Hanover and her Protestant descendants also excluded a multitude of potential consorts: the Catholic spouses of Catholic relatives of the royal family. The future Queen Anne's first cousin, Anne Marie d'Orléans, who sent a formal message to parliament asserting her claim to the throne,⁴ was married to Victor Amadeus, Duke of Savoy, who exercised considerable cultural and architectural

¹ Edward Gregg, *Queen Anne* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), 113.

² *Statutes of the Realm: Volume 7, 1695–1701*, ed. John Raithby (London, 1820), 636–638.

³ The United Kingdom parliament website notes that there were "over 50 Catholic claimants." See: UK Parliament, "1701 Act of Settlement," accessed 25 September 2021, <https://www.parliament.uk/about/living-heritage/evolutionofparliament/parliamentaryauthority/revolution/collections1/parliamentary-collections/act-of-settlement/>.

⁴ James Anderson Winn, *Queen Anne: Patroness of Arts* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 263.

patronage in Turin. Philippe II, Duke d'Orléans, a great-grandson of Elizabeth of Bohemia, was married to Louis XIV of France's illegitimate daughter, Françoise Marie de Bourbon. These French and Italian Catholic consorts were reminiscent of unpopular Stuart consorts: Charles I's queen, Henrietta Maria of France, who had been impeached by the English House of Commons during the English Civil Wars in 1643, and Mary of Modena, who had fled England with her husband James II in 1688.

The exclusion of Catholic dynasts and the establishment of a Hanoverian succession meant that Britain would experience an extended period without a royal consort: Sophia of Hanover was a widow by 1701 and her son, the future George I, had divorced and imprisoned his wife Sophia Dorothea of Celle due to her adultery. Caroline of Ansbach, the subject of the third chapter of this volume, married the future George II in 1705 (four years after the passage of the Act of Settlement) and was able to shape her public image as a British royal consort for decades. After 1714, she was the most prominent woman at the British court during the reign of her father-in-law, George I. Caroline's experience as consort was very different from Stuart consorts like Henrietta Maria of France and Catherine of Braganza, who became queens consort from the moment of their marriages with little time to adjust to their new circumstances.

In the early eighteenth century, succession through male preference primogeniture—with sons taking precedence over any elder sisters—was taken for granted by English MPs. After all, this system followed British common law concerning land inheritance. The Act of Settlement therefore did not explicitly mention male preference primogeniture because there was no discussion of introducing gender equality into the succession at the time. Subsequent legislation, however, codified the expectation that the queen belong to a royal house. The Royal Marriages Act (1772) required all descendants of George II and Queen Caroline, except for the descendants of princesses married to foreign princes, to receive the permission of the monarch to marry. George III supported this legislation in response to the marriages of his younger brothers to commoners.⁵ In the eighteenth century, the ideal British royal consort was understood to be Protestant, female, and from a reigning house that would meet with the approval of the sovereign. In the choice of spouse in a royal marriage, the

⁵For more about George III's objections to the marriages of his brothers, see: Stella Tillyard, *A Royal Affair: George III and His Scandalous Siblings* (New York: Random House, 2006).

expectations of the monarch took precedence over the personal inclinations of any individual member of the royal family. A royal marriage was understood to be a very different undertaking than any other marriage, and the number of acceptable royal consorts was limited by religion and royal lineage.

THE PERTH AGREEMENT

More than three hundred years later, existing legislation concerning royal marriage and the royal succession seemed out of step with twenty-first-century attitudes towards gender equality, religious equality, and freedom of marriage. In 2011, the leaders of the sixteen Commonwealth realms where Elizabeth II reigned as Head of State met with one another at that year's Commonwealth Heads of Government meeting in Perth, Australia, and agreed in principle to support succession reform.⁶ The Perth Agreement supported absolute primogeniture, which meant that the eldest *child* of the monarch, rather than the eldest *son*, would become the heir apparent to the throne and could not be displaced by a younger sibling. Succession reform in the United Kingdom and Commonwealth followed wider European trends. Absolute primogeniture had already been introduced in Sweden (1980), The Netherlands (1983), Norway (1990), Belgium (1991), Denmark (2009), and Luxembourg (2011). The wedding of Elizabeth II's grandson, Prince William, the second-in-line to the throne at the time, to Catherine Middleton on 29 April 2011 made absolute primogeniture a topical issue in the United Kingdom and the Commonwealth. Their marriage raised the question of whether male preference primogeniture, which had existed throughout the history of the monarchy, would apply to future generations of royal children in the twenty-first century.⁷

