QUEENSHIP AND POWER

Queenship and Revolution in Early Modern Europe

Henrietta Maria and Marie Antoinette

Carolyn Harris

QUEENSHIP AND POWER

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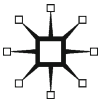

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For Bruce, with love

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Introduction: The Queen versus the People

When Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette were deposed as king and queen of France in 1791, there were few precedents for their situation. France had experienced dynastic change, vilification of unpopular monarchs and consorts, and assassinations of kings. The formal overthrow of a monarch by a representative body of the king's subjects, however, had not taken place in French history. To make sense of her new circumstances, Marie Antoinette reputedly drew parallels between her family's situation and that of King Charles I of England, his queen Henrietta Maria and their children during the English Civil Wars of the 1640s. Marie Antoinette explained to Jeanne Campan, one of her ladies of the bedchamber:

> [The King] had long since observed to her that all that was going forward in France was an imitation of the revolution in England in the time of Charles I, and that he was incessantly reading the history of that unfortunate monarch in order that he might act better than Charles had done at a similar crisis. "I begin to be fearful of the King being brought to trial," continued the Queen; "as to me, I am a foreigner; they will assassinate me. What will become of my poor children?[1]

Marie Antoinette alluded to the sources of her unpopularity at the time of collapse of the French monarchy. She was the foreign wife of the king and the mother of the royal children during a time of ideological debate concerning the role of women within their families. As the allusion to Louis XVI's eventual trial demonstrates, the activities of the royal family, including their eventual condemnation, unfolded before the public gaze.

The parallels between Charles I and Louis XVI have been recognized since the French Revolution but few have compared the experiences of Henrietta Maria and Marie Antoinette. Queen Henrietta Maria (1609–1669) was born almost a century and half before Marie Antoinette, conducted her marriage in a different kingdom, and faced

a different set of political circumstances and ideological boundaries. Henrietta Maria also avoided Marie Antoinette's fate because she fled England in 1644, at the height of the English Civil Wars, and outlived her husband by twenty years, becoming a significant political figure at the Stuart court in exile and after the Restoration.

Nevertheless, the parallels between Henrietta Maria and Marie Antoinette are striking. As unmarried princesses, both women received little formal education but observed the example of their respective mothers—Marie de Medici, Regent of France and Empress Maria Theresa of the Habsburg Empire—who wielded political authority in regions that proscribed female rule. Upon their marriages at the ages of fifteen and fourteen respectively, the new Queen Henrietta Maria and Dauphiness Marie Antoinette found that their formative experiences conflicted with the expectations of their husbands' subjects and the precedents set by previous queens consort. As wives, both women managed their households, related to their husbands, and supervised the upbringing of their children according to their own conceptions of these roles. During outbreaks of revolutionary upheaval, they both faced public accusations from representative bodies of their husband's subjects or former subjects, resulting in unprecedented legal action against a sovereign's wife.

The seemingly private activities of a queen consort became political acts when they conflicted with the expectations of her husband's subjects. Both queens faced accusations that they had transgressed social, gender, and regional norms, and attempted to defend themselves against negative reactions to their behavior. The failure of Henrietta Maria and Marie Antoinette to be accepted in the roles of head of a royal household, wife of the sovereign, and mother of the royal children undermined the stability of the monarchy in both mid-seventeenth century England and late eighteenth century France. Opponents of the monarchy during the English Civil Wars and the French Revolution alike utilized the queen's poor reputation to reinforce the authority of alternative forms of government. This condemnation was formalized and conducted within the public sphere during both periods of revolution.

In 1643, the English House of Commons passed articles of impeachment against Henrietta Maria in absentia while Marie Antoinette faced trial and sentencing before the Revolutionary Tribunal in 1793. Comparative analysis of Henrietta Maria and Marie Antoinette provides a framework for understanding the historical processes that contributed to the overthrow of the English and French monarchies during the English Civil Wars and French Revolution respectively. These points of similarity deepen the understanding of Henrietta Maria's impeachment

and Marie Antoinette's trial because the juxtaposition of the two events reveals the continuous presence of the queen consort as a divisive figure during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Comparative analysis of the experiences of the two queens illuminates changes in the perception of monarchy, the place of women within their families, the public sphere, and ideas of foreignness that occurred over the course of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in Western Europe.

The potential for comparative study of consorts within periods of political upheaval was explored by Nancy Nichols Barker in her paper "Revolution and the Royal Consort," which broadened the comparative structure beyond the Early Modern period to encompass Emperor Nicholas II of Russia's consort, Alexandra Feodorovna, in addition to Henrietta Maria and Marie Antoinette.[2] Barker identified all three women as targets of critiques fueled by their perceived status as representatives of the political and/or religious interests of foreign powers, and transgressors of established gender roles. Her research demonstrated the potential for queens consort to illuminate significant themes in revolutionary politics from the English Civil Wars in the seventeenth century to the Russian Revolution in the twentieth century.[3]

This broad time frame, however, obscures the specific developments of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. As will be discussed in the conclusion, the parallels between perceptions of Marie Antoinette and Alexandra were so clear that Russian memoirists remarked upon them, and biographers of both women routinely compare their experiences. In contrast, Henrietta Maria and Marie Antoinette had their legitimacy as queens consort challenged at opposite ends of an Early Modern continuum concerning the perception of the ideal marriage and the family, the expansion of the public sphere, and the change from strictly dynastic to more broadly sovereign ideas of monarchy. The near absence of comparative works concerning Henrietta Maria and Marie Antoinette reflects the limited focus of existing studies of transnational court culture.[4] Comparison of Henrietta Maria and Marie Antoinette illuminates neglected themes related to the queen consort's role at court and encompasses the changing nature of Early Modern monarchical government, the public sphere, domesticity, and the emergence of national identities.

Queenship and Revolution in Early Modern Europe places Henrietta Maria and Marie Antoinette in a thematic framework, focusing on the dialogue between their perceptions of themselves as heads of households, wives, and mothers and the expectations of their husbands' subjects concerning the queen consort's performance of these roles. The actual dynamics within the royal domestic sphere receive little attention within political histories because scholars frequently judge analysis

of the activities of royal wives and mothers to be relevant only to histories of women and the family or of court life. The public nature of the queen consort's position transformed the choices Henrietta Maria and Marie Antoinette made as wives and mothers into political acts with lasting implications for their respective royal houses. Both queens approached their roles in a manner that ultimately contributed to the collapse of monarchical government. The question of the queen's actual activities and her contribution to popular discourse has been particularly neglected as the symbolism, of Henrietta Maria and especially Marie Antoinette, has received more recent scholarly attention while discussion of each queen's actual motives has been relegated to popular biographies. The juxtaposition of the queen's own intentions with the expectations of her husband's subjects provides a more complex picture of the ideological conflicts centering on the consort.

The experiences of Henrietta Maria and Marie Antoinette intersected with some of the most significant aspects of the transformation of state and society in Early Modern Europe. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the perception of monarchical government changed significantly in the popular imaginations. Charles I and his father, James I, favored concepts of divine right monarchy.[5] Unfortunately for Charles, the absolute authority of kings was already contested in the British Isles.[6] Attempts to impose sovereign authority over matters of religion only increased dissentions and opposition to monarchical government. Elizabeth I of England achieved success in the contested role of a Protestant queen regnant by recognizing the limits of her power, and successfully collaborating with her councilors[7] while Mary, Queen of Scots, was deposed early in her adult reign because she could not successfully negotiate the political and religious factionalism of her kingdom.[8]

Although royalists during the English Civil Wars would evoke references to "the sacred person of the Queen,"[9] the sense of the monarch and consort as accountable to elite interests was already well developed by Charles's reign. Charles's decision to reign without parliament during the 1630s engendered widespread resentment as the imposition of direct taxes by the monarch appeared to contravene long established customs concerning the monarchy's accountability to parliament.[10] By the outbreak of the English Civil Wars, both courtiers and country gentlemen supported a rule of law independent from royal intervention.[11] In this context, the queen was a particular target for popular scrutiny because she could influence the king without involving herself with any representative institution of his subjects. Her perceived involvement in foreign intrigues appeared to render her unsuitable to exercise those privileges enjoyed by previous queens consort including patronage and intercession.

The eighteenth century French model of monarchical government derived from Louis XIV's centralization of power, which was termed absolutism in the work of French and English constitutionalists after 1830.[12] There were, however, significant practical constraints on the monarch's seemingly absolute authority imposed by both ideology and geography during Louis XIV's reign. The sixteenth century French political philosopher Jean Bodin argued that it was the duty of the monarch to provide peace and security for the inhabitants of France, demanding the further constraint of natural law over the authority of the monarch. Bodin's conception of natural law included the sanctity of private property, limiting the degree to which the king could collect revenue from his subjects.[13] Taxation was constrained by the continued autonomy of certain provinces. The pays d'état in particular retained a significant portion of the tax revenues, limiting the monarch's ability to increase his revenues.[14] Attempts to shape the family as a microcosm of the absolutist state, to control the distribution of patronage,[15] were equally constrained by practice and local customs.[16]

The theoretical absolutism enjoyed by Louis XIV was already in contention at the end of his successor Louis XV's reign as the Paris parlements overruled the king's wishes, [17] arguing they were acting in the sovereign's best interests during the Unigenitus controversy between the Jesuits and the Jansenists.[18] While disputes between the sixteenth and early seventeenth century Tudor and Stuart monarchs and their counsellors occurred at court and circulated to a broader audience slowly through conversation and written newsletters, printed political pamphlets increased in availability during the English Civil Wars and this print culture continued to expand throughout Western Europe during the eighteenth century. The disputes between the king of France and the parlements were immediately published, allowing all urban social estates to engage with the dispute over the nature of sovereignty. This expansion of the public sphere had a further effect on popular perceptions of monarchy, including perceptions of royal women. In contrast to Louis XIV's reign, which largely marginalized women after the regency of Anne of Austria,[19] Louis XV's wife and daughters provided leadership for the *devot* party at court, which supported the Jesuits.[20] The perception of Louis XV as dissolute while his female family members were popularly respected for their piety foreshadowed the intense scrutiny of Louis XVI's and Marie Antoinette's domestic life in the final decades of the eighteenth century.

Marie Antoinette experienced the phenomenon of the queen consort as a celebrity, discussed publicly in the same manner as any other prominent figure. This delegitimized conception of the royal family emerged directly from the popular disapproval of Louis XV, whose disputes with

the parlements and patronage toward his mistresses were critiqued in manuscript and printed pamphlets.[21] Since neither Henrietta Maria nor Marie Antoinette enjoyed a coronation they were placed even further outside the framework of sacral monarchy. Henrietta Maria would be judged within the framework of delegitimized monarchy while viewing her own role in traditional, dynastic terms. Marie Antoinette would attempt to create a private domestic sphere that conflicted with French conceptions of the public nature of monarchical government.

The popular perception that the queen was not a suitable advisor to the king, during the reigns of Charles I and Louis XVI, reflected changing conceptions of what constituted "foreignness," in both religious and political realms. The view of the queen as a foreigner directly affected the reception of Henrietta Maria and Marie Antoinette after their marriages. Although England was a comparatively centralized state from the Norman Conquest, medieval society was intensely regional with loyalties to the community superseding that of the state.[22] This regionalism was even more pronounced in France as the king only gradually gained control of modern day French territory and distinct regional languages and cultures persisted until at least the First World War.[23] In mid-seventeenth century England, Henrietta Maria's Roman Catholic religion was the most significant manifestation of her perceived status as a foreigner. Henrietta Maria's advocacy of toleration for her coreligionists in England only reinforced the Protestant popular perception that both the queen and Roman Catholics residing within the British Isles were members of a foreign community.

By Marie Antoinette's marriage to the future Louis XVI in 1770, religious difference was only one of numerous markers of identity that enabled individuals to identify their own region as distinct from surrounding, foreign kingdoms. Henry IV's reign was marked by the identification of the monarchy with Gallican Catholicism[24] and Louis XV had responded to pressure from the parlements by expelling the Jesuits from France.[25] The long-standing political conflicts between France and Austria superseded any religious similarities that might have existed between the two kingdoms in the popular imagination. This history of hostilities between the Habsburgs and the Bourbons contributed to the popular French conception of a treacherous "Austrian" character that would fuel negative perceptions of Marie Antoinette.[26]

The dialogue between queen and public prior to both the English Civil Wars and French Revolution also reveals the changing perceptions of women within their families that occurred during the Early Modern period. As the most prominent woman in the kingdom, each queen performed her domestic role before a popular audience. The political and religious significance of her decisions within her

household were widely scrutinized. Henrietta Maria married Charles I during a period in which stories of recusant Catholic wives converting members of otherwise Protestant households circulated in the British Isles.[27] In late eighteenth century France, the position of the wife and mother in her family was also the focus of popular interest. As Jean-Jacques Rousseau's ideas became popular with the urban bourgeoisie and nobility, including Marie Antoinette herself, the queen faced criticism for her perceived political influence and patronage activities in the public sphere.

Outside of the specific ideological circumstances of Charles I's and Louis XVI's reigns, Henrietta Maria and Marie Antoinette interacted with their husbands, children, and servants at opposite ends of a continuum concerning the rise of companionate marriage and sentimental childrearing.[28] The degree to which each queen actually expected her marriage to conform to this image reflected the increasing desirability of companionate marriage, particularly among urban, literate European communities, by the end of the eighteenth century.[29] While Henrietta Maria was content to present an image of domestic felicity at the same time as she was experiencing continued tensions with her husband over religion, household appointments, and the upbringing of her children, Marie Antoinette was disappointed when she did not actually experience a happy marriage. By the outbreak of the French Revolution, a personally fulfilling domestic life was considered desirable for all wives and mothers, including the queen herself.

The changing conceptions of monarchical government, foreignness, and domesticity that intersected with the experiences of Henrietta Maria and Marie Antoinette were all shaped by the changing public sphere in Early Modern Europe. While Marie Antoinette and subsequent unpopular consorts faced a broad spectrum of public opposition encompassing all social estates, Henrietta Maria defended her actions to a much smaller group of the literate, politically engaged figures who comprised "public opinion" in the mid-seventeenth century.[30] During the 1620s and 1630s, Henrietta Maria left the defense of her reputation in the broad public sphere to Charles I while she focused on presenting herself to a court audience through her cultural patronage.[31] This approach changed in the early 1640s when Henrietta Maria began to directly communicate with parliament concerning her intentions as a wife, mother, and head of a royal household.[32] In contrast to Marie Antoinette, Henrietta Maria initially focused her defense of her reputation on small groups including the members of parliament and courtiers, identifying the influential figures. Although all social estates expressed interest in Henrietta Maria's activities, the queen correctly noted that a much smaller group was engaged in shaping

popular opinion, and directed much of her defense of her reputation to these cultural and political elites.

In contrast, Marie Antoinette identified with Louis XVI's female subjects as fellow wives and mothers, and therefore constructed her image for an appropriately broad public audience. When the queen of France found herself facing accusations of sexual immorality or extravagance she attempted to persuade people of all social estates of her good intentions through domestic portraiture and public announcements detailing economies in her household. When she encountered groups of her husband's subjects, particularly after the outbreak of revolution in 1789, she attempted to express her conception of her role, demonstrating that everyone had the potential to shape popular opinion during this period.[33] Throughout her time in France, Marie Antoinette displayed a consistent approach to the defense of her domestic worldview, which reflected the diverse nature of the eighteenth century French public sphere.[34]

Although both queens were prominent historical figures who have inspired numerous scholarly and popular works, certain primary sources remain underutilized, and discussion of their domestic roles remains fragmented and incomplete. The current historiography of the life and significance of Henrietta Maria emphasizes three clearly defined aspects of her identity: the Catholic queen, the historical personality, and, in the past twenty years, the artistic and theatrical patron. While studies of these themes have greatly expanded scholarly understanding of both Henrietta Maria's motivations and the public expectations of their queen, the narrow focus on these topics has precluded a thorough understanding of the perceptions and reality of her domestic role. Instead, the scholarship regarding the queen's position as a wife exists in fragments within studies focusing on her religious, political, or artistic influence while her relationship with her children remains a neglected aspect of her life.

Analysis of Henrietta Maria as a Roman Catholic political force, which historian Michelle Anne White describes as the "traditionalist" approach to the study of the queen,[35] is exemplified by Samuel Rawson Gardiner's numerous nineteenth century works concerning the English Civil Wars. The traditionalists argue that the queen's Catholicism and political activities helped bring about the downfall of Charles I.[36] Studies of Henrietta Maria as a Catholic political influence continued to be published alongside popular biographies throughout much of the twentieth century. During the 1970s, scholars such as Quentin Bone and Elizabeth Hamilton, whom White describes as "iconoclasts," began to challenge the "traditionalist" conclusion that Henrietta Maria's Catholicism and influence over Charles I was fatal to the royalist cause.[37] Bone's political

biography of the queen and Hamilton's social history also drew upon a more diverse array of archival sources than their predecessors, incorporating viewpoints beyond the collections of royal correspondence and published accounts of the Civil Wars favored by traditionalists.[38]

In recent years, scholars have finally expanded the boundaries of the analysis of Henrietta Maria's political influence established by the "traditionalists" and accepted by the "iconoclasts." Malcolm Smuts and Caroline Hibbard discuss the queen's significance as a political figure in her own right while numerous historians, art historians, and literary theorists, most notably Erica Veevers, Erin Griffey, and Karen Britland analyze her role in Stuart cultural production. Both approaches provide valuable insights concerning Henrietta Maria's perception of herself as a wife and mother including her determination to retain control over appointments to her own household,[39] and interest in presenting the ideals of platonic love through theatrical performance.[40] At present, the only comprehensive study of the manner in which the popular press influenced contemporary opinion of the queen and her relationship with Charles I is White's book *Henrietta Maria and the English Civil Wars*.[41] The analysis of popular representations of the queen apart from her actual biography is a technique utilized by numerous current Marie Antoinette scholars,[42] but White is the only historian of Henrietta Maria's reign to structure her work in this manner.

In contrast to Henrietta Maria, who received relatively sporadic attention from historians until the recent outpouring of interest in her cultural activities, Marie Antoinette has been the focus of intense scholarly and popular interest throughout the past 200 years. She remains a cultural icon, inspiring a broad range of interpretations of her personality and significance.[43] A sense of saturation has permeated scholarly discourse concerning both the queen herself and the broader context of her reign.[44] Although Marie Antoinette certainly remains a popular focus for research, the historiography of her role as a royal wife and mother demonstrates that there remain neglected aspects of her reign including her perception of herself as a queen consort and her place within a comparative framework of Early Modern queenship.

Following the final collapse of the French monarchy in 1848, Marie Antoinette appeared in both scholarly and popular literature as a polarizing figure. Scholars frequently held her responsible for undermining the French monarchy while popular writers argued that she was an innocent martyr of the excesses of the French Revolution.[45] This polarization mirrored the disparity between "traditionalist" interpretations of Henrietta Maria and popular biographies, which were also published during the mid-nineteenth century. Both groups of authors analyzing Marie Antoinette's reign, however, encountered obstacles with source

materials. The widespread sale of forged letters, supposedly written by Marie Antoinette and members of her household, undermined the potential for balanced scholarship concerning the queen's motivations. This false correspondence encouraged the spread of both wholly positive and wholly negative conceptions of her character.[46] In his 1932 work *Marie Antoinette: The Portrait of an Average Woman*, German biographer Stefan Zweig challenged the conclusions of both the admirers and detractors of the queen.[47] His work possesses a balanced scholarly tone unknown in the polarizing nineteenth century writings. Unfortunately, Zweig's commitment to the portrayal of Marie Antoinette as an average person encouraged him to dismiss any sentiment attributed to the queen that displays wit or understanding of political realities, regardless of the reliability of its provenance.[48]

In the past thirty years, there has been an outpouring of scholarship on various aspects of Marie Antoinette's life and historical significance. While current historians of Henrietta Maria have primarily focussd on the queen's role in court culture, the majority of current scholarly Marie Antoinette literature falls into two broad categories: studies of the gender politics that influenced the condemnation of the queen in the popular press, and analyses of her political significance within a court that was hostile toward her Habsburg ancestry.[49] Marie Antoinette's conception of herself receives little attention in all these works, resulting in discussion of the accusations against her by the popular press without mention of her reaction to them. Modern analysis of the degree to which Marie Antoinette herself possessed concrete political ambitions provides a greater degree of insight into her personal motivations than the recent studies of pamphlet literature.[50] Authors who discuss her conception of herself within a political context, however, often present the queen through the narrow lens of her relationship with Louis XVI and his ministers. Current accounts of Marie Antoinette's political role simplify her relationship with her husband and inaccurately relegate her motherhood to a supposedly apolitical private sphere.

The recent research of Thomas Kaiser concerning the popular reaction to the queen as a representative of France's traditional enemy, the Habsburg Empire, bridges the two recent categories of analysis concerning Marie Antoinette. Kaiser focuses on the political dimension of the pamphlet literature that Chantal Thomas and Lynn Hunt discuss in exclusively gendered terms. His studies of Marie Antoinette and French Austrophobia assert that the hostility to the queen expressed through the popular press reflected concern that she represented a threat to national security as well as the accepted gender hierarchy.[51]

A subsequent article by Kaiser "Scandal in the Royal Nursery: Marie-Antoinette and the *Gouvernantes des Enfants de France*," further unites the various trends in scholarship concerning Marie Antoinette by discussing pamphlet literature and Austrophobia within the context of the queen's domestic life. The historiography concerning Henrietta Maria and Marie Antoinette demonstrates that despite the volume and diversity of works concerning both queens, there are various perspectives that have not been addressed.

The comparison of two queens consort illuminates themes that permeate the relationship between state and society over the course of Early Modern history, providing evidence of different British and French approaches to issues of foreignness, monarchical government, and domesticity within a court context over a two century period. The first chapter will begin the analysis of the dialogue between the queen's intentions and the expectations of her subjects by viewing her domestic role through the comparison of the environment in which she spent her childhood, and the mythology of queenship in England, Scotland, and France. The three themes that will be addressed are the academic and practical education each princess received prior to marriage, the influence of each queen's mother and other prominent women from their courts of origin, and the perceptions of previous consorts in England and France. The education and maternal example experienced by both Henrietta Maria and Marie Antoinette contributed to their attitudes toward their roles as royal wives and mothers, which conflicted with the expectations of the polities in which they would eventually reign. In the eighteenth century, the French possessed a popular mythology of "unnatural" queens, who exerted political power on behalf of their children to the perceived disadvantage of the French people. Seventeenth century England and Scotland accepted the potential for women to rule independently as queens regnant but there were few recent examples of politically active queens consort.

Chapters 2–4 will address the central facets of each queen's domestic role between the time of her marriage and the outbreak of revolution in her adopted kingdom. Chapter 2 will discuss each queen's role as head of her household. While this position may appear to be outside the realm of the domestic sphere, household records for both Henrietta Maria and Marie Antoinette often refer to servants as the queen's "family," demonstrating the parental role that heads of such satellite courts were expected to occupy. The relationship between the king's court and the queen's circle often created tension in the royal marriage. Both queens were publicly accused of misconduct regarding appointments to their households, fueling popular debate concerning such topics as

the potential for the queen's household to serve as a center for espionage, corruption, or sexual misconduct. Henrietta Maria and Marie Antoinette also had to act as nominal administrators of jointure lands, and estates, a position of authority that had the potential to create a popular perception of an inverted gender hierarchy at court.

Chapter 3 will discuss the queen's role as wife to the sovereign. This relationship had numerous dimensions that contributed to the manner in which a royal couple organized its own affairs, and the popular perception of ideal marital relations between the king and queen. Henrietta Maria and Marie Antoinette were expected by their sovereign mothers to further the interests of their kingdoms of origin. Their status as foreigners in England and France respectively created anxiety concerning their opportunities to influence the king's political decisions. The gender hierarchy within each royal marriage also reflected on the monarch's authority. Both queens were popularly perceived as dominating their husbands at various times in their marriages, inviting accusations that the king was unable to maintain his dominance over his family and, by extension, his kingdom. The public performance of the royal marriage was further complicated by the changing perception of the ideal relationship between husband and wife during the Early Modern period while the dynastic imperatives of a royal marriage remained constant.

Chapter 4 will discuss the dialogue between each queen's perception of herself as a mother and popular expectations of her maternity including political implications of each queen's motherhood, the manner in which each queen intended her children to be raised, and the degree of personal involvement of the royal mother in the nursery. The maternity of both Henrietta Maria and Marie Antoinette challenged established political factions within England and France respectively. For both queens, the birth of heirs, one of the primary purposes of a royal marriage, contributed to their unpopularity as the number and gender of their children received a complex array of responses from their husbands' subjects. The childrearing techniques and perceived involvement of each queen in the royal nursery fueled popular anxieties concerning the children as both Henrietta Maria and Marie Antoinette became mothers during periods of ideological debate concerning the definition of the "good mother." Both Henrietta Maria and Marie Antoinette were aware of this scrutiny and attempted to challenge negative portrayals of themselves as mothers through their correspondence and the commission of family portraits. Henrietta Maria and Marie Antoinette each formulated a parenting philosophy that reflected the ideological trends of their own lifetimes and the broader emergence of sentimental childrearing.

Chapter 5 addresses how the queen's domestic role fueled conflict during the English Civil Wars and French Revolution. This chapter will focus on the most prominent examples of popular judgment of the queen's domesticity, which were the 1643 impeachment in absentia of Henrietta Maria by the English House of Commons, and the 1793 trial of Marie Antoinette before the Revolutionary Tribunal. In both sets of proceedings, the queen received intense criticism as a wife and mother. Members of the consort's household were interrogated and accused of treason, the royal marriage was critiqued as a site of unnatural female dominance and foreign intrusion into the monarchy, and efforts were made to present the queen as a malign influence over her children. Both queens attempted to defend themselves against the accusations, crafting sympathetic narratives of their conflicts with the new governments. The impeachment of Henrietta Maria and the trial of Marie Antoinette served as forums for debate concerning whether each queen had transgressed in her three pivotal domestic roles as queen consort. These events also served as forums for new regimes to express opposition to monarchical government as the queen consort acted as an advisor to the monarch without being accountable to his subjects.

The conclusion will briefly discuss the widowhood of Henrietta Maria and the influence of Marie Antoinette's experiences over nineteenth and twentieth century royal consorts. Despite the decline of dynastic marriage as a strategic policy following the Congress of Vienna, the expectation that royalty would marry members of foreign royal houses, which persisted until the First World War, meant that the consort was significant to popular conceptions of the nation state in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. There are numerous examples of queens and princesses who became unpopular in their marital kingdoms during this period because their conception of their role appeared foreign to their husband's subjects. The most notable examples from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries are Princess Victoria of Great Britain, who married Crown Prince Frederick of Prussia in 1858, and Princess Alix of Hesse-Darmstadt, who became Empress Alexandra of Russia upon her marriage in 1858. During the same period in which these two consorts were vilified as foreigners, Marie Antoinette was the subject of romantic biographies, and Alexandra in particular expressed admiration for the queen of France. Marie Antoinette's experiences informed the situations of subsequent consorts who became unpopular due to their foreign origins.

The dialogue between Henrietta Maria, Marie Antoinette, and the respective subjects of Charles I and Louis XVI concerning the proper

role of a queen consort as a wife, mother, and head of a royal household intersects with some of the most significant topics in the history of Early Modern Europe: popular perceptions of monarchical government, foreignness, domesticity, and the public sphere between the English Civil Wars and the French Revolution. Each queen was challenged by her husband's subjects at opposite points in a continuum concerning the relationship between the state and society and the place of women within their families. The experiences of Henrietta Maria and Marie Antoinette illuminate the broader political and social changes that occurred in Early Modern Europe during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Chapter 1

Education, Example, and Expectations

Princess Henriette-Marie of France and the Archduchess Maria Antonia of Austria were born at a time when education and leadership ambitions for royal women were limited. During the sixteenth century, humanist ideals regarding the academic development of both men and women resulted in highly educated princesses schooled in foreign languages, classics, and literature in addition to the accepted feminine accomplishments of music, dancing, needlework, and piety.[1] These learned princesses were expected to have the necessary training to wield political power as the dynastic and geographical conditions of the sixteenth century enabled an unusual number of women to rule independently.[2] The prevalence of female rule during the sixteenth century attracted popular critiques[3] and the royal women of this period had to employ various means of justifying their exercise of the traditionally masculine prerogative of sovereignty.

By the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the education, political prospects, and popular expectations of European princesses had changed. The ideological climate altered to preclude widespread female sovereignty because of political and dynastic conditions including the increased availability of male heirs. The education received by royal women changed accordingly. The broad humanist training received by sixteenth century royal women fell from favor and was replaced by lessons consisting almost entirely of feminine accomplishments. Within the English context, a comparison of the rigorous classical education received by the future Mary I and Elizabeth I in the sixteenth century, and the limited schooling in domestic arts, music, and religion experienced by the future queens Mary II and Anne in the seventeenth century reveals the extent of the decline of educational standards for princesses during the Early Modern period.[4] Since both Henrietta Maria and Marie Antoinette were born the youngest daughters of large families, their educations were particularly neglected as their ruling parents assumed that these princesses were destined for comparatively

insignificant dynastic marriages. The two young women therefore received the cultural and religious education necessary to serve ornamental purposes in court spectacles. They would express regret regarding their limited academic educations when circumstances required them to engage in foreign court politics or respond to popular critiques of their reputations.[5]

Although the academic education of Henrietta Maria and Marie Antoinette reflected the low standard expected of seventeenth and eighteenth century princesses, the examples provided by their mothers demonstrated that female rule was still possible during this period. The assassination of Henrietta Maria's father, King Henry IV of France and Navarre, in 1610 allowed her mother, Marie de Medici, to become regent for her nine-year-old son, King Louis XIII. In Austria, the extinction of the Habsburg male line provided the impetus for the Pragmatic Sanction of 1713, the legal foundation for Marie Antoinette's mother, Maria Theresa, to inherit her father's domains. Both Marie and Maria Theresa faced widespread opposition to their rule, and were compelled to justify their sovereignty to their subjects to a degree unknown to male sovereigns of the period. Although the upbringing of both Henrietta Maria and Marie Antoinette was largely entrusted to governesses, the connection between the sovereign mother and her children provided a powerful means for Marie and Maria Theresa to justify wielding political power. The upbringing received by the two princesses would strongly influence their own decisions as royal mothers and is therefore crucial to the understanding of their eventual domestic roles as queens consort.

When Henrietta Maria and Marie Antoinette married, they left their families and became members of foreign royal courts without living dowager queens to provide a surrogate maternal example of acceptable behavior for a queen consort. In both seventeenth century England and eighteenth century France, there were few recent examples of politically active queens consort for princesses raised by influential mothers to emulate. Instead, Henrietta Maria and Marie Antoinette encountered both the mythology of queens consort active in previous centuries, and ideological shifts concerning the role of women within their families. In England, Henrietta Maria found her training as a defender of English Roman Catholics and participant in court theatricals in conflict with a society where there was widespread concern about recusant Catholic women married to Protestant husbands, and unfamiliarity with women on the theatrical stage.

In France, the specific role of the queen consort invited widespread scrutiny as there was a popular mythology of the evil queen who advanced her own interests and those of her children at the expense of

the French people. The legacy of the Fronde and the French Wars of Religion, which encompassed opposition to the regencies of Anne of Austria and Catherine de Medici respectively, reinforced popular hostility toward a politically active queen, particularly one who represented a foreign power. Marie Antoinette's instructions from Maria Theresa to further Habsburg interests in France placed her in opposition to the acceptable role of a French queen consort. For both Henrietta Maria and Marie Antoinette, their limited academic education, the powerful example of female sovereignty provided by their mothers, and the mythology of queenship present in their adopted kingdoms would provide the context for their eventual unpopularity as heads of royal households, wives, and mothers.

Henrietta Maria: Daughter of the Queen Regent

Henrietta Maria's position as the sixth child and third daughter of Henry IV defined her life as a princess of France from her birth in 1609 to her marriage to King Charles I of England in 1625. The source material concerning this period of her life is fragmentary. Unlike Marie Antoinette, Henrietta Maria did not discuss her upbringing in her correspondence. Since the main upheaval of her childhood concerned the conflict between her mother and her brother Louis XIII, the diplomatic correspondence of the period paid little attention to the princesses until their marriages. The two main sources concerning Henrietta Maria's childhood are the correspondence of the royal family and the journal of Louis XIII's doctor Jean Heroard. The surviving letters are often undated and addressed to "my daughter" or "my sister" making it unclear when the documents were written and whether the recipient was Henrietta Maria herself or one of her elder sisters. Heroard focused on the upbringing of the young king, mentioning his sisters only when they visited their elder brother or were involved in a significant court ceremony. Despite the shortcomings of these documents, they hint at the ornamental nature of Henrietta Maria's education and the strong influence of her mother on her upbringing.

There is scattered evidence concerning the actual subjects Henrietta Maria learned from her tutors, and the literature she encountered during the course of her education. Agnes Strickland wrote that the young princess and her elder brother Gaston, Duc d'Orleans, were tutored by the diplomat and scholar of Oriental languages Francois Savary de Breves,[6] but Quentin Bone notes that he was dismissed from court when Henrietta Maria was nine years old, limiting his opportunity

to contribute to her education.[7] An undated letter from Marie to Henrietta Maria encourages the princess to complete her exercises and attend to the instructions sent for her education, but the nature of these instructions is not discussed in the document.[8] As queen of England, the absence of booksellers from the lists of people owed payment in her household accounts suggests that she was not a great reader or a patron of literature.[9] Accounts of her wedding presents and possessions lost during the interregnum suggest her primary reading material was devotional literature including prayer books and the lives of saints.[10] She also owned a book of proverbs attributed to her late father, which she received as a wedding present.[11] As an adult, Henrietta Maria would complain that her ignorance of history made it difficult to understand the political conditions of England[12] and the numerous inaccuracies in her recorded discussions of English history and politics during her widowhood suggest that she never developed the skills necessary to engage in sustained study of these subjects.[13]

Henrietta Maria's interests as an adult provide evidence that the primary focus of her education was instruction in the tenets of the Roman Catholic faith, and training in the accomplishments necessary to participate in court ceremonies and entertainments. This education prepared Henrietta Maria for the role of queen consort as it was interpreted in France. Marie de Medici's most recent biographer argues that a foreign queen consort arriving at the seventeenth century French court was expected to perform three main roles: leader of court ceremonies, representative of the Gallican Roman Catholic piety of the royal family, and mother of the royal children.[14] The few references to the princess in diplomatic correspondence during the first fifteen years of her life concern her presence at court ceremonies from the earliest months of her infancy, when she attended the coronation of her mother and funeral of her father.

In common with her elder sisters, Henrietta Maria's eventual destiny was a politically advantageous marriage. As the youngest daughter, there was a strong possibility that she would be married into one of the cadet branches of the French royal family to ensure its continued support for Louis XIII's rule.[15] The Venetian ambassador to France referred to Henrietta Maria as the Count of Soissons's "destined bride" as late as 1623.[16] Various Italian and Habsburg princes were also potential matches for the young princess[17] until concern in both England and France regarding the diplomatic implications of a Spanish marriage for the future Charles I precipitated serious discussion of a cross-confessional Anglo-French union.[18] The Count of Soissons, however, remained the most likely future husband for the young princess throughout much of her childhood. Under these

circumstances, an education consisting entirely of French court culture and religious practices may have appeared suitable for an eventual marriage to one of her Bourbon cousins.

This parochial training was not unusual for an Early Modern European princess, particularly one who belonged to a prominent and influential royal house. Princesses from great powers such as France and Spain, who were often betrothed to foreign princes as young children, were rarely prepared for the specific customs of their future courts.[19] French and Latin were considered international languages among the nobility, and the most influential courts were considered models for less powerful dynasties to emulate. The princesses best trained to assimilate into a new court were the daughters of minor rulers, whose suitability for dynastic marriage was partially determined by their mastery of more widely spoken languages and court ceremonies.[20] Henrietta Maria's prominence as a Bourbon princess of France, and potential for marriage to a French prince resulted in an education that provided little preparation for the circumstances she would eventually encounter at a foreign court.

The presence of all the royal children at Marie's coronation in 1610, the last major court ceremony before the assassination of Henry IV, provided opportunities for court panegyrists to praise the queen's fertility and the potential for her daughters to benefit France through advantageous marriages. One ode to Marie published on the occasion of her coronation stated, "She is also the mother of three princesses, the joys of this crown desired by the foreign ones." [21] Henrietta Maria took part in the betrothal and marriage ceremonies of her elder siblings throughout her childhood, reinforcing her position at court as a marriageable princess.[22] As she entered adolescence, she began to participate in court theatricals. Her elder sisters, Elisabeth, future queen of Spain, and Christine, future Duchess of Savoy, participated in Italian style masques sponsored by their mother in her capacity as regent of France[23] but the political landscape had changed considerably by the time Henrietta Maria came of age. Louis XIII had asserted his independence from his mother, although the period of open warfare between the two factions had ended with the dowager queen's reinstatement on the royal council in 1621. During the princess's theatrical performances at the French court, most notably the 1624 *ballet de la reine*, *danse pour les nymphes des jardins*, the productions themselves were sponsored by Louis XIII's consort Anne of Austria but Henrietta Maria recited onstage odes to her mother, who was a prominent member of the audience.[24]

As an unmarried princess, her performances provided her with opportunities to demonstrate her courtly accomplishments before audiences of foreign diplomats and eventually contribute to the creation of a

romantic courtship narrative concerning the circumstances of her eventual marriage to Charles I. The heir to the English throne[25] first sighted Henrietta Maria while she was rehearsing a court ballet,[26] during his brief visit to the French court on his 1623 journey to Spain.[27] When the negotiations for the Spanish match failed and Charles instead married Henrietta Maria, the royal couple and the courtiers who composed elegies on the occasion of their marriage presented this meeting as the beginning of a romance.[28] In fact, the young princess was one of numerous court ladies involved in this particular theatrical performance and Charles was most interested in observing her sister-in-law, Anne, who played the lead role in the ballet, as he intended to marry her sister, the Infanta Maria. Since Henrietta Maria's precise role in this ballet is unrecorded in English sources, it is unlikely that she made a significant impression on Charles during his visit to the French court. As will be discussed in chapter 3, Charles would later claim that he fell in love at first sight to construct his marriage as a chivalric romance. Henrietta Maria's participation in court theatricals as a princess contributed to the manner in which she attempted to shape the public perception of her marriage as queen.

While Charles I and Henrietta Maria constructed the romantic interpretation of their first meeting after their marriage took place, English diplomats attended court theatricals to determine the princess's suitability as queen consort before the formal betrothal. The presentation of a royal masque containing a performance by a marriageable princess provided opportunities for the assessment of the potential queen consort's appearance, accomplishments, and ability to contribute to court occasions. When Henry Rich, Lord Kensington, the future Earl of Holland, attended a *ballet de la reine* in 1624, he wrote to Charles of Henrietta Maria, "Her growth is very little, short of her age; and her wisdom infinitely beyond it. I heard her discourse with her mother, and the ladies about her, with extraordinary discretion and quickness. She dances . . . as well as ever I saw any Creature; They say she sings so sweetly."[29] This account provides evidence of both the queenly attributes demonstrable through theatrical performance and the qualities considered desirable for an English consort. As queen of England, Henrietta Maria would be responsible for an independent royal household and would therefore have to converse with a wide circle of courtiers. Her proficiency in singing and dancing would enhance her participation in court occasions including the form of court masque patronized by Charles's late mother, Anna of Denmark, who used theatrical performance to shape her identity as queen.[30] Court theatricals also provided an opportunity for diplomats to observe the future queen's appearance. Henrietta Maria's short stature and childlike physique was a source of

concern to Charles and to courtiers who encountered her as a princess and newlywed queen because her appearance did not appear to be conducive to childbearing.[31] These perceived characteristics of the young princess were observed by English diplomats through attendance at theatrical performances, which demonstrated the importance of Henrietta Maria's cultural education to her future position.

In contrast to Henrietta Maria's courtly education, where the attributes expected of French and English queens consort overlapped, her religious education reflected French Roman Catholic interests alone. In Henrietta Maria's lifetime, cross-confessional dynastic marriage served as a means of attempting to negotiate toleration and a public presence for the minority faith in a princess's marital kingdom. The shifting diplomatic climate, which often resulted in numerous successive betrothals for royal princes and princesses, meant that even the most junior royal personage in the seventeenth century had to be trained for the eventuality of maintaining their faith during a cross-confessional marriage. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, cross-confessional royal marriages were rarer, involving spouses who were comparatively diplomatically insignificant.[32] In contrast to Marie Antoinette, who married another Roman Catholic in a period of widespread anticlericalism, Henrietta Maria's religious education was of strong political and diplomatic significance.

The religious influences on Henrietta Maria included diverse interpretations of piety, missionary activity, and obedience to papal authority. The Gallican devotional practices at the Bourbon court meant that a Roman Catholic French princess and her household were not necessarily representatives of the papacy as the Protestant English and Scottish public would often assume. This religious diversity helps to explain the different approaches to her role as a Catholic queen consort that Henrietta Maria adopted during her marriage and widowhood. Her religious education as a child was entrusted to the Sisters of the Carmelite Order,[33] whose devotions focused on the veneration of the Virgin Mary who was also the patron saint of Henrietta Maria's mother, and a significant figure in the queen regent's iconography.[34] Marie had attempted to reinforce her own legitimacy as regent through the public espousal of conventional Roman Catholic piety, incorporating her devotional practices into her public image and patronizing religious orders such as the Carmelites and Franciscans.[35]

In contrast to Louis XIII, who favored an Anglo-French alliance for military purposes, Marie regarded the marriage of her youngest daughter to Charles as an opportunity to alleviate the persecution of English and Scottish Catholics and eventually restore the allegiance of the Stuart kingdoms to the papacy.[36] When Henrietta Maria arrived

in England, her household contained both Oratorian priests, who viewed their position through the lens of Counterreformation missionary activity[37] and members of the Capuchin order, who were considered moderate by Protestant observers compared to the proselytizing Jesuit order.[38] During her time as a queen consort and dowager queen in England, Henrietta Maria would adopt both Oratorian and Capuchin approaches to Catholic observance. When the majority of her French household was dismissed in 1626, the French ambassador attempted to secure the restoration of the queen's priests with the argument that they were not members of the Jesuit order and therefore would not attempt to spread the Catholic faith in England and Scotland.[39] Henrietta Maria attempted missionary activity as a young bride and widow but accepted Protestants in her circle as a mature queen.

Henrietta Maria's correspondence around the time of her wedding and the nature of the religious clauses in her marriage contract demonstrate that as a young princess, she perceived herself to be a champion of the Catholic faith in England. The phrasing of her 6 April 1625[40] letter to Pope Urban VIII, who granted the dispensation necessary for the Catholic princess to marry the Protestant Charles I, reveals the influence of her religious education on her attitude toward her future position. In the letter, she promises the pope that she will appoint only Catholics to the households of her children, "Following the good training and instructions of the Queen my mother."[41] This statement demonstrates that the young princess identified with the religious goals of her mother regarding the English marriage. Henrietta Maria also wrote in this letter that her elder brother Louis XIII had given her instructions, influenced by the terms of the papal dispensation, regarding the maintenance of her own faith and the improvement of the position of English Catholics.[42] She wrote, "I have learned and understood, through my lord the king, the careful and prudent counsels and advice which it has pleased your highness to give him, on the occasion of the treaty made in reference to my marriage to the Prince of Wales."[43] Henrietta Maria's impending marriage resulted in the king of France and the pope taking a direct interest in the development of her religious education. In her capacity as queen of England, the French princess would have the potential to further Catholic interests abroad and her religious education was clearly tailored to prepare her for this role, providing the context for an eventual conflict with Charles I's Protestant subjects.

The religious clauses of the marriage contract between Charles and Henrietta Maria reflected the promises the princess made in her letter. The contract stated that Henrietta Maria's household would contain twenty-eight priests including a Grand Almoner appointed to oversee her Catholic chapel, all her attendants would be French, Roman

Catholic, and appointed by Louis, and she would have authority over the upbringing of her children until they reached the age of thirteen.[44] These terms infringed on Charles's authority as Henrietta Maria's husband as well as the sovereign of her adopted kingdom because they theoretically gave his wife and her brother sole authority over the construction of the royal household and the upbringing of his children. The contract further reinforced Henrietta Maria's autonomy from her husband because it forbade Charles from attempting to impose his own influence on the religious education his wife had received as a French princess, stating, "His Majesty the King of Great Britain is by oath bound not to endeavour by any means at all to have his said Queen to renounce or forfeit the Catholic, Apostolic and Roman religion nor compel her to do anything whatsoever that is contrary to the said religion."[45] Henrietta Maria's freedom of conscience, which was guaranteed by her marriage contract, disappointed Protestant subjects of Charles who hoped for her conversion and fueled popular concerns regarding recusant Catholic wives in Church of England households.

The selective nature of Henrietta Maria's education shaped her attitude toward her background as a French princess throughout her adult life. Her absence of instruction in European history and governance, combined with the political upheaval that occurred in France during her childhood, precluded an understanding of herself as a representative of a unified French kingdom. As Caroline Hibbard argues, "Henrietta Maria's approach to international politics was personal, dynastic, or cultural rather than nationalistic."[46] The conflict between Louis and Marie divided the queen's loyalties to her natal family throughout much of her tenure as queen consort, with her sympathies often aligning with the grievances of her mother. Her strong cultural and religious training also encouraged her to regard herself as a member or patron of extra-national institutions such as the Catholic Church, the Baroque artistic movement of the seventeenth century, or the extended family of European monarchs. This worldview would inhibit her ability to understand the eventual anxieties of Charles's subjects, who would observe her household, relatives, and tastes through the lens of her French background.

Henrietta Maria's paltry academic education and strong cultural and religious training also reflected the influence and priorities of her mother. From 1601 until 1610, the year of Henrietta Maria's birth, Marie was queen consort and developed a prominent public profile as a wife and mother.[47] In contrast to Henry IV's first wife Marguerite de Valois, and the daughters-in-law of Henry II, Marie's image was well known through the commission of double portraits of the royal couple.[48] The births of all six of her children occurred publicly at either Fontainebleau palace or the Louvre to demonstrate the legitimacy of

the royal line,[49] a practice that would continue until Marie Antoinette's tenure as queen consort. Despite the often repeated assertion that the arrival of a sixth child and third daughter was so insignificant to Henry IV that he "hardly turned his attention from the gaming table" on hearing of Henrietta Maria's birth,[50] Heroard's journal indicates that he was close at hand throughout Marie's labor.[51] The queen consort received additional income upon the birth of each one of her children beyond the Dauphin.[52] The prominence granted Marie and all six of her children demonstrates that Henry considered the public recognition of the entire royal family significant to the legitimacy of the House of Bourbon. Henrietta Maria's position as a wife and mother would be equally politically significant during her marriage to Charles.

Scholars continue to debate whether Marie fulfilled the seventeenth century conception of the "good mother" in her relationship with her children. The expectations seventeenth century mothers encountered were different from the ideals expressed by Rousseau's *Emile* and other Enlightenment works concerning the family that would influence Marie Antoinette. Marie de Medici and other elite women were expected to make decisions that ensured the health, safety, education, and spiritual welfare of their children but the actual childrearing was usually conducted by servants under the supervision of a head governess.[53] The future Charles I and Henrietta Maria were both raised in nurseries typical of royal households of the period, interacting with their governesses and tutors daily and visiting their mothers on infrequent formal occasions.[54]

In contrast to the numerous other French queens who were vilified at the time of the French Revolution, such as Catherine de Medici and Anne of Austria, there have been few efforts to rehabilitate Marie's reputation. Twentieth century scholarship generally argues that the queen regent failed to achieve even seventeenth century parenting ideals, comparing Marie unfavorably with her more demonstrative husband.[55] Twenty-first century works display a more balanced analysis of Marie's activities as a parent.[56] The scholarly debate concerning Marie's behavior as a mother is not reflective of her actual relationship with her youngest daughter, Henrietta Maria. Henry IV was assassinated during the princess's infancy and therefore did not serve as a figure of comparison to her mother. Instead, the most prominent figure involved in Henrietta Maria's upbringing was her governess, the Marquise de Montglat, who acted in close consultation with Marie. Louis XIII received his own household in the Louvre at the time of his accession but Montglat, whom the children called Mamangat,[57] remained in charge of the Duke d'Orleans and the princesses until their marriages. In contrast to the current view that Marie Antoinette was the first French queen consort

to actively interfere with the autonomous position of the Governess to the Children of France,[58] Marie's letters to Montglat provide detailed instructions concerning the medical care the children should receive, the structure of their households, and the necessary frequency of inspections of the royal nursery.[59] Marie also corresponded with all of her children, making frequent inquiries about their health and education and often enclosing small gifts, such as jewelry, for her daughters.[60] Henrietta Maria would engage in a similar style of correspondence with her own children, demonstrating the enduring influence of her mother.

During the first eight years of Henrietta Maria's life, Marie occupied the role of regent for the young Louis, wielding direct political power in a kingdom where the Salic law forbade the ascension of a queen regnant.[61] The regent's three daughters were crucial to her diplomatic goals during this period because the negotiation of their marriages to foreign princes would cement treaties and enhance the prestige of the House of Bourbon without transmitting succession rights outside of France.[62] Henrietta Maria was not permitted to accompany her mother upon her exile from Paris to the Chateau Blois in 1617 but traveled with her to the outskirts of Paris[63] and continued to correspond with her until her reinstatement on the royal council.[64] Marie provided Henrietta Maria with an example of a queen who wielded political power, lost her position, then fought to regain a measure of her former influence. The former regent was able to utilize both her status as mother of the sovereign and ability to exploit factionalism within the French nobility to regain her place on the royal council in 1621 after a period of exile from Louis's court. Henrietta Maria formed a close attachment to her mother that would influence her own decisions as a wife, mother, and head of a royal household in England.

Henrietta Maria: The Intercessor from France

When Henrietta Maria became queen consort in 1625, she encountered a populace with strong opinions concerning French spouses of English monarchs, Catholic wives married to Protestant husbands, and the legacy created by the most recent queen consort of England and Scotland, Anna of Denmark. The new queen would have to address these critiques to defend her own conception of her position. The precedents set by Anna regarding the queen's household will be discussed in greater detail in chapter 2, and the popular perception of recusant wives will be addressed in chapter 3. The view of French princesses who married English monarchs and the expectations these princesses encountered upon their marriages, however, directly demonstrates the conflict between Henrietta Maria's upbringing and her position as a wife and will be discussed here.

During the mid-seventeenth century, popular attitudes toward previous queens consort of French origin were often contradictory. Supporters of Henrietta Maria's marriage noted positive examples while opponents described instances of political upheaval caused by the arrival of French princesses in England. From 1066 to 1272, all the queens consort of England, with the exception of Henry I's first wife Edith (Matilda) of Scotland, were born in modern day France.[65] Seventeenth century writers searching for comparisons to Henrietta Maria did not mention this early succession of French queens. The English queens of this period were not members of this rival French royal house but princesses of regional French powers such as Provence, Navarre, Louvain, Angoulême, and Aquitaine. The expectations they faced were very different from those of the seventeenth century.

The perception of continental queens as distinctly French dates from the reign of Edward II, whose marriage to Isabelle of Valois provided a direct connection with the ruling French dynasty. Since the Salic law was first publicly invoked during Isabelle's lifetime, the royal marriage provided the English royal family with a plausible claim to the French throne, which served as one of the eventual pretexts for the Hundred Years' War. Isabelle's marriage and those of successive French queens often took place amidst Anglo-French conflict, cementing the popular perception of such queens consort as Katherine of Valois and Marguerite of Anjou as members of distinctly foreign royal houses. The mythology concerning these queens was spread through English drama of the sixteenth century. Katherine and Marguerite appeared in William Shakespeare's history plays representing the potential for peace and war with France respectively while Isabelle was a prominent instigator of political upheaval in Christopher Marlowe's play, *Edward II*. In both the Shakespeare and Marlowe plays, consorts of French origin clearly belong to a foreign royal family and become prominent through military conflict or court intrigue. This perception of French princesses as members of a foreign royal house whose interests were often contrary to those of England permeated both positive and negative comparisons of Henrietta Maria and previous English queens consort of French origin.[66]

The official celebrations in honor of the marriage between Charles I and Henrietta Maria addressed the new queen's origins, emphasizing the positive attributes of previous French queens consort in England. This reinforcement of the marriage's virtues was necessary because the concessions to Catholicism in the marriage contract and the long delay between the proxy marriage and Henrietta Maria's arrival in England attracted criticism from a diverse array of sources. There was widespread opposition to the marriage in England because of the bride's background and religion. The Venetian ambassador observed,

"The English in general and the Puritans abhor this alliance. The former because they are afraid of losing their bread, and that the French and Scots, natural allies, may unite to their disadvantage; the Puritans desire no marriage, except with the reformed religion, because that is their interest."[67] This account demonstrates that the arrival of a foreign queen had the potential not only to exacerbate tensions between England and France but also to expose the weaknesses inherent in the dynastic union of the English and Scottish crowns. Since the two kingdoms shared only a monarch and not a parliament, differing attitudes toward foreign policy had the potential to undermine the fragile political cohesion of Great Britain. Charles attempted to stem debate concerning the marriage by proroguing the English parliament until Henrietta Maria's arrival[68] but the delays created by the issue of the papal dispensation and the health of Louis XIII meant that the members had to remain in London during plague season at their own expense.[69] Official celebrations proclaiming the merits of the marriage were therefore essential to ensuring that Henrietta Maria received a positive reception as the new queen consort.

When Charles and Henrietta Maria reached Canterbury on her first English progress from Dover to London, they were greeted with an official speech delivered by Sir John Finch extolling the merits of previous French princesses who became English queens consort. Finch stated, "From a daughter of France came Edward the third of England, a glorious and happy prince. By another match with a daughter of Charles the Sixth did our Henry V reconcile those differences, which the sword and war could never do betwixt us."[70] Although this speech celebrated the achievements of Isabelle and Katherine respectively, their names were not directly stated, implying that part of their achievement as English queens consort was their complete identification with their husbands and children. Finch also omitted the decisions these princesses made as individuals, which transgressed the expectations they faced as wives, mothers, and widows.[71] Instead, he declares that a harmonious marriage between Charles and Henrietta Maria would lead to a peaceful alliance between England and France.[72]

The favorable interpretation of the marriage appears to have prevailed in 1625. The people of Canterbury lit bonfires to celebrate the new queen's arrival[73] as the Londoners had done upon learning of the proxy marriage in France.[74] The writings of elite women of the period reveal that ambitious noble parents insisted that their daughters learn French in the hopes of increasing their chances of joining the queen's household.[75] As Henrietta Maria's popularity declined, the negative precedents concerning French queens were publicly reasserted. Lucy Hutchison, the wife of the Puritan parliamentary commander Colonel

John Hutchison, seized upon popular distrust of the queen's antecedents, writing in her memoirs, "and it hath been observed that a French Queen never brought happiness to England."[76] While Hutchison was writing long after Henrietta Maria's direct involvement in the English Civil Wars, her comparison of the queen to previous French queens consort in England demonstrates the mythology concerning Isabelle, Katherine, and Marguerite in the seventeenth century popular imagination.

The republican newsletters of the English Civil Wars were more specific in their comparisons between Henrietta Maria and controversial French queens of English monarchs, particularly Marguerite. While Henry VI's consort has a positive place in French popular mythology,[77] the English accused her of prolonging the Wars of Roses because of her military activities on behalf of the House of Lancaster.[78] *Mercurius Britannicus* drew a direct comparison between the military activities of Henrietta Maria and those of Marguerite, who was the queen's most recent predecessor as a French princess married to an English sovereign. The newssheet stated that Henrietta Maria should not "plot the ruin of a famous nation, and afterwards to ramble up and down Christendom (like another Marguerite, who yet had better cause) that weapons and wildfire might not be wanting to increase the flame in England."[79] The popular association between English consorts of French origin and strife in England would be reinforced by Henrietta Maria's active role in the English Civil Wars.

Henrietta Maria's role as queen was the focus of an equally varied array of expectations. Until recently, scholars have judged that she did not conduct herself appropriately without discussing exactly what behavior was expected of an English royal consort in the mid-seventeenth century.[80] The absence of immediate precedents made the expected duties of an English consort difficult to define. Henrietta Maria had the precedents set by her late mother-in-law to follow for such matters as the organization of the queen's household[81] or the staging of court masques but Anna established her position as a wife and mother at the Scottish court in Edinburgh long before James VI succeeded to the English throne as James I. The long reign of the unmarried Elizabeth I allowed the position of consort to fall into abeyance and the spouses of sovereigns reigning from the time of Marguerite to that of Henrietta Maria faced frequent attacks against their legitimacy and were the focus of varying degrees of popular controversy.

The grounds for critiques of previous royal consorts included transgression of accepted gender roles, attempts by claimants to the throne to discredit a rival branch of the royal family, and dubious legitimacy. Edward IV's queen, Elizabeth Woodville, the widow of a Lancastrian knight, was widely suspected of corruption and witchcraft and her

marriage would be declared invalid by Richard III.[82] This decree challenged the legitimacy of her daughter, Henry VII's spouse Elizabeth of York, who was also the target of popular scrutiny because Richard III appeared to consider his young niece a possible successor to his own consort, the ailing Anne Neville.[83] Henry VIII's funeral oration only mentioned his marriages to Jane Seymour, the mother of Edward VI and Catherine Parr, his wife at the time of his death because his four other marriages had been declared invalid for reasons spanning from consanguinity to adultery. Although there is evidence that Mary I's husband, Philip II of Spain, occasionally performed the intercessory role associated with English queens consort, his gender, religion, and status as the ruler of a foreign power made him the focus of popular distrust.[84] Henrietta Maria therefore became queen consort during a period when there was no recent example of an indisputably legitimate and exemplary royal spouse for her to emulate. While Marie Antoinette would be told by Maria Theresa to follow the example of Louis XV's queen, Marie Leszczynska,[85] Henrietta Maria would be reminded by French Ambassador Francois de Bassompierre that she would be wise to obey her husband because queens had been beheaded in England.[86]

Despite the controversial reputations of Henrietta Maria's predecessors there have been recent attempts to define the qualities that an ideal royal spouse was expected to possess in mid-seventeenth century England. The ideal queen consort would be the mother of many children, conduct her marriage with the same deference expected of any Englishwoman, serve as social leader at court, and play a symbolic role within the monarchy that precluded involvement in the actual exercise of sovereignty.[87] The identification of these broad categories is the first step toward understanding the expectations Henrietta Maria faced as queen but the discussion of conflicting ideals held by religious and economic subsets of the English population is necessary for a full understanding of her position.

While Charles's Protestant subjects expected Henrietta Maria to refrain from involvement in the business of government, Roman Catholics of all social backgrounds hoped the queen would influence her husband to alleviate their persecution. The Venetian ambassador wrote as early as 1622, when a Spanish marriage was under consideration for the Prince of Wales, that Catholics hoped Charles's marriage would "facilitate the conversion of the kingdom wherein the public exercise of the princess alone, not to speak of the queen and her household, would serve as a great example and undoubtedly win over many souls."[88] This observation encapsulates the complications inherent in any broad description of the ideal English queen consort.

While Protestants might favor a queen whose position in monarchical government was entirely symbolic, Catholics hoped that Charles's bride would revive a medieval conception of royal marriage in which the monarch dispensed justice but the consort had the ability to intercede on behalf of those condemned.[89] This intercessory role was expected of medieval queens and those consorts who instead identified with the masculine prerogative of conquest or harsh enforcement of royal prerogatives were often unpopular.[90] The practice of queenly intercession fell into relative disuse during the Wars of the Roses as consorts such as Marguerite of Anjou and Elizabeth Woodville and royal mothers such as Margaret Beaufort displayed the same degree of ruthlessness as male members of the royal family.[91] The expectation of intercessory queenship enjoyed a brief revival during the reign of Henry VIII when Catherine of Aragon gained widespread popularity on account of her requesting the king's mercy for rioting apprentices, and Jane Seymour unsuccessfully attempted to intercede on behalf of the participants in the Pilgrimage of Grace.[92] By the early seventeenth century, however, the long absence of a queen consort at the English court and James I's well-known distrust of female involvement in the business of government[93] had removed intercession from the widely expected duties of the sovereign's wife.

The challenge that the English Reformation posed to the intercessory role of saints, including the Virgin Mary further undermined the desirability of an intercessory queen at the Protestant English court. Nevertheless, English Catholics retained the ideal of the queen consort as an intercessor and the French diplomats who negotiated the union of Charles I and Henrietta Maria incorporated this role into the marriage contract.[94] The young princess's religious education predisposed her to view herself in this intercessory role, preferring the conception of the queen consort's position favored by English Catholics instead of the symbolic role favored by English Protestants. A queen who attempted to intercede on behalf of the Catholic minority in mid-seventeenth century England therefore placed herself in a fundamentally divisive position, fulfilling a conception of queenship that English Protestants considered to be antiquated or even dangerous. The perceived political and military advantages to Great Britain of an Anglo-French marriage alliance encouraged Charles's representatives to accept clauses suggested by Louis and Marie that reflected French interests but would ultimately undermine her popularity with Protestants.

Henrietta Maria faced a complicated array of expectations from Charles's subjects when she arrived in England as queen consort in 1625. A queen consort of French origin might be viewed positively as a peacemaker or negatively as an instigator of further hostilities but popular

perceptions of her would always be framed by conceptions of the foreigner. The popular mythology of French princesses as English queens consort provided Charles's subjects with a wide variety of archetypes, allowing Henrietta Maria to be compared with Katherine of Valois in the context of her wedding celebrations, and Marguerite of Anjou in the context of the English Civil Wars. The ideological schism created by the English Reformation and the absence of recent positive examples of English queens consort precluded the existence of a unified set of popular expectations directed toward Henrietta Maria's position. Instead, Protestants largely expected the new queen to occupy a symbolic role at court while Catholics hoped the consort would follow the older tradition of intercessory queenship. Henrietta Maria's education and the example provided by her mother did not provide her with the full range of training necessary to navigate the complex and often contradictory expectations that she would face as the head of a royal household, wife, and mother at the English court.

Marie Antoinette: The Fifteenth Child

As a married dauphine and queen, Marie Antoinette would participate in prodigious correspondence with Maria Theresa. During her first fourteen years as an archduchess of Austria, from 1754 to 1770, however, evidence of instructions transmitted from mother to daughter by letter is fragmentary. In contrast to Henrietta Maria, who shared her governess with all her siblings and therefore received the same instructions concerning her upbringing as the more prominent members of her family, Maria Antonia and the sister closest in age to herself, Maria Carolina, had a designated governess, Countess Brandeis, who appears to have received few precise guidelines concerning their education beyond piety and feminine accomplishments in a manner that would ornament the court. Childhood portraits of the archduchesses commissioned by their mother portray them engaged in art, music, or needlework. A 1762 drawing of Maria Antonia by Jean-Etienne Liotard shows her holding a spindle while a 1768 painting by Franz Xavier Wagenschon depicts the young archduchess at the harpsichord. As the two youngest daughters, Maria Antonia and Maria Carolina were expected to make the least significant marriages and their education was not a priority for their parents.

Although Maria Theresa complained of her own limited education upon her ascension to the Habsburg dominions,[95] she took little direct interest in the instruction of her own daughters.[96] One historian describes Maria Theresa's education as "absurd," stating that she appears to have learned little more than manners, music, and religion while

another notes that her husband, Francis of Lorraine, was appointed to the Privy Council at the time of their marriage while she was not permitted to even listen to the debates until her accession.[97] Maria Theresa's awareness of her own educational limitations combined with her desire to establish her husband as the authority within the domestic sphere of the royal household meant that the instruction of all the royal children fell under Francis's authority. He designed an extensive educational program for his sons but expected his daughters to focus their studies on feminine accomplishments and religious education.[98] Brandeis appears to have been a particularly undemanding instructor, shortening the hours devoted to reading and writing, and allowing her charges to devote their time to dancing, riding, and sleighing around the Schonbrunn estate, where the Imperial family spent their summers.[99] As dauphine and then queen of France, Marie Antoinette would occasionally express awareness of her inadequate education.[100] Her memories of her early childhood, however, were happy ones. As dauphine, she would write to Maria Theresa in 1773 that she wished that she could be transported back to Schonbrunn Palace.[101] Campan also noted the queen's nostalgic perspective toward her childhood, observing that she frequently discussed her early youth with her and the other ladies-in-waiting.[102] Marie Antoinette's positive memories of her childhood and family in Vienna would influence her political goals as queen and her decisions regarding the upbringing of her own children.

The nature of the youngest archduchess's upbringing changed abruptly in 1767 when smallpox caused a series of deaths and disfigurements among her elder sisters, precipitating her betrothal to Dauphin Louis-Auguste, grandson of Louis XV and future king of France. Maria Theresa suddenly assumed personal control over her youngest daughter's education, appointing the French cleric, the Abbe Jean de Vermond, to inculcate the knowledge of languages, history, and literature that Brandeis had neglected to teach. Vermond presented this material through short lessons about personalities rather than ideas. This approach was necessary because the haphazard education of Maria Antonia's childhood had not only failed to provide her with the knowledge necessary for her future role but had neglected to inculcate the concentration and interest in sustained study necessary to acquire these skills later in life.[103]

Maria Theresa and her advisors attempted to extend Marie Antoinette's education beyond her marriage, encouraging her to devote her mornings to reading, an activity Vermond complained that his pupil detested.[104] In the first letter Maria Theresa wrote to Marie Antoinette upon her departure from Vienna in 1770, which the empress presented as a rule that should be read every month, the fourteen-year-old bride

is reminded of the importance of reading for her own edification.[105] In a subsequent letter, Maria Theresa asks her daughter how much time she devotes to spiritual readings,[106] while a letter written the following year notes that she has been waiting for a list of the dauphine's reading material.[107] The empress wanted to direct her daughter toward more serious pursuits than gambling, dancing, and horseback riding, which Maria Theresa feared would undermine Marie Antoinette's reputation, damage her relationship with her husband, and, in the case of riding, possibly prevent her from conceiving children.[108] The empress also envisioned reading as a means to bring Marie Antoinette and Louis Auguste closer together as the dauphin expressed admiration for a number of serious authors including the Scottish philosopher David Hume. Marie Antoinette dutifully ordered Hume's works as well as a number of historical works recommended by Vermond for her reading list but it is unknown whether she finished these works or discussed them with her husband.[109]

In contrast to Henrietta Maria, who left little evidence concerning the books she acquired for her personal library beyond religious works, the receipts for Marie Antoinette's literary subscriptions still exist, providing evidence of the books she bought. The complete catalogue of her personal library in the Petit Trianon, which divides the library by subject matter, provides further evidence of her taste in literature, demonstrating her interest in collecting dramatic works for her personal theater.[110] In common with the historical works mentioned in the letters to Maria Theresa, it is difficult to discern the degree of attention Marie Antoinette paid to these books but the presence of readers in her household suggests that she might have listened to the works being read aloud while she went about other tasks. The books she acquired in 1785 include a number of sentimental novels with titles such as *Romeo et Juliet et Adelaide* and *Affection et Innocence*[111] as well as plays such as Shakespeare's *A Winter's Tale* and early romanticist literature including Johann von Goethe's *The Sorrows of Young Werther*.[112] One of the most interesting acquisitions for Marie Antoinette's library is a subscription to Louise de Karalio's *L'Histoire d'Elizabeth, Reine d'Angleterre*. Karalio was one of the first recognized French female historians,[113] and Marie Antoinette's purchase of the book suggests that she was interested in promoting female writers, just as her patronage of Elisabeth Vigée LeBrun encouraged the acceptance of women artists. The evidence of all these literary purchases demonstrates that despite her limited and haphazard education, Marie Antoinette engaged with elements of French literary culture. The amount and seriousness of her reading may not have met the expectations of Maria Theresa or Vermond but she appears to have followed popular literary trends.

The role of an eighteenth century French queen consort had changed little since the time of Marie de Medici. Like Marie, Marie Antoinette was expected to give birth to male heirs, display accepted Gallican Catholic piety, and occupy a leading role in court ceremonies. The consequences of the seven year gap between Marie Antoinette's marriage and birth of her first child have received extensive analysis and will be discussed further in chapter 4. The differences between Marie Antoinette's religious background and attitude toward court ceremonies, and the expectations of her subjects regarding these two roles, however, has received less attention. Marie Antoinette's perceived foreignness in the realms of piety and ceremony stemmed directly from her education and the example of Maria Theresa.

In common with Henrietta Maria, Marie Antoinette's religious education had the potential to become a point of contention between her foreign heritage and the expectations of her husband's subjects. While Henrietta Maria was a devout Roman Catholic who expected to intercede on behalf of Roman Catholics in the face of widespread Protestant opposition, Marie Antoinette was raised at the Habsburg court, which retained strong Jesuit influence, then married the grandson of Louis XV, who had expelled Society of Jesus from France in 1764. This decree followed a bitter ideological struggle between court supporters of the Jesuits and adherents of the more ascetic Jansenist movement that rapidly gained popularity among the urban bourgeoisie.[114]

In Vienna, Maria Theresa's tutors had been Jesuits who inculcated the future empress with extensive religious instruction following the ideals of their order.[115] Despite this background, there is evidence that Parisian Jansenists had clear expectations of Marie Antoinette as a potential intercessor within the French court because of the sympathy she expressed toward Jansenist individuals. When a widowed Jansenist bookseller and her sons were imprisoned in the Bastille and then was sentenced to expulsion from Paris by Louis XV, Marie Antoinette interceded on their behalf and invited them to Versailles over the objections of the archbishop of Paris.[116] This action attracted the praise of Jansenist observers,[117] but seems to have reflected Marie Antoinette`s general benevolence toward mothers, and patronage of female professionals rather than any specific interest in Jansenism.

Maria Theresa advised her daughter to follow the example of Louis XV's late queen Marie Leszczynska in her own activities at the court of Versailles.[118] Nevertheless, she was aware of the controversy created by past Jesuit influence at the French court and advised Marie Antoinette in numerous letters to refrain from discussing the Society of Jesus in

France. In the letter that Marie Antoinette was expected to reread on a monthly basis, Maria Theresa warned against encounters with Jesuits on the journey from Vienna to Strasbourg stating, "There remains for me still a point with regard to the Jesuits. Do not enter into any discussions either for or against them."[119] If Marie Antoinette engaged in discussions concerning this topic at the French court, she would draw attention to her uneasy position as a foreign princess. Her situation paralleled that of Henrietta Maria, who excluded Jesuits from her Roman Catholic household in England because of her Gallican religious background and the hostility toward this order expressed by Protestants.

Although France and the Habsburg Empire were both ruled by Roman Catholic royal families, the differing perspectives regarding the Jesuits demonstrated that even a princess of the same faith as her husband had the potential to be perceived as foreign on the basis of her religious education. Maria Theresa would complain bitterly when the pope abolished the Jesuit order in 1773[120] but she did not intend for her daughter to display any form of piety that might alienate popular opinion in France. Marie Antoinette's marriage contract contained economic clauses alone without the religious autonomy provided for Henrietta Maria when she married Charles. Despite the differences between the Gallican Catholicism of the French court and the stronger adherence to papal dictates at the Austrian court, Marie Antoinette was expected to engage in the devotional practices of the Bourbon court without concessions to her own religious background.

As a young archduchess, Marie Antoinette excelled at the feminine accomplishments that were central to court life at Versailles such as dancing and participation in cultural activities.[121] The boundaries between public and private spaces at court, however, differed significantly between Vienna and Versailles, placing Marie Antoinette at a disadvantage amidst French court ceremonies when she became dauphine. The structure of Versailles allowed all the monarch's subjects to observe numerous aspects of his domestic life. The daily rising (*lever*) and bedding (*coucher*) ceremonies allowed members of the court to participate in the daily routines conducted by the king and queen, assisting the royal couple according to their places in the order of precedence. Members of the public had access to both the palace and gardens at Versailles on the condition that they arrived in proper attire. Booths established at the palace gates rented the required swords for men, allowing visitors of modest means to observe the royal family alongside the members of the court.[122] During the reign of Louis XVI, more than ten thousand people visited Versailles daily, including the three to four thousand nobles who had been presented officially to the monarchs at court.[123]

The structure of the court remained similar whether the French royal family was in residence at Versailles or at one of their country estates at Marly, Fontainebleau, or St. Cloud.

In contrast, the Habsburgs presented themselves publicly to their court through specific activities such as church attendance but domestic apartments such as bedrooms were not public spaces.[124] While previous emperors had displayed themselves to their subjects through dining in public, in the manner of Versailles, Maria Theresa did not favor this practice.[125] The country palaces such as Schonbrunn and Laxenburg were not open to public scrutiny in the manner of the staterooms at the Hofburg in Vienna, allowing the Imperial family a degree of domestic privacy unknown in France. Financial constraints exacerbated by the costly War of the Austrian Succession and Seven Years' War undoubtedly contributed to Maria Theresa's decision to gradually eliminate the formal "Spanish" ceremonial practices favored by her father.[126] The young Marie Antoinette therefore expected to be a prominent participant in court ceremonies but also be able to withdraw from this environment into a domestic space accessible only to her family and intimate friends. She expressed nostalgia for her childhood at Schonbrunn throughout her life.[127] Her attempts to create a Habsburg influenced private domestic sphere in France would undermine her popularity and damage her reputation among her husband's subjects.

The most significant influence over all aspects of Marie Antoinette's education and worldview was her mother, Empress Maria Theresa. The respect and admiration Marie Antoinette demonstrated regarding her mother was clearly evident to the members of her household at the French court, including Jeanne Campan, who wrote, "The Queen often spoke of her mother, and with profound respect . . . Maria Theresa, who inspired awe by her great qualities, taught the Archduchesses to fear and respect rather than to love her, at least as I observed it in the Queen's feelings towards her august mother."[128] Despite this clear evidence of Maria Theresa serving as an example for Marie Antoinette, early biographers of Marie Antoinette, such as Stephen Zweig, underemphasized the relationship between mother and daughter.[129] Recent historians have convincingly challenged this older interpretation of Marie Antoinette's relationship with Maria Theresa, devoting extensive analysis to the interplay demonstrated by the copious correspondence between mother and daughter.[130] The example of Maria Theresa as a female ruler informed both Marie Antoinette's actions and popular perceptions.

In contrast to Marie de Medici, who assumed the position of regent without organized opposition, Maria Theresa faced a prolonged military struggle to secure the Habsburg inheritance after the death of Charles

VI in 1740. During the War of the Austrian Succession, in which France supported the territorial ambitions of Frederick the Great of Prussia at the expense of Austria, Maria Theresa skillfully established her personal authority by combining the traditionally masculine attributes of sovereignty with the feminine attributes of motherhood. The most famous example of this duality occurred when Maria Theresa addressed the Hungarian nobility in 1741 with her infant son, the future Joseph II, in her arms, imploring them to support her claim to the throne.[131] While the terms of Hungarian support for Maria Theresa's claim to the Habsburg inheritance had already been established in a series of meetings preceding this dramatic moment,[132] the presence of the infant heir at Pressburg represented both an appeal to the chivalry of the nobles and a pledge that Hungary would eventually have a king. Political moments involving Maria Theresa's children contrasted with the existence of a private sphere at court where the Imperial family could conduct its domestic life away from a public audience. Marie Antoinette's conception of motherhood would display similar contradictions. She would attempt to reinforce her own legitimacy as a political actor and public figure through her role as mother and also attempt to establish a form of private domestic sphere.

Maria Theresa's relationship with her beloved husband, Francis of Lorraine, presented similar contradictions. The empress's position as a sovereign "political hermaphrodite"[133] complicated her relationship with her consort because he occupied the roles of subject and husband. Maria Theresa addressed the gender ambiguities created by her position by alternating the roles of empress and wife depending on the setting. Within the private sphere, she deferred to her husband, but often ignored his advice in the political arena. In both settings, the Imperial couple presented a united marriage to their subjects. Count Otto Christopher Podewils, the first Prussian envoy appointed to the Habsburg court since the War of the Austrian Succession observed this tension in 1746, writing, "She especially tries to belie the weaknesses of her sex and to strive for virtues which are least suitable to her and which few women possess. She even seems angry to have been born a woman."[134] Despite this potential for conflict, Francis appears to have accepted the limitations of his position and there was little evidence of discord within the Imperial marriage.

The roles Maria Theresa and Francis occupied in their anomalous marriage did not serve as an effective example for their daughters because the archduchesses became consorts of foreign monarchs instead of sovereigns. Despite her own experience, Maria Theresa advocated traditional wifely behavior for her daughters, writing to Maria Christina, "You know that we women are subject to our men, that we

are obligated to be obedient to them, and that our single endeavour should be to serve our husbands… Even though many examples seem to belie this view, I can by no means release you from your duty to follow it."[135] Marie Antoinette received similar advice in a letter from her mother that stated, "The wife is entirely submissive toward her husband and need not have any occupation but to please him and do his wishes… All depends on the wife, if she is kind, sweet and amusing."[136] Both letters demonstrate a clear contrast between the example set by Maria Theresa's marriage, and the advice she gave her daughters on the occasion of their own marriages. The empress's expectation that her children's marriages should advance the political interests of the House of Habsburg would further complicate the attitudes concerning wifely behavior that the archduchesses brought to their marital homes. Marie Antoinette would never achieve the appearance of marital harmony that strengthened Maria Theresa's position as both a wife and empress at the Habsburg court.

When Marie Antoinette married Louis-Auguste in 1770, she possessed contradictory instincts concerning her new position as a wife and potential mother, which had been shaped by her inconsistent education and the complicated example of her parents' marriage. Attempts at intensive instruction prior her marriage achieved only limited success because she did not have the concentration necessary to absorb vast amounts of new knowledge. Nevertheless, Marie Antoinette attempted to follow her mother's dictates regarding devoting part of each day to literature and would acquire various genres of literature for her library as queen. The powerful example of Maria Theresa provided Marie Antoinette with ideas of royal marriage and motherhood that would not effectively translate into a different environment.

Marie Antoinette: Cementing the Franco-Austrian Alliance

When Marie Antoinette arrived in France, she faced a relatively cohesive body of popular opinion concerning both the political implications of her marriage and the reputations of previous French queens consort. This unified body of popular expectations contrasted with the diverse responses to Henrietta Maria's arrival in England the previous century. Both advocates and opponents of Louis Auguste's marriage to Maria Antonia viewed the union as an attempt at peace between two political entities that had been in conflict for decades. Whether a Franco-Austrian alliance was desirable was a matter of debate in 1770 but the perception that the Habsburg Empire as a recent enemy of

France was nearly unanimous.[137] The marriage marked the dramatic reversal of the long-standing French policy of forging alliances against the Habsburg Empire.

In addition to emphasizing Marie Antoinette's Austrian background, the celebratory verse published upon Marie Antoinette's marriage compared the bride to mythological and classical figures instead of past queens consort. Marie Antoinette's initial marital status as a dauphine instead of a queen and her position as the first Austrian archduchess to marry a French royal heir since 1570 may partially explain the absence of queenship allegories. The overtly negative or ambiguous reputations of previous queens of France, however, suggests that even if the bride had arrived from a traditionally friendly kingdom to marry a reigning king, classical allegory would have remained the most uncontroversial means of celebrating her virtues. Pamphlet literature written during the French Revolution reprinted the most scandalous and violent stories concerning certain Roman, Frankish, and French queens, such as Messalina, Brunhilda, Fredegunde, Isabeau of Bavaria, Catherine de Medici, and Marie de Medici in an attempt to discredit Marie Antoinette. At Marie Antoinette's trial before the Revolutionary Tribunal in 1793, public prosecutor Antoine-Quentin Fouquier stated in his opening address, "In the manner of the Messalinas-Brunhildas, Fredegunds and Medicis, that one called in other times Queens of France, whose names forever hateful will not be erased from the annals of history, Marie Antoinette has been since her time in France the plague and the bloodsucker of the French."[138] Negative attitudes toward French queens consort, however, existed long before the Revolution, precluding comparisons between the royal bride and her predecessors.

Marie Antoinette entered French territory through Alsace-Lorraine, provinces that had previously been claimed by both the Bourbon and Habsburg kingdoms and would continue to be disputed territory between France and Germany until the twentieth century. The festivities ordered by Louis XV, and organized by the prominent members of the nobility who held influential administrative and ecclesiastic positions in these regions, were not only designed to impress the bride and curious onlookers but to make a broader statement about the supposed unanimous support among French elites for the Franco-Austrian alliance and the prosperity of Alsace-Lorraine under French rule. The actual economic difficulties experienced by the inhabitants of Strasbourg in the 1760s and the continued opposition to the alliance in certain elite circles were ignored during celebrations.

The theme of newfound Franco-Austrian cooperation, expressed by published pamphlets celebrating the wedding of Louis Auguste and Marie Antoinette, was established by the official speeches and

celebrations that welcomed the archduchess onto French soil. The formal handover of the bride from the Habsburg Empire to France, in a specially constructed pavilion on a neutral island in the Rhine River, is the most well-known aspect of Marie Antoinette's bridal journey to France. The impact the replacement of Marie Antoinette's Austrian household and trousseau with French equivalents was in fact minimized by the numerous references to Austria and Lorraine in the subsequent wedding celebrations. Austrian nobles may have been dismissed from Marie Antoinette's household but they were able to travel independently to France to attend the celebrations, a circumstance that would have temporarily increased the number of German speaking foreigners in French cities, reinforcing the bride's origins.[139] Although Marie Antoinette entered her new kingdom in a French dress, surrounded by French ladies-in-waiting, her antecedents would be noted in every city she visited on her journey to Versailles.

Cardinal Constantine de Rohan, archbishop of Strasbourg, set the tone for the wedding celebrations in his speech celebrating the Franco-Austrian alliance. Rohan did not deliver the speech himself but instead left Strasbourg while Marie Antoinette was still in residence to oversee the wedding festivities in nearby Saverne, leaving his nephew, Louis de Rohan, to actually convey his sentiments to the bride and the assembled onlookers.[140] The House of Rohan had opposed the Franco-Austrian alliance and the cardinal's decision to delegate the actual speech while still remaining involved in the celebrations may have been a means of reconciling both the king's commands and his own family's political interests. Louis de Rohan's eventual notoriety as a central figure in the Affair of the Diamond Necklace has informed analysis of his role in the marriage festivities.[141] Since Marie Antoinette eventually rejected Rohan's attempts to become a member of her inner circle and supported Louis XVI's decision to publicly prosecute him for his role in the commission of the necklace, the effect of this first meeting between the future queen and the future cardinal interests Marie Antoinette's biographers. The political significance of his speech and its impact on both French and Austrian observers is obscured by this focus on future events. In 1770, Louis de Rohan was not viewed as the eventual "Cardinal *Collier*" but a representative of one of France's most prominent families welcoming an Austrian archduchess as the future queen of France.

In his speech, the young Rohan extolled the marriage as an opportunity for friendship between France and Austria and praised Maria Theresa as a newfound ally for the House of Bourbon.[142] This emphasis reflected French popular opinion. While the Habsburg Empire was considered a long-standing opponent of French interests, Maria Theresa's moral character inspired personal respect in France.[143] An

anonymous letter published in Amsterdam describing the wedding celebrations quoted Rohan's speech in detail stating, "It is the soul of Maria Theresa who goes to link with the soul of the Bourbons: Of such a beautiful union the Golden Age must be reborn."[144] The publication of the speech demonstrates that Rohan's sentiments spread far beyond the welcoming committee of Strasbourg notables and the assembled townspeople who witnessed the parades and military reviews celebrating the marriage. The praise for Maria Theresa would have also created the impression the Rohans endorsed the marriage. The perceived support of one of France's oldest and most influential families was necessary for the marriage to gain a certain degree of popular acceptance.

The lavish celebrations in Strasbourg that accompanied Rohan's speech emphasized the themes of prosperity brought by French rule over the disputed region of Alsace-Lorraine and highlighted customs distinct to the region. This approach allowed Louis XV to demonstrate the justice of his sovereignty over these provinces without offending his new allies thought it did not necessarily reflect the actual economic or social conditions of Alsace-Lorraine. The inhabitants of Strasbourg owed more than 5,000,000 livres in back taxes to the crown and a remonstrance sent to Louis XV the previous year described the city as "un théâtre de bankroutes."[145] While the improvement of the facades of city buildings, fireworks, mass entertainments, and theatrical performances had the immediate effect of glorifying Louis XV's sovereignty in a disputed region, the inhabitants would have ultimately found their financial obligations to the crown increased by the splendor of festivities. Marie Antoinette's eventual reputation as "Madame Deficit" was prefigured by the lavish celebrations in her honor that worsened the financial situation of already economically depressed regions.

The factionalism within the French nobility regarding the Franco-Austrian alliance was obscured by the emphasis in the wedding celebrations on customs that were "Alsatian" rather than French or German and the commissioning of classical allegories instead of performances of historical events for the bride's entertainment. Strasbourg itself contained a variety of architectural styles reflecting its shifting place in Europe's political structure. The presence of a cathedral in the French style amid German style houses made it the ideal setting for celebrations intended to cement a Franco-Austrian alliance.[146] The local notables Marie Antoinette received during her stay in Strasbourg were dressed in local Alsatian costume for the celebrations,[147] which had the effect of obscuring which families had specifically French or German antecedents. For Marie Antoinette and the assembled observers, the city of Strasbourg appeared to be a place where people of both backgrounds lived in harmony with their own distinct traditions, enjoying prosperity under the

benevolent rule of Louis XV. Any evidence of unpleasant realities was kept apart from the wedding celebrations, as demonstrated by Goethe's amusement at the decree that people with disfiguring skin conditions were to stay out of sight during the archduchess's visit to Strasbourg.[148] Marie Antoinette's first impressions of France obscured both the dire financial situation that would eventually precipitate the French Revolution and the continued opposition to the Franco-Austrian alliance among the nobility particularly within Alsace-Lorraine.

The obscuring of the history of hostility between France and Marie Antoinette's Habsburg and Lorraine ancestors was effective in Strasbourg but the façade of harmony could not be maintained within the rigid court etiquette of Versailles. During the planning of a fancy dress ball designed to rival the celebrations in Vienna that preceded the archduchess's departure, the king gave permission for Anne Charlotte, princess of Lorraine, to dance after the princes of the blood but before the dukes and peers. This disruption to the usual order of precedence outraged the French nobility who threatened to boycott the ball and collected two hundred signatures on a petition that stated the reasons for this drastic action.[149] Louis XV managed to calm the overt anger among the courtiers by promising that the duchesses would dance ahead of representatives of the House of Lorraine at the next ball. This event gave the most influential nobles at court reason to resent her from the outset of her marriage to the dauphin.[150] The circumstances of the handover on the border between France and the Habsburg Empire suggest that the purpose of subsequent wedding celebrations was to integrate the bride into her husband's family and kingdom. Nevertheless, a variety of elements in these festivities including the welcoming speech in Strasbourg, the published odes describing the role of the marriage in the Franco-Austrian alliance, and the "Affair of the Minuet" at Versailles all reinforced Marie Antoinette's status as a foreign princess.

In the accounts of these festivities, there are glimpses of Marie Antoinette's own attempts to reconcile her Austrian heritage with her French marriage. Unlike Henrietta Maria, whose marriage contract promised her a French household, respect for the religious observances of her youth and direct control over the upbringing of the children, Marie Antoinette's marriage contract focused exclusively on her financial settlement as dauphine.[151] The bride would therefore have had little expectation of respect for Austrian court traditions in her new home. There is evidence that Marie Antoinette initially attempted to assert her identity as a French dauphine over the actions of French notables whose behavior emphasized her foreignness. The Baronne Henriette d'Oberkirch wrote that when a Strasbourg notable addressed Marie Antoinette in German, the dauphine firmly replied, "Don't speak to

me in German, From now on I want to hear no language but French."[152] She continued to assert her new identity upon her arrival at the French court. The dauphine's apartments at the royal palace of Compiegne were not ready upon her arrival and the ceiling of the queen's bedchamber of Versailles was in disrepair and had to be replaced.[153] The ongoing renovations allowed the bride to express an opinion concerning her surroundings, issues that had been the preserve of Maria Theresa, Louis XV, and Anne d'Arpajon, Countess de Noailles, the appointed mistress of Marie Antoinette's household, before the dauphine's arrival in France.

While architect Ange-Jacques Gabriel envisioned an elaborate ceiling incorporating the double-headed eagle symbol of the Habsburg Empire, the dauphine expressed a preference for a simple flat ceiling with a rose pattern.[154] While Ian Dunlop argues that her preference for the simpler ceiling reflected a desire to move into Marie Lesczynska's former rooms as quickly as possible, her remarks concerning her preference for the French language in Strasbourg indicate that she was eager to alleviate hostility toward her ancestry by emphasizing her allegiance to France. The queen's bedroom was a public space, where she would experience the daily ceremonial *lever* and *coucher*, and give birth to her children in front of witnesses. Her preference for the rose ceiling, which was ultimately overruled by Louis XV in favor of the architect's preferred design, reflected her desire to assimilate into French society within the public sphere. Marie Antoinette's initial eagerness to please the French people contrasted markedly with the approach adopted by Henrietta Maria, who was married in a dress emblazoned with fleur de lys, emphasizing her own ancestry.[155] Henrietta Maria's public declaration of her French identity reflected her confidence in the comparative stature of the Bourbon court over the Stuart court in contrast to the dauphine's marriage, which was the union of two powerful dynasties. Despite Marie Antoinette's conciliatory sentiments, the transition between Habsburg and French practices was clearly challenging for the young bride.

The lengthy wedding festivities were extremely tiring for Marie Antoinette who was unaccustomed to being continuously in public view. The "Intendant of the Menus," Monsieur de Ferte, recorded in his description of the festivities that the dauphine found herself exhausted because in Strasbourg and Nancy, the receptions continued through dinner. He notes elsewhere in his account that during the wedding celebrations in Vienna, the bride dined in public but retired with her family immediately afterward.[156] Louis XV anticipated his new granddaughter-in-law would be confused by differences between French and Austrian court customs. In a ten page letter to de Noailles, the king noted that the etiquette at Versailles was very different from that of Vienna and

that it was essential that the new dauphine be properly trained for her new role.[157] Marie Antoinette would behave as though de Noailles was concerned with protocol for its own sake and refer to her as "Madame Etiquette" but the goal of the Mistress of the Household was to smooth the dauphine's transition between two different court cultures.

Marie Antoinette was aware that the transition from foreigner to Frenchwoman had been experienced by previous dauphines and queens of France with varying degrees of success. The household presided over by de Noailles contained numerous figures who had served Marie Lesczynska.[158] These ladies-in-waiting seemed ancient to the fifteen-year-old dauphine but they had the best knowledge of a queen consort's role at the French court. Maria Theresa encouraged her daughter to listen to de Noailles's advice[159] but she also reinforced Marie Antoinette's duty to her family in Vienna. The empress advised that she maintain regular contact with the ambassador from her country of origin, in the manner of both Marie Lesczynska and Maria Josepha of Saxony.[160] Marie Antoinette therefore had to inhabit two contradictory roles as a fully French dauphine and an informant for the Habsburg Empire.

The negative mythology surrounding previous queens consort demonstrates that few of her predecessors had successfully balanced these roles in the popular imagination. As early as 1610, when Marie de Medici received her long delayed coronation, even the celebratory verse found it difficult to find beloved predecessors for comparison to the newly crowned queen. One noteworthy ode remarked that Marie was the seventh Queen Marie of France and that she would be the most fortunate because the previous Maries led unhappy lives.[161] Despite the festive occasion for this ode, the exact misfortunes of the previous Queen Maries, not to mention their foreign antecedents, are listed in detail as though to serve as a warning for Henry IV's consort: "Seven Maries of seven diverse nations…All the other Maries had no happiness other than the name. Marie of Moravia was repudiated, Marie of Brabant was accused of poisoning the eldest son of her husband, Marie of Luxembourg died…in the first year of her marriage."[162] The pamphlet goes on describe the subsequent Queen Maries and their unhappy marriages, scandals, or premature deaths. The litany of negative statements in a published document ostensibly celebrating a queen consort's coronation demonstrates long-standing French anxieties concerning the position of the monarch's wife.

The negative perceptions of previous French queens consort expressed in the seventeenth century reached a wider audience by the time of Marie Antoinette's marriage. Increased literacy rates, the introduction of subscriptions for long works, such as the *Encyclopedia* edited by Denis Diderot and Jean le Rond d'Alembert, and the expansion of

the pamphlet press allowed stories previously transmitted through conversation and occasional documents to be spread relatively quickly to a large audience. Late eighteenth century writers also distinguished between fictional and historical narratives, lending historians a degree of authority that they had not enjoyed when these genres overlapped to a greater degree.[163] The *Encyclopedia* provides numerous examples of scattered tales of queen consorts from medieval chronicles and the oral tradition, synthesized into an authoritative sounding narrative. The entry about Archbishop Gregory of Tours reinforced the negative mythology surrounding the Frankish Queen Brunhilda, stating, "But the principle trait of the life of St. Gregory that all moralists have condemned is how he prostituted himself through praise to insinuate himself in the friendship . . . of Queen Brunhilda, one of the most malicious women on earth."[164] The negative mythology surrounding Brunhilda was so pervasive that it blackened the posthumous reputation of members of her circle in addition to the queen herself.

Narrative histories written during the late eighteenth century adopted a similar tone, lending perceived authority to the negative mythology of previous French queens consort. In Marie Antoinette's time, female writers who defined themselves as "historiennes"[165] praised reigning foreign queens such as Elizabeth I, but reiterated negative portrayals of French queens consort. In 1783, Marie Genevieve Charlotte Thiroux d'Arconville published a *History of Francois II*, in which she describes his mother, Catherine de Medici, as "a woman without character, who combined all the weaknesses and vices of every type . . . using them as needed for her insatiable ambition and satisfaction."[166] de Karalio would portray Catherine in a similar vein, emphasizing her dissimulation then applying that trait to all French queens consort.[167] Marie Antoinette's descent into extreme unpopularity would be marked by comparisons to previous queens consort who were not mentioned in the festive atmosphere and classical allegories of the wedding celebrations.

The common characteristics of the celebratory odes and speeches marking the wedding of Archduchess Maria Antonia to Dauphin Louis Auguste revealed both French perceptions of the marriage and attitudes toward queens consort in France. The wedding celebrations continually reinforced her role in cementing the Franco-Austrian alliance. Rohan's speech in Strasbourg praising Maria Theresa, the attempts of various notables to address her in German, the redecorating of the queen's bedchamber to include the Habsburg double-headed eagle, and the emphasis on her paternal lineage in the Affair of the Minuet all reinforced her foreign heritage as an archduchess of Austria and princess of Lorraine. The omission of comparisons to previous French queens consort during the festivities is equally significant. Repeated comparisons between

the bride and virtuous women of antiquity masked the long-standing negative mythology surrounding previous queens consort, which had existed in France for centuries. Marie Antoinette therefore began her marriage with the twin disadvantages of clearly demarcated foreign origins and the reputation of French queens consort. Both these factors would undermine her popularity and legitimacy as queen of France.

Henrietta Maria and Marie Antoinette: The Conflict between Education, Example, and Expectations

For Henrietta Maria and Marie Antoinette alike, the manner of their education, the example of their powerful mothers, and the attitudes of their future subjects were contradictory, leaving ample room for conflict between the way they perceived their own role and the expectations of the people they would encounter in their adopted homelands. The education they received strongly reflected the values of their kingdoms of origin without regard for the differing customs of the places where they would reside as wives. Henrietta Maria's religious education as a devout Roman Catholic would arouse the suspicions of the Protestant English while Marie Antoinette's expectation of a private domestic sphere in the manner of the Imperial family in Vienna would challenge French court protocol.

Both Henrietta Maria and Marie Antoinette were the youngest daughters of mothers who wielded direct political power during a period when female sovereignty was comparatively rare and both France and the Habsburg Empire had legal strictures against queens regnant. While Marie has been judged by certain historians as failing to fulfill the requirements of seventeenth century elite motherhood, Henrietta Maria clearly loved and respected her, modelling her religious observances and expectations of a political role on her example. Marie Antoinette appears to have received little of her mother's attention until negotiations for her marriage began. Nevertheless, the conflict between Maria Theresa's sovereignty over the Habsburg Empire and her insistence that her daughters conform to accepted gender roles would profoundly shape her daughter's experiences.

The reputations of past queens consort shaped how Henrietta Maria and Marie Antoinette were perceived at the time of their marriages. In seventeenth century England, the scarcity of recent examples of queens consort meant that there was little consensus regarding the desirability of the position and what duties it entailed. Since there was a long history of intermarriage between English and French royal houses, there

were plenty of examples to inform a broad range of debate about the role of dynastic marriage in Anglo-French relations. In eighteenth century France, the mythology concerning previous queens consort was uniformly negative and the rarity of previous royal marriages between French princes and Austrian archduchesses meant that there were few precedents for direct comparisons.

Both the seventeenth century English and Scots, and the eighteenth century French, however, were united by their uneasiness concerning the proximity of a foreign princess to the center of power. Although the festivities surrounding their weddings were intended to be celebratory, the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Archbishop of Strasbourg alike emphasized that the royal bride was there to cement an alliance and extensively discussed her foreignness. In both kingdoms, the most effective means for a new royal wife to gain popularity was through the conspicuous abandonment of their heritage but the diplomatic imperatives governing dynastic marriages made this transition difficult. The uneasiness expressed toward both Henrietta Maria and Marie Antoinette demonstrates popular anxieties concerning women in positions of influence and early conceptions of nationalism. Although the inhabitants of seventeenth century England and eighteenth century France engaged in diverse cultural practices and often spoke different languages, they could all agree that the king's wife represented a foreign power that was often hostile to their collective interests. While Henrietta Maria's religious background was most significant to her reputation, Marie Antoinette's Austrian origins received the most criticism from the eighteenth century French. As foreign born queens consort, both Henrietta Maria and Marie Antoinette would have to defend themselves in their roles as head of a royal household, wife, and mother.

Chapter 2

Governing the Queen's Household

As queens consort, Henrietta Maria and Marie Antoinette became mistresses of vast households of servants and legal administrators of numerous estates. The bestowal of these households and properties as dower lands in exchange for an actual or promised dowry was crucial to the legitimacy of an Early Modern European royal marriage. The precise nature of a princess's settlement was central to the diplomatic negotiations that sealed a union between two sovereign powers. The extent of the dower lands, size of the household, and the degree of autonomy the bride received in the management of these spheres reflected the balance of the power between royal houses. Once married, the administration of the household and estates provided the consort with opportunities for cultural, religious, and political patronage, allowing her a relatively independent space to further her own conception of her role as wife to the sovereign and mother of the royal children.

Comparison of the two households demonstrates that the central conflict both queens experienced concerning household governance was between their own inclination to appoint personal friends to high office and the popular expectation that royal servants would be selected according to their existing status and reputation. The foreign background of the two queens intensified this conflict as any favorites who owed their position entirely to the consort would be perceived as beholden to the political interests of other kingdoms. The goals Henrietta Maria and Marie Antoinette sought to achieve differed according to the political, ideological, and religious conditions of their lifetimes. Nevertheless, the legitimacy of Charles I and Louis XVI respectively was undermined by the widespread perception that they were unable or unwilling to control their wives.

The queen's actual servants and estates provided opportunities for popular scrutiny of monarchical government. In both mid-seventeenth century England and late eighteenth century France, however,

the precise composition of the household was larger in the popular imagination than in actual practice. The widespread experience of service in Early Modern Europe meant that Charles's and Louis's subjects had a clear framework for critiquing the governance of the consort's household. In seventeenth century Britain and eighteenth century France, servants were engaged by employers from a diverse range of social backgrounds and the mistresses of these households were expected to treat the servants as dependents, similar to their own children.[1] Members of the royal family and friends without official positions were often discussed by observers within the framework of the "Queen's household" regardless of the individual's position. The actual household, however, consisted exclusively of personnel who served the queen directly including ecclesiastical figures, ladies-in-waiting, administrative staff, and servants of the chamber, table, and stables.[2] Each queen's own perception of her household therefore referenced a narrower range of people than the critiques that mentioned the "court" and "household," providing additional opportunities for observers to perceive impropriety and mismanagement.

When Henrietta Maria and Marie Antoinette married, their authority over a small satellite court transferred to a household whose prominence was only superseded by that of the king. The royal families of England and France largely shared the familial conception of service held by their subjects. Royal personages throughout this period took an intense interest in the religious observance, marriages, and incomes of their servants.[3] In the French diplomatic correspondence concerning the composition of Henrietta Maria's household, the servants are described as "the Queen's Family."[4] The opportunities for political advancement provided by the queen's household made the background and character of its members a target of particular popular scrutiny. Prominent courtiers enjoyed opportunities for financial and social patronage and opportunities to influence government policy through proximity to the royal couple. Both Henrietta Maria and Marie Antoinette were accused of interfering with state business by attempting to advance their own favorites through governance of their households.

The accepted Early Modern gender hierarchy was complicated within royal families by the vast lands and incomes granted queens consort by the terms of their marriage contracts and the degree of autonomy they exerted over household appointments. The views of the king himself varied as Charles attempted to exert control over Henrietta Maria's household appointments while Louis allowed Marie Antoinette to make appointments and dispense patronage independently. In contrast to each king's married female subjects, whose goods became the property of their husbands upon marriage, both Henrietta Maria and

Marie Antoinette were landowners in their own right. Henrietta Maria was explicitly exempt from the coverture laws that applied to English married women,[5] allowing her to hold property in her own name and be sued independently. While a series of legislative acts passed by Louis XIV attempted to impose patriarchal control over female property ownership and marital choices,[6] prominent women close to the monarch managed their own incomes and estates.

Since Henrietta Maria and Marie Antoinette came to be perceived as the most prominent authorities within their respective households, the behavior of their social circle and servants reflected upon their character and legitimacy. When Henrietta Maria arrived in England, she was accompanied by hundreds of French servants. They were greeted with suspicion because of their Roman Catholicism and foreign origins. These negative feelings intensified when privately circulated newsletters spread rumors of inappropriate behavior by these servants that appeared to prevent the young Henrietta Maria from performing her duties as a wife.[7] When Charles expelled a large number of the French servants the following year, his decision was greeted with enthusiasm as he appeared to be firmly asserting his authority.[8] The perception that Charles was the master of his family, including both royal households, did not last because Henrietta Maria rewarded those courtiers whom she personally favored[9] and maintained an active correspondence with her dismissed French servants.[10] By the outbreak of the English Civil Wars, the queen's household was widely regarded by all social estates as a site of foreign intrigues, conversion to Catholicism, and moral transgression.

In contrast to Henrietta Maria, Marie Antoinette was not permitted to bring Austrian servants to France at the time of her marriage. The French tradition that queens consort dismiss the attendants from their country of origin combined with the bride's initial status as dauphine enabled the House of Bourbon to exert stricter control over Marie Antoinette's household for the first four years of her marriage. The conflict between Marie Antoinette's wishes concerning her household and the expectations of the court and general populace occurred after Louis XVI's ascension to the throne.[11] Like Charles and Henrietta Maria, both Louis and Marie Antoinette experienced increased popularity when there appeared to be masculine and sovereign authority over the consort's household then lost this favor as the queen's power appeared to increase. Marie Antoinette's ascent in this realm after Louis became king was clear to observers because she broke established precedents, and revived long discarded titles and honors to reward her friends. The position of Superintendent of the Queen's Household was revived for Marie-Louise of Savoy, Princesse de Lamballe in 1774. Gabrielle

Polastron, Duchesse de Polignac became Governess to the Children of France in 1782.[12] The bestowal of these positions, which included sizable incomes, prestige, and opportunities for patronage, on women who did not belong to the highest circles of court precedence undermined the queen's popularity at court.

While Henrietta Maria was widely criticized for turning a blind eye to immorality at court,[13] Marie Antoinette faced accusations that she personally participated in indecent acts with members of her circle.[14] Hunt and Thomas have argued that the defamation of the queen reflected broader cultural conditions independent of Marie Antoinette's agency[15] but the relationship between the perceived locus of authority over the household and her popularity demonstrates that critiques followed irregular appointments and unusual decisions regarding her estates. This negative perception of the queen's household contributed to the explosion of the revolutionary pamphlet literature undermining the legitimacy of the queen consort and by extension the king.

Neither Henrietta Maria nor Marie Antoinette succeeded in defending themselves against disapproval of the structure and behavior of their respective households. Henrietta Maria did not directly defend her household arrangements until the 1640s, leaving this role to Charles until the outbreak of the English Civil Wars. Louis and Marie Antoinette made attempts to address the accusations of fiscal irresponsibility by publishing economy measures within their households but they did not counter the rumors of immorality in the queen's circle. The subjects of Charles and Louis viewed the royal household as a public entity as it provided an opportunity for the political advancement of courtiers, received a sizable public expenditure and helped set the moral tone of the court.

Henrietta Maria: Demanding an Autonomous Household

When Henrietta Maria married Charles in 1625, she had definite ideas concerning the proper management of a queen's household. The most important prerogative that she insisted upon throughout her marriage was the right to make appointments independently, in the manner of her mother and late mother-in-law.[16] Marie's widowhood and Anna's maintenance of an establishment separate from that of her husband enabled both queens to make decisions concerning appointments to their households without recourse to male authority. The factions that developed in these autonomous households often opposed the

sovereign's policies. When Louis XIII asserted his majority, one of his first acts was to arrest prominent Italian members of his mother's household.[17] Anna's circle expressed different political ideas than that of James and her court periodically became a center for opposition to the king's policies.[18] Despite the tensions created by these courts, Henrietta Maria regarded the autonomy enjoyed by her mother and late mother-in-law as evidence that appointments to the consort's household should occur independently of sovereign authority. The marriage contract, however, did not make clear which queens would serve as precedents for the privileges enjoyed by Charles's wife, stating, "The said Queen's house shall be kept with much dignity and with so great a number of officers as any had that was Queen of England."[19] As discussed in the preceding chapter, there were few immediate English examples to provide precedents for what the dignity of a queen consort's household entailed. Henrietta Maria would cite Anna's experience throughout her disputes with Charles concerning her French household despite the ambiguity of her marriage contract.[20]

The culture of the autonomous household that Henrietta Maria expected to manage as queen consort was strongly informed by the servants who had attended upon her since childhood. From 1615 to 1622, Henrietta Maria shared a household of fifty servants with the sister closest in age to herself, Christine.[21] At the age of twelve, Henrietta Maria received her own household, consisting of sixty-two servants. Many of the attendants assigned to her service were members of her childhood staff and would accompany her to England. For example, Jeanne de Harlay, Madame St. Georges, the daughter of Montglat, is listed as a sub-governess in 1615, a governess in 1622, and Mistress of the Household and Groom of the Stool in 1625.[22] Members of other prominent court families favored by Marie such as the Ventelets and the Garniers also appear on all three household lists. A prominent subgroup within the two hundred person household that accompanied Henrietta Maria to England was therefore servants she had known all her life and would have considered family.

The long-standing relationship between Henrietta Maria and a significant proportion of her prominent servants may explain the informal relations that existed within the newlywed queen's household. Foreign ambassadors and English observers alike commented on the comparative absence of decorum within the French household. The Venetian ambassador to London wrote in a dispatch dated 13 November 1625,

> His Majesty [Charles I] requested the ambassador to wean the queen from certain degrading ceremonies introduced of yore by the French attendants, and especially from betaking herself on solemn festivals to

> some small rooms built like a monastery at the top of her palace, where she remains without decorum, as she did lately on All Saints' day. The king seems very vexed about this, and Bassompierre [The French Ambassador] does not approve, but the queen is obstinate and very determined.[23]

These ceremonies and observances were cherished long-standing traditions for Henrietta Maria and appear to have included fasts and other penances that created perceived equality between the queen and her servants. Charles had markedly different ideas concerning etiquette within the royal family as he introduced boundaries and decorum at the Stuart court unknown during the reign of James I, and expressed admiration for Spanish ceremonial court culture.[24] The formality and strict social hierarchy that Charles expected of his wife's household did not reflect her previous experiences as a princess of France.

Correspondence between French diplomats provides further evidence of the queen's determination to be the independent head of her household. They describe the refusal of the Duke of Buckingham's female relatives, and other candidates favored by Charles and his advisors, within the context of the consort's autonomy over appointments. In July of 1626, when Charles insisted that Buckingham's sister and niece, the Countess of Denbigh and the Marchioness of Hamilton, be admitted to the queen's household,[25] Henrietta Maria's almoner, the Bishop of Mandé wrote to Cardinal Richelieu, "On [her] refusal, the Queen took the occasion to tell him that she objected extremely of this procedure, because the Queen, her mother, and all the preceding Queens had always the free provision of their households."[26] Whether Henrietta Maria referred to preceding English or French queens is not recorded but since she rarely referred to Charles's female ancestors beyond his mother, it is possible that she referenced continental traditions. Henrietta Maria regarded Buckingham as an upstart and made clear that she would have no confidence in his relatives.[27]

Conflict regarding religious observance within the queen's household highlights a further expectation expressed by Henrietta Maria. The terms of the marriage contract appeared to guarantee a Roman Catholic household and grant positions to French people alone with future appointments accessible to both English and French Catholics. Various statements in the contract also appear to exclude Charles from decisions concerning the queen's household, reinforcing Henrietta Maria's desire for autonomy within this sphere, including, "All the household servants…will be Apostolic, Catholic and French by birth and chosen or appointed by his most Christian Majesty [Louis XIII], and if it happen that any of them should die or that the aforesaid lady be willing to change her said servants than she shall take in their stead

other Catholics, French or English."[28] While there is a brief mention in the contract of the necessity of Charles's consent for changes to his wife's household, Henrietta Maria and her brother appeared to have had the most control over household appointments. The experience of the different customs at the English court did not alter Henrietta Maria's determination to preside over a household that was autonomous, comparatively informal, and exclusively Catholic.

Henrietta Maria was compelled to develop a new conception of the queen consort's household following the dismissal of the majority of her French servants in 1626 for reasons that included Charles's personal dislike of the foreign household, the treatment of the Huguenots preceding the 1627 siege of La Rochelle, and the failure of Louis XIII to pay the full amount of his sister's dowry. This change in personnel challenged all three of the expectations of her household that she brought to her marriage. The households of Charles and his wife became closely linked, with members of the same English noble families serving in both places.[29] The courtiers from Buckingham's sphere of influence whom she repeatedly rejected during the early months of her marriage were formally sworn in,[30] and Protestant nobles joined her household.[31] Even the general atmosphere of comparative informality that Henrietta Maria had experienced since childhood changed abruptly with the appointment of unfamiliar English servants to her household. The Venetian ambassador wrote, "The extreme formality and outward decorum with which the queen is now waited on by the English ladies, so contrary to French custom and familiarity, begins to weary her Majesty, who leads a very discontented life, as she is not allowed either to speak or to write save in their presence."[32] Despite Henrietta Maria's attempts to secure the reinstatement of her original household with its distinctly informal culture through various means including appeals through diplomatic channels, direct protestations to Charles, and, according to the French ambassador, a hunger strike,[33] the changes were permanent and the queen had to adopt a new role as head of her household.

The most immediate effect of the dismissal of the French household was the regularization of Henrietta Maria's income and dower estates as promised by her marriage contract. The initial household was expensive to maintain and Henrietta Maria appeared to have been unable to discharge her debts while supporting her French servants.[34] The appointment of staff to oversee Henrietta Maria's English property remained a topic of contention between the royal couple during the late 1620s and Charles appeared to have been reluctant to honor all the material provisions of the marriage contract. This document stated that the queen would receive a jointure of eighteen thousand pounds sterling per year as well as additional funds for the maintenance of

her servants and twenty thousand pounds for the purchase of jewels.[35] These provisions were not immediately honored; a situation further complicated by the nonpayment of the expected second half of Henrietta Maria's dowry.[36]

Although there were previous English queens consort who never received their full dowries, most notably Catherine of Aragon, Louis XIII's failure to provide his sister's promised settlement appeared to be a particular slight to Charles I because his other sister Elisabeth received her full dowry in addition to plate and jewels upon her marriage to Philip IV of Spain.[37] The Venetian ambassador observed irregularities regarding Henrietta Maria's maintenance in April, 1626, noting, "Someday the king will be obliged to establish and assign to the queen the dominion due to her."[38] The queen's precarious financial situation would create further difficulties because the dismissed servants would later claim they had loaned the queen money to compensate for the absence of her jointure income.[39] The financial records in the domestic state papers for 1625–1626 provide evidence that Henrietta Maria did receive payments toward the maintenance of her household during the early months of her marriage[40] but the absence of a dedicated set of jointure estates created the perception of financial distress.

Henrietta Maria's financial situation improved beginning in 1627 due to a systematic assessment of the wages owed to her servants[41] and the granting of a vast array of jointure estates such as the Duchy of Lancaster[42] and residences including Somerset House, Oatlands, and Denmark House.[43] The settlement bestowed upon the queen by Charles I increased further in 1631,[44] granting her additional income that amounted to 30,000 pounds,[45] which translated into increased stature and opportunities for patronage. While Henrietta Maria's household included a council of treasurers and surveyors appointed to maintain palaces, collect rents and income from wardships, and pay pensions and wages to the Consort's household,[46] there is evidence of the queen's personal involvement in the administration of these lands. Henrietta Maria oversaw the queen's Court in Chancery at Westminster, which was active throughout her reign,[47] and she appointed a new solicitor general in 1626.[48]

Through the queen's Council of Revenue she also received a diverse array of petitioners in conjunction with the management of her household including Anna's former servants seeking employment in the new queen's household.[49] Henrietta Maria took a close interest in the personal welfare of her servants. Her financial records contain detailed lists of the pensions owed to elderly retainers and the portions to be paid upon marriage.[50] Henrietta Maria preferred to arrange these marriages herself and appears to have disapproved of ladies of the bedchamber

marrying without her involvement.[51] She also spent large sums on gifts for her household, particularly during New Year's celebrations.[52] The household may not have been entirely autonomous following the dismissal of the French servants but Henrietta Maria's direct involvement in its administration increased as Charles's reign progressed, allowing her to make decisions regarding the welfare of her servants within the boundaries set by the sovereign.

Henrietta Maria also utilized her position to engage in extensive social and cultural patronage, enhancing her own prestige and legitimacy as queen. These two spheres of activity were closely intertwined because involvement in a royal masque served as a means of bestowing favor upon select members of the household and the content of these spectacles allowed the queen to project an idealized image of French culture, Catholicism, and the internal dynamics of her household. Marie Antoinette would also sponsor court theatricals during Louis XVI's reign but she would treat them as part of her private sphere rather than her public image.