Elizabeth II appeared to support the introduction of absolute primogeniture. In her speech at the opening of the Commonwealth Heads of Government meeting in Perth, the Queen praised the accomplishments of women in public life, stating, "The theme of this year is, 'Women as Agents of Change'. It reminds us of the potential in our societies that is yet to be

⁶See: House of Commons Political and Constitutional Reform Committee, "Rules of Royal Succession: Eleventh Report of Session 2010–2012," accessed 25 September 2021, <https://publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201012/cmselect/cmpolcon/1615/1615.pdf>.

⁷Philip Murphy, *Monarchy and the End of Empire: The House of Windsor, the British Government and the Postwar Commonwealth* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 193.

fully unlocked, and it encourages us to find ways to allow girls and women to play their full part. We must continue to strive in our own countries and across the Commonwealth together to promote that theme in a lasting way beyond this year.”⁸ Global press coverage of the Perth Agreement focused on the prospect of more female monarchs in the distant future,⁹ but the introduction of absolute primogeniture would influence the role of the consort as well.

In addition to absolute primogeniture, the Perth Agreement supported other reforms and the eventual repeal of eighteenth-century legislation that had narrowed the number of people eligible to become a royal consort. The Commonwealth leaders agreed to the repeal of the Royal Marriages Act and the end of the prohibition in the Act of Settlement on marriages between people in the line of succession and Roman Catholics. While absolute primogeniture would apply to children in the line of succession born after 2011, these additional reforms would take immediate effect. Descendants of George II married to Roman Catholics would be restored to the line of succession—most notably Elizabeth II’s cousin, Prince Michael of Kent. Distant relatives of the royal family who had not requested the sovereign’s permission to marry would have their marriages made legal in the United Kingdom.¹⁰ The transition from older forms of dynastic marriage, where the sovereign had a clear interest in the marriages of their family members, to royalty having the opportunity to choose their spouses for personal reasons—in the same manner as people from a variety of other backgrounds—was complete by the time of the Perth Agreement. The circumstances of the marriage of Prince William and Catherine Middleton, who had met while attending the same university and had a relationship for several years before announcing their engagement, had little in common with Hanoverian dynastic marriages or even the marriage of William’s own parents, the future Charles III and Lady Diana Spencer, who had little opportunity to get to know one another before their wedding.

⁸ “A Speech by the Queen to Open the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting,” accessed 25 September 2021, <https://www.royal.uk/speech-opening-commonwealth-heads-government-meeting-28-october-2011>.

⁹ For an example, see: Laura Smith-Spark, “Girls Given Equal Rights to British Throne under Law Changes,” *CNN*, 28 October 2011, <https://www.cnn.com/2011/10/28/world/europe/uk-monarchy/index.html>.

¹⁰ “Succession to the Crown Act 2013,” <https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/2013/20/section/3>.

During the more than one thousand-year history of the English (then British) monarchy, there had been only four male consorts of undisputed female rulers. Philip II, the consort of Mary I, was a sovereign in his own right, and George of Denmark, Albert of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha, and Philip of Greece and Denmark, the consorts of queens Anne, Victoria, and Elizabeth II, respectively, were princes from European royal houses. Elizabeth II died on 8 September 2022, while this volume was in the final stages of production. Given that the new king Charles III, his son Prince William, and his grandson Prince George are male, it will be quite some time before the monarchy of the United Kingdom and the Commonwealth is able to redress this gender imbalance, although the changes outlined above do allow for potential consorts to come from a wider variety of backgrounds than in previous generations.