From 1625 to 1631, however, Henrietta Maria involved herself in few masques and there is comparatively little evidence concerning the preparation of these spectacles.[53] Since 1631 saw the increase of her dower income, financial considerations may have dictated the comparative absence of spectacles at the queen's court in the early years of her marriage. In contrast, the 1630s were a period of intense cultural activity with regular theatrical performances showcasing the talents of Henrietta Maria and her household.[54] While Anna preferred exotic spectacles featuring female warriors, Henrietta Maria favored pastoral masques that emphasized harmony, love, and beauty, demonstrating the connections between her household and that of Charles.[55] While the queen's patronage over these masques affirmed that her household occupied a separate space from that of her husband, the content of the spectacles presented the two main royal households in harmony with one another, obscuring previous conflicts.

Henrietta Maria's independent social patronage indicates that this new conception of harmony between the royal households was never achieved in practice. In the early years of the royal marriage both spouses adopted similar methods of bestowing royal favor, such as cross-confessional godparentage,[56] but as Charles's reign continued, their differing approaches to court patronage became increasingly apparent. In keeping with Henrietta Maria's youthful experiences of a comparatively informal royal household, she was accepting of indiscretions committed by those who served her and frequently petitioned her husband to return disgraced courtiers to favor.[57] When Henry Jermyn, Henrietta Maria's Master of the Horse, seduced then

abandoned Eleanor Villiers, the niece of the Duke of Buckingham, in 1633, Charles exiled him from court but he was restored to his offices within four years at the queen's request.[58] Jermyn's rehabilitation was not an isolated case. The queen's most prominent courtiers were "notorious rakes," including William Davenant, a heavy drinker and adulterer, whom she elevated to the post of Poet Laureate in 1638, and George Goring the younger, who fled London in 1633 to escape his gambling debts.[59] Charles appears to have been reluctant to directly chastise her for her choice of friends during the 1630s, as he did in the 1620s, because she was frequently pregnant and in poor health during this period. Furthermore, the couple had an established public image of harmony within their marriage that would have been undermined by open quarrels concerning the management of her household. The distinction between the governance of the king's court and that of the queen's court, however, would have been clear to observers at Whitehall, a residence that the couple often shared. While Henrietta Maria was not identified in the earliest pamphlets as a participant in her household's transgressions as Marie Antoinette would be, her servants' behavior appeared to enable immorality at the royal court.

The final role that Henrietta Maria conceived for her household during the 1630s was its use as a forum to promote her own interests in domestic and foreign policy. Her origins would suggest that she surrounded herself with Catholic courtiers and promoted French interests, but her political goals were more complex, encompassing Puritan factions and pro-Spanish policies. Despite her initial unhappiness upon the departure of the majority of her original household, Henrietta Maria accepted the decision.[60] In the 1630s, she attempted to cultivate factions among English courtiers to assist in such endeavors as gaining toleration for English Catholics, the restoration of Charles's relatives to the Palatinate, and support for her mother's interests.[61] Henrietta Maria's Scottish confessor, Father Robert Philip, told the papal envoy Panzani in 1636, "It seemed to him that one could gain far more favours in religious matters from the Protestants of the court than from the Catholics and he gave as an example that when the court of the queen was all Catholic, no one wanted to speak for the Catholics."[62] Philip's assessment demonstrates Henrietta Maria's increasing political maturity and her changing conception of her household during the 1630s. Rather than insisting upon a Catholic household, as she had during the early years of her marriage, she recognized that she might alleviate the position of English Catholics by cultivating Protestants.

The ongoing conflict between Cardinal Richelieu, advisor to Louis XIII, and Marie also complicated Henrietta Maria's loyalty to the kingdom of her birth. By 1640, a French envoy to Charles I's court was

complaining of the queen's strong attachment to Spanish interests, noting that many English Catholics opposed closer relations with France.[63] This allegiance reflected the influence of Marie's foreign policy during her daughter's childhood, which focused on an alliance with the Spanish Habsburgs.[64] Henrietta Maria's support of her mother during periods of factional conflict in France meant that she did not identify herself with a monolithic "French" party but instead supported different factions within her household to further her foreign policy goals. The relationship between region of origin and a conception of nationality was more fluid in the seventeenth century than it would be in the eighteenth century, allowing Henrietta Maria to pursue foreign policy goals that did not necessarily advance French interests while Marie Antoinette would be immediately labelled an "Austrian," and would be expected to behave as a clear representative of her kingdom of origin by supporters and detractors alike.

When Henrietta Maria arrived in England in 1625, she possessed clear ideas concerning her role as head of the queen's household. During her youth in France, she had been at the center of an autonomous household, which was staffed by French Catholics, and conducted itself with comparative informality. When Charles challenged all three tenets of Henrietta Maria's conception of her role as mistress of her household, she had to reconceptualize her position. By the 1630s, the queen was exerting her independence by granting privileges to her servants and exercising cultural patronage while reluctantly accepting Charles's ultimate authority over appointments to her household. Henrietta Maria's conception of her role became more flexible as Charles's reign progressed but elements of her initial ideas of autonomy, informality, and Catholicism continued to govern her actions in this capacity until the outbreak of the English Civil Wars.

Henrietta Maria's focus on dynastic prestige rather than national interest contributed to her ability to change her conception of her role as head of the queen's household according to Charles's dictates and the conditions at his court. The comparative privacy of the English royal apartments also enabled the couple to develop a public image of unity that obscured continuing conflicts regarding the composition of her household. This flexibility would prove impossible for Marie Antoinette as she could not transcend her Austrian background and was expected to conduct both her marriage and the governance of her household in public. Henrietta Maria's ability to alter her actions to reflect the political climate at court was not sufficient to rehabilitate her reputation among Charles's subjects because she changed her policies according to conditions within her marriage rather than her popular reputation.

Henrietta Maria: Conspiracy in the Royal Household

Criticism of Henrietta Maria's French household was constant among all social estates and members of the diplomatic corps from the start of the marriage negotiations until the expulsion of the majority of these servants from England in August 1626. A widely circulated newsletter stated, "Nay their insolences toward the Queen were not to be endured... Yea they have made her to go barefoot, to beat cornmeal out of china dishes to wait at the table and many other ridiculous and absurd practices. And if these rogues dare this... over the daughter, sister and wife of great Kings, what shame would they not make us, the people, to undergo."[65] The newsletter also repeated speculation that the queen's French servants were conducting espionage on behalf of the pope. In contrast to Henrietta Maria's actual assertive behavior, publicly circulated accounts detailing the negative attributes of this household always presented the queen as a passive figure, a depiction reinforced by her youth and unfamiliarity with English customs.

The evidence concerning the public view of Henrietta Maria within the context of her household during the first fifteen years of Charles's reign is sparse compared to the outpouring of pamphlet literature published during the English Civil Wars. The absence of a sitting parliament between 1629 and 1640 eliminated an accepted forum for complaints against the queen to be lodged and heard. Popular discourse concerning Henrietta Maria's failings could be prosecuted as seditious speech.[66] Nevertheless, there are numerous forms of extant source material including privately circulated newsletters, published descriptions of royal ceremonies, diplomatic correspondence, and petitions directly addressed to Charles and Henrietta Maria. There were also cases where the laws concerning seditious speech were broken, providing direct evidence of negative perceptions of the queen.

As early as December 1624, the Venetian ambassador to France questioned the character of the women chosen to attend Henrietta Maria at her wedding, writing, "Four ladies of honour and one demoiselle are to help the bride, in choosing whom favour has prevailed over merit and worth."[67] The household made an equally negative impression on the public when Henrietta Maria arrived in England. A further dispatch detailed the bridal progress to London, "The people here complain that the queen's suite exceeds what was arranged, because the two kings had arranged to cut down expense and display, but the number of superfluous and vagabond folk is large... They speak about it openly."[68] This account provides evidence of both the substance of initial English suspicions regarding the French household, and the form of these critiques.

English observers did not recognize a clear hierarchy of duties among the new queen's French household and the number of servants therefore appeared excessive, fueling speculation regarding the purpose of so many foreign servants. The arrival of these people inspired criticism that would eventually inform written critiques such as newsletters and petitions addressed to the monarch.

In contrast to the discontented conversations recorded in the diplomatic correspondence of the 1620s, the printed works published in England and France to commemorate the marriage of Charles and Henrietta Maria were exclusively celebratory. The extensive descriptions of the French courtiers surrounding the bride and the publication of excerpts from the marriage contract, however, had the potential to reinforce English concerns regarding Henrietta Maria's household. Accounts of the queen's progress were inseparable from descriptions of her foreign, Catholic household. One pamphlet described the procession into a gala banquet at Whitehall stating, "The King leading his Queen, accompanied with the Duke de Chevreuse and his Duchess, with the two French Ambassadors with all the rest of the nobility and ladies as well as English, Scots and French."[69] As in the discontented conversations concerning the household, the celebratory accounts that mention these servants presented the queen as a passive figure and the foreigners as a multitude present at the English court. The account of the banquet also mentions the reading aloud of the marriage contract, demonstrating that the clauses guaranteeing the presence of French servants, not to mention the bride's freedom of religion, were widely known in court circles.[70] The circulation of published versions of the contract throughout the reign of Charles indicate that knowledge of these clauses spread well beyond the court, informing widespread discussion of the presence of French Catholic servants in the queen's household.[71]

The complaints expressed against the French servants during the months following Henrietta Maria's arrival in England varied according to the rank of the observer. Members of the nobility, particularly those who had held office in the household of the previous queens, resented the employment of foreigners in lucrative and prestigious positions. In contrast, Protestants outside court circles focused on the potential for conspiracies advancing Catholic interests to emerge from the queen's foreign household. Those English ladies who succeeded in gaining any mark of favor from the queen considered themselves to be unusually fortunate as the dominance of the French household was discussed and resented within elite circles. Katherine Gorges, kinswoman to Buckingham's sister Lady Denbigh, wrote to her brother-in-law in December 1625, "I receaued a great grace from the Queen, for shee kissed me, and that she doeth not usually doe to any, nor scarce speake to any

Lady that speakes French to hir unless they be Papists . . . she will be no meanes as yet admit any Protestines to any place about hir."[72] Henrietta Maria's apparent refusal to speak to Protestant ladies, regardless of their attempts to address her in French, reinforced the perception that she was entirely under the influence of her Catholic household.

Former court servants with humbler origins than the elite ladies who sought ornamental positions at the queen's court petitioned Charles, requesting the positions and salaries they enjoyed in Anna's household. In August 1626, around the same time as the dismissal of the majority of the French household, John Chalk and Phillip Payne wrote to the King that they "served for many years during the lifetime of the late Queen; and since the coming of the present Queen, have waited as before without allowance; pray that their names may be entered in the book of the Queen's household to be signed by the King."[73] The petitions addressed by Anna's former servants reveal a crucial difference between Henrietta Maria's conception of the precedents set by her mother-in-law and the views of Charles's subjects. While Henrietta Maria believed that Anna's example reinforced her view that the queen should have authority over appointments to her household, royal servants at the English court argued that their past service to the late queen should guarantee them employment. The complaints of former royal servants also illuminate the degree to which the arrival of hundreds of French servants disrupted the usual system of patronage and appointments at the English court.

In newsletters, pamphlets, and petitions authored by Charles's subjects of middling economic status, outside court circles, the threat posed by the French household was not to their livelihoods but to the security of the monarchy and the Church of England. Henrietta Maria did not travel around Charles's kingdoms as part of extensive royal progresses or pilgrimages in the manner of previous English consorts, such as Henry VIII's wives.[74] The queen and her household were therefore rarely seen in public by the majority of Charles's subjects outside court circles, allowing speculation to flourish concerning their activities on behalf of Roman Catholicism and foreign political interests. During the early months of his marriage, Charles received frequent reports of rumored sedition by the French household, encouraging him to dismiss these people from his wife's service.[75]

One prominent example of the public perception that the French household was advancing its own political and religious agenda through manipulation of Henrietta Maria was the much discussed "Pilgrimage to Tyburn" that took place on 26 June 1625.[76] Charles received a report that Henrietta Maria had visited Tyburn gallows with members of her household and prayed for the Catholics who had been executed there.[77] The queen denied that she had uttered prayers at Tyburn but the account

nevertheless served as a pretext for the planned dismissal of the majority of the French household.[78] A newsletter contained a version of the event that followed the prevailing popular trend of presenting the queen as a victim of her French household, stating, "those hypocritical Doges made the poor Queen to walk afoot (some said barefoot) from her house at St. James to the gallows at Tyburn thereby to honour the Saint of the Day in visiting the Holy place where go many martyrs (forsooth) had shed their blood in defence of the Catholic cause."[79] This interpretation preserves the queen's reputation at the expense of her household, presenting her as youthful victim of French servants who disregard English laws, Protestant religious sensibilities, and the accepted social hierarchy. The depiction of the sovereign's wife traveling by foot, let alone barefoot, indicated that the religious devotions recommended by her household subverted her rank, and compelled her to behave in a manner unworthy of a queen of England.

In this climate of hostility toward the French household, Charles's abrupt decision to expel the majority of the queen's servants received praise from members of all social estates. Charles wrote to the Duke of Buckingham in November 1625, "I thought I would have cause enough in a short time to put away the Monsieurs either by attempting to steal away my wife or by making plots with my own subjects."[80] Charles came to this decision within the first months of his marriage due to complex factors including worsening relations with France because of the ill treatment of French Huguenots during the siege of La Rochelle[81] and Louis XIII's failure to pay the second half of his sister's dowry.[82] The expulsion of the French servants was greeted by widespread rejoicing by both court elites who stood to occupy the vacated positions at the queen's court, and ordinary English Protestants who believed their king was taking a firm stand against political and religious intrigue in his wife's household.

Political tracts against Catholic and foreign intrigues in England appeared in the last months of 1626, in the form of letters praising Charles for expelling the French servants.[83] In these letters, the young queen continued to appear as a passive figure, manipulated by her priests. Henry Cock wrote, "it was reported the last summer in the court that the Queen should accompany your Majesty in the Progress, the Queen, said she shall not go with the King till he have released the two priests who are imprisoned at Canterbury. This is the humility and lowliness of these priests who dare to outface the world."[84] This tract also reveals that news concerning the queen was "reported" on from court circles and that the rarity of royal progresses was initially blamed on the machinations of the French household. The departure of the majority of the French household increased the popularity of both Charles and Henrietta Maria.

The replacement of French servants with English ones, particularly those favored by the queen herself, removed a significant scapegoat for perceived transgressions within Henrietta Maria's household. During the 1630s, popular opinion would shift from viewing the queen as the victim of intrigues within her household to regarding her as the instigator of these activities. Just as the French servants had been criticized as negative influences on the queen, in the 1620s, Henrietta Maria herself would be scrutinized as a dangerous advisor to Charles I in the 1630s. The queen's attempts to adapt her conception of her household to English political realities through administration of her property, social, and cultural patronage, and the pursuit of political goals did not meet with the approval of Charles's subjects. Instead, Henrietta Maria appeared to be utilizing her household to undermine Charles's authority over his own family and the state.

The composition of Henrietta Maria's household changed little from the late 1620s to the outbreak of the English Civil Wars, a situation that allowed criticism levelled against particular members of the queen's circle to increase without an apparent response from the royal couple. After Buckingham's assassination, his prominent servants became influential members of the queen's household and associated with the pro-French faction at court.[85] In her extensive analysis of Henrietta Maria's household records, Caroline Hibbard concluded that extensive changes during the 1630s were precluded by factors beyond the control of the royal couple including the court social hierarchy, favors owed to those who presented themselves for service and patronage expected by members of families who had served Anna and Elizabeth I.[86] Members of this familiar household eventually accompanied her into exile and served her during the Restoration.[87] The dismissal of unpopular members of the queen's household therefore rarely occurred during the 1630s, minimizing opportunities for the royal couple to appear to respond to popular opinion through the management of their court.

Outside the court, the tenants of the additional jointure lands bestowed on Henrietta Maria in 1631 blamed the queen personally for what they perceived to be the mismanagement of these estates. During a rare progress through the Duchy of Lancaster that same year, Henrietta Maria's horse was stopped by "rebels" presenting a petition on behalf of 2,000 local people demanding access to enclosed lands.[88] The petition complained that local townspeople had enjoyed rights to two hundred acres of common land until the Lord Justice recently appointed by the queen enclosed these grounds.[89] The perceived solution to this problem was Charles's direct intervention in the administration of the Duchy. The petition ends with the appeal, "It may therefore please your majesty

the number . . . of your poor petitioners & loyal subjects considered that the King's Majesty would take the town . . . into his own power."[90] The nature of the petition suggests that inhabitants of the queen's jointure lands thought their traditional rights were more likely to be respected under the direct authority of the sovereign.

Henrietta Maria's attempts to exercise social and cultural patronage through participation in court masques also attracted criticism from Charles's subjects. The accessibility of these performances remains a subject of debate. Malcolm Smuts argues, "The masques and most other forms of court culture were intended for a relatively restricted audience, consisting mainly of courtiers, country peers, prominent gentry and foreign diplomats."[91] While the actual attendance at Henrietta Maria's masques undoubtedly reflected this social composition, the criticism directed toward the queen's participation in the masques indicates that Charles's subjects believed the royal performances to be more publicly accessible. In a retrospective screed against the crimes of the House of Stuart published in 1652, Edward Peyton would argue royal masques "were used only for incentives of lust; therefore the courtiers invited the citizens' wives to those shows in purpose to defile them in such sort."[92] Although this conclusion appears in a work written to justify Charles's overthrow, the idea that ordinary English people, particularly the attractive wives of town dwellers, could access court masques was a common plot device in Caroline plays.[93] Henrietta Maria's masques were therefore perceived to take place in a public space vulnerable to popular criticism.

While Stuart court masques were clearly considered morally dubious in Puritan circles regardless of the individual participants, Henrietta Maria attracted particular criticism because of the French innovations she introduced to these court spectacles. Her active participation in the masques, including unprecedented speaking roles, was commented upon as early as 1626 when the gentleman John Chamberlain wrote to the diplomat Dudley Carleton concerning the performance of Honorat de Bueil Racan's pastoral masque, "Artenice," "I have knowne the time when this wold have seemed a straunge sight, to see a Quene act in play but *tempora mutantur et nos* [times change and so must we]."[94] While Chamberlain seemed more amused than offended by Henrietta Maria's behavior,[95] the queen's participation in Walter Montagu's "The Shepherd's Paradise" would precipitate one of the most well-known attacks against her character prior to the outbreak of the English Civil Wars.

Five weeks before the performance of this much anticipated masque, London barrister William Prynne published *Histrio-mastix: The Player's Scourge*. The index to this thousand page tome categorized

"Women Actors" as "Notorious Whores"[96] while the text denounced "any Christian woman be so more then whorishly impudent, as to act, to speake publickely on a stage."[97] Henrietta Maria was not named in this diatribe but the timing of its publication and frequent comparisons between court celebrations and Catholic rites indicated that Prynne was directly criticizing the queen's involvement in court masques.[98] Prynne was convicted of high treason in the Star Chamber and sentenced to be disbarred, stripped of his degree from Oxford, fined 5,000 pounds, imprisoned, and was to have his ears cropped and the initials "SL" for seditious libeller branded on his cheek.[99] The harshness of Prynne's punishment reflects Charles I's concern that any work labelling the activities of the queen and her household as immoral and conducive to the spread of Catholicism in England undermined his authority as king.

Prynne's interpretation of court theatricals as subversive methods for converting Protestant audiences to Catholicism reflected widespread concerns that Henrietta Maria was utilizing her own religious freedom to encourage members of the Church of England to adopt her faith. Henrietta Maria's right to maintain Catholic chapels in her residences and practice her faith privately, as guaranteed by her marriage contract,[100] was never seriously challenged during Charles's reign. What attracted popular condemnation was the accessibility of these spaces to the general public, including Protestant members of the queen's circle. This openness reflected Henrietta Maria's main domestic political goal, the achievement of toleration, and accepted places of worship for English Catholics. Charles's Protestant subjects, however, regarded public access to the queen's chapels as a means of effecting large-scale conversions.

Concerns regarding the accessibility of supposedly private devotions were formally expressed through both petitions to the monarch, and, prior to Charles's personal rule, in parliamentary proceedings. In 1628, the Bishop of Norwich wrote to the king complaining that the masses performed for foreign ambassadors were leading Protestants to superstition.[101] That same year, the House of Commons committee for religion scrutinized attendance at masses performed for Henrietta Maria's household, stating, "Besides the Queen's mass, there are two masses daily in the Queenes Court, so that its common in discourse; will you goe to mass, or, have you been to mass at Somerset House: There coming five hundred at a time from mass."[102] Londoners who did not belong to court circles may have attended to satisfy their curiosity regarding the ritual, the palace, or the queen. Nevertheless, evidence of casual conversation regarding attendance at masses for Henrietta Maria's household appeared to indicate willingness to embrace the Catholic faith, a situation that dismayed Protestants.

During the 1630s, the missionary activities of individual members of Henrietta Maria's ecclesiastical establishment and the conversion of prominent ladies-in-waiting fueled criticism of the queen's management of her servants. The Venetian ambassador described the missionary activities of the grand almoner, writing in 1637, "He no longer has any scruple about frequenting openly the houses of the Protestants, and when there he takes the opportunity to dispute with them and with the women in particular, and to try and make converts."[103] When Anne Blount, Countess of Newport, began to appear at mass with the queen, that same year, rumors circulated that she had been recruited by papal agents.[104] Charles attempted to counter popular condemnation of Catholic missionary activity in Henrietta Maria's household by issuing decrees limiting attendance at palace masses[105] but these measures were widely regarded as ineffectual.[106]

During this same period, negative reactions to public attendance at the queen's masses became more militant than the petitions and parliamentary debates of the late 1620s. At least one incident that occurred during the implementation of Charles's decree limiting public attendance at Mass resulted in the physical assault of a member of the queen's household. In 1631, Marie Aubert, the heavily pregnant wife of Henrietta Maria's French surgeon Maurice Aubert, was attacked while traveling to mass at Somerset House by a junior officer at arms who "slighted [the King's written permission allowing her to attend mass] and the Queen,"[107] resulting in a miscarriage. The combination of an assault against a member of the queen's household and a dismissal of the king's authority demonstrates that Henrietta Maria was not respected as mistress of her household and this position was utilized as means of undermining her legitimacy. The fact that Aubert's assailant had been appointed to enforce a royal decree demonstrates that disrespect for the queen and her household had spread beyond the king's political opponents to servants of the crown.

Popular criticism of Henrietta Maria's household occurred in two distinct phases during the 1620s and 1630s. While the young queen employed an extensive foreign household, she was pitied as the victim of the machinations of her French servants. With the expulsion of the majority of the French household, an act that temporarily increased the popularity of both the king and queen, there was no longer a clear scapegoat for unpopular activities within Henrietta Maria's household. In the 1630s, Henrietta Maria herself was criticized for mismanaging her jointure, speaking on the stage, and facilitating the spread of Roman Catholicism. Charles made attempts to preserve his wife's reputation through such actions as the harsh punishment of those who publicly criticized Henrietta Maria's activities and restrictions regarding public

attendance at the queen's masses. These measures did not discourage criticism of the queen as they were applied inconsistently. Henrietta Maria ultimately failed to present herself to her subjects as an effective head of her household, and her perceived activities in this role would be used to discredit the monarchy during the English Civil Wars. In late eighteenth century France, Marie Antoinette also would be criticized for attempting innovations within the sphere of the queen's household. The accessibility of the Versailles court to observers of all social estates combined with the more robust public sphere would speed the process of defamation that occurred gradually for Henrietta Maria.

Marie Antoinette: The Household as Private Sphere

Marie Antoinette's discontent with the formal etiquette and personages that she encountered in her capacity as head of *l'hotel de la reine* is well known. Campan discussed the major issues in her memoirs including how "The Queen abolished all this formality. When her head was dressed, she curtsied to all the ladies who were in her chamber, and, followed only by her own women, went into her closet, where Mademoiselle Bertin who could not be admitted into the chamber, used to await her."[108] The creation of a comparatively private sphere in which personal friends and tradespeople, such as the dressmaker Rose Bertin, could be received to the exclusion of the established court hierarchy was an unpopular innovation. While Henrietta Maria's most prominent retainers are little known, Marie Antoinette's controversial appointments to her household, Lamballe and Polignac, have been extensively analyzed in works focusing on a diverse range of issues concerning the *ancien regime* and French Revolution. Marie Antoinette's household records, the recollections of members of her household, and royal correspondence demonstrate that the queen sought have control over her domestic arrangements and utilize her position to create a loyal faction apart from the often Austrophobic sensibilities of the established Versailles nobility. Despite the insights provided by this pre-revolutionary primary evidence, the accusations levelled by French Revolutionary pamphlet literature have largely defined the major issues discussed in both scholarly and popular accounts of Marie Antoinette's relationship with her household.[109]

There are few records of Marie Antoinette`s own conception of her role as head of her household during the first four years of her marriage. The subordinate status of the dauphine`s establishment to that of the king, and concerns regarding the assimilation of a Habsburg princess

into the French court resulted in Marie Antoinette being taught to obey senior members of her household. In contrast, Henrietta Maria expected to preside over her retainers directly. The dauphine's personal possessions were abandoned at the border along with her Austrian wardrobe.[110] The letters written by Louis XV and Noailles regarding the furnishing of Marie Antoinette`s household therefore indicate that the Dauphine`s living space was arranged without the involvement of the young bride, circumstances that help to explain her strong interest in the properties she received upon Louis XVI`s accession. According to the Austrian ambassador to France, Count Florimond Mercy-Argenteau, Marie Antoinette expressed a desire for her own country estate as dauphine,[111] indicating a desire to exercise autonomy over her own household and living space.

Maria Theresa and Mercy-Argenteau also shaped the dauphine's household without involving Marie Antoinette. While there was certainly correspondence between members of Henrietta Maria's household and Marie de Medici concerning the conditions the French princess encountered in England,[112] Mercy-Argenteau cultivated specific servants to report Marie Antoinette's daily activities to himself and the empress. He wrote to Maria Theresa, "I am assured of three people who serve under Madame the Archduchess. One of her women and two chamber boys will return an exact account of what passes in the interior. Day by day I am informed of the conversations of the archduchess with Abbe Vermond, to whom she does not hide anything."[113] While Marie Antoinette was keenly aware of the gaze of the French court during such public occasions as masses and state dinners,[114] and commented upon her portrayal in the popular press,[115] she does not appear to have suspected the complicity of her household in the scrutiny of her daily activities.[116]

Marie Antoinette's failure to recognize the involvement of her household in the dissemination of information concerning her behavior indicates that she viewed her establishment as a private sphere where she could indulge in activities discouraged by Versailles etiquette and form friendships outside the court hierarchy. While Maria Theresa and Louis XV alike regarded the assimilation of the dauphine into French court culture as one of the primary duties of her household, Marie Antoinette often participated in pastimes that drew attention to her Austrian origins while in the company of her attendants. Although her spoken German rapidly deteriorated from disuse,[117] she attempted to maintain a correspondence with members of her childhood household after her marriage, a practice that implicitly challenged the dismissal of her Austrian household at the French border. She wrote to her former governess, until Maria Theresa intervened on account of Brandeis's

indiscretions.[118] The Habsburg diplomatic correspondence indicates that she felt comfortable speaking openly about her life at the French court with visiting Austrian nobles, such as Count Xavier Rosenberg, and resident diplomats, such as Mercy-Argenteau.[119] The prohibition against Austrian servants in the dauphine's household did not prevent Marie Antoinette from nurturing relationships with Habsburg contacts. Although these interactions were inconsequential compared to the enormous household that accompanied Henrietta Maria to England, the increased popular perception of national boundaries made Marie Antoinette's contact with a few select Austrians appear equally dangerous. Henrietta Maria and Marie Antoinette were motivated by a similar desire to revive elements of their childhood courts as married women but the recentness of the Franco-Austrian alliance made the queen of France's contacts with Austria suspect.

The four years Marie Antoinette spent in France as dauphine, and her first years as queen, were also a period in which she formed friendships outside the established court hierarchy, often by encouraging pastimes unfamiliar to the French court. The sleighing party where the dauphine first met Lamballe has been so heavily romanticized by Marie Antoinette's admiring biographers that the unusual circumstances of the event are often overlooked. Campan makes clear in her memoirs that sleighing was not an accepted pastime at the French court, and that the dauphine was attempting to introduce a foreign custom to her household. She wrote, "the recollections of the pleasure which sleighing parties had given the Queen in her childhood made her wish to introduce similar ones in France . . . Sleigh driving, savouring of the Northern courts, had no favour among the Parisians."[120] The sight of Marie Antoinette and select friends traveling from Versailles to the outskirts of Paris by sleigh was unfamiliar to ordinary Parisians, and therefore reinforced the dauphine's image as a foreigner.

Maria Theresa immediately recognized that Lamballe would be perceived as a member of a Savoyard faction, along with the Dauphin Louis-Auguste's two sisters-in-law, the Countesses of Provence and Artois.[121] In keeping with her view of the household as a comparatively private space, Marie Antoinette dismissed her mother's concerns, writing, "[Lamballe] has always had a good reputation and does not at all have an Italian character. She was established for her life here as was her brother. I believe they feel, the one and the other, that France is at present their true country."[122] This justification of Lamballe's character demonstrates that the queen of France held attitudes concerning foreignness and the privacy of her domestic sphere that differed from French popular opinion. The emphasis on Marie Antoinette's Austrian origins during her wedding celebrations demonstrates that Louis XVI's subjects

regarded her background as unchangeable regardless of her attempts to speak French or integrate local customs into her existing pastimes. Lamballe's Savoyard background would have been regarded as equally fixed in the popular imagination. The flexible allegiance to dynasty or religion over kingdom of origin that had provided additional options for Henrietta Maria no longer existed by the late eighteenth century as national boundaries were perceived as increasingly immutable. Marie Antoinette's defense of Lamballe's personal reputation without reference to her rank or origins also demonstrates an attitude toward her social circle more in keeping with the French urban bourgeoisie than the nobility or royal family. Within the context of the French court, Lamballe's place in the broader social hierarchy would determine the manner in which she was perceived by her peers rather than the qualities considered admirable in a private citizen.

The Dauphin Louis-Auguste's ascension to the French throne as King Louis XVI in 1774 allowed Marie Antoinette to directly challenge the circumscribed property and household arrangements that she experienced as dauphine. Since the marriage of the young king and queen was not fully consummated for seven years, Marie Antoinette's biographers often judge their union to have been unstable or unhappy.[123] In contrast, the relationship between Charles and Henrietta Maria, the parents of many children, is romanticized as a loving and compatible partnership. In the realm of household appointments and property administration, however, both marriages confounded these simplistic assessments. While Henrietta Maria's expectation of autonomy over appointments remained a source of friction in her marriage until the outbreak of the English Civil Wars, Louis and Marie Antoinette held similar views concerning the queen's autonomy in her role as head of her household. Marie Antoinette was permitted to manage her own properties, make independent appointments and changes to her household, and dispense patronage without the direct involvement of her husband.

The generous property and household arrangements that Marie Antoinette received from Louis at the time of his ascension were remarked upon by diplomats and courtiers alike. In her memoirs, Campan states, "the King threw no impediment in the way of Marie Antoinette's inclinations,"[124] while Maria Theresa remarked in a letter to her youngest daughter, "The generosity of the King regarding Trianon, said to be the most agreeable of houses, gives me great pleasure."[125] Marie Antoinette's marriage contract did not contain specific clauses concerning her income, property, and household, stating only that a royal household should be created for her, she should receive lands and incomes worthy of her station, and that these lands should be

administered according to French customs.[126] Louis interpreted these clauses to his wife's advantage. He provided Marie Antoinette with a household and income reminiscent of the grand establishments of Anne of Austria and Maria Teresa of Spain, instead of the comparatively modest allowance enjoyed by Marie Leszczyńska.[127]

While these arrangements undoubtedly reflected the greater prestige and influence of the Spanish and Austrian branches of the House of Habsburg compared to the deposed Polish royal house, they also provide evidence for Louis's acceptance of Marie Antoinette's autonomy as head of her household. The king shared his wife's discomfort with formal court etiquette, preferring such active pastimes as hunting and blacksmithing to participation in public ceremonies.[128] He also appears to have genuinely enjoyed the company of her circle, particularly Polignac.[129] Marie Antoinette wrote to her mother in 1780, "It is a great joy to me to see that the manner of the King's thinking spares myself any request for my friend…He will be delighted to do her good for herself."[130] Just as the Dauphine's initial household had been staffed by elderly women who had served Marie Leszczyńska, Louis acquired his father's servants as dauphin then his grandfather's household as king.[131] The French king's household was a continuous entity, unlike the queen's household, which was reconstituted upon each successive monarch's marriage.[132] The consort therefore had greater latitude over appointments than the sovereign and Marie Antoinette used her prerogatives to employ attendants close to her own age such as Lamballe, Polignac, and Campan. Marie Antoinette's household therefore provided an opportunity for the king and queen alike to socialize with other young people at court and circumvent protocol that favored older courtiers.

Upon Louis's ascension to the throne, Marie Antoinette made immediate use of her husband`s generous interpretation of her marriage contract to introduce two innovations that contributed to her eventual unpopularity. The new queen fashioned her new estate at Petit Trianon into a comparatively private sphere with staff directly answerable to the consort alone. She also took advantage of Louis's decision to revive the position of Superintendent of the Queen's household, awarding this sinecure to Lamballe. While both decisions would be condemned as evidence of Marie Antoinette's foreignness and extravagance, the queen was motivated by her desire to establish a comparatively private sphere in the manner of the Rousseauian idealization of domesticity. In keeping with Marie Antoinette's conception of the Petit Trianon, visitors were allowed to walk the gardens but could not enter the palace itself without an invitation.[133] The queen herself did not have the opportunity to spend all her time at her country estate as the court was highly mobile, spending months at Fontainebleau, Marly, and her

other properties such as St. Cloud in addition to Versailles. In the ten years immediately preceding the French Revolution, Marie Antoinette spent only 216 days at Petit Trianon, never spending more than a month there in a single year.[134] The perception of Marie Antoinette and Petit Trianon as secluded from the ordinary rhythms of the French court is therefore inaccurate. The small palace was located close to Versailles and the queen continued to accompany the court in its travels to other royal residences.

The limited amount of time Marie Antoinette spent at Petit Trianon demonstrates that she did not intend for her country estate to become her primary residence. Nevertheless, her household records indicate that she considered her property to be exempt from Louis's authority and established court conventions. In contrast to the court at Versailles, where the consort`s household was clearly subordinate to the king`s establishment, the servants at Petit Trianon wore Marie Antoinette`s livery and all improvements were undertaken by order of the queen.[135] Household records for the maintenance of Petit Trianon between 1774 and 1789 demonstrate that Marie Antoinette was consulted before any improvements to the property were undertaken.[136] The establishment of an idealized model farm in the Petit Trianon gardens, inspired by the hamlet on the ground of the Duke of Condé's palace at Chantilly, reflected Marie Antoinette's interest in pastoral romanticism.[137] The model theater provided her with the opportunity to engage in amateur theatricals before an audience of her close friends instead of the aristocratic families who were entitled to attend court ceremonies at Versailles.[138]

The queen's interest in improving royal properties was not confined to Petit Trianon. Louis affirmed in 1787 that Marie Antoinette had the right to administer the country palace of St. Cloud according to the terms of her marriage contract and provided her with the letters patent necessary to defend her ownership before the parlements.[139] The administrative staff at St Cloud conferred with the queen regarding the supply of goods to the palace and the payment of the servants.[140] The king also allowed his wife to make alterations to crown properties, most notably the installation of an elevator connecting the queen's apartments to the royal nurseries at the Palace of Fontainebleau.[141] Marie Antoinette`s autonomy in the administration of Petit Trianon was the most prominent example of her interest in altering royal properties to reflect her desire to create a domestic sphere for her family and household but she also introduced innovations into other royal residences.

Marie Antoinette`s decision to create spaces and social groups indicative of a private domestic sphere instead of remaining within a ceremonial public forum at all times reflected a trend toward pastoral

romanticism that swept the northern European royal courts in the late eighteenth century. The northern monarchs who visited the French court during Louis's reign uniformly traveled incognito to avoid the formal ceremonies that traditionally accompanied the state visits of reigning monarchs or their heirs.[142] Marie Antoinette entertained all these royal visitors privately at Petit Trianon, demonstrating her sympathy with their rejection of the customary formalities that accompanied royal status.[143] In structuring her household and properties in the same manner as foreign kingdoms, she reinforced the perception that the queen was not interested in conforming to French court etiquette.

The appointment of Lamballe as superintendent reflected a combination of Louis's desire to grant his wife an establishment reminiscent of Spanish Habsburg queens consort[144] and Marie Antoinette's desire to have close friends occupy one of the most prominent roles in her household. Although Louis and Marie Antoinette were in agreement concerning their motives for reviving this position,[145] the French court did not regard the queen's appointment of Lamballe as appropriate for this prestigious position. During the reigns of Louis XIII and Louis XIV, the superintendent of the queen's household belonged to the highest circles of the French nobility[146] whereas Lamballe was a foreign princess who had married into a comparatively obscure junior branch of the House of Bourbon. Her appointment challenged the stature of the Noailles family at court[147] in the same manner that the appointment of Polignac as governess in 1781 would undermine the prestige of the powerful Rohans. Since the superintendent's duties included acting as chief of the queen's council, which governed household expenses, the position was a powerful source of patronage.[148] The appointment of a foreigner and comparatively unknown figure as superintendent therefore attracted the negative attention of the most powerful and influential court families.

Marie Antoinette's appointment of Lamballe did not simply reflect a desire to reward her friend with the ability to dispense patronage. The promotion also demonstrates that the queen viewed certain aspects of the superintendent's position to be within the realm of the domestic sphere. The amount of money placed under Lamballe's control attracted so much attention from Marie Antoinette's contemporaries and her subsequent biographers that the other duties of this position have not received sufficient attention. In addition to acting as chief of the queen's household, the superintendent also administered the oath of loyalty to the women of the bedchamber who attended the consort, and, most significantly, spent the first three nights after the birth of a royal child in the queen's bedchamber. [149] Since Marie Antoinette regarded appointments to her household and the births of her children

to be primarily domestic matters, the employment of a close friend in the role of superintendent matched her conception of the ideal administration of her establishment. Lamballe served an important personal role within the queen's household as well as an economic role through her patronage activities as chief of the queen's council.

In contrast to the frequent disagreements between Charles and Henrietta Maria concerning household appointments, there is no diplomatic correspondence describing Marie Antoinette's goals as head of her household in opposition to those of Louis. Marie Antoinette's correspondence and household records, however, illuminate two general themes concerning her motives in this position. The queen was eager to gain control over appointments and the administration of independent properties, and construct her household as a comparatively domestic realm where she could form friendships and pursue interests that were not compatible with the etiquette and social hierarchy of Versailles. This approach was a marked departure from the public performance of queenship practiced by the consorts of Louis XIV and Louis XV. Once Marie Antoinette achieved autonomy over properties and household appointments, her actions were heavily influenced by her inability to autonomously manage her servants as dauphine, and the trend toward pastoral simplicity espoused by northern European monarchs during the late eighteenth century.

Although the queen was following practices lauded by the urban bourgeoisie in their own domestic lives, the division of public and private spheres was not considered suitable for a foreign consort presiding over the French court. Marie Antoinette's attempts to transform her household and properties into a comparatively private sphere would damage her reputation at court and encourage popular suspicion of her foreign background. The queen's management of her household according to popular trends instead of long-standing court traditions encouraged Louis's subjects to view her as they would any ordinary wife and mother. This process stripped away the mystique traditionally associated with members of the royal family and allowed her, and by extension her family, to be judged no differently from any other inhabitant of France, undermining the legitimacy of monarchical government.

Marie Antoinette: Unnatural Friendships

Marie Antoinette's correspondence demonstrates a clear awareness of the rumors concerning her conduct that began to circulate in both courtly and popular circles during Louis XVI's reign. In 1775, just one year after Louis XVI became king, she wrote to her mother, "We are in an epidemic of satirical songs… It is very liberally supposed that I

have two tastes, for women and lovers. Though there is spitefulness enough in this country, these are blows in such a bad tone that they have no success, neither in the public nor in good company." [150] Marie Antoinette's analysis of the popular rumors concerning her reputation contrasts with Henrietta Maria's apparent disinterest in how her activities were perceived beyond her immediate circle. Both spoken and written libels appear to have circulated throughout Louis's reign, and, contrary to Marie Antoinette's view, had great success in both court and popular circles. Between the lifetimes of the two queens, the outlets and audience for popular critiques of prominent figures had expanded significantly, encouraging critiques of the queen as a celebrity as well as the sovereign's wife. Just as Marie Antoinette sought to embrace ideals of domesticity espoused by the urban bourgeoisie, her status as a royal personage was losing its distinct mystique during the late eighteenth century as the appetite for knowledge of the daily lives of prominent personages spread to a wide popular audience.

The extent that the pamphlet press disseminated negative rumors concerning Marie Antoinette before the outbreak of the French Revolution is a subject of extensive scholarly debate.[151] The pornographic interpretation of the French Revolution, as applied to the public perception of Marie Antoinette's household, has been challenged by scholars who argue that the supposed deluge of prerevolutionary pamphlets misrepresents both the source of popular hostility toward the queen and the availability of printed libels. The queen's household attracted popular scrutiny on political as well as moral grounds. The Polignac family were rumored to be providing Emperor Joseph II of Austria with funds from the largesse they received from the queen.[152] The comparative paucity of pamphlet literature prior to 1789 has never been in dispute,[153] but the thematic similarities between the libels circulated before and after the French Revolution demonstrate that the earlier documents closely influenced revolutionary publications.

While the debate concerning the content of the pamphlets demonizing Marie Antoinette's household has encompassed a wide range of themes including misogyny and Austrophobia, historical analysis of the proliferation of these documents focuses narrowly on printed criticism of the queen. As demonstrated by the diverse array of sources concerning the public perception of Henrietta Maria's role as head of the queen's household, conversation and the circulation of manuscript newsletters were effective methods of spreading criticism of prominent personages. The scrutiny of pamphlets to the exclusion of other forms of political discourse also obscures the relationship between the queen's decisions concerning her household and the changing attitudes of Louis's subjects. Thomas argues pornographic pamphlet literature

defaming the queen developed its own momentum independent of Marie Antoinette's actual behavior.[154] The correspondence between Marie Antoinette, Maria Theresa, and Mercy-Argenteau demonstrates otherwise. In these letters, the writers discuss both written and spoken forms of political critique, which generally follow changes to the royal household, developments illuminating the state of the royal marriage, or the births of children. Within the context of the queen's role as head of her household, criticism of various forms followed the distribution of state funds to royal favorites.

The changes to Marie Antoinette's household that accompanied the ascension of Louis XVI to the throne resulted in a sharp increase in royal expenditure. In 1772, the expenses of the dauphine's household amounted to 1,600,000 livres.[155] The reorganization of Marie Antoinette's household as queen, which included the appointment of Lamballe, increased this expenditure to 2,200,000 livres.[156] Mercy-Argenteau was aware of the public scrutiny this expenditure attracted around the time of Marie Antoinette's acquisition of Petit Trianon.[157] He wrote to Maria Theresa, "At first, the public saw with pleasure that the King gave Trianon to the Queen. They have started to become anxious and alarmed at her Majesty's expenses. By her order, the gardens have been turned over to make an English garden, which will cost at least a hundred and fifty thousand livres."[158] The gardens at Trianon were open to the thousands of sightseers who visited the grounds of Versailles every day, allowing rumors of the queen's extravagance to circulate.

Critiques of the household and properties Marie Antoinette acquired were further informed by the new queen"s apparent rejection of senior courtiers, such as Noailles, in favor of inexperienced newcomers such as Lamballe and Polignac. In her memoirs, Campan recounts an unfortunate incident that occurred at La Muette when the senior ladies of the court visited Marie Antoinette to offer condolences upon the death of Louis XV. The queen smiled at the antics of one of her ladies, who sat behind her and pulled faces at the other maids of honor, as she received the visiting courtiers.[159] As a result, "the severe old ladies pronounced that the young Queen had derided all those respectable persons who were pressing forward to pay homage to her; that she liked none but the young; that she was deficient in decorum; and that not one of them would attend her court again."[160] Marie Antoinette's laughter at this mournful reception, during a period when her household was being reorganized to accord greater prominence to younger ladies, severely damaged her reputation among the most prominent families in France.

The reception at La Muette became the subject of satirical songs in the "epidemic" Marie Antoinette described, ensuring that accounts

of the incident would spread beyond court circles to the general public. These songs attacked both the queen's preference for the society of courtiers her own age and her Austrian ancestry. The refrain to one song critiquing this incident was, "Little twenty year old Queen/ Since you treat people with no shame/You'll go back from where you came."[161] Campan remembered another version of this song in which the outraged courtiers themselves were to see the queen returned to the Franco-Austrian border.[162] The references to Marie Antoinette's heritage may appear surprising in this context because her behavior was a social transgression rather than the introduction of obviously foreign customs. Nevertheless, the reorganization of her household appeared to herald a new ascendance of the pro-Austrian faction at court, which had been weakened by the forced retirement of the architect of the Franco-Austrian alliance, the Duc de Choiseul, in 1770.[163] Marie Antoinette's autonomy over household appointments appeared to demonstrate the queen's political influence over the king, although Louis would largely exclude his wife from affairs of state until the late 1780s.

The expensive improvements to Petit Trianon were also a focus of popular xenophobia as the small palace and its gardens became known as "Le Petit Vienne" or "Le Petit Schonnbrunn" after Maria Theresa's seat of government and country estate respectively.[164] Marie Antoinette's ambitious building and landscaping program appeared to represent an attempt to recreate the setting of her childhood on the grounds of Versailles. The exclusion of the public from the Petit Trianon palace itself fueled speculation that it was the site of pro-Austrian conspiracies. A 1789 pamphlet entitled "The Aristocratic League or the French Catalinas" printed the speculation that had circulated throughout Louis XVI's reign concerning the activities in Marie Antoinette's comparatively private sphere. The pamphlet stated, "It is in the boudoirs of a Messalina, that, seated on sofas soiled by criminal acts, the Peers of the Realm, Tyrants of Peoples, Friends of the queen and enemies of the king, swear oaths of conspiracy through the medium of Vermond, priest of crime, and on the breast of La Polignac, altar of Vice."[165] The assumption that the queen's friends were enemies of the king and that Marie Antoinette's private rooms provided opportunities for treasonous conspiracy demonstrates the degree to which Marie Antoinette's household and properties had reinforced popular perceptions of her foreign origins by 1789.

Lamballe's failure to successfully discharge her duties as superintendent encouraged popular speculation concerning the nature of her relationship with Marie Antoinette. Resentment of Lamballe fueled an undercurrent of criticism against the queen that focused on her extravagance and perceived sexuality. Even Campan was critical of the

queen's decision to promote Lamballe beyond her capabilities, writing, "Differences which soon took place between Marie Antoinette and the Princesse de Lamballe respecting the official prerogatives of the latter proved that the wife of Louis XV had acted judiciously in abolishing this office."[166] Although Lamballe retained her position, the queen's relationship with Polignac became closer following these conflicts concerning the management of the household.[167]

The queen's household records provide hints that Lamballe's expenditures impeded the effective functioning of Marie Antoinette's establishment. These documents provide evidence that the superintendent dispensed extensive patronage and was the recipient of petitions asking her to intercede with the queen.[168] In a 1786 letter, her treasurer complained of Lamballe's pretentions and referred to conflicts that involved the superintendent.[169] Mercy-Argenteau provided a specific example of Lamballe's mismanagement of household resources in a 1776 letter to Maria Theresa. He wrote, "The survival of the position of First Horseman[170] recalls the superintendence created for Madame de Lamballe. One is sad to see the use of 150,000 livres for appointments for a position that is good only for the cause of disagreement and division in the Queen's household."[171] Mercy-Argenteau was referring to the appointment of Polignac's husband, Count Jules de Polignac, to the prestigious post. The diplomat was critical of largesse received by Lamballe and objected to her use of patronage to create additional lucrative positions at court. Members of the premier aristocratic houses resident at Versailles found additional reasons to object to Lamballe's exercise of her duties because she did not invite them to receptions.[172] Her mistakes in the capacity of superintendent attracted negative scrutiny toward the queen who appeared unable to exercise her own duties as head of the household because of her favoritism toward her friends.

While the court critiqued Lamballe's mismanagement of the queen's household, the public interpreted her disproportionate largesse toward her friends as evidence of sexual impropriety. At Marie Antoinette's trial in 1793, the prosecutors would argue that the "orgies" involving the queen and her household began at Versailles in 1779 and continued until the outbreak of revolution, an accusation that alludes to years of supposition concerning her comparatively private sphere.[173] These accusations contrast with the critiques faced by Henrietta Maria, whose distinct status as queen was acknowledged by satirical works that criticized her for tolerating sexual immorality but did not question her own reputation until the outbreak of the English Civil Wars.

Mercy-Argenteau did not discuss these rumors directly in letters to Maria Theresa but implied that the friendship between the two women was undermining the queen's reputation. He observed the reunion

between Marie Antoinette and Lamballe after the latter's brief absence from court in 1777, writing, "The Princess de Lamballe, who has returned after fifteen days at the waters of Plombiéres, has been received by the Queen with many demonstrations of goodwill, but this reception is only the form of propriety, which is becoming more and more embarrassing and awkward."[174] Marie Antoinette's letters prove that she was aware of the rumors circulating both at court and among the general public concerning her relationship with Lamballe and other female members of her household but scholars largely dismiss the idea that she attempted to counter these rumors. Thomas raises the question of the queen's reaction but quickly dismisses the issue, stating, "The anonymous voice of the pamphlets never had any effect on Marie-Antoinette."[175] The tendency of prerevolutionary libels to spread though speech and manuscript at court instead of printed pamphlets enabled the queen to gain a broad understanding of the rumors concerning her relationship with her household. Marie Antoinette's indifference to her reputation cannot be assumed based on current scholarship concerning the reception of the pamphlets even though her unchanging determination to reward her friends and create a private sphere appeared to indicate an absence of concern for popular opinion.

The printed documents issued by Louis and Marie Antoinette in the late 1780s concerning the reduction of the queen's household expenditure provide evidence that her reputation as a profligate head of her establishment was a matter of concern to the royal couple. In 1780 and 1788, Louis published edicts announcing the suppression of various charges concerning the queen's household.[176] In contrast to the various actions taken by Charles to respond to complaints against Henrietta Maria, the king of France's edict directly references his wife's opinion concerning the measures taken to curb expenditure. Louis's 1788 edict states, "We have announced that the Queen, our dear spouse and partner, desires to work with us toward the execution of projects of economy that are required by the state of our finances, having settled a plan of reform for the expenses of her household."[177] The wording of this document refers to the queen's capacity as head of her household and administrator of her properties. The degree to which Marie Antoinette actually involved herself in the planning of economies to her household is unknown but the inclusion of her goals in the document suggests that she desired to be perceived as economizing during this period of fiscal hardship for France. The king's consistent deferral to his wife's wishes concerning her household throughout his reign made it unlikely any reduction in expenditure would have occurred without her express approval. Appointments to the households of Marie Antoinette's predecessors often clearly contradicted

their wishes.[178] In contrast, Louis's edict presents the king and queen as a unified couple, both eager to make the changes necessary to allay popular concerns regarding court expenditures.

The nature of the reductions to the royal expenditure announced in the 1788 edict addresses the issues that attracted popular condemnation of Marie Antoinette as head of her household in the early years of Louis's reign. While senior members of the queen's household such as Lamballe and Polignac retained their appointments, their ability to dispense patronage was diminished by the elimination of numerous subordinate posts such as ordinary horsemen, valets, and gentlemen servants.[179] The document lists the salaries attached to these positions and predicts that the changes to the queen's household would result in nine hundred thousand additional livres for the royal treasury. The document does not discuss the expenses incurred by improvements to the queen's properties as Petit Trianon and St. Cloud, but the phrasing of the edict and the planned dismissal of royal servants indicates that Louis and Marie Antoinette were interested in responding to public opinion concerning their expenditure.

Marie Antoinette's correspondence provides further evidence that the queen believed the source of her unpopularity as head of her household was directly related to her perceived extravagance. In a 1788 letter to her elder brother, Emperor Joseph II, [180]she expressed an interest in the economies underway at court, writing, "One continues here with the economies and retrenchments. The bodyguards have been reduced by four squadrons of 250 men each…The destruction of the gendarmerie is applauded by all the military."[181] While the impetus for this particular report may have been Joseph II's scathing critique of the amount of money she had spent improving Petit Trianon and enriching the Polignac family,[182] it demonstrates an awareness of her reputation and recognition of how reforms had the potential to change popular opinion. Mercy-Argenteau wrote around the same time, "This princess is now all given over to the interior arrangements, the economies; the reforms…These subjects are addressed without plan, without further action, always decided by the intrigue and impulses of society."[183] This analysis provides evidence demonstrating why Marie Antoinette's desire to counter her reputation for extravagance did not improve her reputation both at court and within the wider public sphere. Despite her interest in economies and reforms, her inability to maintain a clear program of action and disassociate herself from unpopular members of her social circle doomed her efforts to failure.

While pamphlet literature was available to a limited extent before 1789, conversation and manuscript transmission provided the most effective means of spreading rumors concerning Marie Antoinette's

relationship with female members of her household prior to the revolution. These libels followed specific changes to the queen's establishment and properties including the appointment of Lamballe as superintendent and visible changes to the gardens at Petit Trianon. Court gossip concerning the shortcomings of Lamballe in her position of responsibility or the exclusion of senior courtiers from Petit Trianon acquired sexual or xenophobic elements within the broader public sphere. Marie Antoinette appears to have been aware of the accusations of extravagance and attempted to counter them by consenting to the reduction of her household but she was unable to follow an effective program of reform that would communicate her good intentions to Louis's subjects. The queen also considered the accusations of sexual immorality to be so outrageous that she did not recognize the influence they had over popular opinion of her reputation. Marie Antoinette failed to present herself as an effective head of her household throughout Louis's reign but her writings indicate that she attempted to engage with the popular debate concerning her expenditure and address the various media by which libels proliferated in the late eighteenth century public sphere.

Henrietta Maria and Marie Antoinette: Disorder in the Royal Household

When the queen was perceived to be at the head of a disorderly household, both the consort and her servants became the focus of popular anxieties concerning the role of women within their families, the influence of foreign interests over the government, and religious difference. The spread of these debates reveals the degree to which spoken and manuscript transmission of information continued throughout the Early Modern period alongside the rise of printed pamphlets and newssheets. Discussion and correspondence often served as the first means of disseminating an interpretation of the queen's household dynamics before these issues appeared in print.

Henrietta Maria arrived in England in 1625 with a clear conception of her role as head of the queen's household. She expected the atmosphere and personnel of her childhood establishment to remain constant during her married life, retaining its comparatively informal character and French Catholic staff. Her conception of her household caused the most significant conflict of her early married life. Charles's courtiers and servants viewed the foreign household with dismay since the king's marriage because they expected the queen's household to provide opportunities for employment and advancement. While Henrietta Maria perceived herself as autonomous, English observers concluded that she was under

the control of her French servants, upsetting the natural order of both the royal household and the king's marriage.

The negative attention attracted by Henrietta Maria's French establishment gradually shifted to the queen herself as she reinterpreted her role and developed a closer relationship with Charles. During the late 1620s and 1630s, she began to take a close interest in the administration of her jointure lands, continued her patronage of court theatricals, and utilized her household as visible means of pursuing her political goals including pro-Spanish foreign policies and Catholic emancipation within England and Scotland. The fact that high profile courtiers converted to Catholicism, and curious members of the general public attended mass at Somerset house alarmed numerous Protestants. Henrietta Maria's attempts to assert her autonomy as head of her household undermined her legitimacy as queen.

Marie Antoinette did not arrive in France with an Austrian household but her view of her establishment as a comparatively private sphere within the public realm of the court appeared foreign to French observers. As dauphine, Louis XV and Noailles closely managed Marie Antoinette's establishment. As queen, Marie Antoinette found her husband to be accepting of her conception of her role as head of her household. The changes to the queen's household that occurred during the early years of Louis XVI's reign, including the appointment of Lamballe as superintendent of the queen's household and extensive landscaping of the Petit Trianon gardens, caused discontent at court, which in turn fueled popular anxieties concerning women and foreigners in positions of power.

The concerns regarding Marie Antoinette's household differed according to the observer's involvement in French court politics. Among influential aristocratic families who expected patronage appointments at court, the queen's appointment of comparative outsiders to influential positions appeared to challenge the accepted hierarchy at court. Marie Antoinette's perceived neglect of senior nobles, the exclusion of the public from Petit Trianon palace itself, and Lamballe's inability to successfully perform her duties as superintendent attracted negative comment from influential courtiers. Once negative publicity concerning Marie Antoinette's establishment spread outside the circle of courtiers directly affected by appointments to the consort's household, the queen's sexuality and foreign origins became matters of debate. The difficulties concerning the consummation of the royal marriage fueled speculation that favored members of the household were the queen's lovers. These anxieties would become major themes in revolutionary pamphlet literature, undermining the queen's reputation and the legitimacy of the monarchy.

Both the English and French royal families made limited attempts to address the mounting criticism directed toward the queen's household. Charles dismissed the majority of Henrietta Maria's French servants, asserting his dominance over all the satellite royal households. During the late 1620s and 1630s, he engaged in numerous activities concerning the queen's reputation including the dismissal of "immoral" courtiers from her household, the prosecution of the most virulent critics of her theatrical endeavors, and the limitation of public access to court masses. These actions had little effect on Henrietta Maria's reputation because she appeared to be undermining the king's efforts though manoeuvers of her own including the reinstatement of dismissed courtiers and the softening of restrictions against English Catholics. Marie Antoinette expressed her agreement with Louis's attempts to reduce court expenditures by including her opinion in published pamphlets concerning this issue, and expressing her compliance with economies in her conversations and correspondence. Despite the queen's apparent involvement in these measures, her reputation also continued to suffer as Louis's reign progressed. Both Henrietta Maria and Marie Antoinette failed to effectively contribute to the dialogue concerning their respective positions as heads of royal households. Their relationships with their servants and their administration of their properties therefore became the focus of widespread discontent, undermining their positions as royal consorts and the legitimacy of monarchical government.

Chapter 3

Wife of the King

When Henrietta Maria married Charles I in 1625 and Marie Antoinette married the future Louis XVI in 1770, both princesses experienced the most significant transformation in the life cycle of an Early Modern European woman. They became wives, assuming the social identities of their husbands. Royal weddings of the period attracted extensive popular interest and comment because the couples were participating in a ritual familiar to both genders and members of all social estates. Although numerous factors separated an elite wedding from the experiences of most Europeans, royal marriage still provided an opportunity for subjects to identify with their sovereigns.[1] While public discussion of a monarch's policies usually occurred at gatherings of nobles or educated townspeople, critiques of royal marital relations occurred in diverse settings. Debates concerning the royal couple provided opportunities for women in particular to participate in the emerging public sphere with the authority of their own experiences, beginning their statements with phrases such as "If I were the Queen . . ." or "I know the Queen to be . . ." A royal wedding therefore had a social and political impact beyond the immediate diplomatic and personal goals of any individual marriage contract.

Although biblical scriptures, prescriptive literature, and folk wisdom affirmed the significance of marriage to a woman's life cycle, the precise nature of this institution was a matter of debate during the lives of both Henrietta Maria and Marie Antoinette. The experiences of the two queens intersected with controversies concerning the role of wives that were characteristic of the entire period and specific to their individual regions and lifetimes. The broad ideological change that encompassed the entire period was the rise of affective marriage as a desirable goal. Western Europe experienced a gradual trend toward this form of marriage with personal considerations gradually superseding material and economic considerations in the ideal conception of marital relations.[2] While actual marriages founded upon sentiment were more prevalent during the eighteenth century, especially among the upper classes, and in urban areas, the increased importance granted marriage during the

Reformation and Counterreformation made affective marriage theoretically desirable throughout the Early Modern period despite regional differences in family structure.[3] Emerging social norms that did not reflect the position or responsibilities of royalty shaped responses to the performance of royal marriage.

Henrietta Maria and Marie Antoinette both incorporated elements of this emerging conception of affective marriage into their public images even though their own unions had been arranged for reasons of state. During the 1630s, Charles and Henrietta Maria commissioned portraits and masques that portrayed their marriage as a harmonious union. Through this imagery, the king and queen attempted to demonstrate that their religious differences could be overcome through loving marriage and that their personal happiness would contribute to harmonious governance.[4] Marie Antoinette introduced innovations to court culture that encouraged greater intimacy between married couples.[5] The king and queen themselves set an example of marital harmony by promenading together through the gardens of Versailles and taking their meals as a couple with Louis's brothers and their wives.[6] This public display of marital unity acted as a counterpoint to both the debauchery of the late Louis XV, and the rumors of sexual dysfunction within the childless royal marriage. Neither Charles I nor Louis XVI had publicly known mistresses during their reigns, reinforcing the image of marital unity that both royal couples attempted to project to their subjects.

Unfortunately for Henrietta Maria and Marie Antoinette, their attempts to include certain elements indicative of affective marriage in their public image attracted criticism because these gestures appeared to signify the queen's increased political influence. In the absence of acknowledged mistresses, the consort appeared to have greater opportunities to influence state policy or exercise patronage through her exclusive personal relationship with the sovereign. Since both queens were female and foreign, the perception that they engaged in the growing trend toward affective marriage aroused popular anxieties concerning the inversion of the gender hierarchy and the subversion of the state by outside interests. Public displays of marital love and harmony also appeared to contradict known tensions within each royal marriage. The trend toward affective marriage undermined the reputations of both Henrietta Maria and Marie Antoinette as their acceptance of a new conception of marital relations often appeared dangerous. Domestic imagery of royal couples was incompatible with the dynastic imperatives that governed marriages of state because the combination of foreign alliances and emotional intimacy appeared to indicate conspiracy in the popular imagination.

The marriages of the two queens consort also intersected with controversies concerning marital relations unique to their own respective polities and lifetimes. In seventeenth century England, Henrietta Maria's marriage coincided with anxieties concerning recusant Roman Catholic wives and mothers in families that otherwise conformed to Church of England observance.[7] During Charles I's reign, the desirability of marriage between Catholics and Protestants was a matter of popular debate that directly involved the queen. Since Henrietta Maria remained a Roman Catholic throughout her lifetime and her marriage contract officially forbade Charles from influencing her to convert to his faith,[8] she achieved popular notoriety as the most prominent recusant wife in her husband's kingdoms. This reputation shaped the negative popular responses to her attempts to act as an intercessory queen, in the manner of previous English consorts. At the same time, her attempts to include Protestants in her social and political endeavors aroused suspicions among her coreligionists. From the dismissal of the majority of the French household to the outbreak of the English Civil Wars, Henrietta Maria attracted criticism from Protestants who argued that she was too active on behalf of members of her own faith and Roman Catholics who thought her too willing to compromise with Puritan factions at court.

The religious, social, and political conditions of seventeenth century England created additional opportunities for popular critiques of the queen in her position as wife of the sovereign. Since Reformation theology rejected clerical celibacy and priestly intercession, marriage gained additional spiritual significance in Protestant conceptions of the ideal society.[9] The existence of religious conflict during this period raised the question of whether women should be expected to be subordinate to their husbands in matters of conscience.[10] Henrietta Maria's apparent religious and political influence over Charles threatened his reputation as head of his family, which was considered a microcosm of the larger state. The king and queen experienced a controversial marriage in a religious climate that encouraged judgment and critique of family life.

More than a century later, Marie Antoinette also experienced the transition to married life during a period of ideological debate as Enlightenment scholars debated the place of women within their families. The seven year delay between the wedding and the consummation of the marriage invited popular speculation concerning Louis's authority over his wife. In the *Encyclopedie*, contributing author, Louis, Chevalier de Jaucourt, argued that female subordination to masculine authority reflected civil law.[11] This civic justification of masculine authority within marriage reflected the *Encyclopedie*'s goal of celebrating human knowledge and achievement.[12] By the time Marie Antoinette became

dauphine, Rousseau had challenged the *Encyclopedie*'s civic justification of the gender hierarchy.[13] According to the ideas expressed in *Emile*, women's ability to bear children rendered them subordinate to their husbands according to the principles of natural law, which could not be altered by human innovation.[14] Marie Antoinette's actions as a wife therefore had greater significance to Louis XVI's subjects than those of previous queens of France.

Henrietta Maria and Marie Antoinette became wives during a period of ideological debate concerning the ideal role of women within their families. Henrietta Maria became the most prominent recusant wife in the British Isles while Marie Antoinette's married life intersected with the philosophical debates of the Enlightenment concerning the justification for the subordinate place of the wife within marriage. Both queens found their own conceptions of their respective roles as wives to be the focus of critiques within wider popular debates concerning women and marriage, undermining their legitimacy and authority as queens consort and the viability of monarchical government during the years preceding the English Civil Wars and French Revolution.

Henrietta Maria: Loving Wife and Intercessory Queen

From the time of their betrothal, Charles and Henrietta Maria viewed their union as a combination of politics and sentiment. In an undated letter to Charles from 1625, the soon to be married Princess Henriette-Marie wrote, "The impatience which you shew me you have had, during the time the treaty was pending, and the satisfaction that you tell me you have received on the news of what has been accomplished here, give me certain assurance of your goodwill toward me, as you represent it by your letter."[15] The references to the treaty, and the recently accomplished negotiations, underscore the pragmatic intent of the union. Through the negotiation of this marriage for his only surviving son, James I hoped to increase his revenue through the acquisition of the princess's dowry,[16] make a strategic alliance with one of the key continental powers, and gain support for the restoration of his son-in-law, the former King Frederick of Bohemia, to his lands in the Palatinate.[17] In France, the political intentions of the marriage were more divided. Marie de Medici favored the match for the opportunity it provided for her daughter to attempt to alleviate the persecution of English Catholics while Louis XIII focused his attention on the geopolitical advantages that would arise from preventing a possible dynastic marriage between England and Spain.[18]

Both Charles and Henrietta Maria were in agreement with the terms that their respective kingdoms brought to the marriage negotiations, and developed a certain degree of sympathy for the other's political goals. Henrietta Maria expressed verbal support for the restoration of Frederick to the Palatinate and attempted to further this cause through diplomatic channels.[19] The king did not grant the religious toleration to English Catholics but allowed her household freedom of religion and frequently allowed her to intercede in individual recusancy cases. These political and religious goals shaped the initial marriage negotiations and therefore influenced the royal couple's interactions with each other and the wider diplomatic sphere. As queen, Henrietta Maria would be criticized by the French diplomatic corps for not exerting formal political influence over her husband but this interpretation does not take into account her cultural patronage and intercessory activities. These traditional prerogatives exercised by previous English queens consort served as an alternate means of achieving political and religious goals as wife of the sovereign.

The correspondence Charles and Henrietta Maria exchanged during the period between their betrothal and marriage, however, also suggests a common desire for an affective marriage that would provide personal satisfaction to both parties. The princess notes "testimonies of your affection"[20] and subtly indicates that she will return these feelings. These courtship motifs may appear incongruous considering that the couple had never met and the motivations for the union were political but they are indicative of the emerging ideal of companionate marriage that grew in popularity from Henrietta Maria's lifetime to that of Marie Antoinette. Charles would have been aware of comparatively recent English and Scottish examples of monarchs presenting their dynastic marriages to their subjects and foreign monarchs alike as affective unions while Henrietta Maria was familiar with representations of marital harmony favored by her mother.

In sixteenth century England, Henry VIII initially presented his first marriage to his brother's widow, Catherine of Aragon, to his subjects as a chivalric romance, prominently displaying the queen's colors when he participated in tournaments.[21] Catherine was an active participant in these displays, appearing at the numerous court and public celebrations during the first years of Henry's reign to receive the king's declarations of love and homage.[22] Although Henry would eventually divorce Catherine and his other foreign wife, Anna of Cleves, and order the execution of two of his wives from the English noble Howard family, Anne Boleyn and Catherine Howard, he continued to publicly portray himself as a loving husband throughout his reign and included his wives in displays of marital devotion.[23] In Scotland, Charles's grandmother,

Mary, and father, James VI and I, both presented their marriages to their subjects as the culmination of romantic quests in the chivalric tradition. Despite the disastrous precedents set by Mary's second and third marriages, James utilized romantic motifs upon his marriage to Anna of Denmark. For a male sovereign contracting an accepted dynastic marriage with a fellow member of a Protestant royal house,[24] chivalric displays conveyed the impression of stability. Although James expressed a personal disinclination toward marriage,[25] he recognized that a successful performance of the role of loving husband would create a favorable reputation for virility, leadership, and other virtues worthy of a Renaissance prince. He therefore sailed to Scandinavia to claim "the Queen, our bedfellow" returning to an enthusiastic populace that compared him to a romantic hero.[26]

Henry VIII and James VI and I demonstrated that there was potential for an English or Scottish sovereign to gain popular acclaim by applying medieval ideals of courtly love to the public performance of their marriages. The enthusiasm inspired by James's journey may have inspired Charles to embark on a similar quest to Spain in an attempt to marry the Infanta Maria, in 1623.[27] The unpopularity of the proposed match resulted in Charles also returning home to widespread popular acclaim, celebrating the failure of the Spanish match.[28] James's subjects did not interpret his son's the journey to Spain as a romantic quest but as a strategic union that ignored Protestant popular opinion.[29] Charles would adopt a different approach to his marriage to Henrietta Maria, emphasizing the supposed romance of their chance meeting to obscure the political implications of the bride's Catholicism.

The French court traditions familiar to Henrietta Maria did not include the theatrical romantic gestures between royal couples employed by Charles's Tudor and Stuart predecessors. Marie de Medici could credibly present her marriage to Henry IV, which endured until the king's death and produced five surviving children, as a relative success compared to the most recent unions within the Houses of Valois and Bourbon. The marriages of Henry II's three sons, Francois II, Charles IX, and Henry III did not produce surviving children, and Henry IV's first marriage to Marguerite de Valois was immediately followed by the St. Bartholomew's Day massacre and ended in an annulment. Despite the comparative success of her marriage, Marie emphasized harmony instead of romance in the depictions she commissioned of herself and Henry. The Marie de Medici cycle, painted by Peter Paul Rubens for display in the Luxembourg Palace during Henrietta Maria's wedding celebrations, portrayed the events of Henry and Marie's betrothal and wedding, such as the presentation of the bride's portrait and the proxy marriage, as occurrences of religious and mythological significance.

In the painting where Henry gazes upon the portrait of his intended, Jupiter and Juno watch over him and cherubs hold the image in the manner of an icon.[30] Marie's attempts to shape the popular perception of herself as a wife influenced Henrietta Maria, ensuring that similar images of marital harmony would be commissioned by the queen of England.

From the moment of their betrothal, Charles and Henrietta Maria incorporated their respective family traditions concerning the presentation of affective marriage into the manner in which they presented their union to the public. The motifs of chivalric romance and platonic harmony that infused public imagery of the royal couple throughout their marriage often contrasted with their actual complicated relationship. The letters exchanged by the Prince of Wales and princess of France attempt to obscure the inexperience of the participants[31] and the political and religious contingencies of the marriage negotiations with the language of affective marriage. Although Charles's 1623 letters to James make clear that he took little notice of Henrietta Maria on his brief visit to Paris on the way to Madrid, he would later claim that he fell in love at first sight with his future bride. In his first letter to Henrietta Maria, Charles wrote, "My happiness has been completed by the honour which I have already had of seeing your person, although unknown to you; which sight has completely satisfied me that the exterior of your person in no degree belies the lustre of your virtues."[32] The reinterpretation of the first meeting as a romantic encounter would also influence the content of the queen's first masques in England and the poetry circulated to celebrate the marriage.[33]

The circulation of a romantic interpretation of the marriage provided a means for Charles to preserve the reputation he sought as a chivalric hero after the failure of his journey to Madrid.[34] Henrietta Maria's motives for contributing to this mythology through her artistic patronage are more complicated. Romantic interpretations of the marriage emphasized France's diplomatic triumph at the expense of Spain and an affective relationship between Charles and Henrietta Maria suggested commonality between Roman Catholicism and the Church of England.[35] The hierarchy of power at the English court, however, created an additional impetus for Henrietta Maria to favor portrayals of her marriage as harmonious as it had the potential to create a popular perception of the queen as the most significant influence at court. Since she was unwilling to participate in Church of England ceremonies that traditionally affirmed the legitimacy of English queens, such as the coronation, the motifs of affective marriage served as an alternate means of reinforcing her position.

The highly publicized conflicts between the royal couple from their marriage in 1625 until the assassination of the Duke of Buckingham

in 1628 resulted in the romantic mythology favored by Charles and Henrietta Maria themselves becoming only one of a diverse range of popular interpretations of the early years of the royal marriage. The same public that served as an audience for celebratory odes of the shared affection between the newlyweds might also circulate newsletters detailing the latest public conflict concerning appointments to the queen's household. Sometimes, romantic and adversarial interpretations of the royal marriage coexisted in a single document such as a newsletter describing the dismissal of the majority of the queen's French servants in 1626, which stated, "It is said the Queen, when she understood the designs grew very impatient and broke the glass windows with her fists but since I hear, her rages are appeased and the King and she went together to Nonsuch and have been very jocund together."[36] The nature of the relationship between Charles and Henrietta Maria could not be consistently categorized by their subjects during the late 1620s, resulting in a diverse array of seemingly contradictory accounts of their marriage.

The diplomatic correspondence of the late 1620s provides clear evidence of direct marital tension. There were numerous instances of Charles avoiding his wife's bed as a direct response to her refusal to accept his wishes concerning her household. After Henrietta Maria refused to stand with Buckingham's female relatives to watch the 1626 state opening of parliament, the Venetian ambassador wrote, "The private quarrel between the king and queen is settled, as after the queen had asked for and obtained a long conference with the king, apart from all, they resumed sleeping together after being separated for two nights."[37] The frequent conflicts and reconciliations between Charles and Henrietta Maria were scrutinized by both domestic and foreign observers alike as they revealed the real tension behind the images of harmony that the royal couple sought to convey to their subjects.

The religious, political, and personal conflicts between the couple were frequently negotiated within the setting of the bedchamber, which Charles attempted to demarcate as a comparatively private space upon his ascension to the English throne.[38] When rumors spread of concessions to Roman Catholics being granted on account of the queen's intercession, Buckingham expressed his concern to the royal couple by discussing the matter in their bedchamber.[39] Henrietta Maria similarly attempted to affirm her autonomy over her household while in her husband`s bed. Charles complained to Dudley Carleton, Viscount Dorchester, who had been closely involved in the marriage negotiations, "One night while I was in bed she put a paper in my hand telling me it was a list of those she desired to be of the revenue [administer her jointure]... Then she fell into great passionate discourse, how she was most

miserable in not having power to place her servants."[40] The king and queen were still negotiating their marital dynamics in the late 1620s, a situation that precluded a consistent public image of themselves as husband and wife.

Romantic and harmonious portrayals of the royal marriage gained ascendancy after 1628 as Henrietta Maria replaced Buckingham as the king's favorite. Henrietta Maria was pregnant eight times between 1629 and 1640, demonstrating the intimacy and proximity of husband and wife during the 1630s. The apparent harmony and affection between the couple was noted by the diplomatic corps, which began to view the queen's closeness to the king as a means of exerting political influence. Venetian envoys soon realized that Henrietta Maria did not pursue broader foreign policy goals but instead focused on particular issues including religious toleration for English Catholics and Marie's position in France. The continuing strong relationship between Henrietta Maria and her mother, which culminated in Marie's residence in England in 1638–1639, demonstrates that the queen's marriage did not preclude close ties with her natal family

In contrast to the Venetian understanding of the personal relationships that underscored Henrietta Maria's attempts at political intervention, the French diplomatic corps attempted to encourage the queen to unconditionally support French interests in England and expressed disappointment when she did not do so. In an April 1634 letter, the French ambassador, discussed Henrietta Maria's influence at the English court through her role as a wife, writing, "The Queen, [the King's] wife, has a monstrous passion for the King: we will see at this hour, if she will take . . . another credit in the business about the Lord Treasurer."[41] Subsequent letters discuss the queen's ill will toward Charles I's treasurer, Lord Richard Weston, who attempted to strictly enforce the fines for recusancy to increase the crown's revenues during the period of Personal Rule and advised against Marie taking up residence in England.[42] Successive French diplomats resident in England hoped that the queen's attempts to influence her husband in matters of domestic policy signified a willingness to further French foreign policy.[43] As discussed in the previous chapter, the political goals she pursued by means of her household reflected her broader religious objectives instead of her national origins alone, resulting in frequent pro-Spanish overtures that infuriated Louis XIII's representatives.[44]

During the 1630s, Henrietta Maria attempted to revive the traditional independent prerogatives employed by English queens consort. The most significant of these traditions was intercessory queenship, wherein the consort mediated on behalf of people who had incurred the displeasure of the sovereign. These intercessions were not examples of

the private influence of a royal wife over her husband but public ceremonial acts that provided the queen with a distinct political role. Since this prerogative had last been exercised effectively by an English queen consort during the reign of Henry VIII,[45] Henrietta Maria modified the practice to suit her own inclinations and the conditions of her times. She viewed her activities on behalf of English Catholics as within the scope of her traditional role as an intercessory queen. While her foreign policy goals varied throughout Charles's reign, her attempts to intercede on behalf of her coreligionists remained consistent from her marriage to the outbreak of the English Civil Wars.

In 1641, Henrietta Maria wrote to her sister Christine, "The suffering of the poor Catholics and the others who have served my lord the King are more perceptible to me that what might happen to me in particular. You can imagine what my condition is to see the power removed from the King, [and] the Catholics persecuted."[46] As will be discussed in chapter 5, she also viewed her intercessory role to be a reciprocal arrangement between sovereign and subject. When Charles engaged in military campaigns against his own subjects, she expected her coreligionists to provide financial contributions, a clear distinction from the practices of previous queens consort, who asked only for the loyalty of the people they assisted through intercession.

The outbreak of the English Civil Wars interrupted another longstanding prerogative enjoyed by English queens consort, which Henrietta Maria adapted to her own circumstances and tastes. Since the Middle Ages, the queens of England had engaged in cultural patronage and the influence of Marie de Medici made this role particularly attractive to Charles I's consort. In the same manner as her practice of intercessory queenship, however, Henrietta Maria introduced previously unknown elements into a traditional prerogative enjoyed by English consorts. Whereas James and Anna had overseen separate households that generated differing cultural products, Charles and Henrietta Maria often sponsored joint masques and paintings that celebrated married love, incorporating elements of both the chivalric traditions that informed Charles's experiences and the images of harmony that Henrietta Maria adapted from her mother's example. The most prominent example of this combined imagery is Thomas Carew's masque, "Coelum Britanicum," which was sponsored by Charles and performed at Whitehall Palace in 1633. In this drama, the figure of the chivalric knight is presented as a guardian of the kingdom's peace,[47] and the chorus addressed to the queen describes love and beauty as the goals of a virtuous journey.[48] The marriage of Charles and Henrietta Maria is singled out as "that great example of matrimonial union" and is commemorated with a new constellation entitled "Carlo-maria."[49] Through

"Coelum Britanicum" and other products of artistic patronage, Charles and Henrietta Maria presented their marriage as an affective union, infused with the chivalric and harmonious elements that emerged from their respective backgrounds.

The marriage of Charles and Henrietta Maria, in common with the union of Louis and Marie Antoinette, was a dynastic union. English and French envoys expressed clear political and religious goals during the negotiation of the marriage contract, which the respective parties expected to further through their union. Although the terms of the marriage contract were public knowledge, Charles and Henrietta Maria both downplayed the political realities of the marriage when presenting themselves as a couple to their subjects. Instead, they drew upon the emerging ideal of affective marriage, and their own family traditions of chivalric or harmonious motifs to present themselves to their subjects as a united couple. While Enlightenment thinkers would conflate affective marriage with sentimentality and natural bonds, seventeenth century affective ideals were more formalized as demonstrated by the manner in which Charles and Henrietta Maria presented their marriage to Charles's subjects.

During the late 1620s, these images competed with accounts of the frequent tensions concerning the queen's household, but by the 1630s, the couple's private behavior appeared to match their public imagery. The degree to which Henrietta Maria exerted political influence over her husband became a matter of diplomatic interest. Henrietta Maria revived the traditional privileges of English consorts, such as intercession and cultural patronage, and adapted these practices to conform with her own tastes and circumstances. The queen's intercessions focused on alleviating the persecution of English Catholics and her artistic interests fueled joint depictions of affective marital relations, in conjunction with the king. Charles and Henrietta Maria each brought different conceptions of affective marriage into their politically determined union and combined these motifs in an attempt legitimize the queen's role as a wife to the king's subjects.

Henrietta Maria: Recusant Wife and Subversive Queen

In 1643, one of Henrietta Maria's most vocal critics, William Prynne, wrote, "[Roman Catholics] had Queen Mary her selfe in the Kings own bed and bosome for their most powerful mediatrix, of whom they might really affirme in reference to His Majesty, what some of their Popish Doctors have most blasphemously written of the Virgin Mary in

relation to God and Christ, That all things are subject to the command of Mary even God himselfe."[50] This tract reveals the failure of Henrietta Maria's use of intercessory queenship as a means of legitimizing her position as wife to the sovereign. Prynne did not interpret intercessions on behalf of persecuted English Catholics within the context of the traditional prerogatives of consorts. Instead, he utilized Protestant anxieties concerning recusant wives within otherwise conformist families to further his argument concerning the queen's malignant influence on the king. Since Henrietta Maria was Charles's wife and the royal couple presented themselves to their subjects through images of harmonious unity, Prynne argued that the queen's influence extended beyond individual intercessions on behalf of her coreligionists. The absence of parliamentary sittings during the 1630s fueled fears that Henrietta Maria's intimacy with the king allowed her to become the most powerful royal advisor in England, influencing domestic and foreign policy.

Prynne conflated the supposed faith among English Catholics in the queen's grace and mercy with the intercessory role of the Virgin Mary, which was prominent in Counterreformation Roman Catholic theology and favored by certain prominent adherents of William Laud's unpopular reforms to the Church of England.[51] For Protestants who adhered to Calvinist or Presbyterian doctrines, Marian intercession was anathema. The failure of the queen's intercessions and public image of harmony in the royal marriage to inspire widespread loyalty toward the monarchy extended beyond those who shared Prynne's interpretation of Protestant doctrine. People from all social backgrounds, particularly women, judged the public indications of affective marriage between Charles and Henrietta Maria to be insincere while Catholics were disappointed that the queen failed to negotiate official toleration of her coreligionists. Prynne referred to Henrietta Maria as "Queen Mary," the Anglicization of her name that appeared in prayers for the royal family in the Church of England liturgy.[52] This name seemed reminiscent of the burning of Protestants for heresy during Mary I's reign, which had been kept alive in the popular imagination by such widely circulated works as John Foxe's *Book of Martyrs*.[53] Lucy Hutchison alluded to the impact of the queen's name on Protestant popular opinion, writing, "Some kind of fatality too, the English imagined to be in her name of Marie, which, it is said, the King rather chose to have her called by rather than her other, Henrietta, because the land should find a blessing in that name, which had been more unfortunate."[54] The numerous misspellings of Henrietta Maria's name in pamphlets describing the wedding celebrations and the 1625 public prayers offered to the king's bride, "Queen Henry," suggest that Charles's actual rationale for calling his wife Mary was the unfamiliarity of Henrietta as an English name in the

early seventeenth century.[55] Nevertheless, Hutchison's account reveals the impact of decades of discussion of Charles's consort as Queen Mary had on the popular imagination. For Protestants, a second Queen Mary appeared to symbolize the revival of state Roman Catholicism, threatening the hegemony of the Church of England.

For Roman Catholics, the royal marriage invoked different historical precedents. While Protestants viewed the English Reformation as an inevitable occurrence, emphasizing the hand of providence, Catholics focused on the human contingencies that shaped this religious change, particularly Henry VIII's second marriage to Anne Boleyn outside the jurisdiction of the papacy. While few Catholics publicly expressed this interpretation as bluntly as the Yorkshire gentleman Harry More, who was arrested in 1624 for declaring, "The religion now professed here came out of King Henry the eighth his codpiece."[56] Charles's marriage encouraged speculation concerning the influence of queens consort over the religious policy of their sovereign husbands.

During the negotiations for the proposed marriage between Charles and Maria of Spain, diplomats observed the high expectations a Catholic queen would encounter from her coreligionists in her adopted kingdom. The Venetian instructions to the Papal Nuncio in Spain charged with negotiating a dispensation for a Spanish marriage state, "Even if the prince is not converted he will almost certainly do much for the Catholic religion out of love for her . . . A king out of love for a lady not of royal birth repudiated his lawful wife and ruined religion in England, and a king might easily restore it in a lawful manner by a true and just love."[57] Although the Spanish negotiations were ultimately unsuccessful, the chivalric and harmonious motifs that Charles and Henrietta Maria employed in the public imagery concerning their marriage encouraged Catholics to hope the relationship of the royal couple would influence state religious policy in their favor.

In contrast to the optimism a loving royal marriage inspired among Catholics, the gendered nature of recusancy discourse among Protestants encouraged them to regard the apparent close relationship between the king and queen with alarm. The harmony between Charles and Henrietta Maria in the 1630s associated the royal couple with Protestant anxieties concerning recusant wives in otherwise conformist households. The existence of a clear religious divide in the seventeenth century combined with different penalties for recusancy applied to men and women appeared to undermine the accepted authority of a husband over his wife. In households and communities across Charles's kingdoms, the question of whether husbandly authority extended to the wife's conscience was a matter of contentious debate.[58] Roman Catholic wives argued that their relationship with God superseded any human

authority, a stance that appeared to give them increased prominence in the home through their religious convictions.[59] The Protestant critique of priestly authority and emphasis on personal faith encouraged scrutiny of the family because it had the potential to influence religious convictions.[60] Popular representations of extreme cases of recusancy within families, such as the case of the Roman Catholic Margaret Vincent who murdered her conformist children to make them "Saints in Heaven" when they refused to convert to Catholicism, captured the popular imagination.[61] These circumstances encouraged a mythology of the dangerous. recusant wife, who rejected the authority of husband and the state, and sought to convert her family to Roman Catholicism.

The religious clauses of Charles's and Henrietta Maria's marriage contract fueled Protestant anxieties, which increased as the relationship between the couple appeared to develop into a loving and harmonious union. While the statements guaranteeing the queen's authority over her jointure and dowry would have been familiar to any propertied family in England, the freedom of religion granted to the bride appeared to undermine the king's position as a husband and head of the Church of England. Although Henrietta Maria's religious autonomy reflected foreign pressures within the marriage negotiations including the necessity of a papal dispensation, and Louis XIII's determination to receive the same terms offered to Philip IV of Spain, it appeared to English Protestants that the state was creating a precedent favorable to recusant wives. Henrietta Maria was not bound by reciprocal strictures, and Catholic monarchs hoped that she would successfully convert her husband, and, by extension, the inhabitants of his kingdoms.[62] This inversion of the traditional hierarchy between husband and wife, which inspired hope in Roman Catholics, appeared to be a direct affront to Protestants.

The newsletters and seditious speech cases of the 1620s and 1630s reveal the contrast between the terms of the marriage contract and Protestant popular opinion. Just as the reduction of the French household, whose positions were theoretically guaranteed by this document, received widespread popular accolades, Charles's conformist subjects hoped for the conversion of the queen. The demands for the expulsion of Henrietta Maria's French servants reflected this ultimate goal because her youth and relationship to the previously Huguenot Henry IV appeared to provide evidence of a willingness to convert if surrounded by Protestant influences. Public incidents that suggested dissatisfaction with Catholic devotional practices, such as her consumption of meat on a fast day that coincided with her arrival in England, were eagerly discussed as evidence of her willingness to consider her husband's religion.[63] A 1626 newsletter, referred to the departure of the

majority of the French household, "It is hoped, after they are gone, the Queen will by degrees find the sweetness of liberty in being exempted from those beggarly rudiments of Popish penance."[64] The hope was that she would associate receiving the honors due her rank with the arrival of Protestant attendants, and, with time, conversion to the Church of England.

During the 1630s, Henrietta Maria's continued adherence to Roman Catholicism, and the admittance of the general public to her masses encouraged renewed interest in her conversion. In contrast to the newsletters of the 1620s, which described her faith as a threat to the queen's happiness and dignity to a limited circle of readers, the sermons preached during the period of Personal Rule described Roman Catholicism as a threat to the security of Charles's kingdoms, before a wide audience of parishioners. In 1633, the English Catholic John Southcott wrote to his coreligionist Peter Biddulph, "There was a minister of Essex [Nathaniel Bernard] also fined in the high commission court a little before, and degraded for praying in his sermons publickly either to convert or confound the Queen, and the king, as I heare, was so offended at it that he threateneth to hang him."[65]

The findings of a 1637 royal commission charged with investigating irregularities affecting the conduct of divine service in London provide further examples of Church of England clergymen who "pray before and after sermons loosely and factiously, as for the conversion of the Queen."[66] As described in Southcott's letter, Charles was outraged by these sermons and considered them to be examples of seditious speech, worthy of investigation and prosecution. The addresses delivered by Protestant clergymen during the period of Personal Rule implied that Henrietta Maria's refusal to convert to her husband's faith could be a justification for her removal as queen, statements that prefigured the parliamentary debates concerning her impeachment during the English Civil Wars.

In an environment in which Catholics hoped that Henrietta Maria would persuade her husband to grant official toleration and Protestants publicly prayed for her conversion, the queen disappointed both religious groups. Her intercessions alarmed Protestants, who regarded them as evidence of growing state toleration of Roman Catholicism, and disappointed Catholics, who expected more of their queen than the alleviation of individual cases of religious persecution. Among Protestant commentators, Prynne was the most assiduous chronicler and critic of the queen's intercessions with Charles on behalf of Catholics. He reprinted individual pardons of foreign Jesuits and recusant priests, emphasizing references to Henrietta Maria's involvement. For example, a 1632 edict reprinted with Prynne's emphases states, "Whereas on the

24 of March last, our pleasure was declared to the Lords of Our Privy Council that AT THE INSTANCE OF OUR DEAREST CONSORT THE QUEENE… we were graciously pleased that THESE PRIESTS and recusants here undernamed… should be released."[67] Following this document, Prynne provided further annotations that highlighted the queen's influence over Charles's decision to release the priests.[68]

The foreign and domestic state papers of the 1630s demonstrate that the queenly intercessions that attracted the most negative comment from Protestants were the releases of proselytizing Roman Catholic clergymen or criminals convicted of charges against other individuals, instead of the state. These forms of intercession reflected Henrietta Maria's innovations to the traditional prerogatives of English queens consort. As early as 1628, Charles was receiving petitions from various regions of his kingdoms demanding that the laws against recusancy be enforced. One petition from Kent was endorsed by "the gentry, ministry and commonality… agreed upon at the general offices for the county" demonstrating that the perceived toleration of Roman Catholicism concerned Protestants of all social estates.[69]

Although the Capuchin friars were initially considered to be a lesser threat to English Protestantism than Jesuit priests, the ease of public access to their sermons and their intimacy with the royal couple attracted popular indignation. The Venetian ambassador explained how a private dinner for the royal couple in 1637, hosted in the refectory of the Capuchin priory in London under Henrietta Maria's patronage, attracted politically charged criticism, stating, "Those also who for other ends call passionately for the convocation of parliament, increase their outcry because of this circumstance, declaring that the excessive desire to avoid hurting the interests of the Catholics is leading to greater and more serious hurt to the crown and the gravest disasters."[70] He argued that the dinner itself was of little actual significance because the king was only making a gesture to please the queen.[71] This rationale actually made the dinner appear to have immense political and religious importance. In the absence of regular parliamentary sessions, the queen's intercessions appeared to represent a significant influence over the sovereign. Since Henrietta Maria's activities were on behalf of her coreligionists, the absence of parliament also seemed to represent the exclusion of Protestant interests from governance. In place of parliament, domestic policy appeared to be shaped by a Protestant king dominated by his Catholic wife, mirroring broader popular anxieties concerning the influence of recusant wives in conformist households.

Charles's Scottish Protestant subjects were equally concerned about the influence of the queen's religious intercessions on state policy. In June 1638, the same ambassador described the king dismissing the papal

envoy to the queen and recalling her resident in Rome, in response to Scottish demands for parliament to be called to guarantee the Presbyterian liturgy. He wrote, "This step has displeased the queen, but the king told her that it was required by the present state of affairs, to avoid greater scandal among his subjects."[72] Through this decisive action, Charles may have been attempting to regain the Protestant acclaim he once received for dismissing the majority of his wife's French household. The changed political circumstances created by his Personal Rule, and the perception of a united relationship between the royal couple, however, intensified Protestant feelings of exclusion from state policy, undermining the legitimacy of monarchical government prior to the outbreak of Civil War.

In this atmosphere of Protestant hostility toward Henrietta Maria's intercessory activities, the queen apparently believed that Roman Catholics were all loyal royalists, as demonstrated by her special appeal to her coreligionists for the Contribution of 1639.[73] Catholic newsletters from the 1630s, however, provide evidence of significant dissatisfaction with the scope of the queen's intercessory activities. While Protestants wrote that she was too influential on behalf of foreign clergymen and recusants, Catholics disapproved of her willingness to compromise with diverse religious factions at court, arguing that she had not done enough to advance toleration. An anonymous open letter to the king describing the various sources of opposition to the Duke of Buckingham's prominence at court stated that among the duke's enemies were "Recusants and church-papists,[74] whose hatred is irreconcilable against the Duke, for the breach of the Spanish match. The French lady, though as zealous a Catholique, doth not please them, for they were tyed to Spain by the hopes of a change of religion that way."[75] This letter described the various connections between the English and Spanish Catholic communities including the education of the children of prominent English families in Spanish Jesuit seminaries and convents.[76] These extensive Anglo-Spanish religious networks predisposed prominent Catholics to regard the French marriage as a comparative disappointment.[77]

During the 1630s, Roman Catholic attitudes concerning the success of Henrietta Maria's intercessions diverged across a broad spectrum. Some observers wrote that her influence over religious policy was immense while others argued that her efforts on behalf of toleration were inadequate. Charles recognized that public expressions of the former conclusion would undermine his legitimacy, and that of the queen, among Protestants, and he therefore punished reports of his supposed Catholic sympathies severely. The Venetian ambassador reported in June 1638, "a Catholic, for retorting to a Protestant, who called him a Papist, that so was the queen and the king also at heart,

was condemned to pay 10,000*l.* sterling, for the king's use, to have his ears cut and his tongue pierced."[78] The defendant in this seditious speech case clearly accepted the harmonious imagery of the royal marriage and imagined that Charles I and Henrietta Maria shared common religious sensibilities.

A case prosecuted against Essex maidservant Mary Cole that same month demonstrates that these views were not certainly shared by all English Catholics. The evidence provided for the Attorney General stated, "one of the company demanding why it might not be, in regard the King had matched with a Catholic, the said Mrs. Cole said, if she were as the Queen she would hang the King for dealing so hardly with papists."[79] The maidservant placed herself in the position of the queen and imagined her frustration at Charles's continued enforcement of recusancy laws. While Cole apparently believed that Henrietta Maria was actively campaigning for the rights of her coreligionists against the opposition of her husband, Catholic newsletters recorded rumors of the queen's apparent absence of zeal as an intercessor. Southcott reported in a 1633 letter to Biddulph that he had heard it said "that our Catholick queen did us no more good than if she were an heretick."[80] While the references to the harmony of the royal marriage in other Catholic authored newsletters of the same period indicates this disappointment in Henrietta Maria's intercessions was far from universal among English Catholics,[81] the existence of critiques authored by Catholics indicate that the queen did not have the universal support and approval of her coreligionists.

The seditious speech case against Cole indicates that the harmonious imagery of the royal marriage was not universally accepted, particularly among women. The queen's position as a married woman, in common with the majority of her female subjects, provided an opportunity for women to engage in political and religious discourse with the authority of their own experiences. Henrietta Maria's activities as a wife were of great interest to Charles's female subjects who scrutinized and critiqued the images of love and harmony that the royal couple favored as representations of their marriage. While male clergymen, diplomats, and newsletter authors writing in the 1630s largely accepted that Charles and Henrietta Maria enjoyed a loving marriage and only disagreed about the nature of this relationship's implications, female observers questioned whether the harmony itself was sincere.

These critiques of the royal marriage were expressed by women of vastly different political allegiances. Hutchison speculated about Henrietta Maria's attachment to Charles, arguing that while his love for her may have been sincere, the queen feigned affection to pursue her own religious goals. She wrote, "This lady being by her priests affected

with the meritoriousness of advancing her own religion . . . the power her haughty spirit kept over her husband, who was enslaved in his affection only to her, though she had no more passion for him than what served to promote her designs."[82] Although Hutchison wrote this assessment of the royal marriage after the deaths of both Charles and Henrietta Maria, her comments reflect the tension that existed in the 1630s popular imagination between the emerging ideals of affective marriage and the subversive activities of recusant wives. In her analysis of the royal couple, she weighs both the public imagery of love and harmony and the actual religious differences that existed throughout their marriage concluding that Henrietta Maria's goals as a recusant wife precluded a genuine emotional attachment to her husband.

Hutchison's suspicions of Henrietta Maria as a wife were shaped by her republican political allegiances but skepticism among Charles's female subjects concerning the royal marriage also existed among members of the royal household. The works of the most prolific writer among the queen's ladies-in-waiting, Margaret Lucas, later Margaret Cavendish, Duchess of Newcastle, reveal that the motifs of love and harmony favored by the royal couple conflicted with actual Caroline court society, making this imagery appear artificial and foreign. Cavendish satirized the contrast between the romantic and religious ideals propagated by the queen, and the frequent sexual scandals among her circle. While the harmonious and chivalric imagery focused on the virtuous qualities of the ladies, the narrator of Cavendish's *Sociable Letters* states that the most beautiful ladies receive the accolades of male courtiers regardless of their virtues.[83] The religious imagery of the *Sociable Letters* draws upon the relationship in the popular imagination between the motifs the royal couple utilized to publicize the affective harmony of their marriage and the queen's Roman Catholicism.

Sociable Letters was not published until the Restoration but the libelous verse that circulated in the 1630s demonstrates that the popular perception that a harmonious royal marriage was exceptional within an otherwise immoral court predated the publication of Cavendish's works. Cavendish had numerous personal difficulties within Henrietta Maria's court, including her difficulty relating to other members of the household, inability to speak French, and her desire to distance herself from the Louvre Group faction while in exile during the late 1640s and 1650s.[84] The content of the satirical verse that circulated during the 1630s, however, suggests that she was inspired by existing literature juxtaposing the royal marriage with the sexual scandals of the surrounding court. A 1634 libel that circulated at the time of the royal progress through East Anglia begins, "See what love there is betweene/ The K. and his endeared Queene,/And all their subjects love & care/Is

fixed upon this royall paire/But did their Majesties select/Deserving persons to affect/Like to themselves, & not love all/The court would soon be very small."[85] This verse highlights the incongruity of the apparently virtuous and loving royal marriage amidst a court that was the setting for numerous sexual scandals, which Henrietta Maria accepted among her favorites. While satires such as "The Progresse" were careful to affirm that the king and queen did not participate in the general licentiousness of the court, the juxtaposition of the supposedly happy marriage of the royal couple with the scandals within their household implicitly questioned the veracity of the harmonious marital motifs.

Hutchison and Cavendish were both women who possessed a degree of education unusual for seventeenth century women, which enabled them to engage with the complexity of the tensions between the supposedly affective royal marriage, and Henrietta Maria's position as a recusant wife. Charles's less educated female subjects addressed the sincerity of the affective imagery of the royal marriage in a more straightforward manner, focusing on the question of whether they believed the queen was faithful to the king. Henrietta Maria did not face the degree of speculation concerning her marital relations that Marie Antoinette would encounter as the frequent births of royal children appeared to affirm a close relationship. Nevertheless, there are examples of ordinary Englishwomen questioning the queen's chastity, suggesting that there was a degree of skepticism regarding the unity of the royal marriage.

In 1638, a Middlesex maidservant, Rachel Thorne, in the presence of two other servants, who "verily believed Thorne was drunk," "referred to a rumour that the Queen's mother was dead, and said she was a cutpurse whore, and that the Queen was a whore."[86] Marie's extended residency in England from 1638 to 1641 was deeply unpopular because of the costs incurred by her six-hundred person household, Catholicism, and connections to the Papacy.[87] Charles's agreement to this expensive and controversial period of residency also appeared to confirm suspicions that Henrietta Maria was influencing her husband's political and religious policy. The first recorded rumors of the queen's supposed infidelities emerged amid the popular opposition to Marie's presence in England, which appeared to demonstrate Henrietta Maria's unnatural dominance within her own marriage.

The popular criticism of Henrietta Maria in her role as wife to the sovereign reflected the conflict between the harmonious marital imagery promoted by the royal couple and Protestant anxieties concerning recusant wives. Although the public sphere was not as well developed as it would become in Marie Antoinette's time, discussion and correspondence served as effective means of disseminating both positive and

negative opinions concerning the queen's role as a wife. In this ideological climate, Henrietta Maria's adoption of the traditional prerogatives of intercession and cultural patronage undermined her legitimacy. Her intercessions on behalf of her coreligionists, which extended to proselytizing clergymen and Catholics involved in civil disputes, alienated Protestants, who argued that she was slowly succeeding in her goal of achieving full toleration, and dissatisfied Catholics, who did not believe that she made sufficient efforts toward the same goal.

The queen's cultural patronage, which promoted harmonious imagery of the royal couple, attracted hostility instead of admiration. Without regular meetings of parliament, an affective royal marriage appeared to demonstrate the queen's dominant influence over political and religious policy. A socially diverse range of commentators, particularly women, recognized the tensions between these harmonious motifs and real religious differences between the king and queen, and therefore doubted the sincerity of the love between the royal couple. While the expression of these doubts in various forums provided mid-seventeenth century women with opportunities to engage in the nascent public sphere, they undermined the legitimacy of the royal marriage in the popular imagination. Marie Antoinette would face a different set of ideological tensions intersecting with the trend toward affective marriage as an ideal within the greatly expanded public sphere of the late eighteenth century.

Marie Antoinette: The Unconsummated Marriage

By 1775, Marie Antoinette was unhappy with her marriage for personal reasons. She wrote to Count Rosenberg, an Austrian courtier, "My tastes are not the same as those of the King, who has only those of the hunt and mechanical works. You have to admit that I should look rather poor nearby the forge. I do not wish to be Vulcan and the role of Venus could displease him much more than my tastes, which he does not disapprove of."[88] The tone and content of this letter, and a subsequent letter to Rosenberg in which Marie Antoinette described Louis XVI as "the poor man" and boasted of her influence over him, are extraordinary for an eighteenth century queen.[89] In these documents, Marie Antoinette expressed her dissatisfaction with her marriage because of her personal incompatibility with her husband, focusing on shared interests rather than issues that concerned Louis's subjects, including her continued childlessness and the political goals of the match. The recipient was both the queen's social inferior and an Austrian. When Maria Theresa

learned of this correspondence, she chastised her daughter. The empress significantly did not compare Marie Antoinette to previous queens who had committed social indiscretions but to Louis XV's most prominent mistresses, Madame de Pompadour and Madame du Barry.[90] Marie Antoinette's concern for her personal happiness over the dynastic success of the marriage demonstrated the conflict between eighteenth century sentimental ideals of companionate marriage and the continuing political realities of royal unions during the same period.

Political studies of Louis's reign often cite the Rosenberg letters as evidence of Marie Antoinette's immaturity and imprudence. As Maria Theresa observed, these letters could easily be publicly circulated and fuel dangerous speculation that the queen was a disloyal wife who engaged in intrigues with the Habsburg Empire.[91] In contrast, popular biographies focus on what information the letters convey about Marie Antoinette's degree of personal happiness during this period, utilizing anachronistic definitions of the good marriage that obscure just how unusual the queen's sentiments were for a person in her position and milieu.[92] For Marie Antoinette to believe that common interests between husband and wife were important to a successful royal marriage, let alone express this attitude to Rosenberg, suggested that she had internalized the ideal of companionate marriage that was gaining favor among the literate, urban bourgeoisie in both France and the Habsburg Empire during the eighteenth century.

As a broader social trend, the popular conception of affective marriage had evolved significantly since Henrietta Maria's lifetime, developing from an ideal of harmony to genuine compatibility encompassing common interests.[93] These changes explain Henrietta Maria's confidence in commissioning imagery of marital happiness in spite of her clear differences with Charles while Marie Antoinette regarded the paucity of shared interests as evidence of an unsuccessful marriage. Furthermore, Marie Antoinette did not have the prerogatives of an English queen because her recent predecessors had not engaged in public displays of intercession, and cultural patronage was increasingly associated with French royal mistresses.[94] Marie Antoinette lived in a social and ideological milieu that reinforced changing conceptions of affective marriage and a court culture that had not reached a consensus concerning the appropriate role of the queen during this period.

Enlightenment discourse, particularly the widely read works of Rousseau, placed great emphasis on the domestic realm, discussing the responsibilities husbands and wives had to each other and to their children within marriage.[95] While Rousseau's argument that wives were subordinate to their husbands according to natural law appears to denigrate women, Marie Antoinette's educated female contemporaries

largely embraced this interpretation of domesticity because it seemed to give them moral, cultural, and intellectual authority within the home.[96] Since Rousseau's writings argued that women achieved happiness and fulfillment through their roles as wives and mothers, the husband's personal qualities gained importance for all women, including the queen. Unfortunately for Marie Antoinette, her attempts to participate in the trend toward companionate marriage, and "natural" motherhood, were not compatible with the diverse range of popular expectations concerning her position. The apparent domesticity of the royal family fueled widespread anxieties concerning the queen's increased political influence as her private sphere appeared to create opportunities for intrigues.

In contrast to Marie de Medici, whose advice to Henrietta Maria focused on her role as intercessor, Maria Theresa was deeply concerned with her daughter's role as wife to the sovereign. Despite her professed personal attachment to her children, the empress always placed political expediency over their personal inclinations, most famously compelling her daughter Maria Amalia to marry the Duke of Parma.[97] The purpose of Marie Antoinette's marriage was the cementing of the Franco-Austrian alliance, not personal fulfillment. France supported Prussia during the War of the Austrian Succession, a conflict that cost Maria Theresa the valuable province of Silesia and drained her treasury. A Franco-Austrian alliance, forged during the Seven Years' War as Great Britain and Prussia developed common political interests, and cemented by the marriage therefore not only had the potential to increase the prestige of the Habsburgs but to secure a lasting peace for the Austrian Empire. Maria Theresa and her representative in France, Mercy-Argenteau, impressed the geopolitical importance of the stability of her marriage upon the newly married Marie Antoinette.[98] In contrast, Marie Antoinette viewed herself as sharing the status of wife and mother with Louis's female subjects and therefore permitted to adopt elements of the latest trends concerning companionate marriage without regard for the particular contingencies of her political position.

While Maria Theresa despaired at the protracted childlessness of the French royal couple, Marie Antoinette focused on attempting to construct a marriage that was as personally fulfilling as possible under the circumstances. She also attempted to project an image of marital happiness to Louis XVI's subjects that did not reflect French royal tradition. Louis XIII ignored Anne of Austria for much of their marriage while Louis XIV and Louis XV had relationships with influential mistresses. In common with Marie Antoinette, Louis XVI was dissatisfied with the traditional marital practices of French monarchs as his own parents presented themselves to the French people as a faithful married

couple.[99] Louis's father was an admirer of Rousseau,[100] and his son shared this interest in reading contemporary philosophical texts. Due to the differences between their own experiences and the traditions of the French court, Louis and Marie Antoinette adopted a new approach to the royal couple's public image, presenting themselves to the French people as a happily married couple.

Since the royal family directed social life at court, the nobility attempted to follow the public example created by the royal couple. Campan described numerous scenes of domestic intimacy between the royal couple. During the official period of mourning for Louis XV, "they went out . . . like husband and wife, the young King giving his arm to the Queen . . . The influence of this example had such an effect on several of the courtiers that the next day, several couples, who had long, and for good reasons, been disunited, were seen walking upon the terrace with same apparent conjugal intimacy."[101] The laws Louis XIV passed enforcing parental authority over marital choices, which served as a means for the state to control its patronage network discouraged purely affective marriages among the eighteenth century French nobility.[102] The Enlightenment interest in domesticity and the larger trend toward loving marriage as an ideal did not reflect the realities of the French court any more than it reflected the nature of dynastic marriage. Marie Antoinette was therefore creating a social climate that could easily be interpreted as foreign, insincere, or bourgeois as her activities were imitated by aristocratic couples who were known to have entered into their marriages for economic reasons alone.

The letters exchanged by Maria Theresa and Marie Antoinette reveal that the young queen did not regard a loving marriage only as an effective means of asserting her legitimacy as consort within the ideological climate of the Enlightenment. Instead, she sought an actual happy union with Louis. The queen's attempts to align her personal relationship with the public presentation of her marriage contrasts with Henrietta Maria's continued religious and jurisdictional differences with Charles, which persisted behind the united facade of harmony. Marie Antoinette's participation in royal hunting trips reflected a desire to both strengthen the relationship between her and Louis and present a display of marital unity to the court. As she explained to Rosenberg, she did not have any personal inclination toward his pastimes, which included hunting, eating large meals, and blacksmithing. Maria Theresa did not approve of her daughter joining her husband's hunting parties on horseback, as she feared that riding might induce a miscarriage,[103] and asked Marie Antoinette to promise to abstain from this activity. She wrote, "I do not disapprove of your promenades, but it does not do to exceed them, especially on horseback. I am most angry to have

learned that you have not kept your word to me and that you participate in the hunt."[104] Marie Antoinette denied having broken her word and attempted to pacify her mother by stating that she had remained on foot during her visit to Marly with her husband.[105] The dauphine clearly had her own conception of appropriate behavior as a wife but was reluctant to openly challenge her mother, who continued to inspire feelings of awe and reverence in her married daughter.[106]

In contrast to Marie Antoinette's view that her marriage might be strengthened by appearing to share her husband's interests, her mother urged her to focus exclusively on conceiving heirs. The childlessness of a royal marriage had been grounds for annulment throughout French history as dynastic succession was crucial to the continued viability of monarchical government. Maria Theresa wrote to Mercy-Argenteau in 1770, describing a failed attempt at consummation, "I preach patience to my daughter and that there is no harm done, but that she increases the caresses."[107] Despite the measured tone of this letter, the empress's anxiety that her daughter's marriage had not been successfully consummated is palpable in her correspondence. She often requested details of the dauphine's menstrual cycles and expressed delight at the news of the royal couple sharing a bed or expressing physical interest in each other. For the next seven years, the vast majority of marital advice that the empress would convey to Marie Antoinette would concern the conception of heirs, which Maria Theresa considered to be the sole means of fully legitimizing the marriage and therefore safeguarding the Franco-Austrian alliance.[108]

Since Louis appeared uninterested in performing his marital duties, the empress urged her daughter to be more assertive in this domain, advice that demonstrated that the dynastic imperatives of the marriage superseded the widespread ideal of feminine submissiveness that she extolled in her first letters to the bride. As will be discussed, critiques of the royal marriage by Louis's subjects both within and outside court circles would display a similar preoccupation with the absence of heirs. While Maria Theresa deplored Marie Antoinette's passion for evening gambling parties as queen because this behavior fueled rumors of her extravagance, she was particularly concerned with the disparity these gatherings created in the couple's sleeping habits. Maria Theresa wrote in 1775, "I confess that I am in a state all the more so because, daily, you are always idling, and without the King, if he does not happen to come to bed with you more for the succession, it will thus be necessary to give it up."[109] By the time Joseph II visited Versailles in 1777, she had achieved neither the fruitful marriage envisioned by her mother and other proponents of the Franco-Austrian alliance nor the companionate marriage that reflected her own marital goals and the ideals of Enlightenment conceptions of domesticity.

Since Maria Theresa clearly had different ideas of the behavior necessary to ensure a successful royal marriage than her daughter, Marie Antoinette began to discuss her role as wife to the sovereign with a variety of other members of her circle including her husband's unmarried aunts, female courtiers, and, undoubtedly, her close female friends such as Lamballe and Polignac.[110] The Duc de Croy described Louis as a king who "at the age of barely twenty had to deal with three aunts and three princesses . . . women with whom he would live, each one with many in their suite, including several shrewd ones, made it a hundred women with whom he was dealing."[111] Croy's account suggests a large degree of intimacy between the female members of the royal family and their attendants, creating opportunities for the spread of information about the royal marriage.

Marie Antoinette's openness concerning her marital difficulties reflected her own focus on achieving personal fulfillment from her marriage but her approach undermined her reputation and created further impediments to the consummation of her marriage. For Marie Antoinette to reveal her marital difficulties to members of the court, particularly those who had opposed the Franco-Austrian alliance, such as Louis XVI's aunts, suggested that public displays of love between the royal couple were insincere. The contrast between the image created by the royal couple's walks in the gardens and the queen's open discussion of her marital difficulties left Marie Antoinette vulnerable to accusations of dissimulation that would contribute to popular views of the famous Affair of the Necklace in 1785. Maria Theresa's condemnation of the Rosenberg correspondence emphasized the danger of her daughter's indiscreet comments being circulated to a larger audience.[112]

While Marie Antoinette discussed her marriage with a wide variety of confidants, her initial refusal to speak to Louis XV's mistress, du Barry, as dauphine, and her later comments as queen regarding the immorality of royal mistresses indicate that she did not fully understand how this position had shaped French popular conceptions of royal marriage. During the reigns of Louis XIV and Louis XV, the king's mistress served as counterpoint to his consort, often allowing the sovereign's wife to develop a reputation for virtue and fidelity. While Louis XV, and his later mistresses, Pompadour and du Barry, attracted criticism for extravagance and debauchery, Marie Leszczynska cultivated a virtuous image as a devoted wife and mother.[113] Despite the personal distress the presence of a royal mistress at court might cause for the queen, the counterpoint between the two women had the potential to deflect criticism from the sovereign's wife. The consort and the royal mistress personified each of the king's two bodies.[114] This ideological framework did not complement the eighteenth century ideas of

domesticity, which assumed that the wife would act as a companion to her husband. A queen who exercised a dominant influence in both the king's personal and political realms had the potential to undermine the monarch's actual and perceived sovereign authority.

Marie Antoinette spent her four years as dauphine at a court with an acknowledged royal mistress then spent her entire reign as queen occupying the positions of both wife and mistress to Louis XVI. The position of a publicly known royal mistress was foreign to both Marie Antoinette's personal experience and sympathies. The dauphine, wife of the king's grandson, however, could not place herself in open opposition to the king's mistress without appearing to challenge the sovereign's authority. Through her initial silence toward du Barry, Marie Antoinette may have been attempting to support her husband's sensibilities, as he too disapproved of his grandfather's lifestyle, but she was ultimately forced to abandon her stance because of her comparative insignificance in the dynastic hierarchy.