CHANGE AND CONTINUITY

The transformation in political and popular attitudes towards royal marriage and the definition of the ideal royal consort between the Act of Settlement in 1701 and the Perth Agreement of 2011 shaped key aspects of the role of the royal consort. The Act of Settlement was decided by the English parliament alone and the bill applied only to the “Government of this Realm and Ireland and the Dominions thereunto belonging”; this legislation then became one of the issues that precipitated the Act of Union in 1707 with Scotland. By 2011, sixteen realms from a Commonwealth of equal nations needed to assent to British succession reform or pass their own succession bills mirroring the British one. Due to the number of nations involved in this process, the reforms discussed in the Perth Agreement did not come into force in the United Kingdom and the Commonwealth until 2015.¹¹

One of the central themes of this volume is the engagement of successive royal consorts with the wider world in the United Kingdom, Europe, the British Empire, and the modern Commonwealth. The Hanoverian consorts travelled extensively in the United Kingdom—travels that shaped their public image and allowed them to pursue personal interests. Prince Albert and his daughter-in-law, Alexandra of Denmark, travelled throughout Europe, and they were also fascinated by India. As Duke and Duchess

¹¹ “New Rules on Royal Succession Come into Force,” *BBC*, 26 March 2015, <https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-32073399>.

of Cornwall and York, the future George V and Queen Mary embarked on a global Imperial tour in 1901, and subsequent monarchs and their consorts, such as Elizabeth II and Prince Philip, undertook Commonwealth tours.

Everywhere they travelled in the United Kingdom and the wider world, the Hanoverian, Saxe-Coburg and Gotha, and Windsor consorts attracted public interest and scrutiny alike. New forms of media brought royal public engagements and speculation about royal personal lives to a popular audience. Caroline of Ansbach and Charlotte of Mecklenburg-Strelitz were the subjects of satirical verse and imagery. George IV's efforts to end his marriage to Caroline of Brunswick were documented and criticised by the newly invented tabloid press.¹² Images of Victoria, Albert, and their children were recognisable around the world because of the new medium of photography. News cameras documented the public engagements of the Windsor consorts, and Prince Philip supported the televising of the Queen's coronation in 1953 and the presence of a film crew behind palace walls for the creation of the Royal Family documentary of 1969. Today, the activities of Queen Camilla and the Princess of Wales are publicised through social media and the royal family's website.

The public who consumed these new forms of media expected a relatable royal family who shared their values. George III and Queen Charlotte, and Queen Victoria and Prince Albert, projected an image of domestic harmony that received widespread approval. Tabloid coverage of Caroline of Brunswick's trial before the House of Lords emphasised how the legal dissolution of a monarch's marriage could threaten the wider institution of marriage itself. The press encouraged women to write to members of parliament in support of the Queen, and women demonstrated and signed petitions in an effort to prevent the dissolution of the marriage.¹³ The ability of Queen Mary and Queen Elizabeth (the Queen Mother) to engage directly with people from a wide variety of backgrounds through visits to working-class homes and royal walkabouts around the world endeared them to the public.

¹²"A Right Royal Scandal that Spawnd Britain's Popular Press," *The Economist*, 23 December 2006, <https://www.economist.com/special-report/2006/12/19/a-right-royal-scandal>.

¹³Connie Jeffrey, "The Royal Scandal That Helped Change British Politics: The 1820 Queen Caroline Affair," *The History of Parliament*, accessed 26 September 2021, <https://thehistoryofparliament.wordpress.com/2020/06/17/the-royal-scandal-that-helped-change-british-politics-the-1820-queen-caroline-affair/>.

Public scrutiny of royal consorts intersected with wider debates concerning gender roles and changing attitudes towards marriage and family. The introduction of gender equality into the royal succession in the twenty-first century was the culmination of centuries of debate concerning the role of women in public life. Caroline of Ansbach assumed the role of an enlightenment *salonniere*, which appealed to elite European women of her time. Charlotte of Mecklenburg-Strelitz presented herself in her portraits as a devoted wife committed to the education of her daughters. Caroline of Brunswick rejected the constraints imposed on women of her social class and attempted to live life on her own terms, prompting official investigations into her behaviour. Adelaide of Saxe-Meiningen, who did not have surviving children, took a motherly interest in her nieces, nephews, and stepchildren.