In a court environment with neither a dowager queen nor an acknowledged royal mistress to serve as an alternate source of court patronage, the sovereign's wife attracted intense scrutiny from both courtiers and members of the public who were able to visit Versailles. Marie Antoinette's correspondence concerning this matter characteristically focused on its personal implications instead of its wider consequences concerning her reputation. In 1777, after seven years of childless marriage, Mercy-Argenteau wrote to Maria Theresa of the queen's apparent indifference to the king's fidelity to her, stating, "[Marie Antoinette] believes him to be too apathetic and timid, assuming that he could never have the power to engage in evil ways of gallantry. The Queen is so persuaded of this that she sometimes tells a few surrounding people that she is neither pained nor sorry that the king took some momentary and fleeting inclination."[115] Maria Theresa was predictably outraged that her childless daughter could express such indifference to her physical relationship with her husband but Marie Antoinette was continuing to view her marriage in terms of her own happiness instead of dynastic ideals.[116]

The full consummation of the marriage and potential for the birth of the children appeared to Marie Antoinette to be a personal triumph above all other considerations. Once she experienced intimacy with Louis XVI, she wrote to her mother, "The manner in which the king is now living with me, I am very confident that before long I will have nothing more to desire."[117] While Maria Theresa was interested in the effect a pregnancy would have on Marie Antoinette's position as queen, her daughter eagerly anticipated the fulfillment of her personal desire for motherhood. When the queen took the waters for her health near

Fontainebleau, immediately prior to her first pregnancy, she wrote of the satisfying personal relationship she was developing with Louis, seven years into their marriage, stating, "I do feel the advantage that there he comes to spend the night to build trust."[118] Even though Marie Antoinette had been queen for three years, she focused on the personal fulfillment that she would gain from increased intimacy with her husband and motherhood instead of the necessity of an heir to ensure the continued success of the Franco-Austrian alliance.

Throughout her marriage, Marie Antoinette explored a conception of herself as wife to the sovereign that reflected an emerging ideal of affective marriage instead of the political and dynastic realities of her position. The queen also sought personal satisfaction in keeping with the public displays of marital harmony that she displayed at the French court. Her focus on the personal relationship between herself and the king, disappointment when the marriage did not conform to her ideals, and delight at moments of personal intimacy provides a clear contrast with the situation of Henrietta Maria, who experienced continuing differences with Charles behind the public displays of chivalry and harmony. In Marie Antoinette's lifetime, Rousseau's view that complementary interpersonal relations between husband and wife were "natural" and the enthusiasm for companionate marriage among the late eighteenth century French urban middle classes made these new ideals appear attainable in both public and domestic spheres. Unfortunately for Marie Antoinette, she was not considered the equivalent of any other French wife but exceptional due to her exalted status, foreign origins, and court culture that judged the mistress as a counterpoint for the consort. During the same period in which the queen was writing of her personal unhappiness within her marriage, her subjects were engaging in speculation fueled by her protracted childlessness and apparent insincerity of her public displays of marital harmony.

Marie Antoinette: The Deceptive Wife

In becoming the object of public speculation concerning her relationship with her husband, Marie Antoinette appeared to be more similar to a mistress than a legitimate consort. One 1781 pamphlet compared the queen directly to du Barry, concluding, "These two famous women are similar again in the art of deceit and degrading those who should respect her."[119] The reference to deceit reveals that the sincerity of the displays of marital harmony presented by Louis and Marie Antoinette in the early years of their reign was doubted by a significant number of the king's subjects. Public scrutiny of Marie Antoinette surrounding the birth of the Duc d'Angouleme to her sister-in-law the Comtesse de Artois in 1775

and the prosecution of the famous Diamond Necklace Scandal in 1785 reveal the degree to which her own perception of her role as wife to the sovereign was rejected by French people of all social estates.

From the moment of Marie Antoinette's arrival in France, the successful consummation of her marriage and the birth of children were considered to be the most effective means of securing the Franco-Austrian alliance, and guaranteeing a seamless succession within the House of Bourbon. Numerous popular songs that circulated around the time of the wedding crudely described the popular conception of marital success for the dauphin and his bride. One of these songs stated, "The German and the French Long ago/killed each other for their kings; /fighting is a rotten thing/screwing is more pleasant . . . /they are going to make it legal/to mate the lily with the eagle."[120] For supporters and detractors of this treaty alike, rumors of the difficulties the royal couple experienced engaging in marital relations and conceiving children introduced an element of uncertainty into France's future foreign policy. Verses discussing the consummation of the marriage were also significant because they conflated the individuals getting married to the kingdoms they represented. In contrast to Marie Antoinette's interest in her personal fulfillment within her marriage, her subjects focused on her diplomatic and dynastic role.

Prior to the French Revolution, opinions concerning the royal family circulated primarily through conversation and manuscript transmission, in the same manner as critiques of Henrietta Maria disseminated in the 1630s. The public nature of royal births and the tradition of including congratulatory addresses from humble groups of tradespeople, such as fishwives, allowed spoken opinions concerning the queen's unconsummated marriage and childlessness to be voiced publicly at court upon the birth of her nephew.[121] The two seemingly disparate events of the birth of a male heir to one of Marie Antoinette's sisters-in-law, and the theft of necklace that had been offered for sale to the queen therefore served as discussion points for a public that judged the sovereign's wife to be behaving in a manner more suitable to a mistress than a consort.

While Marie Antoinette was interested in the latest trends in Enlightenment discourse and sentimental literature concerning companionate marriage and "natural" motherhood, French people of all social estates expected the royal family to embody constancy and unchanging tradition. One published homily included a direct quotation from the Old Testament, stating, "Blessed is the Lord who will fulfill . . . the promise he once made to Abraham about Sarah [Genesis 17:16]: 'I shall bless her, I shall make her greatly fertile; I shall give thee a son, born of her.' May [the Dauphine] be, in the enclosed garden of her palace, like a vine abundant with fruit!"[122] The only aspect of this

piece that parallels late eighteenth century French debates on domesticity is the description of the royal palace as an "enclosed garden" for the queen. Rousseau's works encouraged women to confine their energies to the domestic sphere,[123] and the public life of Louis XV's mistresses, which included cultural patronage and involvement in the appointment of ministers, inspired numerous critical pamphlets.[124] The main theme of the sermon, however, is the timelessness of Marie Antoinette's role as wife to the sovereign. The success of her marriage would be judged according to its successful consummation and the birth of heirs.

Even a 1775 printed petition addressed to the queen by a delegation of country women requesting that she continue to wear feathers so that changing fashions would not disrupt their livelihood selling these items to hairdressers in Versailles concluded with a reference to her childlessness. The women wrote that if Marie Antoinette granted their request to support French laboring women instead of foreign luxury markets,[125] a request that makes significant assumptions about the queen's natural loyalties, "we promise to do much rejoicing when you give us a beautiful Dauphin."[126] This style of address differs from the numerous petitions addressed to Henrietta Maria requesting employment in such capacities as sewers and lacemakers to the queen. The contrast between the public displays of marital harmony that Louis and Marie Antoinette presented to their subjects and the couple's failure to fulfill what the French people considered to be the most important aspect of a royal marriage focused popular scrutiny of the queen's activities within her marriage.

The petition from the feather sellers was printed the same year as the birth of the Duc d'Angouleme, which provided an opportunity for opinions concerning the state of Marie Antoinette's marriage to be voiced in the queen's presence. The contrast between the Comtesse d'Artois's apparent focus on her marriage and the conception of children and the queen's involvement in court entertainments and incognito visits to Paris opera houses and masquerades undermined the reputation of the sovereign's wife. Mercy-Argenteau noted the climate at court created by the birth of a royal child to a collateral branch of the dynasty, writing to Maria Theresa a few months before the Comtesse's confinement that he would advise Marie Antoinette, "That the voice of the public has made it known to Your Majesty that the Queen (of her own volition) was away from the King's bed for several weeks, that all Paris has been told and has rambled to the great detriment of the credit and esteem of the Queen."[127]

Mercy-Argenteau's letter provides evidence of communication between the court and broader Parisian society because untitled visitors to Versailles would not have had access to Marie Antoinette's

bedchamber, except upon special occasions such as the births of her children. The rapid spread of this information among Parisians demonstrates the ultimate failure of Louis's and Marie Antoinette's attempts to successfully present themselves to their subjects as a happily married couple that contrasted with the excesses of Louis XV's reign. Parisian public opinion instead focused on rumors of the behavior within the royal couple's comparatively private sphere, blaming the queen for her childlessness because her social life appeared to draw her away from the king's bedchamber.

The birth of Angouleme intensified this criticism of Marie Antoinette's activities as wife to the sovereign. She was well aware of the public perception of the contrast between herself and her sister-in-law, writing to her mother, "It is needless to say to my dear mama how much I have suffered to see an heir who is not mine."[128] Marie Antoinette's use of the word heir instead of child[129] indicates that she recognized the political implications of the birth, despite her usual focus on the personal fulfillment parenthood would bring to her marriage. She clearly observed that the juxtaposition of her own childlessness with the fertility of a junior member of the royal family undermined her position as the senior female at court. Marie Antoinette made little mention of the external opinions reinforcing her disappointment but Campan would later record her mistress's distress at facing a critical crowd of Parisian market women outside her sister-in-law's bedchamber. Campan wrote in her memoirs, "The *poissardes* who had assumed the right of speaking to sovereigns in their own vulgar language, followed her to the very doors of her apartments, calling out to her with gross expressions that she ought to produce heirs. The Queen reached her inner room, hurried and agitated; she shut herself up to weep."[130] The hostility Marie Antoinette faced upon the birth of her nephew facilitated the emergence of a critical narrative concerning the queen's suitability as a wife that transcended social boundaries.

The births of four children to Louis and Marie Antoinette between 1778 and 1786 attracted widespread public rejoicing but did not successfully rehabilitate the queen's reputation as a wife. The speculation concerning Marie Antoinette's marriage that emerged from the Diamond Necklace Scandal demonstrates that the negative popular consensus concerning the queen continued to develop throughout the 1780s.[131] Trial briefs were a popular form of mass produced reading material during the reigns of Louis XV and Louis XVI,[132] and Marie Antoinette's apparent distance from the theft of the jewelry allowed the testimonies of the defendants to be published without the censorship that inhibited the circulation of such inflammatory pamphlets about the queen.[133] The Affair of the Necklace was a key series of events that specifically undermined

Marie Antoinette's reputation and contributed significantly to the popular perception that she behaved as both consort and mistress to Louis.

The famous necklace was originally designed with the expectation that Louis XV would purchase it for du Barry.[134] Since the king died while the necklace was being assembled and Louis XVI did not have an official mistress in the manner of his grandfather, Marie Antoinette was the obvious recipient for this lavish gift. Following the queen's rejection of the diamond necklace, it was stolen by a group of conspirators who drew upon popular perceptions of the queen's reputation to persuade Cardinal Rohan, who was out of favor at court, that he might gain the consort's favor by secretly acquiring the necklace for her. The chief conspirator, the self-styled Countess Jeanne de la Motte-Valois, claimed to be a close female friend of the queen, was charged with serving as an intermediary between Marie Antoinette and the cardinal. Louis decided to prosecute the case through the Paris parlements instead of settling the matter privately, a plan that ensured there would be a large public audience for the trials of the conspirators and the duped cardinal.[135] For a significant case, which explicitly judged a prominent member of the nobility and implicitly judged the queen as a wife, the print run of the testimonies of those involved exceeded ten thousand copies.[136] Like the birth of Angouleme, the Affair of the Necklace provided an opportunity for public opinion both inside and outside the court to coalesce around a common narrative concerning the queen's suitability as a wife.

Marie Antoinette's correspondence demonstrates that she recognized the potential for the Diamond Necklace case to undermine her reputation despite her obvious lack of involvement in the conspiracy. She wrote to her brother, Joseph II, describing the case, "There has not been any punishment for counterfeiting my writing because it does not resemble it and I never sign 'of France.' It is a strange story, in the eyes of all the country who want to assume that I could have wanted to give a secret commission to the Cardinal."[137] Marie Antoinette's reference to what people observing the case would like to believe is particularly significant because it demonstrates that she was aware of popular perceptions of her marriage. The cardinal's defense hinged on his ability to prove that he had reason to believe the queen had authorized his involvement in the purchase of the Diamond Necklace. His testimony, which was printed and circulated as a trial brief, makes repeated reference to the queen, although she is never directly quoted in his account.[138] The publicly disseminated literature surrounding the Affair may have outwardly bemoaned the negative attention the case directed toward the queen but Rohan's defense depended on the plausibility of the actions the conspirators attributed to Marie Antoinette.[139]

The fictional queen created by de la Motte-Valois and her fellow conspirators to deceive Rohan embodied all the negative characteristics that had been attributed to the royal marriage throughout the reign of Louis XVI. In the scenario presented by the conspirators, Marie Antoinette refused to approve of the purchase of an extravagant diamond necklace in the presence of her husband then resorted to subterfuge to acquire the gems. de la Motte-Valois's decision to present the queen's motives to Rohan in this manner suggests that while Louis's attachment to his wife and desire to curb court expenditure was considered to be sincere, Marie Antoinette was feigning both marital harmony and comparative frugality.

This interpretation of the queen's relationship with her husband parallels Hutchison's seventeenth century judgment that while Charles may have been sincerely attached to his wife, Henrietta Maria was pretending to return his feelings to further her own political and religious goals. In common with Lamballe, de la Motte-Valois appeared to be a scion of an illegitimate branch of the French royal house who had achieved prominence and influence through friendship with Marie Antoinette.[140] Rohan's professed assumption that de la Motte-Valois was authorized to further the queen's interests, without consultation with the king, drew upon a widely held perception that Marie Antoinette had rejected her proper role as wife to sovereign and favored her female friends above her husband. The meeting between Rohan and Nicole Leguay, a dressmaker who styled herself Baronne d'Oliva and impersonated the queen at the behest of de la Motte-Valois, also mirrored popular conceptions of dysfunction within the royal marriage. Campan recorded in her memoirs that one of the earliest episodes at Louis XVI's court that fueled speculation concerning the queen's impropriety as a wife was a dawn walk through the gardens of Versailles with young courtiers of both genders to watch the sunrise.[141] This pastime was interpreted as a nocturnal debauch in which Marie Antoinette and her favorites were able to pursue forbidden pleasures away from the watchful eye of senior arbiters of court etiquette and propriety.[142]

The controversy concerning this activity foreshadowed the disapproval Louis's subjects expressed when Marie Antoinette attempted to create a relatively private domestic sphere where she entertained guests according to her own inclination instead of her rank. According to d'Oliva's trial brief, she appeared to Rohan in the gardens of Versailles, heavily veiled in the manner of the queen's incognito visits to Paris.[143] As in the supposed conversations with de la Motte-Valois, the king is neither mentioned nor present. Implicit in the description of the meeting between Rohan and the woman he presumed was the queen is the assumption that Marie Antoinette might engage in nocturnal meetings

with men to further her own goals without her husband's knowledge. Rohan's eventual acquittal served as an indictment of Marie Antoinette's as a wife because in absolving the cardinal of involvement in the theft of the Diamond Necklace, the Paris parlement implied that he had made reasonable assumptions concerning the queen's deception of the king.

Marie Antoinette occupied the position of both consort and mistress in the popular imagination. In common with the marriage of Charles and Henrietta Maria, the differences within the French royal marriage appeared to be too great to allow the couple to engage in the growing trend toward domesticity. Although the vast majority of pamphlet literature and imagery accusing Marie Antoinette of infidelity to Louis would not circulate until the outbreak of the revolution, events such as the birth of Angouleme and the prosecution of the participants in the Diamond Necklace Scandal provided opportunities for members of varying social estates to form a common narrative concerning the queen's unsuitability as wife to the sovereign. Throughout Marie Antoinette's marriage, her position as wife to the sovereign was delegitimized in the public sphere, providing the foundation for the accusations she would eventually face at her trial before the Revolutionary Tribunal in 1793.

Henrietta Maria and Marie Antoinette as Wives

Henrietta Maria and Marie Antoinette experienced the transition from princess to wife in different regions nearly one hundred and fifty years apart but they both engaged with the trend toward affective marriage as well as the ideological circumstances of their own lifetimes. Although both brides were aware that their marriages had been arranged to pursue specific foreign policy goals, they each recognized opportunities to employ motifs of affective marriage to affirm the legitimacy and popularity of their unions. Despite the continuing differences between Charles and Henrietta Maria in matters such as religion and court appointments, their shared interest in artistic patronage and public displays of marital unity resulted in the dissemination of harmonious imagery. These cultural depictions allowed Henrietta Maria to declare her ascendancy over other court favorites and attempt to depoliticize the religious divide between herself and her husband.

By Louis XVI's reign, the trend toward affective marriage had evolved from the chivalric and harmonious displays of the seventeenth century to the late eighteenth century ideal of affective marriage, where husband and wife shared common interests and enjoyed each other's company in a distinct domestic sphere. Despite the political circumstances

of her marriage, Marie Antoinette sought a personally fulfilling marriage in both the public and private realms. Accordingly, she engaged in displays of contentment with her husband but complained bitterly in her correspondence and conversation when the reality of her marriage did not match the ideals she presented to observers at court. In her affinity for the ideal marriage described in Enlightenment philosophy and the sentimental literature she acquired for her library, she failed to recognize the singularity of her position as a foreign queen at a court without an official mistress.

Marie Antoinette's inability to navigate the complicated position she occupied as perceived consort and mistress to the king was a manifestation of the way the intersection of affective marriage ideals with the unique debates concerning the role of women in marriage undermined the legitimacy of both queens. Henrietta Maria and Marie Antoinette each faced accusations of insincerity, levelled within the emerging public sphere because the realities of their marriages, as witnessed by observers both inside and outside the court, did not appear to match their professed devotion to the ideal of affective marriage. In England, the Protestant mythology surrounding recusant wives made an affective marriage between a Protestant sovereign and a Roman Catholic consort subversive. Protestants feared that Henrietta Maria's willingness to adapt to the traditional queenly prerogatives of intercession and cultural patronage to her circumstances would threaten the supremacy of the Church of England while Catholics were skeptical of her inclusion of Puritans in her social circle. Henrietta Maria did not meet the expectations of members of both religions.

For Marie Antoinette, the conflict between the conception of affective marriage within a distinct domestic sphere, which was particularly favored by the urban bourgeoisie, and the reality of a dynastic marriage at the apex of the French social hierarchy performed within the public sphere of the French court undermined her legitimacy as queen consort. While the queen viewed the circumstances of her marriage through a personal lens, Louis's subjects judged her according to the political and social realities created by previous French royal unions, and the distinct characteristics accorded to consorts and mistresses. Strict royal censorship suppressed the circulation of most pamphlets explicitly criticizing Marie Antoinette prior to the outbreak of revolution but the public nature of such events as the wedding itself, the birth of Angouleme, and the trials of the participants in the Diamond Necklace Scandal provided opportunities for members of varying social estates to form a common narrative concerning the queen's shortcomings as wife to the sovereign. The protracted childlessness of Louis's and Marie Antoinette's marriage combined with the perception that

the consort was behaving like a royal mistress fueled speculation concerning her perceived infidelities and deception of the sovereign.

For Henrietta Maria and Marie Antoinette public displays of love and harmony appeared insincere when contrasted with the complicated realities of their union. Both women were members of foreign royal houses who entered into dynastic marriages. Henrietta Maria belonged to a different religious background than Charles and demanded unusual autonomy over her household while Marie Antoinette belonged to a royal house that had long been hostile to France, and often appeared to be physically and temperamentally incompatible with Louis. Since members of the public had ideas of marriage from their own experiences, regardless of their social background, the manner in which each queen fulfilled her duties as wife to the sovereign was the focus of intense scrutiny.

The dialogue between each queen's interpretation of her role as a wife and the expectations of her husband's subjects focused critical attention on the consort's role within the framework of monarchical government. The intersection between the personal and political provided an opportunity for the legitimacy of the queen consort, and implicitly, monarchical government itself to be questioned through analysis of the royal marriage. Comparative analysis of the marriages of both queens demonstrates the evolution of ideas of affective marriage from harmony to true companionship, the expansion of the public sphere during the same time and the universality of royal marriage as a means for ordinary women to engage in political discourse.

Chapter 4

Mother to the Royal Children

The primary duty of a queen consort was the perpetuation of the royal line through the birth of children, particularly male heirs. The political, social, and ideological realities of mid-seventeenth century England and Scotland and late eighteenth century France, however, made the position of mother to the royal children contentious for both Henrietta Maria and Marie Antoinette. During the reigns of Charles I and Louis XVI respectively, there were alternate successors among the monarch's siblings and extended family whose positions were threatened by the birth of legitimate children to the queen. For those who welcomed or accepted the birth of children to Henrietta Maria or Marie Antoinette, the queen still faced intense scrutiny as a mother because the ideology of the Reformation, Counterreformation, and Enlightenment emphasized the importance of maternal influence and education for children. Both queens therefore oversaw the upbringings of their children in environments fraught with political, religious, and ideological tensions that threatened their legitimacy as mothers to royal heirs.

The correspondence of both queens demonstrates that they were aware of contemporary debates concerning the mother's role in childrearing and education. Unusually for royal mothers of the period, whose children were in the care of an extensive nursery staff, they each articulated a parenting philosophy in their letters. These approaches differed significantly from each other, reflecting the changes in attitudes toward children that occurred between the mid-seventeenth century and late eighteenth century. Both queens developed views that reflected contemporary parenting trends but did not reflect the political realities of their respective positions as mothers of royal heirs.

In her letters to King Louis XIII and Pope Urban VIII, written at the time of her marriage, Henrietta Maria conformed to Counterreformation parenting trends by stating that she would guarantee her children's religious education personally through the appointment of Roman Catholic

attendants and tutors to their households.[1] This intense personal interest in her children's religious education contrasted with the pre-Reformation emphasis on the community as the main transmitter of religious values and social norms to each generation of children.[2] Royal children often had experience residing in noble households during the Middle Ages, learning from adults outside their immediate families.[3] Henrietta Maria would discover over the course of her marriage that Protestant households were also intensely concerned with the questions of the proper upbringing and religious education of children. Protestants would express disapproval of any evidence that the royal heirs were being exposed to Catholicism.

In other respects, Henrietta Maria's interactions with her children provided hints of innovative child-centered parenting within the framework of the hierarchical parent–child relations of the mid-seventeenth century. Henrietta Maria recorded observations of her children's distinct personalities in her correspondence and appeared in the first paintings portraying an English queen consort holding her young children.[4] Nevertheless, she focused her attention on her children's health, religious education, and future political roles rather than on their happiness. Henrietta Maria also expected her children to display strict obedience toward her wishes, even as adults. This hierarchical approach to motherhood was typical of Henrietta Maria's time but would result in troubled personal relationships with her adult children, particularly her sons.

The ideal relationship between parent and child and the perception of the good mother underwent a significant transformation between Henrietta Maria's lifetime and that of Marie Antoinette. The ideological currents that were disseminated during the late eighteenth century did not invent the concept of childhood but instead altered perceptions of what actions constituted desirable childrearing.[5] While swaddling and wet nursing were considered ideal methods of safeguarding a child's health in the seventeenth century, breastfeeding and free movement were preferable in the eighteenth century. The ideal Enlightenment mother shaped the citizen within the domestic sphere by actively engaging with her children's education and providing a strong moral example. Marie Antoinette raised her children within a broader ideological debate concerning natural behavior for a mother, and appropriate activities for a queen.

Marie Antoinette provided extensive summaries of her parenting philosophy in her correspondence with Maria Theresa and the successive governesses to the Children of France, the Princess de Guéméné, the Duchess de Polignac, and the Marquise de Tourzel. In common with Henrietta Maria, Marie Antoinette recognized that her children had distinct personalities but her parenting reflected the social and ideological influences of her own milieu by expecting the governesses

and tutors to take these differences into account when disciplining or educating them.[6] Marie Antoinette also observed fashionable trends in childrearing being practiced by other mothers in her social circle.[7] In contrast to her immediate predecessors as queens of France, who were interested in their children but comparatively removed from their upbringing, Marie Antoinette engaged in such practices as breastfeeding, and attempted to be in frequent physical proximity to her children. While these practices were admirable for the ideal mothers described in the works of Rousseau and his contemporaries, they were problematic for a queen who had developed a reputation for extravagance, immorality, and failure to conform to established court practices. The care and education of the royal children, particularly her sons, Louis-Joseph and Louis-Charles, became a matter of public interest and the close involvement of Marie Antoinette in their upbringing appeared to be a corrupting influence that would impede the development of a character suitable for a virtuous king of France. The practices considered desirable for an aristocratic or bourgeois woman were not considered suitable for a queen. The creation of the domestic sphere necessary to the practice of natural motherhood would remove the royal family from the public gaze of the French court. For both Henrietta Maria and Marie Antoinette, the role of mother to the royal children, which had successfully legitimized past queens consort, left them vulnerable to criticism.

Henrietta Maria: The Health and Salvation of the Royal Children

Although there are fewer surviving records of the upbringing of Henrietta Maria's children, compared to the extensive documentation of Marie Antoinette's involvement in the nursery, there is sufficient evidence to indicate that she spent time with her children and had clear wishes concerning their care and education. Although Henrietta Maria confidently stated in her correspondence with the papal representative to the English court that she intended to raise her sons as Catholics as late as the mid-1630s,[8] her actual approach reflected a pragmatism dictated by Charles's insistence on Protestant baptisms and attendants for his heirs, gradually shifting from an emphasis on their religious education to the importance of obedience to their mother's wishes.

Henrietta Maria's initial philosophy concerning the upbringing and education of her children was enshrined in her marriage contract, the result of extensive diplomatic negotiations. The final draft of the marriage contract stated, "The children, which shall by reason of the said intermarriage be born and live shall be brought up . . . unto the said Lady and Queen from the time of their birth until they do reach the

age of 13 years."[9] This clause does not explicitly state that the English royal children would be baptized and educated as Roman Catholics but Henrietta Maria's letters demonstrate that she interpreted the marriage contract in this manner and envisioned herself appointing attendants who shared her faith.

The Puritan emphasis on parental inculcation of religious values and widespread concern regarding the religious influence of recusant women in otherwise conformist households ensured that the clause would be interpreted by Charles's Protestant subjects as ensuring a Catholic succession. For Scots, entrusting the upbringing of heirs to a queen would have appeared to be a foreign custom because the care of both James VI and Charles I was entrusted to prominent members of the nobility. The last Scottish queen to form a close relationship with her child and make direct decisions concerning her upbringing, education, and marriage was Marie of Guise.[10] This precedent placed Henrietta Maria within a tradition of politically active French Catholic queens consort who threatened Presbyterian Scotland. In both Scotland and England, the combination of a clause guaranteeing the queen's authority over the upbringing of her children combined with a further clause preventing Charles from influencing his wife's religious beliefs appeared to diminish the king's authority as a husband and father over his own family.[11]

Despite this intense scrutiny of Henrietta Maria's intentions as a mother, she arranged for frequent personal contact with her young children. A few weeks before the birth of the third surviving royal child, James, Duke of York, in 1633, Secretary Edward Nicholas wrote to Captain John Pennington, "The Queen expects a good hour for her delivery. The Prince comes from Richmond to Whitehall on Tuesday next to continue till his mother be up."[12] Nicholas wrote again to Pennington the next week, stating that both Prince Charles and the Lady Mary were resident in their lodgings at Whitehall Palace.[13] These letters indicate that the royal children resided with their mother for nearly two consecutive months as Henrietta Maria would not have left her lying in chamber until she was churched forty days after James's birth, which took place on October 14.[14] The proximity of the two eldest children at the time of her recovery from the birth of her third child demonstrates that interaction between the queen and her young children was not as infrequent as biographers of her sons have asserted based on the existence of separate royal households for the royal couple and their children.[15]

Henrietta Maria's correspondence with her former governess, Madame St. George, demonstrates that she found opportunities to observe her children's appearance and personality, particularly that of her eldest surviving son. In 1631, Henrietta Maria wrote, "He is so ugly,

that I am ashamed of him, but his size and fatness supply the want of beauty. I wish you could see the gentleman, for he has no ordinary mien; he is so serious in all that he does, that I cannot help fancying him as far wiser than myself."[16] The queen's description of her dissatisfaction with the young Prince's appearance provides evidence of time spent with her son as it is unlikely that the members of the baby's household would have described him in these terms to his royal parents. Her account of the child's seriousness "in all that he does" implies sustained observation of the child's development. Nevertheless, the actual day to day care and education of the royal children was delegated to an extensive household of attendants and tutors. In 1630, £5,000 were allocated for the maintenance of Prince Charles's household, which included a full staff of nurses and cradle rockers under the supervision of the Countess of Dorset, and a further £2,500 were allocated for the maintenance of Princess Mary's attendants the following year.[17] By April of 1635, Charles, Mary, and James had an ordinary allowance of £9,000, presumably reflecting the increased expenses incurred by the hiring of tutors for the growing children.[18] Charles I's treasurers complained of the vast sums required to house, feed, and remunerate the royal children's attendants[19] but the king and queen clearly considered this large household necessary to the successful upbringing of princes and princesses.

The complexity of the upbringing of Henrietta Maria's children, in which their care and education were managed by a large household of attendants but their mother was often in close proximity reflected the diverse approaches to parenting previously adopted by the English, Scottish and French royal families. In contrast to the similar attitudes the Tudors and Stuarts displayed toward the public performance of royal marriage, Charles's predecessors had very different degrees of involvement in the upbringing of their children. In England, Tudor queens were closely involved in caring for their sons and daughters and directing their education. Henry VII's wife, Elizabeth of York, appears to have devoted a great deal of personal attention to the upbringing of her daughters and younger son, the future Henry VIII. Recent comparisons of Elizabeth's handwriting to that of her children suggest that she taught her three youngest to read and write.[20] Henry VIII's first wife, Catherine of Aragon, gave her daughter Mary latin lessons, and they demonstrated their close bond in their combined opposition to the king's marriage to Anne Boleyn.[21] Henry's sixth wife Catherine Parr encouraged closer relations between her three stepchildren and the king, and took personal charge of the education of the younger children, the future Elizabeth I and Edward VI, ensuring that their tutelage reflected her own Protestant religious sensibilities.[22] The involvement of Tudor royal mothers in childrearing was remarkably consistent,

suggesting that close relationships with their children and stepchildren were important to each queen's conception of her role.

In Scotland, the majority of Stewart queens had far less personal involvement in the upbringing and education of their children.[23] During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, a succession of Scottish monarchs ascended the throne as minors and their care and tutelage was a matter of state. The establishment of a separate household for Scottish royal children, a considerable distance from that of their parents, was considered a necessary security consideration during a period when factional conflict often led to the assassination of members of the ruling house.[24] While the consort of James II, Marie of Guelders, successfully ruled as regent for James III,[25] and James V's widow, Marie of Guise, retained custody of the infant Queen Mary despite the existence of a regency council, other Scottish queens consort were excluded from involvement in the education and upbringing of their children. In his minority, James V was forcibly removed from the custody of his mother, Margaret Tudor, who was outraged as she expected to be as closely involved in the upbringing of her children as her own mother had been during her youth.[26]

During Charles's own lifetime, his mother furiously opposed his father's decision to grant of custody of their eldest son Henry to the Earls of Mar, who had raised him following the exile of his own mother, Mary.[27] In the same manner as Margaret Tudor, Anna had been raised in a royal house where the queen exerted personal influence over the upbringing of her children.[28] Charles therefore emerged from a family background in which his immediate antecedents, the Stuart monarchs, established separate households for their children and entrusted their upbringing and education to trusted deputies, but there were precedents set by his English and Danish forebears for personal involvement by royal mothers in various aspects of childrearing. The turmoil of the Scottish monarchical succession and the paucity of heirs within the Tudor dynasty created the antecedents for two contrasting models of motherhood in Charles's background.

Henrietta Maria experienced a hybrid of the approaches to maternal involvement in royal childrearing practiced in England and Scotland. In contrast to previous consorts, however, Henrietta Maria articulated a parenting philosophy, reflecting the increased importance of parental influence during the religious turmoil of the seventeenth century.[29] In a letter to Pope Urban VIII, written during her betrothal to Charles, she wrote, "that if it please God to bless this marriage, and if he grant me the favour to give me progeny, I will not choose any but Catholics to nurse or educate the children who shall be born, or do any other service for them, and will take care the officers who choose them be only

Catholics."[30] Henrietta Maria expressed the same intentions concerning her future children in a letter to her brother, Louis XIII, written at the time of her marriage.[31] These letters demonstrate that she was not only concerned with her degree of involvement in the upbringing of her future children but the nature of her influence over their care and education. Her concern with the Catholicism of her future children's attendants reflected the tensions created by a cross-confessional marriage and the Counterreformation emphasis on parental influence on religious education that may have been reinforced by her mother's use of Marian imagery.[32] Although previous consorts had involved themselves in decisions concerning the care and education of their children, the religious climate of the mid-seventeenth century increased the perceived significance of attentive parenting.

Henrietta Maria was childless during the first five years of her marriage. She modified her stance concerning her marriage and household before she was compelled to compromise her parenting philosophy. Despite the conflicts she experienced with Charles in the late 1620s concerning her servants, which often resulted in the royal couple inhabiting separate living quarters,[33] there is evidence that she was concerned by the absence of children within her troubled marriage. In July 1627, the Venetian ambassador reported, "The queen has gone to Wellingborough, 150 miles away, to drink some mineral waters, which facilitate generation, as with no signs of anything in more than two years people naturally begin to comment on the matter."[34] The marriage between her own parents had only occurred because of the annulment of Henry IV's first marriage to the childless Marguerite de Valois so Henrietta Maria would have been acutely aware of the threat infertility posed to the legitimacy of her marriage.

The childlessness that preoccupied Henrietta Maria in the late 1620s did not last and she ultimately gave birth nine times over the course of her marriage. Her second daughter Elizabeth recorded the birthdays and birthplaces of each of her siblings, writing:

> Prince Charles born at Greenwich, May 15, 1629/ Prince Charles born at St. James, May 29, 1630/ Princess Mary born at St. James, November 4, 1631/ James, Duke of York, born at St. James, October 14, 1633/ Princess Elizabeth born at St. James, December 29, 1635/ Princess Anne born at St James, March 17, 1636/ Princess Katharine born at Whitehall, June 29, 1639/ Henry, Duke of Gloucester, born at Oatlands, July 8, 1640/ Princess Henrietta, born at Exeter, June 16, 1644.[35]

Elizabeth significantly records the arrival of every child, listing the birthday of the first Prince Charles, who was born two months

prematurely and died at birth, Katharine, who lived for only a few hours, and Anne, who died at age three. This evidence of continued memory of the siblings who died in infancy or early childhood reflects Charles I's and Henrietta Maria's attachment to all their children and the demonstration of these feelings to their surviving offspring. Despite the large size of the royal family, which had not been equaled in England since the reign of Edward IV in the fifteenth century, and the high infant mortality rate during this period, both Charles I and Henrietta Maria expressed grief when they lost children in infancy and sought to memorialize them.

When Katharine died at birth in 1639, the Venetian ambassador wrote, "The queen gave birth to a princess on Sunday, but after only one hour of the miseries of this world, God called her back to Heaven, to the deep grief of her mother, who is now quite well, after some painful experiences."[36] The sudden death of Anne, the following year, also occurred "to the intense grief of their Majesties."[37] Charles and Henrietta Maria not only mourned their daughters privately but attempted to ensure they would remain in the popular consciousness after their deaths. Following Katharine's death, the king and queen commissioned a commemorative volume memorializing their daughter's brief life.[38] This gesture reflected the broader seventeenth century English practice among the nobility and literate townspeople of commemorating the deaths of infant children through written elegies and verse.[39] The publication demonstrates that Henrietta Maria engaged with emerging trends concerning maternal attitudes to children and attempted to present herself to Charles's subjects in a manner that conformed to their expectations of virtuous motherhood.

Henrietta Maria was uncomfortable with the traditions surrounding royal births in her adopted country and attempted to introduce innovations utilized by her own mother to ensure her own health and that of her infants. The most significant was the employment of her mother's midwife, Madame Peronne, to deliver her children alongside Charles's trusted physician, Theodore Mayerne.[40] In contrast to England, where professional accreditation was reserved for male physicians, there were schools for midwives in France, providing the queen's midwife with a degree of professional authority unknown to English female birth attendants.[41] Peronne, who frequently traveled around Europe to deliver all Marie de Medici's grandchildren, had not yet arrived in England when the queen went into premature labor with the first Prince Charles in 1629.

Henrietta Maria's reliance on Peronne was not understood by her husband's subjects at that time[42] because of the increased prestige of male doctors during this period. The queen was widely ridiculed for

her anxiety when her midwife was captured by Dutch privateers during her journey to attend the birth of the second Prince Charles in 1630. According to the Venetian ambassador, "The news moved the queen to tears… It caused so much disturbance that one of the lords here, laughing at their weakness, remarked to me that they were more upset at court than if they had lost a fleet."[43] This dismissive attitude regarding Peronne's importance changed after her release, when she successfully delivered the heir and received a substantial monetary award for her services from the king.[44] By the birth of the third surviving royal child, James, there were English celebratory odes dedicated to Peronne,[45] and the midwife managed to secure parliamentary permission to deliver the queen's youngest child in Exeter, alongside Mayerne, during the English Civil Wars.[46] Although Peronne's fame as a midwife does not appear to have increased professional opportunities for English female birth attendants, or reversed the trend toward the presence of male doctors in elite birthing chambers, her prominence at Henrietta Maria's deliveries was accepted, and she became part of the public image of the queen's maternity.

The images Charles and Henrietta Maria commissioned of their surviving children also demonstrated an interest in emerging conceptions of domesticity, and the ideal of direct parental involvement in childrearing. In common with the volume commemorating Katharine, paintings depicting the royal couple and their children as an interconnected family group followed elite English trends concerning public depictions of family life.[47] The depiction of Henrietta Maria and her children in portraiture, most notably the work of Anthony Van Dyck and Hendrik Pot, departed from previous depictions of royal consorts, showing the queen in the apolitical role of demonstrative mother. Henrietta Maria maintained a close interest in the manner in which she and her children were depicted in portraits throughout Charles's reign, often sending images of her children as gifts to foreign sovereigns and requesting reciprocal paintings of their children.[48] Van Dyck and Pot both painted Henrietta Maria holding one of her children with gestures of loving intimacy between mother and child. In Pot's 1632 painting, "Charles I and Henrietta Maria with their son Charles, Prince of Wales," the queen is portrayed holding the hand of her infant son, who sits on a table bearing state regalia.[49] Van Dyck's 1632 "Greate Peece" projects a similar tableau of maternal solicitude in the presence of the king and the symbols of monarchical government. The young Charles stands next to a table bearing the crown and scepter with his hands on his father's knee while the infant Mary is shown in Henrietta Maria's arms, her fingers intertwined with those of her mother.[50] Through these innovative royal portraits, the queen's

involvement in her children's upbringing appears to be evidence of a loving bond instead of political and religious intrigue. [51]

Charles I's determination to ensure a Protestant succession compelled Henrietta Maria to compromise the parenting philosophy she developed during her betrothal. Prince Charles was baptized as a member of the Church of England and the Scottish Catholic nurse appointed by Henrietta Maria, the Countess of Roxburgh, was quickly replaced by the Protestant Countess of Dorset. At the age of eight, the young prince was entrusted to the tutelage of the Protestant William Cavendish, Earl of Newcastle, who drew up an educational program for their heir that did not provide a role for his mother in his upbringing, encouraging only a general courtesy toward women.[52] Henrietta Maria was permitted to implement her parenting philosophy to a greater degree with her younger children, appointing Catholics, including Roxburgh, to their households.[53] In her interactions with all her children, she emphasized her concern for their health, salvation, and realization of their political potential, insisting on their obedience to her authority. Her only surviving letter to her eldest son before the outbreak of the English Civil Wars stated, "I hear that you will not take physic, I hope it was only for this day and tomorrow you will do it for if you will not I must come to you and make you take it for it is for your health that I have given order to my lord Newcastle to send me word tonight whether you will or not."[54] While the existence of this letter and Henrietta Maria's willingness to visit her son to ensure her wishes are followed provides evidence of a personal relationship between mother and son, the queen's goal as a mother was to ensure her son's obedience to her wishes.[55] As the children grew older, she attempted to ensure their obedience to her wishes regarding their marriages, political activities, and religious faith.

Henrietta Maria was neither the primary caregiver for her children or an uninvolved parent. The queen took her relationship with her children and the public performance of her role as mother of Charles's heirs seriously. She had a broad range of precedents to inform her approach to motherhood as recent Stuart consorts had little contact with their children while their Tudor counterparts played an active role in childrearing. The experiences of this diverse range of predecessors, as well as her own mother's example, are reflected in Henrietta Maria's parenting as she displayed a close attachment to all her children and an interest in their individual personalities while ultimately entrusting their primary care to their households and expecting them to display strict obedience to her wishes. Concurrent to this actual relationship between Henrietta Maria and her children was the commissioning of portraits and commemorative volumes that emphasized the desirability of close interpersonal relationships within the royal family by employing popular motifs

of affective motherhood. The religious, political, and gender ideology of mid-seventeenth century England, however, would preclude the acceptance of a Roman Catholic French queen as a dominant influence over the upbringing and education of the royal children.

Henrietta Maria: The Threat of a Roman Catholic Succession

Public responses to Henrietta Maria's maternity were intertwined with interest in the position of Charles's sister, Elizabeth, and her husband the former King Frederick of Bohemia, whose lands had been devastated by Imperial forces at the outset of the Thirty Years' War. When Henrietta Maria became queen, the popular Elizabeth was heir to the throne, a circumstance that prompted a broad range of reactions to the queen's fertility, encompassing both disappointment and reluctant acceptance. In common with Marie Antoinette, Henrietta Maria's motherhood undermined the political interests of a potential alternate heir and that figure's supporters, complicating widespread acceptance of her legitimacy as mother of the king's heirs. While royal births had always disadvantaged reversionary lines of succession, the religious climate of mid-seventeenth century England gave alternate heirs increased legitimacy at the expense of the queen.

From the first negotiations for Charles's marriage, diplomatic correspondence framed the potential religious and political significance of his future children within the context of Elizabeth's place in the succession. During discussion of the Spanish match, the Venetian ambassador immediately envisioned rivalry within the royal family, writing that English Catholics "have equal hopes of [Charles I's] offspring under their mother's education, who would find it easy to instil suspicion and jealousy of the Palatine's children, as competitors for the crown with the help of heretics."[56] Before Henrietta Maria became Charles's wife, her potential to become the mother of royal heirs was already considered a threat to the political interests of Elizabeth. The "heretics" who supported the eventual succession of the former queen of Bohemia and her children represented a broad cross-section of Protestants who believed that Charles's sister would guarantee the supremacy of the Church of England.

The protracted childlessness of the royal marriage allowed Elizabeth to occupy the position of acknowledged heir to the English and Scottish thrones from 1625 to 1630. Although Frederick, Elizabeth, and their children resided in the Netherlands, their reputation as defenders of the Protestant Bohemians against the Catholic Holy Roman Empire

made them a politically significant force within England and Scotland. Elizabeth's children were aware that they were potential successors to a childless Charles and attempted to maintain his favor and that of Henrietta Maria. In 1628, Elizabeth's eldest son Frederick Henry wrote a courteous letter to Henrietta Maria inquiring after her health.[57] The prince significantly signed this document, "Your Majesties most obedient son and servant—Fredrick Henry"[58] revealing that he wished to be thought of as a son, and potentially an heir, by the childless English royal couple. The births of successive royal children in the 1630s lessened the perception of Elizabeth and her children as alternate heirs but the marks of favor they received from Charles and Henrietta Maria remained a popular means of assessing the royal couple's commitment to Protestantism.

In this political climate, the birth of the future Charles II in 1630 provoked a broad range of responses from Charles's subjects, prefiguring the opposition to the motherhood of Mary of Modena at the end of the seventeenth century. The Venetian ambassador reported, "while there were no children, the people themselves clamoured for [Elizabeth], in the hope of having her one day as their mistress."[59] There were also reports of Puritans refusing to join the celebrations in honor of Prince Charles's birth because they believed that God had already provided for the succession in the person of Elizabeth.[60] One of Elizabeth's supporters attempted to spread a rumor that Henrietta Maria had been betrothed to another prince prior to her marriage, and her children were therefore illegitimate.[61] He was arrested for seditious speech and rumors concerning the legitimacy of the royal children did not regain popular currency until the impeachment of the queen during the English Civil Wars.[62]

The perception of the king's sister as a possible and desirable heir, however, continued to shape popular perceptions of the queen as a mother. When Archbishop William Laud introduced controversial liturgical changes during the 1630s, the removal of Elizabeth and her children from the prayers for the royal family disturbed Protestant worshippers. In 1637, a speech delivered in the Star Chamber criticized Laud's reforms for numerous reasons including, "The sixth innovation is that the Lady Elizabeth and her Princely children are dashed (that's their phrase) out of the new collect, whereas they were in the collect of the former book."[63] As will be discussed in the following chapter, the continued popularity of Elizabeth and her children, and their perceived desirability as royal heirs influenced criticism of Henrietta Maria as a mother during the English Civil Wars and contributed to the political conditions of her impeachment.

At the same time, the novelty of a royal birth on English soil attracted widespread attention and provided the impetus for popular

celebrations. Despite the expressed support for Elizabeth's succession rights while Henrietta Maria was childless, Catholics and Protestants in both England and Scotland recognized that the birth of a direct male heir followed historical precedents and appeared to ensure future political stability. Sir Simond d'Ewes wrote, "The young Prince of Scotland and Duke of Cornwall is the royal object of a more certain relation being the first Prince born in England since the year 1537, the 29th year of King Henry VIII and may if God send life succeed in time upon his creation Prince of Wales."[64] This comparison placed Prince Charles's birth within the broader context of English monarchical government, implicitly legitimizing Henrietta Maria's position as mother to royal heirs.

Since nearly a century had passed since Edward VI's birth, the protocol for an English royal christening was not widely known[65] and research concerning the relevant precedents was undertaken by the royal household.[66] Outside the court, the country nobility were the first to learn of the birth of the new prince through official announcements conveyed by messenger and their networks of correspondence. Lord Poulett wrote to Secretary Dorchester on June 6, 1630, that he "Presently gave signs of joy to his neighbours by bells bonfire and public thanksgiving. They followed his example in expressions of gladness."[67] The detail concerning the nature and scope of the celebrations in a letter to Charles I's secretary suggests that the royal couple were interested to know how the birth was received outside the capital, and were inclined to favor those who led the celebrations.

The celebratory verses dedicated to Henrietta Maria upon the births of her three eldest children suggest the primary impetus for favorable perceptions of the queen as a mother was the stability her childbearing brought to the succession. These odes reflected a long tradition of celebratory material commissioned to glorify the queen consort's virtue and motherhood.[68] Henrietta Maria's involvement in the care and education of these children was only desirable to the degree that it would further the interests of the state. Prior to Prince Charles's birth "A Thankesgiving and Prayer for the safe child-bearing of the Queens Majestie" stated, "since lineall succession is under thee the great security of Kingdomes, and the very life of peace: Wee therefore give thee most humble and hearty thankes for the great blessing."[69] This official prayer is dedicated to the queen but reduces her role to a means for ensuring the succession, in contrast to the active role she envisioned for herself.

Despite the existence of clauses in the marriage contract granting her control over the upbringing of her young children, Charles's subjects were encouraged to view the queen's motherhood in largely impersonal terms. The prayer concludes, "Lord make her a happy mother

of successful children, to the increase of thy Glory, the comfort of his Majestie, the joy of her owne heart, the safety of the State, and the preservation of the Church and true Religion amongst us."[70] While the reference to Henrietta Maria's personal joy reflects the increased perceived importance of the relationship between parents and children following the Reformation, the emphasis on Church and State has the effect of depersonalizing the queen's motherhood and obscuring her intention to raise her issue as Roman Catholics.

Scrutiny of the consequences of Henrietta Maria occupying the role of mother to the royal children continued as the ruling family expanded throughout the 1630s. The financial burden created by the establishment of the children's households was considered unfortunate and directly connected to the rapid expansion of the royal family. The births of the first few children may have appeared to ensure political stability but the arrivals of the youngest prince and additional princesses appear to have inspired little popular enthusiasm. The dispatches of the Venetian ambassador suggest that while the birth of an heir and a couple of younger children appeared to ensure stability, a large royal family could increase the potential for political unrest. When the fourth child, Elizabeth, was born in 1635, he wrote, "The generality are more pleased than if it had been a boy, because girls ensure posterity as much as boys, and the kingdom is relieved of the danger to which states sometimes succumb from there being too many princes of the blood royal."[71] There were precedents for political instability emerging from large royal families. Edward III's numerous descendants fought the Wars of the Roses and the Tudors regarded the surviving members of the previous Plantagenet dynasty as dangerous to their claim to the throne.[72] The continued expansion of the royal family did not increase the queen's popularity because a large number of princes and princesses meant greater household expenses and the threat of future conflict between powerful siblings.

The queen's reputation also suffered because the royal edicts accompanying the births of her children that were intended to alleviate suffering among Charles's subjects, such as amnesties for prisoners, were not successfully enforced. In contrast, the arrival of each successive royal child appeared to increase Henrietta Maria's influence over the state as a Roman Catholic and a representative of the French royal family. In common with Marie Antoinette, motherhood appeared to provide her with the influence to pursue political goals against the interests of a large proportion of her husband's subjects. Successful childbearing provided an opportunity for criticism of each queen's position within her family that implicitly questioned her legitimacy as mother of the royal children.

During the celebrations in honor of Prince Charles's birth, Charles I issued a general amnesty for prisoners in his kingdoms, allowing those convicted of such crimes as theft or assault to escape execution and regain their freedom. This amnesty provided Henrietta Maria with an opportunity to practice a more traditional method of queenly intercession, utilizing her position as a wife and mother to alleviate the position of Charles's most disadvantaged subjects. The petitions addressed to Charles after he granted the general pardon, however, demonstrate that the amnesty was not successfully enforced and Henrietta Maria did not take advantage of this opportunity to engage in political activity that would enhance her reputation among Protestants.

These documents were addressed to the king alone, which revealed the absence of the queen's perceived involvement in this magnanimous gesture. On September 24, 1630, Ellen Charlton of Bower, Northampton, addressed a petition to the king stating, "By violence of heavy prosecutors, her sons John Charlton and Thomas Charlton, have been cast for pretended thefts of two mares, and the petitioner is in danger of questions as an accessory. Prays they may enjoy the general pardon granted on the birth of the Prince."[73] Charlton's second petition reveals that although her sons were granted this pardon, they were nevertheless executed by local authorities and her own life was in danger despite also being eligible for the amnesty.[74] The Charlton case was not an isolated example of the royal amnesty being declared but not enforced by local authorities. By 1631, Charles was the recipient of petitions from the inmates of numerous English gaols who complained that town clerks and clerks of assize would not advance individual cases for the amnesty unless the prisoners had the means to reward them for honoring this pardon.[75] The multitude of petitions from intended recipients of the amnesty demonstrates that this edict was not successfully enforced, depriving the royal couple of an opportunity to publicly equate Henrietta Maria's motherhood with royal largess. The absence of the queen's involvement in resolving these disputes would have reinforced the perception that her intercessory actions were restricted to her coreligionists.

In contrast to the failure of the general pardon honoring Prince Charles's birth, Henrietta Maria's perceived involvement in political and religious initiatives that appeared to be harmful to the state and the Church of England unfolded before the public gaze. She appeared to be using her time with her children to introduce them to Roman Catholicism, against the wishes of Protestants, including the king. In 1634, John How, vicar of Loughborough, was suspended from his ministry and fined 5,00l for publicly praying during his sermons, "that the young prince, meaning prince Charles, might not be brought up in popery, whereof there was great cause to fear."[76] Despite Charles I's efforts

to ensure that his subjects were aware that his heir would be baptized and raised Protestant, Henrietta Maria invited controversy by including her family in her religious devotions when they visited her residences.[77] The queen's involvement in the upbringing of the royal children during Charles I's period of personal rule influenced the decisions of the 1640 parliament, which demanded the princes and princesses remain in a separate household than that of their mother.[78]

The births of the royal children also appeared to inspire amnesties for Roman Catholic priests, which appeared to be more widely enforced than the general pardons for prisoners. The Capuchin Friars who staffed the queen's chapels celebrated the births of royal children because her fertility appeared to alleviate the sanctions against Roman Catholic worship. The Franciscan order recorded that Charles initially attempted to limit attendance at Catholic houses of worship in London, particularly the queen's chapel at Somerset house, "But the Queen being not long after delivered of a young son: third proclamation raised so that the chapels not only of the Queen but of the Catholic Ambassadors also from day to day were by numbers of people frequented."[79] While the amnesties for prisoners in honor of Prince Charles's birth were not effectively implemented, conditions for Catholics and those curious about the queen's faith appeared to improve when royal births occurred. This contrast reinforced the Protestant perception that Henrietta Maria was only willing to utilize her intercessory prerogatives as queen consort on behalf of Catholics and that her maternity adversely affected the interests of Protestants.

In common with Marie Antoinette, Henrietta Maria's motherhood was viewed by the diplomatic corps of the period as an opportunity for the queen to increase her political influence. In the realm of foreign policy, the happy event of the birth of an heir to Charles I and nephew to Louis XIII appeared to be an opportunity for lasting peace between England and France without either sovereign appearing to make concessions to his counterpart. The Venetian ambassador observed in 1630, "They speak openly here about the peace between England and France…The French ambassador has no news from his Court on the subject, but seems to believe it. He remarked to me that the pregnancy of the Queen of England had given a great impulse to this reconciliation."[80] Through motherhood, Henrietta Maria had the potential to alleviate the conflicts between the kingdom of her birth and that of her marriage.

While the symbolism provided by a fertile queen in a harmonious marriage was significant to diplomatic negotiations between England and France, the births of numerous children to Henrietta Maria provided little opportunity for her to directly influence Charles's policies

prior to the outbreak of the English Civil Wars. Marie Antoinette also did not fulfill the political potential envisioned by the foreign diplomatic corps until the outbreak of the French Revolution. Despite the perceived acceptance of public attendance at the queen's chapel in the aftermath of royal births, Henrietta Maria's motherhood did not allow her to facilitate official toleration for Catholics. The evolution of her parenting philosophy revealed the limits imposed on her political influence despite the births of numerous healthy children. Her perceived influence during the 1630s exceeded her actual ability to pursue her political and religious goals.

The experiences of previous queens consort indicated that the birth of children to Henrietta Maria should have cemented her legitimacy and invited the approval of Charles I's subjects. Elizabeth of Bohemia appeared to represent a stable Protestant succession, however, whereas Henrietta Maria's intentions and the clauses of her marriage contract appeared to indicate that her children had the potential to threaten the supremacy of the Church of England. Prince Charles's birth was nevertheless greeted with a certain degree of enthusiasm because of the positive precedents provided by lineal succession, the novelty of an heir's birth on English soil, and the potential for the birth to serve as an occasion for royal largess, including amnesties for prisoners. Henrietta Maria's motherhood did not fulfill these expectations because only Catholics and their priests appeared to benefit from the royal largess that accompanied the birth. Despite Charles I's attempts to affirm the Protestant upbringing of his children and curtail Henrietta Maria's ability to achieve her political and religious goals, the role of the queen as mother to the royal children attracted popular scrutiny and criticism. In common with Marie Antoinette, Henrietta Maria discovered that motherhood, the traditional means by which a queen consort gained legitimacy and acceptance, instead increased popular hostility to her place within the royal family.

Marie Antoinette: Natural Childrearing

In 1789, Marie Antoinette wrote lengthy instructions to her children's new governess, the Marquise de Tourzel, which included the reflection, "One had always accustomed my children to have great confidence in me, and when they were in the wrong, they had to tell me themselves. When they were scolded, I looked more pained and afflicted with what they had done than angry."[81] This letter had a very different tone and content than Henrietta Maria's description of her eldest surviving son in 1631. Marie Antoinette's recognition of her children's distinct personalities and emotional needs reflect the influence of Enlightenment ideals of

domesticity, which became popular among the nobility and urban bourgeoisie during the late eighteenth century. Henrietta Maria and Marie Antoinette did not, however, become mothers on opposite sides of a revolution concerning parental attitudes toward children but instead formulated their parenting philosophies along a continuum. During the same period in which affective marriage increasingly became the ideal relationship between men and women, close maternal involvement in childrearing and tailoring parental practices to the personalities of individual children became crucial elements of the domestic sphere. The similarities and differences between the attitudes displayed by Henrietta Maria and Marie Antoinette toward their children provide evidence of changing parenting ideals between their lifetimes.

In common with each queen's attitude toward the success of her marriage, Henrietta Maria was content to present the motifs of a close relationship between mother and child while Marie Antoinette expected to be closely involved with the process of childrearing in practice. Henrietta Maria spent substantial periods of time in the same residence as her children and recognized that they had distinct personalities but the evolution of her approach to motherhood reflected the political and religious parameters imposed by her relationship with Charles. In contrast, Marie Antoinette became a mother with the intention of becoming personally involved in the upbringing of her children, responding to their individual personalities and shielding them from the constraints created by their social status. The opposition that the queen encountered from the French court did not result in any change to her parenting. Marie Antoinette's determination to behave as mother to her children according to Enlightenment conceptions of domesticity remained constant throughout her marriage.

Marie Antoinette emerged from her own childhood with the perception that her motherhood encompassed both public and private dimensions. In the manner of Maria Theresa, Marie Antoinette expected to exert political influence as mother of the royal children but privately raise them according to the domestic ideals popularized by such writers as Rousseau. The empress distrusted the influence of Enlightenment writers but her domestic life bore numerous similarities to Rousseau's conception of natural childrearing. In his writings on what he perceived to be ideal family life, he argued that women naturally found happiness and fulfillment through personal involvement in the upbringing of their children, believing that such public pursuits as political activity should remain a masculine preserve.[82] Many of Marie Antoinette's subjects, however, expected all their queen's actions to occur in the public sphere, following ideals of the submissive wife and involved mother. The perception that politically active royal mothers

endangered the interests of the French people meant that the queen's attempts to exert authority undermined her reputation.

The most recent literature concerning perceptions of the French royal nursery does not attempt to probe the queen's motives, stating, "The Queen often lamented that her mother, the Austrian Empress Maria Theresa had been a remote figure, and for reasons that remain unclear, she resolved to be a very different kind of parent."[83] Recent French scholarship highlights evidence of the queen making decisions recognizing the political significance of her motherhood, such as publicly praying for a Dauphin after the birth of her eldest daughter, while treating her personal relations with her children as comparatively insignificant.[84] Placing Marie Antoinette within the context of her cultural milieu illuminates her reasoning and the importance of her domestic activities to her reputation in the public sphere. The queen's formulation of a parenting philosophy reflective of Enlightenment ideals of domesticity and her steadfast adherence to the implementation of these ideals is crucial to the understanding of the dialogue between Marie Antoinette and the expectations of Louis XVI's subjects.

In *Emile*, which was one of numerous educational treatises circulating during the late eighteenth century, Rousseau detailed the education of what he perceived to be a natural woman. Emile's eventual spouse, Sophie, spends her childhood under the supervision of her mother, learning the domestic skills necessary for her eventual marriage.[85] Sophie must learn to be obedient to male authority because her livelihood and self-respect will eventually depend on her husband.[86] Rousseau envisions the eventual marriage as the union of two products of a noncoercive education in which both parties instinctively sought a natural hierarchy. Since he believed that maternity was every woman's natural vocation, he condemned all childrearing techniques that separated mothers from their children such as wet nursing, swaddling, coercive discipline, and formal education during early childhood.[87]

Rousseau's ideals were influential within the queen's cultural milieu. Nevertheless, Marie Antoinette envisioned a clear separation between a private sphere, where she would operate as a submissive wife and mother and a public sphere where she might exercise political influence over her husband. In *Emile*, Rousseau argued that his conception of the family was impervious to criticism because it reflected natural law instead of human prejudice. He wrote, "Women do wrong to complain of the inequality of man-made laws; this inequality is not of man's making, or at any rate it is not the result of mere prejudice but of reason. She to whom nature has entrusted the care of the children must hold herself responsible for them to their father."[88] Despite the emphasis *Emile* placed on feminine subordination, the work was popular with women as it gave

them cultural, moral, and intellectual authority within the domestic sphere and social respect through their roles as wives and mothers.[89] French society also expected the structure of authority within the royal family to mirror this conception of natural law. Marie Antoinette's popularity therefore depended on the impression that she was submissive to her husband's leadership, confining her activities to the upbringing of her children without displays of independent political ambition.

Marie Antoinette's degree of familiarity with the actual text of Rousseau's works concerning childrearing is unknown. The records of the queen's librarian, M. Campan,[90] do not reference the purchase of any works by this author[91] and the catalogue of her private library at Petit Trianon only includes his plays,[92] although she did collect the complete works of other Enlightenment thinkers such as Voltaire.[93] The absence of Rousseau's works from these documents does not preclude Marie Antoinette's exposure to Emile through alternate channels. When Joseph II conversed with Campan during his 1777 visit to Versailles, they talked "of our most celebrated authors,"[94] a category that would have included Rousseau at that time. Louis XVI's library contained more intellectual works than that of his wife, creating another opportunity for her to be directly exposed to Enlightenment thought. After Rousseau died in 1778, the queen participated in a pilgrimage to his grave site, a fashionable activity among the noble and bourgeois women who embraced his ideals of domesticity.[95]

Regardless of whether Marie Antoinette read Rousseau firsthand, she clearly identified herself with Rousseau's philosophies concerning motherhood and domesticity despite the uniqueness of her position as mother of the royal children. A few months before her eldest daughter, Marie-Thérèse, was born, the queen explained to Maria Theresa, "In the manner they are brought up now, they are far less uncomfortable. They are not swaddled; they are always in a basket or in the arms and the moment they are able to be outside, they are accustomed to it little by little, and end up being there always. I believe this is the healthiest and best way to raise them."[96] Although *Emile* had been published during Marie Antoinette's own childhood in Vienna, in 1762, his ideals concerning childrearing were already, "the manner they are brought up now" when her first child was born in 1778. The queen's praise of freedom of movement for young children undoubtedly reflected the enthusiasm of her social circle.[97] Whereas Henrietta Maria was primarily concerned with their religious education and obedience, Marie Antoinette sought the best way to raise her children as happy, healthy individuals. The queen's unique status is notably absent from Marie Antoinette's justification of her parenting philosophy.

Marie Antoinette's reaction to the birth of her daughter indicates that she also sought personal fulfillment through close involvement in

children's upbringing. Jeanne Campan wrote that when the queen first saw the infant princess, she stated, "A son would have been the property of the state. You shall be mine: you shall have my undivided care, shall share all my happiness, and console me in all my troubles."[98] Although Marie Antoinette expressed the expected disappointment by publicly praying to Saint Genevieve for a dauphin following the Paris thanksgiving celebrations for Marie-Thérèse's birth,[99] her close involvement in her daughter's upbringing suggests that Campan accurately recounted the queen's actual emotions. Following the birth of Louis-Joseph in 1781, Marie Antoinette rejected established precedents for the education of French royal children by placing Marie-Thérèse under her personal tutelage.[100] This action mirrored Rousseau's argument that mothers should be solely responsible for the education of their female children[101] but challenged the court convention that royal princesses be instructed by their governesses or other nonfamilial figures.[102]

At the same time, the births of children appeared to facilitate Marie Antoinette's influence in the political realm through her status as mother to the royal children. In February 1781, two months before a public announcement of Marie Antoinette's second pregnancy, Mercy-Argenteau noted that if the rumors circulating at court were correct, "This circumstance, so desired and so happy, will add a great weight to the influence and the credit of the Queen."[103] In October, the heavily pregnant queen followed Mercy-Argenteau's suggestion that she should pressure her husband to make peace with Great Britain. Joseph II feared French involvement in the American Revolution would upset the balance of power in Europe and prevent France from assisting with his own goal of regaining the Austrian Netherlands.[104]

Mercy-Argenteau wrote to Joseph of his success advising Marie Antoinette, stating, "The Queen enjoys her perfect health and great credit. She lends herself to these entreaties, which I have sometimes made conversation with her about, with the political matters of the King."[105] This letter demonstrates that Marie Antoinette understood that the impending birth of her second child increased her potential for influence over Louis's policies. The prospect of a healthy delivery of a possible heir gave her the confidence to request political concessions from the secure position of matriarch to the direct royal line. In common with Henrietta Maria, Marie Antoinette's actual political influence remained comparatively insignificant until the outbreak of political upheaval but motherhood increased her own opinion of her status as a potential advisor to the sovereign.

Marie Antoinette combined her political ambitions with a desire for privacy and personal involvement in her children's upbringing. When the time arrived for her confinement with Louis-Joseph, she challenged

the tradition that royal births should occur before interested members of the court and the public. Instead, she gave birth before a comparatively small audience consisting of the royal family, the Ladies of the Queen's Bedchamber, Lord Chancellor, and various ministers.[106] This arrangement reflected Marie Antoinette's desire to establish a private domain and safeguard her health but directly challenged the court convention that the birth of an heir was a public event.[107] Although Marie Antoinette immediately entrusted the newborn dauphin to the Governess of the Children of France, Princess Guéméné, who was both a member of the Rohan family and a part of the queen's social circle, Mercy-Argenteau noted that Marie Antoinette was preoccupied with plans for her son's education. He wrote to Joseph when Louis-Joseph was less than a month old, "The Queen is strongly occupied with the means of drawing up a good plan of education for the Dauphin. Her Majesty agrees with the King that he will not have a designated tutor until the age of five."[108] The ambassador significantly used the word "education" to describe Marie Antoinette's plans for the Dauphin instead of "instruction," implying that she intended to help shape all aspects of her son's character.[109] Records for the household of the royal children demonstrate a meticulous attention to the instruction of both the royal children, including descriptions and wages of a broad range of tutors.[110] Marie Antoinette also acquired educational works for her library including language primers and dramatic works for young people,[111] showing her interest in the emergence of children's literature during this period.[112]

As will be discussed in the following section, the tutelage of the royal children, particularly the future king, was considered too important a matter of state to be entrusted to a foreign, female queen. Marie Antoinette's personal involvement in the instruction of the heir was a novel innovation at court and appeared to exceed her accepted role. As early as 1689, the jurist Cardin le Bret stated in his definition of the role of the queen, "the tutelage of their children does not belong to them . . . for all their being the wife or mother of the King."[113] The household records concerning the Children of France bear the signature of the king but the appointment of Polignac as governess upon Guéméné's resignation due to bankruptcy in 1782 reflects the extent of Marie Antoinette's personal involvement in the nurseries. Polignac was a minor member of the nobility who owed her advancement to Marie Antoinette's patronage alone. She therefore directly represented the queen in the royal nurseries, ensuring that the children were raised according to their mother's wishes instead of court tradition where possible. In securing the appointment of one of her closest friends to a position that was both prestigious and intimately connected with the daily care of her children, Marie Antoinette succeeded

in a realm where Henrietta Maria was unable to establish personal influence. While Charles's consort had struggled to ensure the appointment of Roman Catholic attendants for her children, Louis's regard for his wife's favorites allowed Marie Antoinette to directly influence the care and education of the royal children to an unprecedented degree.

The role of Governess to the Children of France in the late eighteenth century was far more prestigious than the equivalent position at Charles I's court. Although the Scottish court had established a precedent of entrusting the heir to the Earls of Mar before the union of the two crowns in 1603, Charles and Henrietta Maria did not provide their children's attendants with extraordinary privileges. Individual governesses could be dismissed according to the political and religious climate at court and the expenses of the children's household were scrutinized and critiqued by Charles`s advisors. In contrast, the position of Governess of the Children of France had become even more prestigious since Henrietta Maria's childhood. The consolidation of the French court at Versailles during the reign of Louis XIV meant that the governess resided in the same residences as the king and queen, enjoying unrivalled access to the entire ruling family.

The governess's intimacy with the monarch, consort, and their children was accompanied by a host of unique privileges including protection from dismissal, command of the royal guards during the dauphin`s residence, and precedence over all other ladies at court while in the company of her charges.[114] Louis XV's governess, Madame de Ventadour, was famous for protecting the health of her charge during an outbreak of smallpox at court and she enjoyed the honor of having her likeness included in a group portrait of Louis XIV, his son, grandson, and great-grandson.[115] Once Polignac swore the traditional oath to the king to ensure all aspects of the moral welfare of the royal children,[116] only the outbreak of the French Revolution allowed for her replacement by the more socially acceptable Tourzel.

Marie Antoinette's attitudes toward her role as mother to the royal children were more ambitious than those of Henrietta Maria. Marie Antoinette not only recognized that her children had individual personalities but intended for their upbringing and education to respond to these distinctive characteristics. She attempted to create a comparatively domestic sphere within the public environment of Louis's court where her children could grow up with fewer constraints created by their political position. Nevertheless, she expected to exert political influence by virtue of her maternity. This dual perception of her role as mother to the royal children reflected the influence of Enlightenment thought on her social circle and the example of her Maria Theresa. Both aspects of this performance of motherhood, however, challenged

court traditions and fueled popular anxieties concerning political activity by a queen who had been born an Austrian archduchess. Marie Antoinette's involvement in the education of her children, particularly the two successive dauphins, would become the locus of popular opposition to her motherhood.

Marie Antoinette: The Education of the Children of France

For both courtiers and broader French society, Marie Antoinette was not a desirable caregiver and educator for the royal children but a negative example of foreign, female, extravagant political interference that Louis's successor should prevent from gaining influence during his own reign. Since nearly a decade passed between the royal marriage and the birth of a child, there was rampant speculation concerning the paternity of the royal children that was connected to the position of potential alternate heirs. In common with Henrietta Maria, the birth of children to Marie Antoinette threatened the political ambitions of potential alternate successors to the throne. Louis's two younger brothers, Provence and Artois, and his cousin, the Duc de Chartres, later Duc d'Orleans[117] resided at court and directly benefited from the queen's childlessness. Within the court, Louis's brothers would be perceived as the most influential alternate successors to the French throne, and the potential source of libelous verse questioning the paternity of the royal children. Among the wider Parisian populace, the well-known Orleans, who transformed his Palais Royale into a public space composed of shops, cafes, and gardens, was viewed by supporters and detractors of the queen alike as the chief opponent to her children's succession.

Provence's correspondence reveals the degree to which Louis's brother viewed his own succession prospects through the lens of Marie Antoinette's potential maternity. When Marie-Thérèse was born, he wrote to King Gustavus III of Sweden, "I do not hide from myself that this matter has been a home thrust . . . As far as outward appearances are concerned, I was soon able to master myself, and I have behaved with the same decorum as before, though without any demonstrations of joy, which would have been regarded as . . . mendacious."[118] Marie-Thérèse's birth proved Louis's and Marie Antoinette's ability to become parents, jeopardizing the succession prospects of the king's brothers in the event of a dauphin's birth. There is evidence that Provence quietly attempted to consolidate his position by encouraging the circulation of pamphlets at court that questioned the paternity of the Children of France, particularly the dauphin.[119]

Regardless of Provence's degree of involvement in the spread of these rumors, the king's brothers would become prominent figures in the pamphlet literature that disseminated after the outbreak of Revolution as Artois was caricatured as a possible father of the queen's children. The 1789 edition of "The Austrian Woman on the Rampage," supposedly composed by an anonymous royal bodyguard, explicitly denied Louis's paternity of his wife's children. In the pamphlet, the bodyguard claims to have witnessed an orgy in the queen's private apartments involving Marie Antoinette, Artois, and Polignac. In one scene, Artois says to the queen, "Quiet you little fool, or I'll give my brother another son tonight!"[120] The authors of this pamphlet and others of the period such as "Les Amours de Charlot et Toinette"[121] and "Lettre de la Reine envoyée au Comte d'Artois avec la Réponse du Comte D'Artois a la Reine"[122] attribute the queen's "unnatural" behavior to her Austrian origin and feminine weakness. In contrast, Artois appears as a dominant, politically ambitious figure who is eager to usurp his elder brother's sovereignty and place his children on the throne. The perceived contrast between Artois's virility and ambition and Louis's indolence and impotence persisted after the birth of Marie Antoinette's children, delegitimizing her position as mother of the future sovereign.

Marie Antoinette's correspondence demonstrates that she actively fostered a close relationship with Provence, Artois, and their wives, including them in family dinners and amateur theatricals despite Maria Theresa's concern that the Savoyard princesses would undermine the queen's position at court.[123] Mercy-Argenteau observed, "The royal family has dinner and supper together in the Queen's apartments, and the King puts much simplicity, friendship and comfort in the way of being with his brothers and sisters-in-law and he ordered them to remove the title of Majesty when they speak with him."[124] Marie Antoinette's biographers have attributed her desire to keep company with Provence, Artois, and their wives to naivety or an attempt to recreate the comparatively informal atmosphere she experienced amongst her family in Vienna, before her marriage.[125] The queen's awareness of the emergence of satirical verse from the court combined with the political significance of Provence and Artois as potential opponents of her own children's succession rights suggests that her decision to host these comparatively informal family gatherings may have had a political dimension.

Just as Henrietta Maria portrayed herself as a champion of the restoration of Elizabeth and her family to the Palatinate, Marie Antoinette may have been attempting to project an image of familial unity through her apparent friendship with potential alternate successors to the throne. Early in Louis's reign, she was eager to refute any rumor of conflict between herself and Provence, writing to her mother, "It is quite

certain that not only is there no disagreement between [Provence] and I, but what is more is that it is not believed and everyone notices my good manners for him and his wife."[126] The focus of this letter on the popular perception of her relationship with her brother-in-law is significant as she recognized the political importance of projecting an image of dynastic unity. Marie Antoinette's correspondence also hints at her awareness of Provence's ambitions. In 1779, the queen urged her mother not to believe news reports that the Comtesse de Provence was expecting a child, stating that the marriage was likely to remain childless despite her brother-in-law's boasting.[127] The expectation that Provence and Artois would take their meals with the king and queen also reduced their opportunities to cultivate their own factions. The appearance of familial unity had the potential to counteract rumors concerning each prince's individual political ambitions.

The popular debate concerning Marie Antoinette's performance of her role as mother to the royal children intersected with criticism of her management of her household when Polignac became governess. Polignac's appointment attracted the same criticism as Lamballe's elevation to the position of superintendent because both women were considered unqualified by lineage and ability to dispense the considerable patronage that accompanied these roles. The duties of governess traditionally focused on the safekeeping of the dauphin but as the queen's favorite, Polignac spent much of her time in the company of Marie Antoinette instead of the royal children.[128] Although Joseph II formed a favorable impression of Polignac during his visit to Versailles,[129] Mercy-Argenteau recognized her potential to undermine the queen's reputation. In 1777, the ambassador observed, "The Queen cannot do without the society of this young woman. She is the depository of all her thoughts and I strongly doubt that there have been any exceptions to this boundless confidence."[130] The apparent absence of limits to the queen's confidence in her favorite foreshadowed Polignac`s eventual receipt of patronage opportunities previously reserved for France's most prominent families. Marie Antoinette spent much of her time in the company of both Artois and Polignac,[131] a social combination that would be utilized by the queen's detractors to cast doubt on the paternity of the royal children.

The administrative records for the households of the royal children reveal the extent of Polignac's influence over patronage appointments. The financial receipts for the establishments of the two successive dauphins bear her signature, revealing her ability to control both the wages paid to members of the children's households and the appointment of new attendants to the children.[132] While Louis had ultimate authority over the households of his children,[133] the existence of petitions addressed

to Polignac by prospective attendants demonstrates that the governess, and by extension Marie Antoinette, made many of the daily decisions.[134] Marie-Thérèse and Louis-Joseph already had households appointed by Guéméné during her tenure as governess but Polignac was able to exert extensive influence over the composition of the establishments of the younger royal children. Louis-Charles's household was especially filled with her appointments. She wrote to the king proposing numerous new members of the baby's establishment in 1785, including a doctor, surgeon, valets, and chambermaids.[135] When Sophie-Beatrix was born in 1786, the prospective sub-governesses, who ranked immediately below the governess of the Children of France in the royal nurseries, were also proposed to the king by Polignac, demonstrating the continued expansion of her patronage prerogatives.[136] Throughout the 1780s, Polignac's influence expanded, contributing to criticism of the queen as a mother.

Polignac's social origins, exercise of patronage of her position as governess, and attention to her friendship with the queen over her responsibilities for the royal children attracted negative scrutiny from those inclined to both favorable and critical attitudes toward Marie Antoinette. The queen's supporters argued that her friendship with Polignac encouraged her to overlook her clear inability to successfully occupy the position of governess while her detractors speculated that the arrangements within the royal nurseries concealed political intrigues, corruption, and sexual immorality. Members of all social estates expressed concern that the care and education of the royal children, especially the dauphin, was being neglected because of the arrangements for the governance of the royal nurseries created by Marie Antoinette. Previous unpopular queens of France, most notably Charles VI's consort Isabeau of Bavaria, had been accused of neglecting their children to provide benefits for their favorites.[137] The importance ascribed to childhood and education by Enlightenment thinkers such as Rousseau, however, increased the importance of Marie Antoinette's perceived transgressions as a mother to her reputation.

The writings of émigré French aristocrats who sympathized with Marie Antoinette's attempts to become more involved in the daily care of her children than previous French queens consort argued that her good intentions failed because of both flaws in her character and her reliance on unsuitable favorites. The Marquis de Bombelles was critical of Polignac's appointment and Marie Antoinette's innovations to the royal nursery. In October of 1782, after Guéméné had submitted her resignation but before the Polignac had made her oath to the king, Bombelles wrote in his journal, "Among the bad stories that the interregnum of the Governess of the Children of France has made, one notes the one that supposes [Provence] has gone to the king, his brother,

and told him . . . if his choice to replace Madame de Guémémé fell upon Madame de Polignac, he would be blamed in all of France."[138] The perceived involvement of Provence in Louis's deliberations is significant as the circulation of this rumor would make Polignac's appointment appear to be a triumph of the queen's political influence over the objections of the senior male member of the royal family and popular opinion across France.

Once Polignac became governess, Bombelles criticized her decisions, arguing that such decisions as separating the households of Marie-Thérèse and Louis-Joseph did not reflect the queen's intentions.[139] He ultimately concluded that Marie Antoinette had failed to ensure the appropriate care and education of her children, writing in 1784 regarding the Dauphin's illness, "The Queen did not know again how much this child, so precious to the state and to her, has been in danger. She has a very good heart, and loves her daughter and son very much but dissipation necessarily harms this feeling, and often deafens one what should affect us the most."[140] Bombelles recognized that the queen genuinely intended to fulfill the ideal of the good mother and appointed her favorites to powerful positions in the royal nurseries with the best of intentions. He blamed Polignac's shortcomings as a governess combined with the queen's social life for Marie Antoinette's failure to successfully parent her children.

While Bombelles acknowledged the queen's good intentions, the pamphlet literature that began to circulate in the 1780s argued that Marie Antoinette intended to weaken the French succession through her mismanagement of the nurseries. The libels accusing Marie Antoinette of sexual relationships with Polignac and Artois also contributed to rumors of the royal children's exposure to sexual immorality and neglect. A pamphlet that first circulated during the early 1780s directly connected Marie Antoinette's motherhood to her perceived corruption and immorality. Following an extended discussion of her "nocturnal promenades" with Artois,[141] the author accused her of exploiting the king's happiness upon learning of her first pregnancy to be forgiven the massive debts incurred by her personal extravagance and gifts to her favorites. The pamphlet stated:

> The Queen became pregnant and when her pregnancy was declared, Madame de Lamballe was again her intimate friend. The time of delivery arrived and, the fear of death seized her mind. She had nearly two million in debt already. She did not want to die insolvent . . . The Queen . . . spoke to the King herself, who hoping for a Dauphin, "consoled the Queen, had her debts paid, and expressed gratitude to Mr. [Finance Minister Jacques] Necker.".[142]

In this context, Marie Antoinette's pregnancy was a burden instead of a blessing for France. The queen remained focused on her extravagant tastes and her social life with her favorites, viewing motherhood as a means of furthering these pursuits at the expense of the state.[143] Rumors accusing the queen of being a bad mother to her own children eventually expanded after the Revolution to encompass depictions of the consort as a failed mother to the nation.[144] The various strands of criticism concerning the queen's behavior as a mother would culminate in accusations of incest at her trial.

There is evidence that Louis and Marie Antoinette were aware of the negative perception of the queen as a mother and attempted to counteract these rumors though public indications of the king's authority over his family, bulletins concerning the children's health, and artistic portrayals of her maternity. In her correspondence with Maria Theresa, the queen noted the criticism of her favor toward the Polignac family and attempted to justify her largesse by emphasizing the King's friendship with her favorites. She wrote to her mother in April 1780, "I could say the same for Mme. Polignac in relation to the King. He likes her very much and though I am very sensitive and appreciative of the good he did, I did not need to seek it. The newsmen and story writers know more than me. I have neither heard about the land, the two million nor any other."[145] Marie Antoinette clearly viewed the friendly relations between her favorites and her husband as a defense against the popular rumors that she was utilizing her pregnancies to gain favors for the Polignac family. Once Polignac became governess, the documents concerning the households of the dauphin and his siblings bore her signature and that of Louis XVI alone with few recorded references to the queen's wishes.[146] Unfortunately for Marie Antoinette's reputation, Polignac was viewed as her mistress's representative within the royal nurseries regardless of the formal decision making process. The queen's argument that Polignac received royal largesse and governed the royal nurseries according to Louis's wishes was therefore unconvincing to the king's subjects.

Louis and Marie Antoinette also attempted to counteract negative press regarding the royal nurseries with their own published bulletins celebrating the births of their children and providing updates regarding their health. These official announcements were released during the same period in which rumors concerning neglect by successive governesses were circulating both at court and within printed pamphlets.[147] Bombelles recorded in his journal in 1782 that a piece of glass had been discovered in Louis-Joseph's food and that Guéméné had concealed this negligence to protect her own position.[148] The prince's health declined precipitously during Polignac's tenure as governess and his death in

1789 prompted speculation concerning the care he received from his attendants and, by extension, his mother. The *Historical Essays on the Life of Marie Antoinette*, which was first published in 1781, and then were reprinted in 1789, stated, "At the first announcement of the disease, the people began, following in its own way, to reason about the causes but the effects cannot prove it."[149] The pamphlet reveals the degree of popular speculation surrounding the dauphin's death, ultimately arguing that he may have been slowly poisoned by members of Marie Antoinette's social circle.[150] These rumors were particularly damaging to the queen because Polignac was known have become governess due to her friendship with Marie Antoinette instead of her lineage.

The official bulletins issued by Louis concerning the births, health, and care of his children are the antithesis of the rumors of neglect and foul play that circulated through both conversation and print during the 1780s. The measured, official tone of these documents emphasizes the importance of these children to the continuance of the dynasty and the scrupulous attention paid to their health. When Marie-Thérèse was born in 1778, the printed announcement emphasized the good health of the newborn princess, stating that on "The 19th of the present month, at eleven hours and thirty five minutes in the morning, the Queen gave birth, at term, to a strong and well constituted princess after a long and painful labour lasting twelve hours."[151] The precise description of the queen's labor was in keeping with the public nature of the birth.[152] As her children grew up, their illnesses and inoculations were described to the public in official bulletins that appeared to contradict any rumors of neglect in the royal nurseries. The household documents pertaining to the royal children contain drafts of reports intended for the *Gazette de France* concerning inoculations and treatments for illnesses[153] demonstrating that the royal couple had their own interpretation of the care of the princes and princesses that they wished to publicize to Louis`s subjects. The official bulletins pertaining to the royal children place the monarch's own views within the public sphere, implicitly defending the governance of the royal nursery.

While the household documents and official bulletins concerning the royal children bore the signature of the king, Marie Antoinette personally attempted to shape her image as a mother before the French people through the commission of a series of family portraits. In the same manner as Henrietta Maria, her likeness appeared in domestic portraiture that was unprecedented for a queen consort. While Van Dyck's "Great Peace" was displayed at court for an elite audience, Eugene Bataillé and Elisabeth Vigée-Lebrun created portraits for display to a wider public in France's art salons. During the 1780s, these salons received 30,000 visitors,[154] a broad audience that the queen attempted to engage through

her artistic commissions. The domestic portraits of Marie Antoinette and her children departed from traditional imagery of French queens consort. While formal portraits of Marie Leszczynska employed traditional motifs such as court dress, an immobile stance, and the presence of state regalia,[155] Marie Antoinette commissioned images where she appeared in matching chemise dresses with Marie-Thérèse or lovingly surrounded by all her children.[156] While Louis XV's queen displayed the emblems of his position and represented his sovereignty, portraits of Marie Antoinette showed her personal interest in more "natural" styles of dress and her close relationship with her children. Battaile's portrait does not contain any emblems suggestive of the queen's marital status or exalted rank while Vigée-Lebrun only provides a partial image of the crown in the top right corner of her painting, keeping the focus on the image of the consort, her three children, and the empty cradle.[157]

Vigée-Lebrun`s memoirs provide evidence concerning the negative popular reaction to Marie Antoinette`s domestic portrait. When the artist exhibited her own painting of Marie Antoinette in a chemise dress, "the malicious did not refrain from saying that the queen was represented in her underwear."[158] By the time "Marie Antoinette et ses enfants" was exhibited at the salon, the queen's reputation had deteriorated to such a degree that the display of her portrait encouraged popular discussion of her extravagance instead of the imagery presented in the painting.[159] While Marie Antoinette clearly intended for her portraits to elicit compassion for the loss of her youngest child or admiration for her embrace of popular ideas of natural deportment, the departure from traditional styles of royal portraiture and the absence of Louis or his emblems from her imagery reinforced concerns regarding the inversion of the gender hierarchy within the royal family.

Despite the attempts of the royal couple to defend the queen's perception of her role as a mother through reinforcement of the king's sovereign authority, official bulletins concerning the children's health, and artistic portrayals of the consort embodying late eighteenth century ideals of domesticity, she ultimately failed to present an effective maternal image to her subjects. The paternity of Marie Antoinette's children was the focus of widespread speculation, undermining the queen's legitimacy as mother to the royal children. For those who nevertheless welcomed the births of Marie Antoinette's children, her involvement in the royal nurseries was not considered beneficial to their care and education. The appointment of Polignac as governess was opposed by the queen's supporters and detractors alike because of her social background, absence of qualifications for this prestigious position, and history of receiving patronage. The authors of anonymous pamphlets that circulated during the 1780s accused her of deliberately placing her

extravagance and friendship with Polignac above the welfare of her children. By 1789, there were even rumors that the dauphin had been poisoned by his attendants. Marie Antoinette was unable to effectively defend herself against accusations that she had failed to properly occupy the position of mother to the royal children.

Henrietta Maria, Marie Antoinette, and Motherhood

Henrietta Maria and Marie Antoinette became mothers at different points along an Early Modern European continuum of increased parental involvement in childrearing and the emergence of sentimental conceptions of childhood. The births of children had always been events that contributed to the legitimacy of a foreign princess's position as queen because the future prospects of these heirs were linked to their mother's adopted kingdom. The care and education of these children, however, varied significantly prior to the seventeenth century. Tudor queens contributed significantly to childrearing decisions but within the Stuart, Valois, and Bourbon royal houses, the daily care and instruction of royal children was the primary responsibility of prominent members of the nobility. French and Scottish queens consort might confer with these guardians and governesses, as Henrietta Maria's mother corresponded with Madame de Montglat but their physical presence in the nursery was minimal and they were rarely publicly perceived to be involved in their children's care.

Henrietta Maria and Marie Antoinette diverged from the respective Scottish and French precedents concerning the role of queens consort as mothers, formulating parenting philosophies that reflected the ideological trends concerning the family in their respective lifetimes. While these goals often reflected domestic trends embraced by their husbands' subjects, they rarely complimented popular expectations of the queen consort. In seventeenth century Europe, when both Reformation and Counterreformation theologians emphasized the importance of the mother's example to determining a child's religious orthodoxy, Henrietta Maria expressed her intention to surround her children with Roman Catholic attendants.

Henrietta Maria had to modify her parenting philosophy to reflect Charles's insistence that his children receive a Protestant upbringing, demanding obedience from her children during Charles's lifetime. Despite the king's determination to counter his consort's parenting philosophy, the 1630s were a period of widespread Protestant anxiety concerning the queen's influence in the royal nurseries. The upbringing and

education of the royal children would become a central issue of parliamentary debate after the collapse of Charles I's Personal Rule in 1640, demonstrating the degree to which popular opposition to Henrietta Maria's conception of her role as mother to the royal children had developed by the outbreak of the English Civil Wars.

In contrast to Henrietta Maria, Marie Antoinette maintained consistent parenting views throughout the late 1770s and 1780s. Although the evidence that she was personally conversant with the writings of Enlightenment philosophers on domesticity is inconclusive, she absorbed the cultural trends inspired by their works. Marie Antoinette was determined to staff the nursery with her own favorites and create a comparatively private realm for her sons and daughters. The appointment of Polignac was particularly unpopular and allowed the convergence of criticism of the queen as head of her household with objections to her behavior as a mother. In Polignac's care, the dauphin was widely believed to be neglected at best and subjected to foul play at worst. This popular perception of Marie Antoinette as a bad mother would inform the inflammatory pamphlet literature that publicly circulated after 1789 and the accusations levelled at her trial.

For both Henrietta Maria and Marie Antoinette, legitimacy through motherhood was elusive. In the reigns of Charles and Louis, alternate successors existed among the monarch's siblings whose political prospects were threatened by the existence of direct successors to the king. The multiyear periods of childlessness in the royal marriages that preceded the births of heirs allowed speculation to circulate concerning the desirability of these alternate successors as future monarchs. Once both queens became mothers, their attempts to implement their parenting philosophies attracted scrutiny and criticism. Instead of legitimizing their positions through motherhood both Henrietta Maria and Marie Antoinette found themselves criticized on the basis of their maternity, a circumstance that ultimately weakened the authority of monarchical succession in both seventeenth century England and Scotland and eighteenth century France.

Chapter 5

The English Civil Wars and the French Revolution

The collapse of monarchical authority during the English Civil Wars and French Revolution followed a sustained period of delegitimization of the respective royal families of England and France. During the reigns of Charles I and Louis XVI, the queen had been judged within the popular ideological climate concerning the place of women within their families without respect for her position. This process, which occurred before an ever expanding public sphere, stripped away the royal mystique and reduced each consort to the position of any other vulnerable public figure, creating the potential for the seeming paradox of "royal treason." The delegitimization of the queen also served as a framework for observers to critique the state of monarchical government without directly attacking the king because his consort was perceived to occupy the role of advisor. The accessibility of the positions of wife and mother to a broad audience made critiques of the queen possible for all social estates, which was facilitated by the increased proliferation of printed political tracts. Dismantling the queen's legitimacy in her domestic role was a crucial part of the process wherein new governments asserted their rule. If the consort was not fulfilling her duties in roles that combined both domestic and political implications, the king appeared unable to act as the head of his household or his kingdom.[1]

The perceived failure of both Henrietta Maria and Marie Antoinette to successfully occupy their roles within their families resulted in the formal removal of each queen by representatives of her husband's subjects. The impeachment of Henrietta Maria by the English House of Commons in 1643 and the trial of Marie Antoinette before the Revolutionary Tribunal in 1793 were without direct precedents. The trials and executions of two of Henry VIII's wives in 1536 and 1542 or the imprisonment of Philip IV of France's daughters-in-law following the *Tour de Nesle* affair of 1314 were prompted by accusations of adultery, which was considered to be a crime against their husbands as well as a crime against the state because of its potential effect on the

succession. Although both the English House of Commons and the French Revolutionary Tribunal attempted to frame their respective judgments of Henrietta Maria and Marie Antoinette within the history of subversive royal women both the charges and the prosecution differed from the accusations faced by previous consorts. The two queens were not charged with crimes against their husbands but accused of opposing their husbands' subjects.

The prosecution of each queen reflected changing interpretations of treason. At the outbreak of the English Civil Wars, medieval treason statutes were recognized as antiquated but had not yet been replaced by new formal statutes.[2] In France, the Unigenitus controversy cemented the independence of French law from the will of any individual monarch.[3] The impeachment of Henrietta Maria and the trial of Marie Antoinette provided new governments with the opportunity to use the perceived activities of the consort as evidence of illegitimate influence by foreigners and women over the discredited monarch. Formal proceedings against a queen also implied that the entire monarchical system was irrevocably corrupt rather than simply weakened by the failings of an individual sovereign. The delegitimization of both queens compromised the entire dynastic line, emphasizing the necessity of regime change.

The House of Commons and the Revolutionary Tribunal justified their charges against the queen through a combination of historical precedent and contemporary political expediency. Charging Henrietta Maria with high treason reflected seventeenth century anxieties concerning the intimate proximity of a Catholic, French woman to the king, but the House of Lords, which received the motion for impeachment from the House of Commons, still discussed the charges presented at Anne Boleyn's trial.[4] Although the trial of Marie Antoinette focused on her suspected correspondence with the Habsburgs, influence over Louis, and moral character, the public prosecutor placed her within the context of past queens, including Catherine de Medici.[5] While both the House of Commons and the Revolutionary Tribunal asserted themselves as representative bodies of new regimes, they also sought to reinforce the legality of their actions by referring to past queens deposed for crimes against their husbands and the state.

In these environments of political upheaval informed by the mythology surrounding previous queens consort, the queen herself often developed a symbolic significance beyond her actual activities, but the impeachment and the trial were the culmination of long-standing dialogues between each queen and her husband's subjects concerning her activities as a wife, mother, and head of a royal household. Both Henrietta Maria and Marie Antoinette viewed the formal accusations of treasonable activities as opportunities to defend themselves against

the critiques they received throughout their marriages. Henrietta Maria wrote letters to members of parliament defending her actions on behalf of Charles. The format of Marie Antoinette's trial provided her with a public forum where she could defend her political and personal conduct.

Although neither queen successfully rehabilitated her reputation, their engagement with their detractors informed the political discourse of the English Civil Wars and French Revolution. The House of Commons and the Revolutionary Tribunal, as well as ordinary supporters of the new regimes, framed their critiques as part of a dialogue with the queen's responses. Supporters of each consort adopted the queen's interpretation of her activities and the threats she faced from new regimes to craft their defenses of monarchical government. In these unprecedented circumstances, both queens were judged for crimes against her husband's subjects rather than the king himself in comparatively public forums that allowed the accused to defend her conduct before a broad audience. The impeachment and the trial focused on matters that cast doubt on the legitimacy of monarchical government, such as the perceived influence of the queen over her husband's relationship with his subjects and the apparent obligations of the sovereign to foreign interests. Both queens were actively engaged in the royal response to the English Civil Wars and French Revolution respectively and their opponents were obliged to tailor their own critiques to engage with the words and activities of the consorts.

Henrietta Maria: The Suffering Mother and the "Insolent" Parliament

Henrietta Maria's letter to her former governess, Madame St. George, upon her departure for Holland in May 1642 provides clear evidence that the queen was aware of plans for her impeachment from the outbreak of the English Civil Wars, and recognized the implications of being treated as any other subject. She wrote,

> For unless I had made up my mind to a prison, I could not remain there; but still if in this I had been the only sufferer, I am so accustomed to afflictions that that would have passed over like the rest: but their design was to separate me from the king my lord, and they have publicly declared that it is necessary to do this; and also that a queen was only a subject, and was amenable to the laws of the country like other persons. Moreover than that, they have publicly accused me, and by name, as having wished to overthrow the laws and religion

> of the kingdom, and that it was I who roused the Irish to revolt: they have even got witnesses to swear that this was the case, and upon that, affirmed that as long as ever I remained with the king, the state would be in danger.[6]

Although the memoirs of Sir Simond d'Ewes clearly state that the members of the House of Commons and the House of Lords were not in agreement concerning the implications of the queen's impeachment,[7] Henrietta Maria assumed that she would be forcibly separated from Charles, imprisoned, and possibly placed on trial. Her perception that she was engaged in a struggle against parliament for her own safety and position as well as Charles's regal prerogatives informed her actions. While the queen's correspondence with parliament, which was printed and circulated in newssheets, states that she did not believe parliament intended to impeach her,[8] her letter demonstrates that she was not only aware of a motion for her impeachment but studied the charges and grounds for this decision.

The queen made efforts to ensure that accounts of her flight from England, which emphasized her separation from her family, and her personal suffering were disseminated to a wide public audience. She conveyed her interpretation of her situation to her almoner, Jacques du Perron, Bishop of Angouleme, who discussed her plight in a widely circulated sermon, which stated that Henrietta Maria "hath twice been chased from her own kingdom, and forced to flee from the cruelty of her enemies…who not content to have prosecuted her criminally and to death, in their parliament, by their devilish calumnies, they have persecuted her in this flight.[9] This public description of misfortunes experienced because of the conflict between king and parliament acquired additional details, most notably threats to her life instead of her liberty alone, which do not appear in Henrietta Maria's private correspondence.

These discrepancies suggest Henrietta Maria consciously developed a sympathetic narrative as a strategy to regain popular support. The veracity of this publicly circulated account was accepted by royalists and informed the content of subsequent biographies of Henrietta Maria.[10] In contrast, the queen's conception of the dangers she faced was openly questioned by members of parliament and their supporters.[11] D'Ewes questioned the accuracy of these kinds of accounts in his journals, declaring Secretary Nicholas's assertion that parliament sought to assassinate the queen, "notorious lies."[12] The portrayal of the queen by the House of Commons as a foreign Roman Catholic who engaged in treasonous activities conflicted with Henrietta Maria's equally public insistence that she was a loyal wife driven into exile by rebels.

The popular opposition among Protestants to Marie de Medici's residence in England from 1638 to 1641 prefigured the conflict between Henrietta Maria and Charles's subjects regarding the implications of her impeachment. Marie's presence at Charles's court was problematic for Henrietta Maria's reputation because the roles of daughter and wife were difficult to reconcile for a consort. Both Henrietta Maria and Marie Antoinette were expected to identify completely with their husbands. The public imagery of the king's wife in the company of her foreign mother therefore had the potential to undermine her legitimacy as wife to the sovereign. The lavish entertainments and allowance provided for Marie on English soil, and the perception that arbitrary taxation financed this largesse, appeared to confirm the queen's political influence over Charles, particularly in foreign policy and religion.

The contrast between Henrietta Maria's joyful reception of her mother at court and the degree to which Marie was identified with Catholic conspiracies in the Protestant popular imagination reflects the queen's failure to comprehend the negative impact of the visit on her position. She commissioned a special masque, "Spalmacida Spolida," which praised Marie as the mother of "the fair partner of our monarch's throne."[13] While the queen was eager to celebrate her relationship with her mother, and even describe Charles as Henry IV's political heir,[14] the close association between mother and daughter undermined the queen's reputation because of Marie's reputation for involving herself in plots and conspiracies. Pamphlets circulated purporting to be accounts of ordinary English people identifying Jesuit agents of "the Queen Mother" involved in treasonous activities.[15] Just as criticism of Henrietta Maria would serve as a means of critiquing the king's policies without directly targeting the sovereign, Marie served as a proxy for the queen's unpopularity.[16]

Even those observers who did not immediately assume Marie was assisting her daughter in the promotion of Roman Catholic interests resented the expenses incurred by her stay. Upon Marie de Medici's arrival in England, Henrietta Maria immediately required 20,000 pounds to pay her mother's debts.[17] Charles's unpopular policy of collecting "ship money," which was a tax levied on inhabitants of coastal towns for their defense was attributed to the maintenance of Marie. A printed satire entitled, "Reasons why ship and conduct money ought to be had and also money [lent] by the City of London" stated, "Wherever the Queen mother has been there could be no peace, yet ship and conduct money must be had to keep her."[18] This pamphlet viewed Marie's residence as part of the burden of arbitrary taxation during Charles's Personal Rule. While ship money did not directly fund Marie's maintenance, the

perception that these monies were misdirected revealed the view that the king was not capable of governing effectively without parliament, allocating funds according to the interests of the queen and her mother instead of his subjects.

Henrietta Maria was aware that her mother's expenses were controversial and unsuccessfully attempted to counter this criticism. The Venetian ambassador, Giovanni Giustinian, who generally portrayed Henrietta Maria sympathetically in his dispatches, did not appear to believe the queen's account of her mother's maintenance. He wrote, "She maintains with all her might, in order to diminish the universal murmuring at such expense, that her mother will only remain a few days at the expense of her husband, and that her appanages will promptly be supplied from France to pay for her stay and all her requirements."[19] Hostility to Marie's presence as both a Catholic and a recipient of royal largesse precipitated her departure from England in 1641.[20] The removal of Marie represented a victory of popular and parliamentary demands over Henrietta Maria's perceived political influence.

Henrietta Maria's determination to shape the manner in which she was perceived in parliament and among all social estates reflected her active involvement in the conflicts between Charles and his subjects. In 1639, while Charles was still reigning without parliament and therefore required funds from alternate sources to finance the Bishops' War, Henrietta Maria made the unprecedented decision to appeal to her husband's Catholic subjects to make donations to the war effort. Current historians usually discuss the donation in the context of the degree of Catholic support for Charles[21] or Protestant fears of a "papist plot."[22] Henrietta Maria's appeal to Charles's Catholic subjects also provides evidence of her unique interpretation of queenly intercession, which shaped her reputation throughout her marriage.

The "Advice and motives for the noblemen, knights and gentlemen that shall employ in the country in soliciting Catholics for a contribution to His Majesty upon occasion of his present northern journey," which was circulated with a letter signed by Henrietta Maria explicitly states the relationship between the proposed donation and the queen's intercessory activities. When the king required funds for his Scottish campaign, she attempted to transform the traditional practice of queenly intercession into a reciprocal relationship. The "Advice" encouraged collectors of the donations to remind potential donors of "the extraordinary graces and perfections we owe the Queen's Majesty, and to her favourable intercession meeting with the King's clemency we must ascribe the happy moderation we live under . . . to make them apprehend how . . . just and necessary a duty it is to express our bond and gratitude to both your majesties."[23] Through a financial contribution

to the campaign, Henrietta Maria's coreligionists had the opportunity to express their gratitude for the queen's past intercessions and ensure that she would continue to champion the Catholic cause. The Venetian ambassador suggested that the queen even envisioned a particular minimum contribution as a just response to the king's financial needs, writing in May 1639, "She has written *in forma precaria* to all the gentry and ladies as well, earnestly begging for fresh help in these emergencies, and not to contribute less than 100*l*."[24] While the ambassador assumed that the recipients of the appeal would be pleased to donate in response to Henrietta Maria's appeal, the amount raised, while significant, did not meet Charles's military needs.[25] As demonstrated by the mixed reactions to the queen's intercessory activities expressed in the newsletters authored by Catholics, the intercessory relationship outlined in "The Advice" was not considered adequate by all the queen's coreligionists.[26] The dissatisfaction many prominent Catholics expressed concerning the degree to which Henrietta Maria alleviated strictures against the practice of their religion may explain the comparatively modest donation received in response to the 1639 appeal.

The hostile response to the Donation from Charles's Protestant subjects prompted Henrietta Maria's first direct communication with the Long Parliament, which was called in 1640. In contrast to Marie Antoinette, who identified with Louis's female subjects as fellow wives and mothers and therefore sought to rehabilitate her reputation by addressing them, Henrietta Maria initially focused on forging alliances among the nobility and members of Charles's government. Only after her final exile to France in 1644 and the reversal of royalist fortunes did she ensure that the narrative where parliament separated her unjustly from her husband spread to a wide audience.[27]

Henrietta Maria's defense of her conduct concerning the Donation attempted to justify her activities as a wife and the mistress of her household. Charles's ambassador at the French court received a newsletter stating, "Lady Denby says Lady Killigrew hath put the Queen upon a design to . . . all the grand ladies . . . to contribute out of their allowances towards the charge of the King's army."[28] During the 1630s, the queen's ladies had been critiqued by Protestant popular opinion for their participation in court masques and apparent willingness to convert to Catholicism. With the outbreak the of Bishops' Wars, they became potential co-conspirators in apparent plotting on behalf of Catholics. Among the gentlemen in the queen's circle, Sir Kenelm Digby and Sir Basil Brooke were mentioned as central collectors.[29] Once parliament was summoned, Digby's correspondence with the queen would be intercepted and analyzed for evidence of conspiracies within Henrietta Maria's household.[30] The decision to present the initial appeal to prominent women reflected

Henrietta Maria's desire to present the Donation as the action of a loyal wife. The queen's focus on the allowances of wives and the incomes of widows may have also reflected the gendered religious politics of the seventeenth century, implicitly appealing to recusant wives within conformist aristocratic households.

When Henrietta Maria ordered her Comptroller, Henry Jermyn, to deliver a conciliatory message to the Houses of Commons on 5 February 1640, she took full responsibility for organizing the Donation, absolving her household and declaring disinterested devotion to Charles's interests. The letter to parliament stated, "She further taketh notice that the parliament is not satisfied with the manner of raising money for the assistance of the King in his journey to the North…She was moved hereunto merely out of her dear and tender affection to the King."[31] The queen presented herself in a domestic role in an attempt to diffuse popular anger concerning her involvement the king's military campaign, which was outside the traditional feminine sphere. Henrietta Maria also suggested concessions to parliament's concerns regarding the spread of Catholicism from the queen's court, offering to dismiss the papal envoy resident in her household and bar the public from her chapels.[32] Through this letter, the queen attempted to perform the role of intercessor between the king and his subjects and depoliticize her position as a wife, in the same manner as the domestic portraiture commissioned in the 1630s.

In the same manner as all Henrietta Maria's correspondence with parliament, she presented a sympathetic public persona that differed from her actual views. The Venetian ambassador recorded a conversation with the queen in July 1641 where she explained, "She was prepared to obey the king, but not 400 of his subjects, as this did not befit her spirit or her birth."[33] The differences between Henrietta Maria's actual intentions and the concessions she offered parliament were made explicitly clear after the seizure of Charles's correspondence following the Battle of Naseby in 1645.[34] The possession of numerous documented examples of the queen's involvement in the royalist war effort would give the House of Commons clear evidence that the Revolutionary Tribunal did not have during its trial of Marie Antoinette. As early as 1641, however, Henrietta Maria's interpretation of her actions was rejected by parliament. d'Ewes noted in his journal that the letter justifying the Donation was greeted with silence, and a motion to thank the queen was rejected.[35] Her decision to directly engage with parliament contradicted her narrative of an apolitical marriage regardless of the actual content of her letter. The silence that greeted the reading of her letter in parliament was an implicit challenge to her legitimacy as queen consort and as a political figure in her own right.

The credibility of the queen's stated attempts to act as a peacemaker between Charles and parliament was also challenged in printed political pamphlets, which circulated in large numbers following the end of the king's Personal Rule.[36] Henrietta Maria was called upon to publicly pledge her loyalty to parliament in a tract that stated, "That for the securing of the kingdom in this behalf... the Queen would be pleased to take a solemn oath in the presence of both Houses of Parliament, that will not hereafter... at all intermeddle in any affairs of State and government of the kingdom."[37] This statement is both a rejection of Henrietta Maria's apparent good faith as an intercessor between king and parliament and a critique of her past activities. While accounts of Charles's and Henrietta Maria's wedding had been made available to consumers of print literature, conversations at court or speculation concerning the political activities of the royal family were confined to newsletters and diplomatic correspondence. In contrast, the 1640s saw the publication of royal correspondence originally intended to be read by the recipient alone. Publications stating the intentions of "Both Houses of Parliament"[38] spread news of state business beyond the political elites to a wider audience and printed analysis of these documents was circulated by independent publishers. This expansion of the public sphere had the effect of desacralizing the royal couple, as they were now viewed within the context of disputes with the representatives of their subjects.

Interestingly, the Long Parliament also objected to the creation of suppositious royal correspondence for public consumption including letters falsely attributed to Henrietta Maria.[39] Individual members of parliament also attempted to prosecute those printers who falsely attributed published speeches to members of the houses of parliament.[40] This concern with the accuracy of documents circulated by independent publishers contrasted with the National Assembly's approach to the public sphere during the French Revolution, which focused on the political stance of the publishers rather than the accuracy of their content.[41] Parliament's objection to the spread of falsified documents attributed to both its own members and their opponents suggests an interest in the nascent public sphere as a means of gaining popular legitimacy from disagreements with Charles and Henrietta Maria. The suppression of these documents also reflected the continued influence of state censorship, which would be wholly rejected during the French Revolution. The publication of parliamentary debates was made illegal in March 1642, though publication of general proceedings was largely tolerated,[42] so falsified documents were considered particularly subversive by both houses of parliament.

Despite the failure of the Donation to provide the financial capital necessary for Charles to achieve success in the Bishops' Wars,

Henrietta Maria continued to assert what she considered her prerogatives until her departure for Holland in 1642. Although the second half of her dowry had not yet been paid by 1640[43] and Charles himself had not honored all the provisions of her marriage contract, she insisted that parliament uphold the clauses of this document.[44] The contract, which had been drafted according to the Anglo-French diplomatic imperatives of 1625, remained essential to Henrietta Maria's conception of her own position throughout the 1640s, limiting her opportunities to negotiate with parliament. The queen's insistence that the precise terms of her marriage contract must be respected throughout her lifetime limited her opportunities to reach any form of compromise with parliament. Nevertheless, the accusations levelled against her honor and loyalty to the state resulted in moderate royalists, even those who opposed Henrietta Maria's political influence, repeating the queen's narrative of suffering in their own works. For example, although the Earl of Clarendon made numerous references to perceptions of the queen's great influence over politics and religion in his history of the English Civil Wars,[45] he still argued that Charles agreed to the execution of the Earl of Strafford, because "he saw in what commotion the people were; that his own life, and that of the Queen and royal issue might probably be sacrificed to that fury."[46] Although parliament consistently denied that they threatened Henrietta Maria's life, the House of Commons' contempt for "the sacred person of the Queen"[47] allowed her perception of threats to her life and liberty to gain credence in elite circles.

Despite the extraordinary political circumstances of the 1640s, Henrietta Maria continued to devote herself to the roles discussed in the previous chapters. In her position as head of her household, she continued her activities from the 1630s, including the development of her estates and the pursuit of benefits for her circle.[48] She had protested Charles's dismissal of the majority of her French household but ultimately accepted his authority and altered her conception of her role to reflect the realities of her marriage. Although her correspondence with parliament appeared conciliatory, the relationship between the queen and the House of Commons was essentially antagonistic as neither party approved of the other having significant influence over Charles.

Between the summoning of the Long Parliament in the fall of 1640 and Henrietta Maria's departure for Holland in the spring of 1642, the queen clashed with the House of Commons regarding the arrest and interrogation of prominent members of her household, particularly Catholics. The removal of her servants and the critiques of her circle by prominent figures questioned by the House of Commons, such as

George Goring and James Chudleigh, not only destabilized the queen's customary surroundings but critically undermined her legitimacy.[49] The results of the interviews questioned her very ability to manage her court, casting doubt on her loyalty and fidelity to Charles. Goring was recorded in the House of Lords Journals as stating, "thereupon Mr. Jermyn[50] brought him into the Queen's bedchamber, but before [he] could enter into any discourse with the Queene, the King came in, and then [he] did withdraw; and went away for that time: but returned again that same night."[51] While the ostensible purpose of these interviews was to obtain evidence of Catholic plots at court,[52] the identification of Henrietta Maria's bedchamber as a setting for conspiratorial discussions also implied her involvement in scandalous activities.

In contrast to the French court during the reign of Louis XVI, the bedchambers of the English monarch and consort were comparatively private spaces that could not be entered without the express permission of a member of the royal family. Charles enforced this distinction between public and domestic spheres in his household and that of his wife's in reaction to the comparative accessibility of the king's inner chambers during his father's reign.[53] Henrietta Maria's discussions with male favorites in her bedchamber at night, without the king's knowledge, therefore, encouraged speculation concerning her fidelity. The Venetian ambassador recognized the danger of parliament's scrutiny of the royal household to the queen's legitimacy, writing on 17 May 1641:

> Five servants of the queen of the highest standing and favour, took flight last night, being accused of conspiring with the king against the parliament and trying to induce the English army to support His Majesty's designs. Among these is the High Steward [Jermyn], who in addition to the crimes alleged against his fellows, is accused of too great an intimacy with the queen, so that even the honour of these unhappy princes is not safe from the slanderous tongues of their subjects.[54]

Speculation concerning the queen's relations with the prominent gentlemen in her household, which had previously been confined to the records of seditious speech cases, was now implied by the House of Commons. Although Henrietta Maria was never libeled in pornographic pamphlets in the manner of Marie Antoinette, discussion of possible infidelities within a public forum was still a direct challenge to her legitimacy as a wife and mother. The dispatch also reveals the degree to which parliament had assumed Henrietta Maria's role as head of her household, depriving her of authority in this sphere. That the five servants fled the court in response to the accusations demonstrated that they did

not believe the queen could protect them. Parliament's management of Henrietta Maria's household removed one of the essential elements of her position and challenged Charles's authority by implying that he could not preserve order within the court let alone his kingdoms.

While speculation concerning Henrietta Maria's fidelity to Charles implicitly challenged her legitimacy as a mother and demonstrated the extent of her unpopularity in other spheres, parliament also actively challenged her involvement in the upbringing of her children. The main points of conflict between queen and parliament were the independence of the future Charles II's household, and the age at which Princess Mary should travel to Holland to begin her married life. The House of Commons raised objections to Prince Charles's upbringing as soon as Charles I's Personal Rule ended, indicating long-standing popular discontent with the children's circumstances. When parliament was summoned in 1640, all the royal children were residing in their mother's household.

The impetus for this merger of the queen's and royal children's households was ostensibly a plot against the life of Prince Charles. The Venetian ambassador wrote on 21 September 1640, "A Scottish *maitre de cuisine* of the Prince has been arrested for having expressed the intention to kill his Highness with a knife. It is proposed that for greater safety the prince with the others shall go to the queen, who has proceeded from Oatlands to Hampton Court."[55] At this time, Henrietta Maria had just given birth to her youngest son, Henry, and the presence of her other children in her residence during her forty days lying in had precedents dating from the birth of James. The identification of the servant's background within the politically charged climate of the Bishops' Wars was significant as there were few Scots in any of the royal households and an increase in their number at court was one of the demands expressed by the covenanters.[56] Henrietta Maria's decision to absorb her children into her household in response to an accusation against one of her son's few Scottish servants may have been a means of exerting direct control over appointments. By residing in the same household as her children, the queen was also conforming to the clause of her marriage contract permitting her control over their upbringing. The king's absence during his campaign against the Scots provided an opportunity for Henrietta Maria to assert her authority over her children and household in defiance of Protestant popular opinion.