The Windsor queens consort had a complicated relationship with the expansion of employment opportunities and legal rights for women over the course of the twentieth century. Like Queen Victoria, Queen Mary did not support women's suffrage but clearly recognised the ability of women to assume leadership roles on committees and philanthropic initiatives, especially during wartime. Queen Elizabeth (the Queen Mother) wrote that employment was more important for men than for women during the Great Depression of the 1930s, but during the Second World War, she gave speeches that praised women's contributions to the war effort and reminded them that their contributions were as important as those of men.¹⁴ The First and Second World Wars clearly impacted how both Queens viewed the role of women in public life.

For Prince Albert and Prince Philip, the role of consort to a female sovereign placed them in a legally subordinate position in their marriages, which was unusual for a husband in both the mid-nineteenth and the mid-twentieth centuries. They made efforts to promote a masculine public image through the promotion of science, technology, or physical education. Today, Albert is criticised for his efforts to impose his will on Victoria

¹⁴In 1932, Elizabeth, then Duchess of York, wrote, "I think it is a crime for women to take jobs that men can do as well." William Shawcross, *The Queen Mother: The Official Biography* (London: Macmillan, 2009), 331. In contrast, Elizabeth, as queen consort, made a radio broadcast to "the Women of the Empire" in 1943 where she stated, "your work, whatever it may be, is just as valuable, just as much 'war-work' as that which is done by the bravest soldier, sailor or airman who actually meets the enemy in battle." William Shawcross, *Counting One's Blessings: The Selected Letters of the Queen Mother* (New York: Farrar, Strauss and Giroux, 2012), 347.

and his patronising attitude towards her strong emotions, while recent obituaries of Prince Philip praised his decades of steadfast support for the Queen in her public role.¹⁵

For the Hanoverian, Saxe-Coburg and Gotha, and Windsor consorts, older models of intercession by royal spouses—previously accepted during the medieval and early modern periods—seemed out of place in the Protestant, constitutional monarchy outlined in the Act of Settlement. Instead, royal consorts from the eighteenth to the twenty-first centuries participated in philanthropy and the promotion of scientific and cultural innovation, playing a key role in bringing a wide variety of social issues and discoveries to the attention of the public. Numerous consorts supported science and conservation. Caroline of Ansbach promoted smallpox inoculation, Charlotte was instrumental to the development of Kew Botanical Gardens, Albert was the driving force behind the Great Exhibition of 1851, and Prince Philip was patron of the World Wildlife Fund. Philanthropic initiatives by royal consorts often emphasised the welfare of children and young people: from Caroline of Ansbach’s campaign in support of the Foundling Hospital in London to Prince Philip’s promotion of youth leadership and initiative through the Duke of Edinburgh’s Award programme.

The consorts discussed in this volume are better documented than their predecessors, and they have been the subjects of numerous biographies, including the works listed at the end of this Introduction. There are few scholarly works, however, which include chapters that analyse all the British and Commonwealth royal consorts from the eighteenth century to the twenty-first century. The chapters in this volume therefore provide a fresh perspective on these significant historical figures and reveal how each generation of royal consorts responded to the legacy of their predecessors, blending tradition and innovation to the present day.

¹⁵ Compare Mark Brown, “We’re Too Nice to Albert—He was No Perfect Prince, Claims Historian: Lucy Worsley Thinks Queen Victoria’s Husband Manipulated Her So We Could Rule in All but Name,” *The Guardian*, 30 May 2019, <https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2019/may/30/were-too-nice-to-albert-he-was-no-perfect-prince-claims-historian> to Jill Lawless and Gregory Katz, “Philip, in Role with No Job Description, was Queen’s Bedrock,” *Associated Press*, 9 April 2021, <https://apnews.com/article/prince-philip-dies-queen-elizabeth-d94948b6cc0acd306251533c8a3e14f4>.