As Marie was still in England in 1640, the potential for the royal children to be exposed to Catholic influences within their family seemed particularly acute. The House of Commons formally requested that Prince Charles be removed from his mother's custody to his own household because members of her circle might attempt to convert him to

Catholicism.[57] The Venetian ambassador reported, "Parliament has sent instructions to . . . governor of the Prince, not to permit them to go to their mother in future," demonstrating that parliament intended to end Henrietta Maria's practice of spending periods of several months in the same residence as her children.[58] This event proved to be one of the significant incidents in the queen's public presentation of herself as a wronged mother and victim of parliament's machinations.

Henrietta Maria's friend Madame de Motteville later explained, "they sent her Word, that she would do well to put [her children] into their hands during the King's Absence, because they could learn nothing with her, and they feared that she would make them papists. But the Queen returned for an Answer than they were mistaken . . . she knew it was not the King's pleasure that he be so."[59] Henrietta Maria may have genuinely believed this interpretation of events but the difference between her accounts of this event and that of the parliamentary records suggest that she was attempting her assert her own authority. In de Motteville's memoirs, the queen appeared to be arranging the care of her children according to her husband's wishes when parliament's "insolence"[60] compelled her to relinquish them.

When the queen wished to depart for Holland she again presented herself as a dutiful wife and mother who sought only to escort her daughter Mary to her marital home.[61] Henrietta Maria's supporters and detractors alike suspected that there were other compelling reasons for her flight.[62] The French envoy wrote that the queen had resolved to leave because of the danger to her person and repeated disputes with parliament.[63] The House of Commons correctly suspected that the queen regarded her journey as an opportunity to gather further resources for the king's military activities[64] and attempted to postpone her departure by challenging her portrayal of herself as a good mother. While Henrietta Maria emphasized her duty to her daughter, various members of parliament argued that the princess, aged ten at the time of her wedding, was too young to reside with her new husband and that it was beneath the dignity of an English queen to visit the Stadholder's court.[65]

Although the queen ultimately gained the necessary permission to travel abroad, she was compelled to defend herself as a mother in order to achieve her goals. By the time Henrietta Maria departed for Holland, parliament had usurped elements of her role as head of her household, wife, and mother. In response, she developed a public image of herself as a wronged woman deprived of her accepted place within her family. The queen would expand this narrative to encompass her military activities on behalf of Charles as she faced the consequences of her impeachment.

Henrietta Maria: Impeaching the Queen

On 5 June 1643, the Venetian ambassador reported the impeachment of Henrietta Maria as queen, writing, "It was proposed in the Lower House last Tuesday to accuse [the queen] of high treason, for having induced the king to make war against the state, and having procured assistance. This was carried, and the accusation was at once taken to the House of Lords."[66] This account of how the House of Commons presented a motion for the impeachment of the queen to the House of Lords reveals the unprecedented significance of the event for the legitimacy of monarchical government as the envoy observed, "Where this complication of things and this audacious presumption of subjects will end no one would presume to prophesy."[67] An attempt to remove the king's wife from her accepted position without the sovereign's consent did not have clear precedents in either English or Scottish history. The dispatch also discussed how the members of parliament disagreed with one another concerning the wording of the motion and the action that should be taken in the event of the document's assent by the House of Lords. The House of Commons argued that Henrietta Maria should not be treated differently than any other subject of Charles accused of treasonous activities.[68] Attitudes in the House of Lords were more divided as Protestant peers recognized the complications created by her status as wife of Charles and sister of Louis XIII of France, and Catholic peers left the chamber rather than discuss the impeachment.[69]

The possible outcomes of the resolution, in the event that parliament actually arrested Henrietta Maria, were not discussed when the initial motion was presented to the House of Lords though the writings of individual members of parliament and parliamentary generals indicate a broad range of interpretations. As news of the impeachment spread, an equally diverse range of popular reactions to the idea of impeaching the queen emerged. Despite these ambiguities, the Venetian ambassador was correct to observe that any acceptance of this motion was an attack on the legitimacy of monarchical government. By declaring Henrietta Maria subject to laws that applied to all inhabitants of England, the House of Commons rejected her dynastic legitimacy as queen. For Henrietta Maria's opponents, dynastic monarchy had been superseded by a broader concept of sovereignty that had the effect of diminishing perceived distinctions between the actions of royalty and those of non-royal public figures.

The failure of the two houses of parliament to clarify the meaning and consequences of the "impeachment" of Henrietta Maria, exacerbated by her successful final escape to France in 1644, has encouraged

current historians to dismiss the formal judgment of Charles's consort as a motion of comparative historical insignificance. In contrast to the trial of Marie Antoinette in 1793, the motion to impeach Henrietta Maria is not the focus of any studies.[70] Biographies of Henrietta Maria often summarize the impeachment in a single sentence, placing it within the larger context of parliamentary distrust of the queen and the privations she suffered during the Civil Wars.[71] This approach mirrors Henrietta Maria's own portrayal of the impeachment, which deliberately downplayed the significance of the motion. Recent analysis of depictions of the queen within the Civil Wars, however, acknowledges the significance of the impeachment to Charles's failed attempt to arrest five of his opponents in the House of Commons and the subsequent breakdown of negotiations between crown and parliament.[72] The absence of discussion of the impeachment in French Revolutionary pamphlet literature contributes to the comparative invisibility of the legal actions taken against Henrietta Maria in subsequent scholarship. Her status as a princess of France made comparisons with Marie Antoinette problematic. Although numerous pamphlets would be published in the 1790s comparing the fate of Charles I to that of Louis XVI,[73] Marie Antoinette would be compared to such notorious figures as Catherine de Medici and Messalina instead of Henrietta Maria.

While preparations for the trial of Marie Antoinette occurred after the execution of Louis in a climate of Austrophobia, misogyny, and court factionalism personally directed at the queen, the impeachment of Henrietta Maria emerged from parliamentary discussion of the relationship between the royal couple and English common law in the aftermath of a protracted period of Personal Rule by the sovereign. During the reigns of James I and Charles I, Magna Carta, a charter that imposed limits on the power of King John in 1215, experienced a revival in the popular imagination and informed the Petition of Right imposed on Charles in 1628. Both the king and queen were expected to operate within the boundaries of the law. While the impeachment of the king would have been widely opposed in the early 1640s as a threat to the political stability of the kingdom, the removal of an unpopular queen served as a more acceptable means of challenging monarchical government. There was hope that Charles I would be more amenable to the expectations of his Protestant subjects if certain advisors, most notably the Roman Catholic queen Henrietta Maria, no longer had the authority to influence him.

Henrietta Maria's Catholicism was particularly contentious within the context of Archbishop Laud's high church reforms, which appeared to be part of a popish plot, particularly by Puritans and Presbyterians. There were rumors that Laud had been offered a Cardinal's hat, fueled by

the presence of a papal envoy in Henrietta Maria's circle.[74] The absence of parliamentary sessions in the 1630s fueled the popular view that Henrietta Maria wielded great political influence over Charles through her unique relationship to him. The initial attempts by the members of parliament to define the queen's position as that of "a subject like any other" were similar to their determination to ensure that the king acted within the framework of common law.

The formalization of the monarch's place within the English and Scottish legal systems, which would not be complete until the joint reign of Henrietta Maria's grandchildren William III and Mary II, necessarily challenged the queen's opportunities to wield political influence. This scrutiny of the place of court women in the political life of a monarchy would also be challenged during the French Revolution, as the National Assembly objected to the privileges accorded the queen and her female favorites. The description of Henrietta Maria as a subject in English parliamentary discourse reflected a similar interest in ensuring that the right to advise the monarch would be the preserve of prominent male representatives instead of a foreign born, female consort. The framework of a broad conflict concerning Henrietta Maria's role in a state governed by both king and parliament was therefore established from the end of Charles's Personal Rule.

Henrietta Maria's position in this conflict regarding her right to wield political influence through her personal relationship to the king was weakened by her exemption from the coverture laws that dictated the economic position of Charles's female subjects,[75] her absence from her husband's coronations, and her Catholicism. Her French background inflamed public opinion regarding her close involvement in the royalist war effort but her ancestry actually complicated the process of impeachment. The Venetian ambassador stated that legal action against Henrietta Maria raised the specter of war with France, writing, "the minister [sent by Louis XIII] increases instead of diminishing suspicion, as he says roundly that France will not suffer the king and queen here to perish, whatever the cost."[76] Although this particular envoy may have exaggerated the likelihood of French interference in English affairs, the members of parliament still focused on laws pertaining to Catholics in England and her circumstances within her husband's kingdom. The House of Commons' approach contrasted with the accusations levelled at Marie Antoinette by the Revolutionary Tribunal, which focused much of its case on her supposed correspondence the Habsburgs. While the English parliament sought to prevent the breakdown of relations with France, Marie Antoinette's accusers attempted to use the deposed queen's trial as an opportunity to increase French patriotic feeling during existing hostilities with the Habsburg Empire.[77]

The case for Henrietta Maria's impeachment was supported by English law and custom, in the opinion of the members of parliament, instead of threats posed by foreign powers. Both English and Scottish consorts were traditionally crowned alongside their husbands or at the time of their marriages. The coronation of Anne Boleyn in 1533 was a powerful statement of her legitimacy as Henry VIII's wife during the lifetime of her predecessor Catherine of Aragon. Anna of Denmark was crowned queen in Scotland's first Protestant coronation in 1590 then crowned again as queen of England alongside James I in 1603. Although Henrietta Maria's rejection of a Church of England coronation rite for herself in 1626 forestalled the appearance of compromising her Catholicism,[78] she denied herself the opportunity to strengthen her legitimacy in the manner of her predecessors.[79]

Those newsletters that supported parliament's legal proceedings against the queen emphasized her accountability to the law, an approach that foreshadowed the seemingly paradoxical accusations of "royal treason" that Charles would face at his trial.[80] In May 1643, the *Perfect Diurnall* wrote, "After a long and serious debate, touching the proceedings of the Queen, in her late being in Holland . . . it was debated and fully agreed, that she was liable to the censure of the law, as any subject in the kingdom."[81] The House of Commons also received petitions from prominent citizens that called for the accountability of the royal family to the law that applied to all other subjects. According to one petition, the people of London and its environs "would have made both Kings, Queens, Princes, Dukes, Earls, Lords and all persons alike liable to every Law of the Land, made or to be Made; that so all persons even the highest might fear."[82] The placing of queens in the same category as other members of nobility implicitly rejected the legitimacy of the distinct prerogatives practiced by Charles's consort and her predecessors. Although the House of Commons discussed judicial evidence against the wives of previous kings,[83] there few similarities between the trial of Anne Boleyn and the proposed impeachment of Henrietta Maria. The House of Commons, the parliamentary press, and the petitions circulated by prominent Londoners all suggested any person who acted in the same manner as Henrietta Maria would be equally answerable to the law, regardless of their social position.

While Henrietta Maria's absence from Charles's coronations provided the most powerful evidence against her legitimacy as queen, parliament's determination to enforce strictures against the participation of Catholics in public life further undermined her position. By 1640, rumors circulated that the king himself was a secret Catholic. Elizabeth Thorowgod, the wife of a "trooper" under Henrietta Maria's favorite, Digby, was investigated by the House of Commons for publicly stating to

the other boarders at the house where she lodged, "Will the king say my wife is a papist, shall I not love them? . . . she had heard divers of our own sect, meaning the Protestants, say that now the King commonly went to mass and was turned to be a papist."[84] These rumors strengthened the relationship between Henrietta Maria's position as queen and the spread of Catholicism in the popular imagination. The queen enjoyed a friendly correspondence with Strafford[85] and fears of a Catholic Irish revolt that would threaten the lives of Protestants made the religious orthodoxy of the sovereign a matter of urgent importance. The suggestion that Charles had abandoned his duties as governor of the Church of England out of love for his Catholic consort undermined his sovereignty and strengthened that of parliament.

Parliament sought to enforce all existing laws proscribing Catholic devotional practices and the participation of Henrietta Maria's coreligionists in public life. At the time of her departure for Holland, the French ambassador observed that parliament's success reflected the ruin of the Catholic cause in England.[86] His Venetian counterpart was more specific, writing to the Doge of the persecution of individual Catholics and militant Protestant opposition to Henrietta Maria's attempts to intercede on behalf of her coreligionists. He reported on 8 February 1641 that she had persuaded Charles to commute a death sentence against an Englishman convicted of proselytizing Catholicism as a priest. In response, "When the parliament and the city learned this they both had recourse to the king, to permit the sentence to be carried out, or else they assured him of the offence his people would take and that they would not grant him any subsidy in the future. They also threatened the queen with greater ills."[87] Charles's decision to uphold his wife's wishes in this particular case above those of the members of parliament fueled opposition to Henrietta Maria's ability to exert political influence.

From 1640 to 1643, numerous printed news books concluded that the solution to the problems posed by Henrietta Maria's influence was the delegitimization of her place within her family. One tract summarized the problem created by the influence of a Catholic queen over a Protestant sovereign, stating, "If the King himself were a Papist, he would yet look upon us as his natural subjects, but when his regal power is secondarily in the hands of a Papist, to that Papist we appear but as mere heretics without any other relation of subjects. By secondary power also, a cloak is given with more secrecy and security."[88] While Charles possessed authority over his subjects through his coronation oath promising responsibility for their welfare, his wife had not entered into any similar covenant. Her influence therefore corrupted the relationship between the sovereign and his people.

A Scottish advertisement for military recruits that circulated during the Bishops' Wars discussed the queen as though she were the king's mistress instead of his legitimate wife, a technique that would be employed at length by Marie Antoinette's opponents. In this document, Lord Conway, declared, "we know well what the honest King does in his bedchamber, as that Papist wench that lies by his side, who is the only animator of the best sort of men that are against us, for to say honestly as God bade, there are diverse commanders or brave men of that whorish religion."[89] This document explicitly focuses on the physical intimacy between Charles and Henrietta Maria, making the bond between husband and wife appear illicit and dangerous. While the King retains his title and status in the advertisement, his consort is merely a "papist wench" whose religion is equally "whorish" and a source of corruption.

Upon Henrietta Maria's return from Holland with arms and mercenaries for the royalist cause in February 1643, the implicit challenges to the queen's legitimacy became an explicit charge of high treason. Although her final flight to France precluded the possibility of an actual trial, the charges were public knowledge. This circulation of the accusations against Henrietta Maria in printed tracts available to all social estates divided public opinion between those who agreed with the substance of the accusations and those who defended the queen as a loyal wife. In May, the House of Commons laid the foundations for formal charges against the queen by announcing, "That all papists that have been in actual war against the Parliament be protected against as Traitors and protest enemies to the state and kingdom."[90] This declaration reflected the Long Parliament's previous practice of enforcing strictures against Catholics in opposition to Henrietta Maria's prerogatives as an intercessor.

By June, the eight charges against Henrietta Maria presented by the House of Commons to the House of Lords were circulating in print. While the announcement that all Catholics at war against parliament were traitors was widely recognized to be an implicit condemnation of the queen,[91] who had styled herself, "She Majesty Generalissima,"[92] the impeachment identified specific instances of perceived criminal behavior. According to a newsbook entitled "The Parliament Scout," the House of Commons formally accused Henrietta Maria of inciting the Irish Revolt and seven other charges:

> 1) That Henrietta Maria had traitorously and wickedly conspired with Popish priests, to subvert the Protestant religion, and to introduce popery and for ten years hath advanced the power and jurisdiction of the bishop of Rome. 2) That she hath incited and maintained a war against the subjects of Scotland, and caused monies to be

> raised amongst the Papists for the advancement and maintenance of this war. 3) Hath by several ways and means traitorously assisted and maintained this unnatural war against the Parliament and the Kingdom . . . 4) Hath to provide monies and arms, pawned and sold the jewels of this realm. 5) Hath brought over with her not only arms and ammunition but strangers and foreigners and is herself the head of the Popish Army. 6) Hath harboured and protected notorious persons detracted and accused of High Treason by the two Houses of Parliament, namely George, Lord Digby, Henry Percy, Henry Jermyn and others. 7) That she hath put ill affected persons in great places and offices of credit, whereby to advance the Popish party.[93]

These charges represented the culmination of parliament's attempts to delegitimize the queen by emphasizing the laws proscribing political and military activity by Catholics, Henrietta Maria's absence from Charles's coronations, and her exemption from the coverture laws. The accusations ignored all the significant relationships and sources of authority that she had enjoyed throughout her life, including her status as daughter of the late Henry IV of France, wife of Charles I, and mother of the royal children, stating her given name instead of her titles. Her relationship with Charles is not mentioned, allowing her to be accused independently of him. In contrast, Marie Antoinette was placed on trial after the judgment and execution of Louis and was therefore described as "Widow Capet" by the Revolutionary Tribunal.[94] Various members of her household are mentioned in the indictment of Henrietta Maria but they are described as "notorious persons" depriving her of any claim to authority within this sphere. In contrast to consorts condemned by the will of their sovereign husbands, Henrietta Maria was judged by virtue of her perceived actions without regard for her status or relationships.

The impeachment of Henrietta Maria near the beginning of the Civil Wars, six years before the trial and execution of Charles, provided the queen with the opportunity to develop a public image as a suffering wife, and parliament with the opportunity to delegitimize a royal "advisor" before challenging the king's right to rule. The members of the House of Commons clearly held differing opinions regarding the consequences of the accusations, as demonstrated by d'Ewes, who stated, "some conceived they meant to go no further with her but to have her out of the public prayer [in the book of Common Prayer] but others were of another opinion"[95] and the fact that the House of Lords never passed the motion.[96] Nevertheless, the royalist newspaper *Mercurius Aulicus* categorically rejected parliament's attempt to condemn Henrietta Maria without regard for her place within her family, stating, "Good women live the while in a wretched age, who cannot be assisting to their

husbands in their great necessities, as by the laws of God and Nature they are bound to be, without being traitors to Master Pym, and some of the good members of both Houses."[97] According to this newssheet, Henrietta Maria's militancy on behalf of Charles reflected her natural desire to support her husband in his struggle to preserve his sovereign authority. The *Mercurius Aulicus* noted the differences of opinion within the houses of parliament but the interpretation of the impeachment provided by Henrietta Maria to such prominent figures as Motteville and Duperron was filled with dramatic examples of threats to her physical safety. Her residence in exile allowed this narrative concerning her activities, character, and experiences to circulate throughout the Civil Wars and Protectorate. In 1660, Charles II would ultimately imply that he accepted his mother's interpretation of her experiences in the 1640s, restoring her income, title, and social position despite opposition to her return to England shaped by her reputation.

Henrietta Maria, Queen of England and Scotland, was impeached by the House of Commons in 1643 as an ordinary inhabitant of Charles's kingdoms. During the months between the summoning of the Long Parliament and the presentation of formal charges to the House of Lords, the queen's legitimacy was challenged by virtue of the enforcement of proscriptions against the participation of Catholics in public life, her absence from Charles's coronations, and her exemption from the covertures laws. The indictment of the queen omitted any reference to her titles, her marriage, and her authority over a vast household or the existence of the royal children. The manner in which Henrietta Maria's perceived militant Catholicism challenged existing English laws was the focus of the impeachment rather than her foreign birth. The approach adopted by the House of Commons reflected the different opinions among the members and absence of consensus in 1643 concerning the ultimate fate of Charles and monarchical government. In common with Henrietta Maria, Marie Antoinette would attempt to counter legal charges by publicly presenting herself as a loyal wife and wronged mother.

Marie Antoinette: Achieving Political Ascendancy

When Louis convened the Assembly of Notables in 1787, an event that ultimately allowed Marie Antoinette to assume an influential role over the king's decision making, the queen was experiencing a period of crisis in her roles as head of a royal household, wife, and mother that did not have a parallel in Henrietta Maria's experience. The separation

between Charles and Henrietta Maria after 1644 created opportunities for miscommunication,[98] and for the king to pursue an affair during the last years of his life.[99] Nevertheless, Henrietta Maria's marriage, relations with her children, and household remained relatively stable until her widowhood. In contrast, Marie Antoinette grew apart from her husband, had difficulties with her elder children, and experienced the departure of numerous servants. The crises Marie Antoinette experienced in the late 1780s are crucial to the assessment of her motives during the revolutionary period.

The queen's political ascendancy from 1787 to 1789 has received extensive scholarly attention with the debate focusing on the degree to which she was in agreement with Louis as she pursued the restoration of his full traditional prerogatives through political overtures to both French statesmen and foreign monarchs.[100] As a greater number of her papers have survived to the present day than those of Louis, the degree to which the royal couple pursed political objectives in tandem is difficult to determine with certainty.[101] Her ability to wield concrete political power as mother of a reigning sovereign below the age of majority was certainly recognized by the queen's contemporaries, complicating the symbolic recognition of Louis XVII for royalists and increasing Austrophobic hostility to the monarchy.[102]

English and American historians of Louis's reign argue that the royal couple acted as a single political unit throughout the revolutionary period.[103] None of these historians connect the difficulties Marie Antoinette faced in her positions as wife, mother, and head of a royal household in the late 1780s to her political activities during the revolutionary period.[104] This interpretation remains open to scholarly debate because of the existence of at least one letter in which Marie Antoinette forged her husband's handwriting,[105] and independent correspondence between the queen of France and her "sister" queens consort and regnant throughout Europe during the French Revolution. [106] In 1792, she wrote to the queen of Spain, who had once visited the royal family at St. Cloud,[107] "I had wanted to be able to write to you at the same time that the King had written to the King of Spain, but the moment was not right, and one must be circumspect in all our efforts."[108] This opening is followed by general expressions of goodwill but since not all Marie Antoinette's correspondence survives, the questions of why she needed to write separately and the nature of the efforts she alludes to in this letter remain unanswered.

Marie Antoinette's sentiments and actions do not appear to conform to either extreme duplicity or unconditional marital unity. She was aware that her own plans for the restoration of prerogatives traditionally belonging to the monarchy and the eventual Flight to Varennes had

little chance of success without Louis's consent.[109] The queen was also acutely aware of the king's indecision following the royal family's transfer to Paris, however, and made plans focused on Louis-Charles's future inheritance instead of her present position alone. In the formulation of plans concerning both her husband and her son, she was clearly heavily reliant on the Swedish nobleman Axel Fersen, who presented himself to the royal couple as a man of action, contrasting directly with the king's caution and indecisiveness. Following the departure of Polignac and Artois and the arrest of Lamballe there were few members of the queen's social circle whom she trusted with the full extent of her political correspondence. The personal crises of the 1780s therefore directly shaped Marie Antoinette's political activities as a wife, mother, and head of a royal household during the revolutionary period.

The changes in Marie Antoinette's relationship with Louis date from 1787. The births of the royal children initially brought the couple closer together but there is evidence that after Sophie-Beatrix's death that year, they ceased to have marital relations.[110] When Joseph II wrote to his sister in 1788 to clarify rumors that she was expecting a fifth child, the queen replied, "I have not even had a day's suspicion of it."[111] During this same period, Marie Antoinette developed a romantic friendship with Fersen, who would become involved in the queen's political activities after the outbreak of Revolution, including the Flight to Varennes. The relationship between the queen and Fersen was little known among Louis's subjects and he was rarely named in the pamphlets that circulated about Marie Antoinette's perceived sexual indiscretions.[112] Regardless of whether she actually consummated her relationship with Fersen,[113] her closeness to a person to whom she wrote in 1791, "I am only able to tell you that I love you and have only time for that," [114] impacted her relationship with Louis and the decisions she made as his wife during the revolutionary period. As the king grew increasingly passive after 1787, the queen increasingly relied on Fersen to assume a leadership role in her political activities.

The innovations Marie Antoinette introduced to the royal nurseries contributed to conflicts with her two eldest children during the same period. Marie-Thérèse rebelled against her mother's attempts to restructure the nursery routine to expose her children to the daily lives of Louis's subjects.[115] Despite Marie Antoinette`s attempts to encourage her daughter to interact with children of all social estates as equals, Marie Thérèse had a keen sense of her position, reprimanding the Baronne d'Oberkirch for addressing her without first being acknowledged.[116] Marie-Thérèse's perception that she was being compelled to perform activities beneath her dignity fueled hostility toward her mother that she expressed in the presence of prominent courtiers.

Bombelles recorded in his journal that when Vermond informed Marie-Thérèse had fallen from her horse and might have died, the princess replied, "It would have been all the same to me." [117] The circumstances of the French Revolution superseded these disagreements between mother and daughter and Marie-Thérèse's memoirs indicate they developed a close bond.[118]

During the same period in which Marie Antoinette faced the resistance of her daughter to her parenting innovations, there is evidence that the appointment of Polignac as governess undermined her relationship with her eldest son. Louis-Joseph developed tuberculosis of the spine in the mid-1780s, corresponding with Polignac's tenure, and his health steadily declined until his death soon after the summoning of the Estates-General in 1789. Campan recalled in her memoirs that Polignac and the child's governor, the Duc de Harcourt, were in frequent conflict concerning his care and education.[119] Louis-Joseph often perceived his mother as a figure who prevented him from fully participating in court ceremonies because she did not want him exposed to the public gaze while he was visibly unwell.[120]

Although Marie Antoinette continued to be actively concerned with Louis-Joseph's health, her correspondence indicates that she increasingly focused her affections on her younger son. She wrote an extended letter to Joseph II in which she discussed Louis-Joseph's health problems at length then praised Louis-Charles, stating, "As for the youngest, he has all the strength and health that his brother does not have enough of. He is a true peasant child, large, fresh and fat."[121] This close relationship between Marie Antoinette and her youngest son would persist throughout the revolutionary period and his position as heir to the throne would impact the queen's political stance toward the National Assembly. The dimensions of the conspicuously large carriage that conveyed the royal family on the failed Flight to Varennes was partially dictated by Marie Antoinette's unwillingness to be separated from her children under any circumstances.[122] The Revolutionary Tribunal would eventually exploit the close relationship between mother and son in an attempt to further discredit Marie Antoinette's reputation.

In contrast to Henrietta Maria, who escaped into exile at the French court and was accompanied by a large number of her English attendants throughout the English Civil Wars, Marie Antoinette remained under varying degrees of surveillance for four years, from the removal of the royal family to the Tuileries in October 1789, until her execution in October 1793, and experienced the departure of a number of members of her household. While Lamballe ultimately returned from exile in England to attend Marie Antoinette until they were forcibly separated, the Polignac family fled soon after the storming of

the Bastille and never returned to the queen's household.[123] Mercy-Argenteau interpreted their departure as a concession to public opinion, writing "The Queen supports her position with much patience and courage. She has sacrificed the favourites surrounding her to public opinion."[124] The ambassador's description of Marie Antoinette's motives for becoming separated from the Polignacs and other prominent courtiers presents the queen in a favorable light to her brother and suggests that she maintained an interest in her reputation among Louis's subjects. It is unlikely that Mercy-Argenteau's letter, however, presents the full reasoning for their separation because the Polignacs had been the subject of scurrilous rumor throughout the 1780s.[125] Campan alludes to political disagreements between the queen and the governess, in addition to difficulties within the royal nursery, which provides evidence that the friendship between the two women may have broken down by 1789. Marie Antoinette had to rebuild her household during the revolutionary period, ascertaining who would remain loyal to her interests.[126]

When Louis was compelled to accept limits on his sovereignty under the constitutional monarchy initially crafted by the National Assembly, Marie Antoinette's displeasure was public knowledge. In common with Henrietta Maria, the queen of France regarded representative institutions as advisory to the sovereign instead of independent legislative authorities. Few letters in Marie Antoinette's own hand survive from 1789 but Mercy-Argenteau's correspondence with Joseph II, his successor Leopold II, and Prince Anton von Kaunitz provide insights concerning her attitude toward the rapidly changing political conditions in France. In contrast to the numerous letters the ambassador wrote prior to the revolution, which expressed hope that the births of royal children might increase Marie Antoinette's political significance, he confidently wrote to Joseph II the week before the fall of the Bastille in July 1789, "Although this august princess allowed herself to be too moved by the infernal cabal against the Minister of Finance, however, it's to the moderation and wisdom of the Queen's advice what the present state of things is and the advantage of having avoided the greatest misfortunes."[127] From the perspective of Mercy-Argenteau and other statesmen in favor of a sustained Franco-Austrian alliance, "the greatest misfortunes" would be the further transfer of power from the sovereign to the National Assembly because of the widespread popular Austrophobia that existed in France.[128]

By 1790, Marie Antoinette was attempting to defuse hostility toward the royal family by adopting the outward symbolism of revolutionary politics, appearing at the anniversary celebrations of the Fall of the Bastille in a Tricolor sash.[129] Nevertheless, the queen's opposition to the

sovereignty of the National Assembly remained constant. She wrote to Leopold II, "The King himself has always desired the happiness of his people but not the license and anarchy that precipitated the finest kingdom in all possible evils."[130] Louis's apparent acceptance of a certain degree of representative government, when contrasted with Marie Antoinette's superficial acceptance of revolutionary emblems against her own political interests allowed the king to retain a measure of popularity until his authority was ultimately discredited by the Flight to Varennes.[131] Louis's willingness to be influenced his wife during this period reflected a profound shift in their marital dynamics. Scholars have noted that he became increasingly indecisive during the last years of his life, overwhelmed by the breakdown of his government and the deaths of two of his four children.[132] The Duc de Serent, governor to Artois's sons, remarked that when his master fled Versailles and the flight of the king and queen was being considered, Louis appeared to be "in a state of profound distraction"[133] and modern historians have identified symptoms of depression.[134] Regardless of the causes of the king's increased passivity, his behavior provided an opportunity for Marie Antoinette to gain political ascendancy over her husband during a period in which her personal relationship with him mirrored the celibacy of the early years of their marriage.

In common with Henrietta Maria, Marie Antoinette was aware of how she was perceived and sought to create a sympathetic narrative that would justify assuming a leadership role within her family. While Henrietta Maria presented herself as a suffering wife and mother who had been separated from her husband and children by the machinations of parliament, Marie Antoinette declared herself a reluctant political figure, compelled to overstep the boundaries of her accepted role by the unique political upheaval of the late 1780s and early 1790s. Marie Antoinette wrote to Mercy-Argenteau in January 1789 when discussion of a renewed alliance with Austria was attributed to her influence, "It is inevitable that treaties will be attributed to me and that Estates General ministers will apologize for the credibility of my credit and influence. Consider the odious role that I shall play there."[135] Even in correspondence with Mercy-Argenteau, whom she had known for nearly twenty years, Marie Antoinette described the perception of her political role as "odious." While the queen had discovered that her political will could compensate for Louis's periods of indecision, she was aware that the perception that she had become the dominant partner in her marriage would further erode her reputation.

Following the removal of the royal family to the Tuileries in October, 1789, Marie Antoinette had the opportunity to personally present a

sympathetic narrative of her activities to a broad range of Louis's subjects. Campan, who accompanied the queen to Paris, recorded in her memoirs, "She sought to discover the real opinions of the Parisians respecting her, and how she could have so completely lost the affections of the people, and even of many persons in the higher ranks."[136] Marie Antoinette's desire to engage with the opinions of Parisians from all social estates while Henrietta Maria focused her attention on refuting accusations levelled by members of parliament reflects the expansion of the public sphere between the English Civil Wars and French Revolution. Although Henrietta Maria's activities interested people of all social estates, a comparatively small audience shaped public opinion. In contrast, Marie Antoinette faced a population that was increasingly literate and politically engaged,[137] encouraging her to attempt to influence a broad audience. The queen wrote in October, 1789, "I talk to the people, militia, fishwives, all reaching out to me... In the Hotel de Ville, I was personally very well received... I told the fishwives to go repeat everything we had to say."[138] The queen was making an effort to create a positive impression for Parisians of all social estates and wanted accounts of successful encounters with Louis's subjects to be disseminated to a broad audience.

Marie Antoinette's attempts to engage with the public probably precipitated her decision to flee Paris. Her correspondence indicates that she considered flight to the Habsburg border, an action that had the potential to start a civil war between royalists and revolutionaries, before this course of action was accepted by Louis.[139] She described the National Guard's decision to prevent the royal family from spending the summer at Marie Antoinette's country estate at St. Cloud in 1791 as an occurrence that confirmed her existing plans to escape rather than inspiring these plans.[140] Although she wrote to Leopold II that both she and the king were convinced they should proceed with caution,[141] the interest she demonstrated in Austrian troop movements during subsequent letters written in 1791 indicates that Louis alone was interested in acting in a cautious manner.[142]

Once the king acquiesced to the proposed escape, Marie Antoinette entrusted much of the actual planning of the secret departure to Fersen, who was loyal to her personally. The queen and Fersen engaged in extensive correspondence during the summer of 1791 in which Marie Antoinette summarized Louis's views concerning the escape rather than involving the indecisive king himself in the arrangements.[143] Fersen successfully organized the escape of the royal family from Paris but the party encountered delays after he parted from them and they were ultimately apprehended in Varennes and returned to Paris.[144] The

failure of the Flight to Varennes revealed Marie Antoinette's weaknesses as the instigator of a politically and logistically complex event. Campan remembered that the queen seemed overly concerned with comparatively trivial aspects of the escape plans such as smuggling her wardrobe out of the Tuileries.[145] These conspicuous preparations and the splendor of the carriage that conveyed the royal party to the border undermined the secrecy of the flight. Marie Antoinette also failed to plan for the consequences in the event of the royal family's forced return to Paris. The perception that Louis and Marie Antoinette had attempted to abandon the French people and reestablish their prerogatives through the deployment of foreign troops doomed the constitutional monarchy to failure. Louis famously left a letter in the Tuileries that renounced his previous appearance of support for the revolution, which was printed and circulated to a broad popular audience.[146] Under these circumstances, Marie Antoinette would face trial as the wife of a deposed sovereign instead of a queen consort.

The failure of the Flight to Varennes marked a turning point in Marie Antoinette's domestic role and political significance. The queen experienced a period of political ascendancy beginning in 1787 when Louis's increased passivity and the political upheaval created by the summoning of the Assembly of Notables allowed her to gain unprecedented influence over her husband's decisions as a monarch. This increased ability to shape ministerial appointments and strengthen Louis's resolve against the diminishment of his traditional prerogatives as king occurred during a period of intense personal crisis, in which she became increasingly identified with the interests of her younger son. Despite the change in her relationship with Louis, and development of a close relationship with Fersen, she presented herself to ordinary Parisians as a loyal wife. Following the royal family's return to Paris in 1791 and the subsequent overthrow of the constitutional monarchy, Marie Antoinette would begin to emphasize her role as mother of the dauphin. Her motherhood would ultimately shape the accusations at her unprecedented trial before the Revolutionary Tribunal.

Marie Antoinette: The Queen's Trial

The evidence presented against Marie Antoinette by the Revolutionary Tribunal in October 1793, conveyed to a broad Parisian audience through a series of transcriptions of the trial proceedings published in successive issues of the *Moniteur Universel* after Marie Antoinette's execution, demonstrates the degree to which the nature of the former queen's motherhood was in contention before a broad popular audience. While the precise charges levelled against the queen of

England in 1643 must be reconstructed by diplomatic correspondence and excerpts of printed broadsheets, every word of the proceedings against Marie Antoinette in 1793 was conveyed to the French public through official press outlets such as the *Moniteur* and continues to be publicly available in published works.[147]

While Henrietta Maria's accusers were still constructing their case against monarchical government and could not agree on the consequences that would follow the impeachment of a queen, the Revolutionary Tribunal expressed confidence in its condemnation of Marie Antoinette. The French monarchy had been overthrown, and Louis had been tried and executed the previous year. Charles and Henrietta Maria had both dismissed parliament's claim to have the ability to judge their actions, refusing to acknowledge the legality of any formal accusations levelled by Charles I's subjects.[148] Louis's decision to acknowledge the charges against him and attempt to prove his innocence unwittingly revealed that the French Revolution was a very different conflict from the English Civil Wars. At Marie Antoinette's insistence, Louis had made efforts to challenge the limits on his authority imposed by the National Assembly. Nevertheless, his decision to challenge the accusations instead of the trial itself demonstrated that he had once sought to reign with the consent of his subjects. Marie Antoinette would adopt the same stance toward her accusers as Louis, appealing to the sympathies of the audience and attempting to project her own narrative of domestic virtue and patriotism by virtue of her motherhood to the French people.

Olympe de Gouges decision to dedicate the first edition of her *Declaration of the Rights of Women* to the queen[149] demonstrates that Marie Antoinette's status was not only connected to debates concerning the role of women in public life but that she was considered an active participant in these controversies. Gouges wrote, "If the foreigner brings the iron into France, you are not falsely accused in my eyes, this interesting Queen but an implacable enemy of the French. Oh Madame, remember that you are a mother and wife; use all your influence for the return of the princes."[150] Gouges's text reveals that Marie Antoinette's actual political activities were of interest to French people of all social estates, including early French feminists. The document also connects the court factionalist and feminist interpretations of the context surrounding Marie Antoinette's eventual trial by invoking the queen's status within her family. Her perceived ability to wield political influence based on her roles as wife, mother, and head of a royal household was a central theme at her trial and provided part of the rationale for attempts to thoroughly discredit the widowed queen as mother of the dauphin. The queen's supporters

and accusers alike do not appear to have regarded her as a symbolic figure but an active political force.

The range of accusations presented by the witnesses summoned before the Revolutionary Tribunal reflects the paucity of actual evidence in the hands of the former queen's accusers. In contrast to the English Civil Wars, in which parliament captured a significant body of royal correspondence, which it was able to annotate and publish,[151] Marie Antoinette's correspondence with her supporters and Austrian relatives was not widely accessible until the mid-nineteenth century.[152] The evidence supporting the queen's treasonous activities was therefore entirely circumstantial in 1789, encouraging a broad range of invective against her character and position within the royal family instead of the strictly political and religious accusations levelled against Henrietta Maria. The extent of the Revolutionary Tribunal's ignorance of the queen's correspondence is demonstrated by the brief series of questions concerning Fersen's role in the Flight to Varennes. The prosecutor admonished her for involving a foreigner in the scheme but did not argue that a personal relationship existed between them.[153] In its attempts to denigrate the former queen's character in a public forum, the Tribunal would undoubtedly have accused her of adultery if it had knowledge of her intimate correspondence.

The absence of crucial pieces of evidence for the prosecution of Marie Antoinette contrasted with the trial of Louis, in which the deposed king was presented with writings in his own hand and asked to answer for their contents.[154] The queen was instead expected to defend her character in the refutation of the charges of treason. Marie Antoinette's defense was also devoid of clear evidence as she had not been granted the extensive time to confer with lawyers that was permitted Louis and her requests for adequate time to prepare her case were not acknowledged by the Tribunal.[155] The presence of a queen in the courtroom of her husband's former subjects also provided the opportunity for her detractors to find opportunities to undermine her defense by personally embarrassing her. The absence of documentary evidence proving the accusations against Marie Antoinette not only allowed the former queen to confidently present her defense but also allowed the trial to expand into a broader judgment of her character.

The pieces of evidence concerning Marie Antoinette's relationship with Louis-Charles appear to contradict each other as well as the formal charges assessed by the Tribunal. The former queen stood accused of both abusing her son and exalting him. Neither accusation appeared relevant to the charges that would formally determine her guilt or innocence. When the prosecution rested its case, Armand Hermann, president of the Revolutionary Tribunal, called upon the

jury to deliberate four specific questions that focused exclusively on her relationship with the Habsburg Empire:

1. Is it established that there were plots and secret dealings with foreign powers and other external enemies of the republic, which plots and secret dealings were aimed at providing these enemies with monetary help, giving them entry into the French territory and facilitating the progress of their armed forces there.
2. Is Marie Antoinette convicted of having cooperated in these machinations and having maintained these secret dealings?
3. Is it established that there existed a plot and conspiracy to ignite a civil war within the republic?
4. Is Marie-Antoinette of Austria . . . convicted of having participated in this plot and conspiracy?[156]

In these accusations, the queen is significantly styled "Marie-Antoinette of Austria," as she was no longer queen, a style that encouraged the jurors to consider the defendant guilty because of the active hostilities between France and the Habsburg Empire. While the English House of Commons feared referring to Henrietta Maria as "Henriette-Marie de Bourbon" because they did not want to involve the French in their proceedings, the trial of Marie Antoinette as an Austrian archduchess served as a means of establishing the patriotism and legitimacy of the new regime. Claims that Marie-Antoinette sought to ignite a civil war enabled the Revolutionary Tribunal to make use of the Flight to Varennes as evidence against the former queen, which had discredited the constitutional monarchy.[157] The formulation of the final charges presented against Marie Antoinette served as a means of establishing the legitimacy of the new regime by condemning the most prominent influence in Louis's government who was both a representative of a foreign power and unaccountable to the French people.

The accusations that Marie Antoinette both abused her son and encouraged him to regard himself as the rightful king of France were a logical extension of the Revolutionary Tribunal's condemnation of the former queen as an Austrian agent and independent source of political influence. Since Marie Antoinette successfully gained the sympathy of observers by expressing her long-standing assumption that she shared a natural affinity with other French wives and mothers, historians often assume that the Tribunal had overreached itself by inventing such an outrageous personal attack. Marie Antoinette's biographers often support this interpretation by presenting the former queen's response to the

incest charges as an immediate reply to Jacques Hebert's accusations.[158] The structure of successive issues of the *Moniteur* reveals that Hebert presented a long series of accusations that Marie Antoinette refused to answer until her silence was remarked upon by one of the jurors of the Revolutionary Tribunal.[159]

The *Moniteur*'s decision to publish Hebert's accusations concerning Marie-Antoinette's alleged abuse of her son on a separate day than his claim that she had treated him as Louis XVII, which immediately preceded her defense of herself as mother, mitigated the emotional impact of the former queen's appeal to her fellow mothers for observers who were not present in the courtroom. Within the climate of explicit pamphlet literature, Marie Antoinette's impassioned defense of her conduct as a mother had little opportunity to gain an immediate audience beyond those present at her trial. Her appeal to her fellow mothers may have appeared a "public triumph" to deputies in the National Assembly such as Robespierre[160] but it would have a greater effect on her future biographers than her contemporaries. It was the prospect of the queen being brought to trial and judged by Louis's former subjects that captured the imagination of sympathetic observers rather than this particular exchange.

The seemingly contradictory accusations that Marie Antoinette both abused her son and exalted him were an extension of the charges that she acted as an Austrian agent through her intimate place in the royal family, and that she placed her son in the role of her late husband. Following the failure of the Flight to Varennes, Marie-Thérèse and Louis-Charles began to appear as individuals in republican pamphlets. Imagery that circulated of Marie Antoinette and her children in the last months of 1791 included one drawing of the queen flying from the Tuileries with the dauphin on her back and another of the royal family as pigs being driven back into Paris in a livestock wagon.[161] Louis's and Marie Antoinette's decision to flee France with their children reflected an unwillingness to have the family separated and concern for the safety of the dauphin and princess in Paris. For observers hostile to the royal family, however, the presence of the heir to the throne on a secretive journey to the Habsburg border appeared to demonstrate the queen's determination to maintain her influence through motherhood. In the event that Louis perished attempting to regain his throne by force, there were clear historical precedents for the queen's assumption of the regency. Since Louis-Charles was only seven years old at the time of the Flight, his mother might enjoy a protracted period of political leadership, continuing her presumed treasonous activities. This interpretation of the Flight to Varennes was so widespread in the 1790s that it shaped the accusations at Marie

Antoinette's trial and even informed a particular strain of modern French scholarship concerning the queen's actual motivations.[162]

Following the Flight to Varennes, there is evidence that Marie Antoinette began to shape her political activities as a mother rather than as a wife. Once the constitutional monarchy had collapsed and the royal family was imprisoned in the Temple, the former queen's correspondence suggests a preoccupation with the safety and future prospects of her children. There are fewer references to Louis in her letters, whom she was separated from as he prepared for his trial, and a greater degree of attention to Louis-Charles's future. As a widow, she attempted to neutralize the long-standing factionalism between her immediate family and Louis's brothers, writing to them to request they act as protectors of her son's interests.[163] From 1791 to 1793, her correspondence indicates that she poured much of her emotional and political energies into the care of her children. She wrote to Fersen after the royal family`s return to Paris in 1791, "I have not a moment to myself between the people I need to see, my correspondence, and the time I am with my children. That last occupation is not the least, it is my only happiness . . . and when I'm sad I take my little boy in my arms, I embrace him with all my heart and that consoles me in the moment."[164] The failure of the Flight to Varennes, which immediately precipitated the overthrow of the constitutional monarchy, appears to have shifted Marie Antoinette`s political and personal energies from her husband to her son.

The political upheaval of the early 1790s appeared to increase the threat of Marie Antoinette's renewed political ascendancy. Following the execution of the discredited former monarch, it was conceivable that royalists would rally around Louis-Charles as a figurehead to present a united opposition to the new regime. The prospect of Marie Antoinette having the potential to become regent because of her motherhood disgusted revolutionaries, who associated her with the most flagrant corruption of the Old Regime. Even royalists feared her polarizing effect on public opinion. Prior to the Flight to Varennes, Mirabeau believed it inevitable that Marie Antoinette would attempt to gain power for herself by appealing to the French people as a mother, citing Maria Theresa's presentation of her infant heir to the Hungarian people during the war of Austrian Succession.[165]

Fersen recognized the emergence of this political controversy among royalists after the execution of Louis, writing in February 1793, "There are already divisions among the French. Some consent to the regency of Monsieur; others recall the rights of the Queen, and it is very easy to fear that this division of opinion will give birth to others someday."[166] The 1791 constitution provided little clarity on this issue for monarchists or revolutionaries as the deputies of the National Assembly sought to

prevent any member of the royal family from achieving exclusive political power during a minority by making an underage king's mother his guardian and his senior male relative resident in France his regent.[167] By the time of Marie Antoinette's trial, this constitution had been suspended but the perception of the deposed queen as a threat to the French republic persisted beyond the collapse of the constitutional monarchy.

The Revolutionary Tribunal sought to discredit Marie Antoinette's legitimacy as a political figure through her motherhood by discrediting previous queens regent, presenting her presumed respect for her son as Louis XVII as evidence of treason against the new regime and arguing the dauphin was the victim of his mother's physical abuse and political machinations. Public prosecutor Antoine-Quentin Fouquier used the notoriety of previous queens of France to discredit Marie Antoinette in his opening address to the Revolutionary Tribunal.[168] All the queens mentioned by the prosecutor were foreigners who wielded direct political power as mothers of royal heirs. Fouquier's decision to begin the trial with a disparaging comparison between the defendant and previous consorts suggests that the Revolutionary Tribunal sought to use the trial as a means of eliminating any perceived legitimacy Marie Antoinette might possess as the mother of Louis's heir.

Since those queens who had wielded political power on behalf of their young children were presented to the court as bloodsuckers of the French, the accusation that Marie Antoinette served Louis-Charles as king allowed the Revolutionary Tribunal to provide further evidence of the former queen's treason against France. If Louis-Charles was regarded as king by his mother, the precedents set by previous queens of France empowered her to communicate with foreign powers on his behalf. In her defense, Marie Antoinette recognized that Hebert was discrediting her by describing her behavior in this manner and attempted to cast doubt upon his political testimony by noting that he was not present during family dinners in the Temple.[169] Throughout the trial, Marie Antoinette aspired to present her role as a wife and mother as evidence of her essential loyalty to France to counter insinuations that she was utilizing this position to engage in political intrigues with her Austrian relatives. She informed the Revolutionary Tribunal that as the king's wife it was her duty to conform to his wishes, attempting to refute accusations that she had manipulated the sovereign.[170]

During the preliminary examination preceding her trial she responded to the question of whether she was sorry her son had not ascended the throne due to the overthrow of the French monarchy by stating, "I shall never regret my son's loss of anything, should his loss prove to be the gain of the country."[171] Marie Antoinette's attempt to present herself to the Tribunal as a patriotic Frenchwoman by virtue of

her relationship to her husband and children was certainly convincing to individual observers, particularly other wives and mothers. The author Germaine de Stael, the daughter of the popular former finance minister Jacques Necker and the mother of two young sons, in 1793 emphasized the universality of the former queen's plight in *Réflexions sur le Procès de la Reine*. In the introduction to this work, Stael declared, "The destiny of Marie Antoinette contains everything that might touch your heart: if you are happy, she has happiness; if you suffer, for one year and longer, all the pains of her life have torn her apart" concluding that Louis-Charles was on his knees demanding his mother's life be spared.[172] The Tribunal therefore had the task of discrediting the queen irretrievably as a wife and mother to gain the support of significant groups within French public opinion. The proceedings against Marie Antoinette would unite personal and political accusations to justify her eventual execution.

The incest charges concocted by Hebert were not only an attempt to discredit Marie Antoinette`s personal relationship with her son and thereby blacken her character but to eliminate any possibility that she might be seen as a viable alternative to republican government. Hebert's testimony focused on the political motivation for the alleged abuse, stating, "It is believed that this criminal pastime was not dictated by the pleasure, but in the political hope of weakening the child's physique, which one liked to believe was still intended to occupy a throne, and in which one wanted, by this manoeuvre, to secure the right to rule." [173] Through this rationale for Marie Antoinette's alleged abuse of her son, Hebert connected the seemingly disparate accusations of incest, treason, and the political exaltation of her son levelled at the former queen over the course of her trial. The manipulation of Louis-Charles to provide testimony against his mother represented an attempt to deprive Marie Antoinette of any public sympathy she might gain by virtue of her widowhood and maternity.[174] In the final confrontation between the former queen and the French people, her motherhood was entirely politicized by the Revolutionary Tribunal as perceived evidence of her treasonous activities.

The popular controversy concerning the potential for the former queen to engage in treasonous activities combined with evidence that she became increasingly focused on her children's future above all other concerns demonstrates that her actual potential for political ascendancy concerned the Revolutionary Tribunal. Throughout the proceedings, Marie Antoinette defended herself as a patriotic French citizen based on her relationship to her husband and children and appealed to other wives and mothers in the courtroom and in certain circles of broader French society. Accusations that the former queen both abused her son and served him as Louis XVII challenged her defense of her conduct

and reinforced the perception that her primary political goal was the increased power of the Habsburg Empire at the expense of France. The Revolutionary Tribunal did not sentence a symbolic figure to execution by guillotine but an actual former queen whom they perceived to be a political threat through her relationships to her late husband, her imprisoned son, and her reigning Austrian relatives.

Judgment of Henrietta Maria and Marie Antoinette

The impeachment of Henrietta Maria and the trial of Marie Antoinette were unprecedented historical events. Previous queens consort experienced the annulment of their marriages but the English Civil Wars and French Revolution provided the political context for the formal judgment of the monarch's wife by his subjects. Comparative analysis of the formal judgments levelled at the two queens demonstrates the degree to which both Henrietta Maria and Marie Antoinette were aware of an emergent public sphere and attempted to craft their images to appeal to a broad range of her husband's subjects.

In the mid-seventeenth century, the queen of England focused her attention on the members of parliament and the literate consumers of newsletters and printed works, responding to accusations levelled by members of the House of Commons and consenting to the publication of works that portrayed her as a suffering wife and mother. In the late eighteenth century, Marie Antoinette's own inclination to view herself within the context of her fellow wives and mothers in France combined with increasing literacy rates allowing the participation of a broader cross-section of French people in the public sphere resulted in both sympathetic and accusatory accounts of the queen's actions reaching a diverse public audience. The queen's portrayal of herself as a patriotic French citizen as demonstrated by her relationships with her husband and son directly reflected revolutionary ideology and revealed her awareness of the nature of the prosecution she faced at her trial.

The defenses provided by each queen demonstrate that analysis of Henrietta Maria and Marie Antoinette as symbolic figures does not take into account the extent of their personal participation in revolutionary politics. The upheaval of the 1640s and 1780s allowed both queens a greater degree of political ascendancy than they enjoyed during the more peaceful periods of their husbands' reigns. Henrietta Maria solicited contributions from her Catholic coreligionists during the Bishops' Wars while Marie Antoinette influenced ministerial appointments and Louis's responses to attempts to limit his authority during the 1780s.

Once active hostilities existed between the crown and new forms of government emerged both queens actively worked for monarchical legitimacy, tailoring their political activities to their circumstances. Henrietta Maria enjoyed personal liberty throughout the Civil Wars, enabling her to raise funds and mercenaries for the royalist cause. Marie Antoinette experienced varying degrees of surveillance and imprisonment from 1789 to 1793 and she therefore focused her energies on correspondence with foreign rulers, and organizing an escape attempt. Both queens refused to accept the legitimacy of the varying forms of representative government that opposed monarchical rule and actively sought to secure the crown for their husbands and sons.

Henrietta Maria's impeachment and Marie Antoinette's trial were the culmination of decades of conflict between each queen and her husband's subjects concerning the consort's traditional roles as a wife, mother, and head of a royal household. Both queens ultimately constructed a sympathetic narrative of their activities in these spheres that they may have believed but did not conform to their actual activities. For the House of Commons or the Revolutionary Tribunal to effectively present themselves as legitimate representatives of the people, it was necessary for these bodies to systematically discredit the queen's prerogatives in addition to those of the king. Henrietta Maria's impeachment occurred early in the English Civil Wars when there was still parliamentary debate concerning the fate of the monarchy and the King himself. She was therefore judged as an individual engaged in treasonous activities independent of her status within her family. In contrast, Marie Antoinette was brought to trial after the overthrow of the French monarchy, the execution of Louis XVI, and the commencement of hostilities between France and Austria. Her familial relationships were therefore also on trial as the Revolutionary Tribunal sought to prevent the possibility of her gaining sympathy for her motherhood. The impeachment of Henrietta Maria in 1643 and the trial of Marie Antoinette in 1793 demonstrated both the extent of each queen's involvement in the English Civil Wars and French Revolution respectively, and their failure to gain the necessary public support to legitimize their political activities.

Conclusion: The Legacy of Two Queens

The English Civil Wars and the French Revolution represented the culmination of decades of conflict between the queen's view of her role and the expectations of her husband's subjects. Henrietta Maria and Marie Antoinette lived in separate centuries and experienced different periods of political upheaval. Nevertheless, there are striking parallels between their experiences. The development of popular perceptions of monarchical government, the rise of the public sphere, the concept of foreignness, the rise of companionate marriage, and sentimental childrearing all intersected with the experiences of Henrietta Maria and Marie Antoinette.

The French Revolution often stands as a dividing point between the Early Modern and Modern periods suggesting that this event is incomparable to the conflicts between monarchs and their subjects that occurred in previous centuries. Henrietta Maria's attempts to shape the popular narrative of her activities as queen consort in the face of criticism of her religion, gender, and foreign origins indicate that attacks on the queen consort were already effective means of delegitimizing monarchical government in the seventeenth century. Henrietta Maria and Marie Antoinette did not participate in their domestic lives across a historical and ideological divide but at different ends of a continuum demonstrating the relationship between state and society in Early Modern Europe.

Despite the differences between the English Civil Wars and French Revolution, the parallels between the experiences of Henrietta Maria and Marie Antoinette are compelling, revealing the degree to which the queen consort's decisions as a wife and mother were political acts throughout the Early Modern period. Neither princess was adequately prepared for the monumental task of reconciling her foreign origins with the popular expectation that she would conform to the customs of her husband's kingdom in all matters, including the management of her servants, marriage, and childrearing. The most powerful influence

over the identities of both princesses was their mothers, Marie de Medici, regent of France, and Maria Theresa, empress of the Habsburg Empire. These women wielded sovereign authority in polities with formal strictures against female rule. The exceptional circumstances that allowed Marie and Maria Theresa to rule independently created a complicated example for their daughters, who were expected to represent their mothers but be obedient to their husbands within marriage.

Henrietta Maria and Marie Antoinette experienced tensions in their roles as heads of royal households as soon as their betrothals were finalized because they employed servants before their marriages. Regardless of the individual diplomatic circumstances that precipitated a dynastic union, the nature of the bride's household was always a central aspect of the marriage contract because the size and splendor of her establishment reflected her status and that of her family. Henrietta Maria initially brought a vast household of Roman Catholic servants to England but was compelled to replace many of them with English and Scottish courtiers. Although Henrietta Maria ultimately accepted the expulsion of the majority of her French servants, she never acquiesced to Charles I's complete control over her household. In contrast, Marie Antoinette was not permitted to retain Austrian servants as dauphine, even at the beginning of her marriage. Still, her frank discussion of her relations with Louis in correspondence with Austrian courtiers appeared to demonstrate a continued attachment to her homeland. Since Louis XVI accepted the autonomy of his wife's household, she was able to advance the fortunes of her favorites to the dismay of both courtiers and ordinary Parisians.

As wives, both Henrietta Maria and Marie Antoinette faced the popular perception that they were the dominant partners in their marriages, exerting political influence over their husbands on behalf of their mothers, and therefore on behalf of foreign powers. The emerging ideal of companionate marriage was employed by both queens consort to present a positive image of her relationship with her husband to varying public audiences. Charles I's Personal Rule and Louis XVI's inheritance of an absolutist system of government fueled the view that the queen wielded inordinate influence over government affairs. The direct involvement of both Henrietta Maria and Marie Antoinette in the upbringing of their respective children matched emerging conceptions of sentimental parenting but appeared to represent a foreign queen consort's enduring influence over multiple generations of rulers. The singular parenting philosophies expressed by the two queens reflected what they considered to be important conditions for the welfare of their children. Their determination to shape the education and upbringing of heirs to their husband's respective thrones, however,

appeared to represent an incursion into the relationship between monarchical government and society.

The criticism levelled at Henrietta Maria and Marie Antoinette as wives, mothers, and heads of households by all social estates allowed the English House of Commons and the French National Assembly to present themselves as masculine patriots protecting their homelands from a monarchical government corrupted by feminine foreign influences. When alternate forums for political legitimacy emerged in England and France, they immediately increased the dissemination of negative perceptions of the queen's domestic role and attempted to exert control publicly over her household, marriage, and children. The formal charges levelled during the impeachment of Henrietta Maria and trial of Marie Antoinette were ostensibly confined to perceived acts of treason such as inciting the Irish revolt or sharing French military secrets with the Habsburg Empire. The debates surrounding these events, however, demonstrate that the real purpose of these proceedings was to discredit all aspects of the queen consort's political and domestic role, thereby affirming the legitimacy of regimes that replaced monarchical government. Henrietta Maria's exile and Marie Antoinette's execution appeared to represent the triumph of each queen's detractors.

The continued debate regarding the desirability of monarchical government after the English Civil Wars and French Revolution, however, ensured that the reputations of Henrietta Maria and Marie Antoinette would continue to be in the popular consciousness for decades after they faced formal charges of treason. England, Scotland, and France all restored a form of monarchical government that allowed the heirs of previously discredited rulers to regain power on the condition that they adopted political reforms brought about by the English Civil Wars and French Revolution. Great Britain's political system ultimately evolved toward constitutional monarchy in the late seventeenth century while the Bourbon dynasty in France was permanently deposed with the abdication of King Louis-Philippe in 1848. In this environment, the legacies of queens consort who had once symbolized the perceived corruption and foreignness continued to be utilized for political purposes. Those who supported monarchical government or romanticized the pre-revolutionary regimes attempted to rehabilitate Henrietta Maria and Marie Antoinette while those who opposed the restoration of monarchical government continued to disseminate negative accounts of these two figures. The British and French cases differed, however, because Henrietta Maria enjoyed a long widowhood as an active political figure while Marie Antoinette did not survive the French Revolution. British observers would debate the actions of an actual dowager queen while

the French contemplated the image of a deceased queen, who was considered a martyr by numerous royalists.

Henrietta Maria survived Charles I by twenty years, dying in August 1669, following the ingestion of laudanum prescribed by a physician for her recurrent insomnia.[1] In the last third of her life, Henrietta Maria continued to perform a political role both within the actual royalist court and in the popular imagination. The conflict between her own perception of her role and the expectations of English and Scottish observers continued to affect the popular understanding of her new domestic roles as the mother of adult children, a mother-in-law, and a grandmother.

The negative reputation of Henrietta Maria as a mother, which had been exploited by the Long Parliament in the early 1640s to undermine the reputation of the monarchy, remained a concern for royalists in exile during the 1650s, regardless of their factional loyalties. During the Gloucester affair of 1654, in which Henrietta Maria attempted to convert her youngest son Henry to Catholicism against his own wishes and those of her eldest son Charles, Secretary Edward Nicholas advised fellow members of the Old Royalist faction against any publicity that might increase Charles's popularity at the expense of his mother's reputation. He wrote to Josiah Jane, "I agree with you that it were much to the King's honour that his care and piety to prevent the Duke of Gloucester being perverted were known to all friends in England and in foreign parts, but it would so reflect on the Queen mother that, though I am one she most hates, I disadvise it."[2] This letter demonstrates that despite the disputes between the Old Royalist faction and the Louvre group, Charles's supporters recognized that publicizing disputes, particularly religious divisions, between Henrietta Maria and her children would ultimately hinder the cause of Restoration. Although Charles had formally atoned for his mother's Catholicism during his Scottish campaign, Nicholas and various fellow Old Royalists recognized that a Restoration of the monarchy would require the British people to accept the royal family as a whole rather than the king alone. Publicity that reinforced the popular perception that Henrietta Maria sought to undermine the Protestant faith in England was therefore undesirable, despite Charles's defense of the practice of the Church of England within his own family.

Charles's defense of Henrietta Maria's position within the royal family persisted though mother and son did not visit each other between the Gloucester Affair and the Restoration. Nevertheless, his approach failed to convince all supporters of a monarchical Restoration that Henrietta Maria could be successfully reintroduced to the British people as a viable dowager queen. The French ambassador to England noted

in May 1660 that parliament was willing to grant lands and incomes to the king's brothers but was unwilling to do the same for Henrietta Maria because there was no recent precedents concerning the financial position of a king's mother.[3] The fact that much of the queen's property had been bought or claimed by supporters of the Protectorate also contributed to parliament's reluctance to honor the income granted the widowed Henrietta Maria by her marriage contract.[4]

Despite what the French ambassador described as "the repugnance of the King's ministers for her residency in England"[5] because they feared she might influence her son to abandon his policies of moderation and compromise,[6] Charles negotiated a substantial financial settlement for Henrietta Maria and invited her to join the other members of the restored royal family in London.[7] The king also kept his mother informed of political events in Great Britain, sending her a digest of the negotiations with the Portuguese ambassador for his marriage to Catherine of Braganza.[8] One of the most prominent artists at court, Peter Lely, received a commission to paint a portrait of the dowager queen in the style of the Van Dyck paintings that captured her image as queen consort.[9] Charles II's generous treatment of his mother was likely influenced by both his past support for the principles of hereditary monarchy and the expressed displeasure of King Louis XIV of France concerning parliament's treatment of his aunt, Henrietta Maria.[10]

The queen's financial settlement and her intention to exert political influence as an intercessory figure at her son's court were public knowledge. A letter received by the political economist and demographer William Petty dated 3 November 1660, the day after Henrietta Maria's arrival in London provides an example of popular speculation concerning the dowager queen's potential political role. The letter stated, "It is beleaved that ye Queen Mother will become a Mediatrix for ye Condemned Prisners now in ye Tower, his Maiesty hath under ye broad seal, Confirmed ye Queen Mothers Joynter, & so Augmented it, that her Maiesty hath power to lett leases for 3 lifes or 21 years, wch is suposed will raise in present money 2000000 & upwards."[11] Henrietta Maria was therefore reintroduced to the English people as a wealthy dowager queen who was perceived to have the ability to influence Charles II's decisions.

The ostentation of the dowager queen's court in England, the vast household required to maintain this establishment, and the evidence of good relations between Charles II and his mother fueled rumors disparaging Henrietta Maria on the grounds of her Catholicism, French origins, and perceived sexual misconduct as a widow. While her bridal household had been disparaged in manuscript newsletters for supposedly taking an immoral interest in Henrietta Maria's marital relations

with Charles I, the members of her household as a widow attracted accusations of personal misconduct. Throughout Henrietta Maria's second period of residence in England as dowager queen, the circumstance that attracted the greatest number of rumors concerning her morality was the conspicuous presence of her secretary and long-standing favorite Henry Jermyn, the Earl of St. Albans, in her household. In his capacity as vice chamberlain, Jermyn was in close contact with the dowager queen, screening petitioners who sought audiences and handling her most important correspondence.

As Henrietta Maria's court attracted greater prominence, the rumors concerning her conduct became more elaborate. On 31 December 1662, the diarist Samuel Pepys wrote, "The Queene Mother is said to keep too great a Court now; and her being married to my Lord St. Albans is commonly talked of, and that they had a daughter between them in France. How true, God knows."[12] Pepys was not the only diarist to record these rumors. Yorkshire baronet Sir John Reresby, who had attended Henrietta Maria's court in exile, recorded in his memoirs that he heard from one of his English cousins in the 1660s of the supposed relationship between the queen mother and St. Albans, writing, "but that he was married to her or had children by her, as some have reported, I did not then believe, though the thing was certainly so."[13] The fact that these rumors were so widely believed, even by those who attended Henrietta Maria's court, reflects the influence of the seditious speech that circulated in the months immediately following the Restoration.

The continued criticism of Henrietta Maria's activities in the domestic sphere during her widowhood demonstrate that the English Civil Wars and Restoration did not resolve the conflict between the queen's perception of herself as a wife, mother, and head of household and the expectations of her husband's or son's subjects. Both Charles II's consort Catherine of Braganza and James II's consort Mary of Modena would become the target of popular criticism because of their performance of their domestic roles, culminating in the warming pan scandal and Glorious Revolution of 1688. In the Act of Settlement of 1701, the succession to the thrones of England and Scotland was limited to the Protestant descendants of Princess Sophia of Hanover who were not married to Catholics. The Protestant fear of the "recusant wife" in the most powerful family in the kingdom, which had shaped the popular response to Henrietta Maria during her marriage, continued to influence the British monarchy until the succession reforms that came into force in 2015.

While Henrietta Maria enjoyed a long period of political influence during her widowhood, Marie Antoinette was executed in 1793. The queen of France therefore did not have the opportunity to wield political

influence as a dowager queen at a Restoration court. Instead, her reputation would become a point of contestation between supporters of a restored monarchy in the nineteenth century and those who feared that the legacy of the French Revolution would be undone by the return of the Bourbon dynasty. Louis XVI's brother, Louis XVIII, was particularly invested in rehabilitating Marie Antoinette's image. The reburial of Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette at St. Denis and the publication of Marie-Thérèse's memoirs all contributed to the legitimization of the Restoration regime. Challenges to restored monarchical rule therefore incorporated challenges to the Restoration conception of Marie Antoinette as a martyr.

Following the end of legitimist Bourbon rule in 1830 and the final collapse of the Orleans branch of the French monarchy in 1848, Marie Antoinette appeared in both scholarly and popular literature as a polarizing figure. Scholars frequently held her responsible for undermining the French monarchy while popular writers argued that she was an innocent martyr of the excesses of the French Revolution. Nineteenth century scholarly accounts of Marie Antoinette's activities analyzed the symbolic value of her perceived extravagance and distance from the economic realities faced by her subjects.[14] In contrast, the popular biographies presented the queen as a tragic heroine.[15]

Just as Marie Antoinette had longed for a companionate marriage in a political climate where dynastic marriages were the norm among ruling houses, her image became associated with nineteenth and twentieth century princesses who experienced criticism as foreigners in their husbands' realms. The continued polarizing impact of Marie Antoinette's reputation during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries reflected the vestiges of Early Modern forms of dynastic marriage in modern European politics. Although marriages between members of royal houses no longer determined the fate of nations after the Congress of Vienna in 1814–1815, dynasts faced the expectation that they would marry members of foreign reigning houses until the end of the First World War.[16] In this environment, foreign born consorts of reigning sovereigns continued to be the focus of popular scrutiny. The strict separation of public and private spheres that became commonplace throughout nineteenth century Europe did not ease the expectations that queens and empresses consort be exemplary wives and mothers. Instead, they faced the same concerns encountered by Marie Antoinette when she attempted to conduct short periods of her domestic life in the comparative privacy of the Petit Trianon. When the monarch spent periods of time in domestic seclusion with his consort, there was widespread concern that he was being influenced by the opinions of a foreigner against the best interests of his court and subjects.

One of the most prominent nineteenth century princesses who spent her married life under scrutiny as a foreigner was Princess Victoria, the eldest daughter of Queen Victoria of Great Britain and Prince Albert of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha. Upon her marriage to Crown Prince Frederick of Prussia in 1858, she faced conflicting demands from her parents and the Prussian court. The Princess remained in close contact with her family throughout her marriage and tactlessly made clear to Prussian courtiers that she preferred English customs. Crown Princess Victoria's identity as a representative of England at the conservative Prussian court attracted hostility. Chancellor Otto von Bismark famously stated to a friend, "The 'English' in it does not please me, the 'marriage' may be quite good... If the Princess can leave the Englishwoman at home."[17] The perception that Victoria never left the Englishwoman at home prompted German criticism of her close relationship with her husband, her employment of English nursemaids for her children, and the marriage partners whom she favored for her daughters. Her son, Kaiser Wilhelm II, shared the popular distrust of his mother and attempted to intercept her correspondence.

The prominent modern example of a royal consort reviled for her position a foreigner is Empress Alexandra of Russia, who was born Princess Alix of Hesse-Darmstadt in 1872. In contrast to her immediate predecessors in Russia, who belonged to politically insignificant powers, Alexandra was a granddaughter of Queen Victoria and first cousin of Kaiser Wilhelm II. Her illustrious connections caused suspicion in Russia, where there were popular fears that the empire might be drawn into a broader European conflict, which ultimately happened in 1914. Like Henrietta Maria and Marie Antoinette, Alexandra grew up under the example of a strong female monarch. Queen Victoria carefully managed the upbringing of her Hessian granddaughters, setting a clear example of female leadership. Upon her marriage to Nicholas II, Alexandra constructed a living space that reflected English influences over her upbringing, installing chintz wallpaper and Maples assembly line furniture in Russian palaces.[18] She also employed English and German servants alongside her Russian staff, and promoted courtiers of comparatively low standing to high positions in her household, attracting the same accusations of household mismanagement faced by Marie Antoinette.[19] Nicholas's and Alexandra's decision to raise their family in the comparatively secluded Alexander Palace outside St. Petersburg contributed to popular suspicions of the empress's influence over the emperor and the manner in which their children were being raised.

While Alexandra faced accusations of being overly British during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, the outbreak of the First World War cemented her reputation as a "German Woman." When

Nicholas II appointed himself commander in chief of the Russian armies in 1915, his ministers were required to report to Alexandra. In this environment, the empress faced popular accusations of disloyalty to Russia and her husband.[20] Her confidante Grigori Rasputin was rumored to be a German agent and there was unfounded speculation that he was her lover. Since the heir to the throne's hemophilia was kept a state secret, the empress was denied an opportunity for sympathy as a suffering mother as well as an explanation for Rasputin's visits to the Alexander Palace.[21] Following Nicholas II's abdication and the relaxation of state censorship, Alexandra was the focus of negative pamphlet literature that presented the deposed Imperial house as hopelessly, corrupt, effeminate, and beholden to foreign interests, allowing the Bolshevik Party, which took power in November 1917, to present themselves in contrast as patriotic, masculine Russians.[22] Despite being cleared of charges of disloyalty to Russia by an informal Provisional Government commission in 1917, Alexandra was murdered alongside her husband, children, and servants by representatives of the Ural Soviet in July 1918.

The reputations of Henrietta Maria and Marie Antoinette continued to be historically significant long after the English Civil Wars and French Revolution. Henrietta Maria survived Charles I for twenty years. She remained active in royalist circles in exile and the Restoration court. Throughout the 1650s and 1660s, negative perceptions of her behavior as a wife, mother, and head of household continued to shape perceptions of the monarchy. Perceptions of Henrietta Maria shaped responses to Catherine of Braganza and Mary of Modena, as well as the proscriptions against royal marriages to Catholics in the 1701 Act of Settlement. Henrietta Maria's reputation as a subversive Roman Catholic agent cast a long shadow over centuries of British monarchical government. Although Marie Antoinette was executed during the Terror, her image remained important to the Restoration monarchy, and was fiercely debated by her admirers and detractors throughout the nineteenth century. Both Crown Princess Victoria of Prussia and Empress Alexandra of Russia became widely unpopular during their marriages as they were associated with the interests of foreign powers. Alexandra, in particular, is often compared with Marie Antoinette in memoir literature discussing the Russian Revolution as the parallels between the two consorts are numerous. The responses to Henrietta Maria and Marie Antoinette as queens consort shaped centuries of attitudes toward monarchical government, transcending their personal experiences during the English Civil Wars and French Revolution.

Notes

Introduction: The Queen versus the People

1. Jeanne Louise Campan, *Memoirs of the Court of Marie Antoinette, Queen of France*, ed. M de Lamartine (Philadelphia, PA: Parry and McMillan, 1854), pp. 158–159.
2. Nancy Nichols Barker, "Revolution and the Royal Consort," in *Proceedings of the Consortium on Revolutionary Europe* (1989): 136–143.
3. Barker, "Revolution and the Royal Consort," p. 136.
4. Clarissa Campbell Orr notes in the introduction to a 2004 collection of essays concerning the role of the European queen consort in the Baroque era that "there is little comparative work in English on any facet of European Court life in the period from 1660 to 1800." See Clarissa Campbell Orr, "Introduction" in Clarissa Campbell Orr (ed.), *Queenship in Europe: 1660–1815: The Role of the Consort* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), p. 2. There are strong exceptions to Orr's conclusion, including the works of Jeroen Duidam and T.C.W. Blanning, which compare the culture, structure, and politics of Early Modern courts revealing both change and continuity but these studies devote little space to the specific role of the queen consort within her family and court. See Jeroen Duindam, *Vienna and Versailles: The Courts of Europe's Dynastic Rivals 1550–1780* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), and T.C.W. Blanning, *The Culture of Power and the Power of Culture: Old Regime Europe 1660–1789* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002).
5. See Kevin Sharpe, *The Personal Rule of Charles I* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1996); Bernard Bourdin, *The Theological-Political Origins of the Modern State: Controversy between James I of England and Cardinal Bellamine* (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 2010), pp. 70–94; J.P. Sommerville, *Royalists and Patriots: Politics and Ideology in England 1603–1640* (New York: Longman, 1999); and James VI, *The Trve Lawe of free Monarchies: Or, The Reciprock and Mvtvall Dvetie Betwixt a free King, and his naturall Subiectes* (Edinburgh: Robert Valdemane, 1598).
6. Carolyn Harris, *Magna Carta and Its Gifts to Canada* (Toronto: Dundurn, 2015).
7. David Loades, *Elizabeth I: A Life* (New York: Continuum International Publishing Group, 2006), p. 182.
8. John Guy, *Queen of Scots: The True Life of Mary Stuart* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2004), pp. 342–343.

9. Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon, *The History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England begun in the year 1641*, Second Edition (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1703), Volume 1, p. 573.
10. L.J. Reeve, *Charles I and the Road to Personal Rule* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), p. 17. Kevin Sharpe, the author of the most detailed and authoritative study of the period of Personal Rule explicitly argues that Charles I had limited control over local affairs. See Sharpe, *The Personal Rule* p. 455.
11. David Smith, *Constitutional Royalism and the Search for Settlement c. 1640–1649* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 61.
12. James B. Collins, *The State in Early Modern France*, Second Edition (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 106–115. The term absolute power and similar phrases were used previously. See Fanny Cosandey and Robert Descimon, *L'absolutisme en France: Histoire et Historiographie* (Paris: Éditions de Seuil, 2002), p. 14.
13. Nannerl Keohane, *Philosophy and the State from the Renaissance to the French Revolution* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980), p. 55
14. William Beik, *Absolutism and Society in Seventeenth Century France* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp. 245–277.
15. Sarah Hanley, "Engendering the State: Family Formation and State Formation in Early Modern France," *French Historical Studies* (Volume 16, Number 1, 1989), p. 6
16. Collins, *The State in Early Modern France*, pp. 175–180.
17. See Michel Antoine, *Louis XV* (Paris: Librarie Arthéme Fayard, 1989), pp. 567–594.
18. Dale Van Kley, *The Religious Origins of the French Revolution: From Calvin to the Civil Constitution, 1560–1791* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1996), pp. 58–75.
19. Michel Deon, *Louis XIV par lui-meme. Morceaux chosis du roi avec introduction et commentaires* (Paris: Perring, 1964), p. 284.
20. Van Kley, *Religious Origins*, p. 115.
21. Simon Burrows, *Blackmail, Scandal and Revolution: London's French Libellistes, 1758–1792* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006), p. 14. See also Jeffrey Merrick, *The Desacralization of the French Monarchy in the Eighteenth Century* (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State Press, 1990) and Robert Darnton, "An Early Information Society: News and the Media in Eighteenth-Century Paris," *The American Historical Review* (February, 2000).
22. See D. M. Palliser, "Towns and the English State 1066–1500," in J. R. Maddicott and D. M. Palliser (eds.), *The Medieval State* (London: Hambledon Press, 2000), pp. 127–146.
23. See Eugen Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen: The Modernization of Rural France* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1976), p. 73.
24. Jean- Francois Dubost, *Marie de Medicis, La Reine Dévoilée* (Paris: Biographie Payot, 2009), pp. 204–227.
25. Van Kley, *Religious Origins*, pp. 157–159.

26. Thomas E. Kaiser, "From Fiscal Crisis to Revolution: The Court and French Foreign Policy, 1787–1789," in Thomas E. Kaiser and Dale Van Kley (eds.), *From Deficit to Deluge: The Origins of the French Revolution* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2011), pp. 139–164.
27. Frances E. Dolan, *Whores of Babylon: Catholicism, Gender, and Seventeenth Century Print Culture* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1999).
28. Philippe Ariés stated in his 1960 history of European family life that a popular conception of childhood did not exist until the eighteenth century See Philippe Ariés, *Centuries of Childhood: A Social History of Family Life* (New York: Vintage Books, 1960), p. 39. Recent scholarship, most notably the writings of Steven Ozment and Linda Pollock, has challenged the theory that the Enlightenment invented parental attachment to their children. See Steven Ozment, *Ancestors: The Loving Family in Modern Europe* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 2001), p. 75, and Linda A. Pollock, "Parent-Child Relations" in David I. Kertzer (ed.), *Family Life in Modern Times: 1500–1789* (New Haven, CO: Yale University Press, 2001), pp. 191–194.
29. Sarah Maza, "The Bourgeois Family Revisted: Sentimentalism and Social Class and Pre-revolutionary French Culture," in Richard Rand and Juliette M. Bianco (eds.), *Intimate Encounters: Love and Domesticity in Eighteenth Century France* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1997), pp. 39–48.
30. Jason Peacey, "Print and Public Politics in Seventeenth Century England," *History Compass* (Volume 5, Issue 1, 2007), pp. 85–111.
31. See Erica Veevers, *Images of Love and Religion: Queen Henrietta Maria and Court Entertainments* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989); Karen Britland, *Drama at the Courts of Queen Henrietta Maria* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006); Rebecca A. Bailey, *Staging the Old Faith: Henrietta Maria and the Theatre of Caroline England 1625–1642* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009); Malcolm Smuts, *Court Culture and the Origins of A Royalist Tradition in Early Stuart England* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1987); Erin Griffey (ed.), *Henrietta Maria: Piety, Politics and Patronage* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Ltd., 2008); and Claire McManus (ed.), *Women and Culture at the Courts of the Stuart Queens* (Hampshire: Palgrave MacMillan, 2003).
32. For an example, see Henrietta Maria's conciliatory message to the Houses of Commons, delivered on 5 February 1640. BL, Harley Mss 1519, f. 104.
33. Campan, *Memoirs*, p. 263.
34. For further information about attitudes toward the family during the French Revolution, see Suzanne Desan, *The Family on Trial in Revolutionary France* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2004).
35. Michelle Anne White, *Henrietta Maria and The English Civil Wars* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), p. 3.

36. See Samuel Rawson Gardiner, *History of the Great Civil War, 1642–1649* (London: Longman, Green and Co., 1886), pp. 83–84.
37. Bone concludes, "Even without Henrietta's admonitions, Charles I's political course would not have been very different from what it in fact was and he still would have ended his days with his head upon the block." See Quentin Bone, *Henrietta Maria: Queen of the Cavaliers* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1972), p. vi.
38. See Bone, *Henrietta Maria*, pp. 253–271 and Elizabeth Hamilton, *Henrietta Maria* (New York: Coward, McCann and Geogegan Inc., 1976), p. xiii.
39. Malcolm Smuts, "The Puritan Followers of Henrietta Maria in the 1630s," *The English Historical Review* (Volume 93, Number 366, January 1978), p. 33 and Malcolm Smuts, "Religion, European Politics and Henrietta Maria's Circle, 1625–41," in Griffey, *Henrietta Maria*, p. 13.
40. Veevers, *Images of Love and Religion*, pp. 56–64.
41. See White, *Henrietta Maria and the English Civil Wars*.
42. See Chantal Thomas, *The Wicked Queen: The Origins of the Myth of Marie Antoinette* (New York: Zone Books, 2001) and the articles in Dena Goodman (ed.), *Marie Antoinette: Writings on the Body of the Queen* (New York: Routledge, 2003).
43. See Terry Castle, "Marie-Antoinette Obsession," in Goodman, *Marie Antoinette*, pp. 199–238; Mason, "'We're Just Little People, Louis' Marie Antoinette on Film," in Goodman, *Marie Antoinette*, pp. 239–252; Pierre Saint-Amand, "Terrorizing Marie Antoinette," in Goodman, *Marie Antoinette*, pp. 253–272; and Susan S Lanser, "Eating Cake: The (Ab)uses of Marie Antoinette," in Goodman, *Marie Antoinette*, pp. 273–290.
44. For example, Dena Goodman, "Introduction: Not another Biography of Marie Antoinette!" in Goodman, *Marie Antoinette*, pp. 1–15. One of the few comparative studies of queens consort in the eighteenth century excludes Marie Antoinette on the grounds that she has already attracted sustained analytical and biographical attention. See Campbell Orr, "Introduction" in Campbell Orr, *Queenship in Europe*, p. 2, respectively.
45. In Jules Michelet's writings, the Parisian women represent good mothers, whose goal is the acquisition of food for their families, while Marie Antoinette is the neglectful mother, more concerned with political intrigue and lavish entertainments than caring for her children. See Jules Michelet, *Histoire de la Revolution Française* (Paris: Librarie Internationale, 1859). For an example of popular hagiography of Marie Antoinette from the same period see Imbert de Saint-Amand, *Marie Antoinette and the End of the Old Regime* (Boston, MA: Berwick and Smith, 1890).
46. Evelyne Lever (ed.), *Correspondance de Marie-Antoinette: 1770–1793* (Paris: Tallander Editions, 2005), p. 35.
47. Munro Price describes Zweig as Marie Antoinette's first serious biographer see Munro Price, *The Road from Versailles: Louis XVI, Marie Antoinette and the Fall of the French Monarchy* (New York: St. Marvin's Griffin, 2002), p. 12.

48. Stefan Zweig, *Marie Antoinette: Portrait of an Average Woman*, trans. Eden and Cedar Paul (New York: Garden City Publishing, 1933), p. 471.
49. See Thomas, *The Wicked Queen*, and Lynn Hunt, *The Family Romance of the French Revolution* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1992). Robert Darnton has also discussed pamphlet critiques of Marie Antoinette within the broader context of libel within French pamphlet literature, focussing on the singularity of attacks against the queen. See Robert Darnton, *The Devil in the Holy Water, or The Art of Slander from Louis XIV to Napoleon* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009), p. 377.
50. See Vincent Cronin, *Louis and Antoinette* (New York: William Morrow and Co. Inc., 1975), pp. 13–16; John Hardman, *French Politics: 1774–1789: From the Ascension of Louis XVI to the Fall of the Bastille* (London: Longman Group, 1995), p. 200; and Joel Felix, *Louis XVI, et Marie Antoinette* (Paris: Biographie Payot, 2006), pp. 330–341.
51. Thomas Kaiser, "From the Austrian Committee to the Foreign Plot: Marie Antoinette, Austrophobia and the Terror," *French Historical Studies* (Volume 26, Number 4, Fall 2003), p. 600 and Thomas Kaiser, "Who's Afraid of Marie-Antoinette? Diplomacy, Austrophobia and the Queen," *French History* (Volume 14, Number 3, 2000), p. 241.

1 Education, Example, and Expectations

1. See A. D. Cousins, "Humanism, Female Education and Myth: Erasmus, Vives and More's 'To Candidus,'" *Journal of the History of Ideas* (Volume 63, Number 2, April, 2004), pp. 213–230.
2. Sharon Jansen, *The Monstrous Regiment of Women: Female Rulers in Early Modern Europe* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), p. 204
3. One of the most prominent examples of this scrutiny was the work of the Scottish theologian John Knox, *The First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstrous Regiment of Women* (Edinburgh: n.p., 1558).
4. See Edward Gregg, *Queen Anne* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1984), p. 11.
5. Agnes Strickland, *Lives of the Queens of England*, Volume 5 (London: George Bell and Sons, 1840–1848), p. 191.
6. Strickland, *Lives*, Volume 5, p. 191.
7. Bone, *Henrietta Maria*, p. 11.
8. Bibliotheque Nationale (BN), Manuscrits Francais 3818, f. 5.
9. The National Archives of the United Kingdom (TNA), PRO LR 63.
10. British Library (BL), Additional Mss 34262, f. 88b.
11. BL, Royal Mss, 16E, f. XLI.
12. Jacques Bousset, "Oraison Funebre de Henriette Marie de France" in P. Jacquinet (ed.), *Oraisons Funebres* (Paris : n.p., n.d.), p. 1 and Bone, *Henrietta Maria*, p. 11.

13. Francoise de Motteville, *Memoires of the History of Anne of Austria translated from the original French* (London: J. Darby, A. Bettesworth, F. Fayram, J. Pemberton, C. Rivington, and 4 others in London, 1725), pp. 192–197.
14. Dubost, *Marie de Medicis*, pp. 109–115.
15. The outbreak of the Fronde of the Nobles during Henrietta Maria's residency in France as a widow demonstrated the fragility of the unity within the French royal family.
16. *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, Volume 18, p. 182; see also Volume 17, p. 586.
17. *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, Volume 17, p. 597 and Jean Heroard, *Journal de Jean Heroard*, 2 volumes, ed. Madeleine Foisil (Paris: Fayard, 1989), Volume 2, p. 2590.
18. *Calendar of the Venetian State Papers*, Volume 17, p. 586.
19. See Starkey, *Six Wives*, p. 18.
20. King Edward IV of England's daughter Elizabeth of York, the eventual wife of Henry VII learned French, had her wardrobe remade in the French style, and was trained in continental court etiquette in anticipation of a proposed marriage to the eldest son of Louis XI of France. The degree to which the princess was trained to assimilate into the French court reflected England's status as a lesser power in the fifteenth century. See Nancy Lenz Harvey, *Elizabeth of York: The Mother of Henry VIII* (New York: MacMillan Publishing Co, 1973), pp. 29–30.
21. "Elle est aussi Mère de trois princesses, les joies de cette couronne les désirs des étrangères" in Anonymous, *Panégyrie sur le Couronnement de la Reine* (Paris: P. Mettayer, 1610), p. 36.
22. Anonymous, *The Life and Death of Henrietta Maria de Bourbon* (London: Dorman Newman, 1685), p. 4.
23. See Melinda J. Gough, "Courtly Comediantes: Henrietta Maria and Amateur Women's Stage Plays in France and England," in Pamela Allen Brown and Peter Parolin (eds.), *Women Players in England: Beyond the All-Male Stage* (Hampshire: Ashgate, 2005), pp. 195–202.
24. Melinda J. Gough, "A Newly Discovered Performance by Queen Henrietta Maria," *The Huntingdon Library Quarterly* (Volume 65, Number 3/4, 2002), p. 442.
25. James VI and I's eldest son Henry had died in 1612.
26. Karen Britland, "A Fairy-Tale Marriage: Charles and Henrietta Maria's Romance," in Alexander Sampson (ed.), *The Spanish Match: Prince Charles's Journey to Madrid in 1623* (Hampshire: Ashgate Publishing Ltd., 2006), p. 124.
27. BL, Egerton Mss, 2533, p. 60, John Rushworth, *Mr. Rushworth's Historical Collections*, Abridged and Improved, Volume 1 (London: n.p., 1703), p. 54.
28. See Britland, "A Fairy-Tale Marriage," pp. 123–138.
29. Anonymous, *Cabala: Mysteries of State* (London: G. Bedell and T. Collins, 1654), pp. 276–277.

30. See Leeds Barroll, *Anna of Denmark, Queen of England: A Cultural Biography* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001), p. 75.
31. Henry Ellis, *Original Letters* (12 volumes in 3 series, London: 1824–1846), Series 3, Volume 3, pp. 197–198.
32. Patricia H. Fleming, "The Politics of Marriage among Non-Catholic European Royalty," *Current Anthropology* (Volume 14, Number 3, 1973), pp. 238–239.
33. Caroline Hibbard, "Henrietta Maria," in *The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004).
34. Jessica Bell, "The Three Marys: The Virgin; Marie de Medicis; and Henrietta Maria," in Erin Griffey (ed.), *Henrietta Maria: Piety, Politics and Patronage* (Hampshire: Ashgate, 2008), pp. 89–114.
35. See Dubost, *Marie de Medicis*, pp. 204–225 and Bell, "The Three Marys."
36. Smuts, "Religion, European Politics and Henrietta Maria's Circle," p. 15.
37. Smuts, "Religion, European Politics and Henrietta Maria's Circle," p. 16
38. Veevers, *Images of Love*, p. 182.
39. TNA, PRO 31/3/66, f. 58.
40. France followed the Gregorian calendar, which was ten days ahead of the Julian calendar in use in England during the seventeenth century.
41. Mary Anne Everett Green, *Letters of Queen Henrietta Maria including Her Private Correspondence with Charles I* (London: Richard Bentley, 1858), p. 9.
42. The French diplomatic correspondence of this period discusses Louis XIII's interest in the rights of English Catholics. See TNA, PRO 31/3/62, f. 6.
43. Green, *Letters of Queen Henrietta Maria*, p. 9.
44. BL, Additional Mss 27402, ff. 57–66.
45. BL, Additional Mss 27402, ff. 57–66.
46. Hibbard, "Henrietta Maria."
47. Dubost, *Marie de Medicis*, p. 347 and Katherine Crawford, *Perilous Performances: Gender and Regency in Early Modern France* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004), p. 61.
48. Crawford, *Perilous Performances*, p. 203.
49. Heroard, *Journal de Jean Heroard*, p. 1693.
50. Bone, *Henrietta Maria*, p. 4.
51. Heroard, *Journal de Jean Heroard*, p. 1693
52. Dubost, *Marie de Medicis*, pp. 178–179.
53. David Hunt, *Parents and Children in History: The Psychology of Family Life in Early Modern France* (New York: Basic Books, 1970), pp. 89–109.
54. Charles Carlton, *Charles I: The Personal Monarch*, Second Edition (New York: Routledge, 1995), pp. 1–12 and Bone, *Henrietta Maria*, pp. 3–15.
55. See Hunt, *Parents and Children in History*, pp. 171–172; Michel Carmona, *Marie de Médicis* (Paris: Fayard, 1981); and Simone Berthière, *Les reines de France au temps des Bourbons*, 4 vols. (Paris: Éditions de Fallois, 1996–2000).

56. See Crawford, *Perilous Performances*, p. 71. Dubost focuses his analysis on Marie's correspondence, concluding that her letters demonstrate concern for her children's health, which was not exhibited by Henry, despite his frequent physical presence in the royal nurseries. See Dubost, *Marie de Medicis*, p. 151.
57. Green, *Letters of Queen Henrietta Maria*, p. 4.
58. Thomas Kaiser, "Scandal in the Royal Nursery," pp. 405–406.
59. BN, Mss Francais 3818, f. 11 and Green, *Letters of Queen Henrietta Maria*, p. 3.
60. BN, Mss Francais 3818, f. 28.
61. For more on the origins of the Salic Law, see Sarah Hanley, "Identity Politics and Rulership in France: Female Political Place and the Fraudulent Salic Law in Christine de Pizan and Jean de Montreuil," in Michael Wolfe (ed.), *Changing Identities in Early Modern France* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1997), p. 78.
62. Dubost, *Marie de Medicis*, p. 391.
63. Dubost, *Marie de Medicis*, p. 572
64. BN, Mss Francais 3818, f. 28.
65. See Lisa Hilton, *Queens Consort: England's Medieval Queens* (London: Wiedenfeld and Nicolson, 2008).
66. Scottish attitudes toward the French were different from English perceptions because France and Scotland maintained a long-standing alliance against England until the Union of the Crowns in 1603.
67. *Calendar of Venetian State Papers*, Volume 18, pp. 455–456.
68. Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford, *The Earl of Strafford's Letters* (2 volumes, ed. William Knowler, London, 1734), Volume 1, p. 24.
69. *Calendar of Venetian State Papers*, Volume 19, p. 62.
70. BL, Additional Mss 22473, f. 72.
71. Isabelle organized a rebellion against her husband, Edward II, and eventually helped to force his abdication. Katherine secretly remarried Owen Tudor after the death of Henry V despite his inferior rank and became the ancestress of the Tudor dynasty.
72. BL, Additional Mss 22473, f. 73.
73. *Calendar of Venetian State Papers*, Volume 19, p. 87.
74. *Calendar of Venetian State Papers*, Volume 19, p. 61.
75. See Lucy Hutchison, *Memoirs of the Life of Colonel Hutchison*, ed. N. H. Keeble (London: Pheonix Press, 2000), p. 14 and Katie Whitaker, *Mad Madge: Margaret Cavendish Duchess of Newcastle, Royalist, Writer and Romantic* (London: Chatto and Windus, 2003), p. 17.
76. Hutchison, *Memoirs*, p. 70.
77. A statue in Luxembourg Gardens in Paris invites the viewer to pity Marguerite of Anjou as a deposed queen and bereaved mother.
78. Patricia Anne Lee, "Reflections of Power: Margaret of Anjou and the Dark Side of Queenship," *Renaissance Quarterly* (Volume 39, Number 2, Summer 1986), p. 183.
79. *Mercurius Britanicus Communicating the Affairs of Great Britain* (London, England), Monday, January 6, 1645, Issue 65.

80. See Bone, *Henrietta Maria*, p. vi and Strickland, *Lives*, Volume 5, p. 257.
81. The National Archives of the United Kingdom (TNA) LR 5/57.
82. See Mortimer Levine, "Richard III: Usurper or Lawful King," *Speculum: A Journal of Medieval History* (Volume 34, Number 3, July 1959), pp. 391–392.
83. Hilton, *Queens Consort*, pp. 464–467.
84. Sarah Duncan, "Most godly heart Fraight with al mercy:" Queens' Mercy during the reigns of Mary I and Elizabeth I," in Carole Levin and Robert Bucholz (eds.), *Queens and Power in Medieval and Early Modern England* (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 2009), pp. 37–41.
85. Letter from Maria Theresa to Marie Antoinette, May 8, 1771. Included in Evelyne Lever (ed.), *Correspondance de Marie Antoinette (1770–1793)* (Paris: Tallandier Editions, 2005), p. 76.
86. Strickland, *Lives*, Volume 5, p. 257.
87. Michelle Anne White, "'She is the man and raignes:' Popular Representations of Henrietta Maria during the English Civil Wars," in Levin and Bucholz, *Queens and Power*, pp. 216–217.
88. *Calendar of Venetian State Papers*, Volume 17, pp. 453–454.
89. Lois L. Hunycutt, "Intercession and the High Medieval Queen: The Esther Topos," in Jennifer Carpenter and Sally-Beth Maclean (eds.), *Power of the Weak: Studies on Medieval Women* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1995), pp. 126–147; John Carmi Parsons, "Queen's Intercession in Thirteenth Century England," in Carpenter and Maclean, *Power of the Weak*, pp. 147–177; and Sarah Duncan, "'Most godly heart Fraight with al mercy:' Queens' Mercy during the reigns of Mary I and Elizabeth I," in Levin and Bucholz (eds.), *Queens and Power*, pp. 31–50.
90. For examples, see discussion of Empress Matilda in Charles Beem, *The Lioness Roared: The Problems of Female Rule in English History* (London: Palgrave MacMillan, 2008), pp. 26–27 and Eleanor of Castile in Marc Morris, *A Great and Terrible King: Edward I and the Forging of Britain* (London: Hutchison, 2008), pp. 229–230.
91. Jansen, *Monstrous Regiment*, pp. 111–120.
92. Starkey, *Six Wives*, pp. 601–607.
93. Michael B. Young, "Queen Anna Bites Back: Protest, Effeminacy and Manliness at the Jacobean Court," in Jessica Munns and Penny Richards (eds.), *Gender, Power and Privilege in Early Modern Europe* (Harlow: Pearson Longman, 2003), p. 114.
94. TNA, PRO 31/3/61, f. 70 and TNA PRO 31/3/62, p. 6.
95. Edward Crankshaw, *Maria Theresa* (London: Sphere Books Ltd., 1969), p. 48.
96. The exception was her intellectually gifted favorite child Maria Christina. See Maria Theresa to Maria Christina, April 1766, in W. Fred (ed.), *Brief der Kaiserin Maria Theresia* (Munich and Leipzig: George Muller, 1914), Volume I, pp. 346–351, trans. Karl A. Roider Jr. in *Maria Theresa* (London: Prentice Hall International Inc., 1973), pp. 81–85.

97. See Crankshaw, *Maria Theresa*, 33 and C. A. Macartney, *Maria Theresa and the House of Austria* (London: The English Universities Press, 1969), p. 7.
98. Evelyne Lever, *Marie Antoinette: The Last Queen of France* (London: St. Martin's Press, 2001), p. 8.
99. Lever, *Marie Antoinette*, p. 8 and Antonia Fraser, *Marie Antoinette: The Journey* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 2001), pp. 30–33.
100. Strickland, *Lives*, Volume 5, p. 191.
101. Marie Antoinette to Marie Theresa, 17 May 1773 in Lever, *Correspondance*, p. 145.
102. Campan, *Memoirs*, pp. 32–33.
103. Price, *Road from Versailles*, pp. 8–9.
104. G.P. Gooch, *Maria Theresa and Other Studies* (Edinburgh: Neill and Company, 1951), p. 122.
105. Marie Theresa to Marie Antoinette, 21 April 1770 in Lever, *Correspondance*, p. 41.
106. Marie Theresa to Marie Antoinette, 1 November 1770 in Lever, *Correspondance*, p. 61.
107. Maria Theresa to Marie Antoinette, 9 July 1771, Lever, *Correspondance*, p. 83.
108. Maria Theresa to Marie Antoinette, 2 December 1770 in Lever, *Correspondance*, p. 65.
109. In Lever, *Correspondance*, see: Marie Antoinette to Maria Theresa, 17 July 1772, pp. 115–116; Marie Antoinette to Maria Theresa, 14 October 1772, pp. 118–119; and Marie Antoinette to Maria Theresa, Versailles, January 13, 1773, pp. 125–127.
110. Paul Lacroix (ed.), *Bibliotheque de la Reine Marie-Antoinette au Petit Trianon* (Paris: Jules Gay, 1863).
111. Archives Nationale (AN), AP 440 2 correspondance de Monsieur Campan et Marie Antoinette, 1784–1788, "Notes et Memoirs comptables de Campan, secretaire de la souveraine, et lettres et recus des fournisseurs."
112. AN, AP 440 1
113. Carla Hesse, *The Other Enlightenment: How French Women Became Modern* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2001), p. 82.
114. Merrick, *Desacralization*, p. 50 and Van Kley, *Religious Origins*, pp. 89–91.
115. Macartney, *Maria Theresa*, p. 6.
116. Van Kley, *Religious Origins*, p. 272.
117. Simeon Prosper Hardy, *Mes Loisirs, ou journal d'évènements tels qu'ils parviennent à ma connoissance* (Quebec City: Les Presses de l'Université de Laval, 2008), pp. 280, 287, 297, and 305.
118. Maria Theresa to Marie Antoinette, 8 May 1771 in Lever, *Correspondance*, p. 76.
119. "Il me reste encore un point par rapport aux Jésuites. N'entrez dans aucun discours, ni pour ni contre eux," in Letter from Marie Theresa to Marie Antoinette, Vienna, April 21, 1770 in Lever, *Correspondance*, p. 44

120. Roider, *Maria Theresa*, p. 8.
121. Lever, *Marie Antoinette*, p. 8 and Fraser, *Marie Antoinette*, pp. 30–33.
122. Lever, *Marie Antoinette*, p. 28.
123. Lever, *Marie Antoinette*, p. 28.
124. Duindam, *Vienna and Versailles*, pp. 164 and 173.
125. Duindam, *Vienna and Versailles*, p. 173.
126. General Court Expenditure was cut from 3,703,000 gulden in Charles's day to 2,780,000 in 1747. See Macartney, *Maria Theresa*, p. 78.
127. Campan, *Memoirs*, pp. 32–33.
128. Campan, *Memoirs*, pp. 32–33.
129. Zweig, *Marie Antoinette*, p. 10.
130. Larry Wolff, "Hapsburg Letters: The Disciplinary Dynamics of Epistolary Narrative in the Correspondence of Maria Theresa and Marie Antoinette," in Goodman, *Marie Antoinette*, pp. 25–44 and Regina Schulte, "Conceptual Approaches to the Queen's Body," in Regina Schulte (ed.), *The Body of the Queen: Gender and Rule in the Courtly World 1500–2000* (New York: Bergham Books, 2006).
131. Schulte, *Body of the Queen*, pp. 9–10.
132. Crankshaw, *Maria Theresa*, pp. 79–80.
133. Felix, *Louis XVI, et Marie Antoinette*, p. 60.
134. Count Otto Christopher Podewils to Frederick II, King of Prussia, in Carl Hinrichs (ed.), *Frederich der Grosse und Maria Theresia: Diplomatische Berichte von Otto Christoph Graf von Podewils* (Berlin: R.V. Deckers Verlag, G. Schenk, 1937), trans. Roider, *Maria Theresa*, p. 101.
135. Maria Theresa to Maria Christina, April 1766, in W. Fred (ed.), *Brief der Kaiserin Maria Theresia* (Munich and Leipzig: George Muller, 1914), Volume I, pp. 346–351, trans. Roider, *Maria Theresa*, p. 82.
136. "La femme est soumise en tout à son mari et ne doit avoir aucune occupation que lui plaire et de faire ses volontés . . . Tout dépend de la femme, si elle est complaisant, douce et amusante." Letter from Maria Theresa to Marie Antoinette, 4 May 1770 in Lever, *Correspondance*, p. 45.
137. Annie Duprat, *Marie Antoinette: Une reine brisée* (Paris: Perrin, 2006), p. 27.
138. "A l'instar des Messalines-Brunehaut, Frédégonde et Médicis, que l'on qualifiait autrefois de reines de France, et dont les noms a jamais odieux ne s'effacèrent pas des fastes d'histoire, Marie-Antoinette . . . a été depuis son séjour en France le fléau et la sangsue des Français": Leonard Gallois (ed.), *Réimpression de L'Ancien Moniteur*, Volume 18 (Paris: Au Bureau Centrale, 1841), p. 122.
139. Archives des Affaires Etrangeres (AE), Memoirs et Documents de France, 426, f. 80.
140. Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen*, p. 36.
141. Philippe Delorme, *Histoire de Reines de France : Marie Antoinette, Epouse de Louis XVI, mere de Louis XVII* (Paris : Pygmalion Gerard Watelet, 1999), p. 40.
142. BL, Additional Mss 20707, "Description et Relation de tout co qui a été fait et de ce qui s'est passé à l'occasion du Mariage de Louis Auguste,

Dauphin de France [Louis XVI], avec Marie Antoinette Josèphe Jeanne, Archiduchesse d'Autriche [le 16 Mai 1770]. Par M. De la Ferté, Intendant des Menus." Another copy of this document is part of the collection in the AN, O1, 3245.

143. Kaiser, "From the Austrian Committee to the Foreign Plot," p. 582.
144. "C'est l'amé de Marie-Thérèse qui va s; unir a l'âme des Bourbons: d'une si belle union doivent renaitre les jours de l'âge d'or" in Anonymous, *Lettre sur le mariage de Monseigneur Louis Auguste de Bourbon, Dauphin de France, avec l'Archiduchesse Marie Antoinette Josephe Jeanne d'Autriche, etc.* (Amsterdam, 1770), pp. 13–14.
145. Ian Dunlop, *Marie Antoinette: A Portrait* (London: Sinclair Stevenson, 1993), p. 52.
146. Dunlop, *Marie Antoinette*, pp. 49–50.
147. Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen*, p. 35.
148. Dunlop, *Marie Antoinette*, p. 51 and Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen*, p. 35.
149. Thomas E. Kaiser, "Ambiguous Identities: Marie Antoinette and the House of Lorraine from the Affair of the Minuet to Lambesc's Charge," in Goodman, *Marie Antoinette*, pp. 171–172.
150. Kaiser, "Ambiguous Identities," in Goodman, *Marie* Antoinette, pp. 173–174.
151. AE, Memoirs et Documents de France, 426, f. 308.
152. Baronne Henriette d'Oberkirch, *Memoirs sur la cour de Louis XVI et la societe francais avant 1789* (Paris: Mercure de France, 1989), p. 42.
153. Dunlop. *Marie Antoinette*, p. 72.
154. Dunlop, *Marie Antoinette*, p. 73.
155. Anonymous, *L'Ordre des Cérémonies Observées au Mariage du Roy de la Grand Bretagne & de Madame sœur du Roy* (Paris: Jean Martin, 1625), p. 5.
156. BL, Additional Mss 20707 and AN, O1, 3245.
157. AE, Memoirs et Documents de France, 426, ff. 228–338.
158. Fraser, *Marie Antoinette*, p. 62
159. Marie Theresa to Marie Antoinette, 21 April 1770 in Lever, *Correspondance*, p. 41.
160. Maria Theresa to Marie Antoinette, 8 May 1771 in Lever, *Correspondance*, p. 76.
161. *Panegyre sur le Coronnement de la Reine*, p. 30.
162. "Sept Maries de sept diverses nations . . . Toutes les autres Maries n'ont rien eu d'heureux que le nom. Marie de Moravie fut repudiée. Marie de Brabant accusée d'avoir fait empoisonner le premier fils de son mari. Marie de Luxemboug mourut . . . de la première année de son mariage," *Panegyre sur le Coronnement de la Reine*, pp. 29–30.
163. Hesse, *The Other Enlightenment*, p. 86.
164. "Mais le principal trait de la vie de S. Grégoire, que tous les moralistes ont condamné, c'est la prostitution des louanges avec laquelle il s'insinua dans l'amitié . . . de la reine Brunehaut, une des méchante femmes de la terre." Jacques D'Alembert and Denis Diderot, "Pere de l'Eglise," in Jacques d'Alembert and Denis Diderot, *The Encyclopédie ou Dictionnaire*

raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers, par une Société de Gens de letters (Paris: 1751–1777), Volume 12, p. 338.
165. Hesse, *The Other Enlightenment*, p. 46.
166. Marie Genevieve Charlotte Thiroux d'Arconville, *Histoire de Francois II*, quoted in Elaine Kruse, "The Woman in Black: The Image of Catherine de Medici from Marlowe to *Queen Margot*," in Carole Levin, Jo Eldridge Carney, and Debra Barrett-Graves (eds.), *High and Mighty Queens of Early Modern England: Realities and Representations* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2003), p. 230.
167. Kruse, "The Woman in Black," p. 230.

2 Governing the Queen's Household

1. See Elizabeth Fox-Genovese, "Women and Work," in Samia I. Spencer (ed.), *French Women and the Age of Enlightenment* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1984), pp. 114–115 and Sara Mendelson and Patricia Crawford, *Women in Early Modern England 1550–1720* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), pp. 309–310.
2. See Ruth Kleinman, "Social Dynamics at the French Court: The Household of Anne of Austria," *French Historical Studies* (Volume 16, Number 3, Spring 1990), p. 318.
3. See Caroline Hibbard, "Translating Royalty: Henrietta Maria and the Transition from Princess to Queen," *The Court Historian* (Volume 1, 2000), p. 21.
4. TNA, PRO 31/3/66, f. 100.
5. Mendelson and Crawford, *Women in Early Modern England 1550–1720*, p. 37.
6. Hanley, "Engendering the State," p. 6.
7. BL, Harley Mss 383, f. 33.
8. BL, Harley Mss 383, f. 45.
9. Smuts, "Religion, European Politics and Henrietta Maria's Circle," pp. 24–25.
10. Green, *Letters of Queen Henrietta Maria*, pp. 16–19, 20–21, and 22–24.
11. Vivian R. Gruder, "The Question of Marie Antoinette: The Queen and Public Opinion before the Revolution," *French History* (Volume 16, Number 3, 2002), p. 295.
12. Lever, *Marie-Antoinette*, pp. 104–105 and 138–139.
13. Bone, *Henrietta Maria*, p. 85.
14. Elizabeth Colwill, "Pass as a Woman: Act Like a Man: Marie Antoinette as Tribade in the Pornography of the French Revolution," in Goodman, *Marie Antoinette*, p. 149.
15. See Hunt, *The Family Romance of the French Revolution*, pp. 89–123 and Thomas, *The Wicked Queen*, pp. 20–21.
16. TNA PRO 31/3/64, f. 112 and *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, Volume 20, p. 498.
17. Dubost, *Marie de Medicis*, pp. 573–577.

18. Barroll, *Anna of Denmark*, p. 44, and Fairchilds, p. 270.
19. BL, Additional Mss 27402, ff. 57–66.
20. *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, Volume 19, p. 498.
21. Eugene Griselle (ed.), *Etat de la Maison du Roi Louis XIII De celles de sa mere, marie de medicis; de ses sœurs Chrestienne, elisabeth et henriette de France; de son frere, gaston d'orleans; de sa femme, Anne d'Austriche; de ses fils Le Dauphin (Louis XIV) et Philippe d'Orleans* (Paris: Editions de Documents d'Histoire, 1912), p. 81.
22. Griselle, *Etat de la Maison*, pp. 81 and 83 and BL, Additional Mss 8730, f. 295.
23. *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, Volume 19, p. 9.
24. Martin Butler, *The Stuart Court Masque and Political Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), p. 51.
25. *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, Volume 19, p. 494.
26. "Sur ce refus, la Reine pris occasion de lui dire qu'elle s'etormait extrement de ceste procédure veu que la Reine, sa mère, et toutes les reines précédents avaient toujours eu la disposition libre de leurs maisons." TNA, PRO 31/3/64, f. 113.
27. Carlton, *Charles I*, p. 87.
28. BL, Additional Mss 27402, ff. 57–66.
29. Caroline Hibbard, "The Role of a Queen Consort: The Household and Court of Henrietta Maria, 1625–1642," in Ronald G. Asch and Adolf M. Birke, *Princes, Patronage and the Nobility: The Court at the Beginning of the Modern Age* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), pp. 393–394.
30. *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, Volume 19, p. 515.
31. TNA, Baschet's French Transcripts, PRO 31/3/64, f. 142b.
32. *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, Volume 19, p. 520.
33. TNA, PRO 31/3/64, f. 225.
34. TNA, PRO 31/3/64, ff. 118 and 144b.
35. BL, Additional Mss 27402, ff. 57–66.
36. Charles I and Henrietta Maria sought the payment of dowry arrears throughout the 1630s. See BL, Additional Mss 78202, f. 31.
37. Dubost, *Marie de Medicis*, p. 371.
38. *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, Volume 19, p. 391.
39. *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, Volume 19, p. 506.
40. John Bruce, William Douglass Hamilton, and Sophia Crawford Lomas (eds.), *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the reign of Charles I, preserved in the State Paper Department of Her Majesty's Public Record Office* (London: Public Record Office, 1858), Volume 1625–1626, pp. 66 and 157.
41. TNA, PRO LR 57.
42. *Calendar of State Papers Domestic*, Volume 1627–1628, p. 573.
43. TNA PRO LR 57 and PRO LR 63.
44. BL, Landowne Mss 885, f. 138.
45. Erin Griffey and Caroline Hibbard, "Henrietta Maria's Inventory at Colombes: Courtly Magnificence and Hidden Politics," *Journal of the History of Collections* (May 2011), p. 18n.

46. NLW, Wynnstay Mss 176.
47. N. R. R. Fisher, "The Queene's Court in Her Councell Chamber at Westminster," *The English Historical Review* (Volume 108, Number 427, April 1993), pp. 314–337.
48. BL, Stowe Mss 142, f. 35.
49. For examples see TNA, PRO LR 63, *Calendar of State Papers Domestic*, Volume 1625–1626, p. 416 and Volume 1628–1629, p. 508.
50. NLW, Wynnstay Mss 176.
51. Whitaker, *Mad Madge*, pp. 82–83.
52. Martin Butler, *The Stuart Court Masque*, p. 79.
53. Britland, "A Fairy-Tale Marriage," p. 53 and Butler, *The Stuart Court Masque*, p. 277.
54. Veevers, *Images of Love*, pp. 4–5.
55. Butler, *The Stuart Court Masque*, p. 143 and Claire McManus, "Women on the Renaissance Stage," in McManus, *Women and Culture*, pp. 208–211.
56. Hibbard, "Transition from Princess to Queen," p. 21.
57. White, *Henrietta Maria and the English Civil Wars*, pp. 18–19.
58. White, *Henrietta Maria and the English Civil Wars*, p. 18.
59. White, *Henrietta Maria and the English Civil Wars*, p. 19.
60. *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, Volume 21, pp. 375 and 377.
61. For an example of Henrietta Maria's political correspondence concerning the fate of the Palatinate see *Calendar of State Papers Domestic*, Volume 1633–1644, p. 198.
62. TNA, PRO Roman Transcripts, Dispatch of 27 February 1635/6 cited in Smuts, "The Puritan Followers of Henrietta Maria," p. 33.
63. TNA, *Baschet's French Transcripts*, PRO, 31/3/72, f. 344.
64. Paul Sonnino, *Mazarin's Quest: The Congress of Westphalia and the Coming of the Fronde* (Boston, MA: Harvard University Press, 2008), p. 11.
65. BL, Harley Mss 383, f. 33.
66. BL, Harley Mss 383, ff. 25–26.
67. *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, Volume 18, p. 507.
68. *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, Volume 19, p. 101.
69. Anonymous, *A true discourse of all the royal passages, tryumphs and ceremonies, obserued at the contract and mariage of the high and mighty Charles, King of Great Britaine, and the most excellentest of ladies, the Lady Henrietta Maria of Burbon, sister to the most Christian King of France* (London: Iohn Hauiland, 1625), p. 34.
70. Anonymous, *A true discourse of all the royal passages*, p. 35.
71. Anonymous, *A true relation of the treaty and ratification of the marriage concluded and agreed upon betweene our Soveraigne Lord Charles by the Grace of God, King of great Britaine, France and Ireland, and the Lady Henretta Maria daughter of France and sister to his most Christian Majestie the French King* (London: 1642), pp. 1–8.
72. Bristol Record Office, Ashton Court Muniments, AC/C/47–3, cited in Britland, "A Fairy-Tale Marriage," p. 31.
73. *Calendar of State Papers Domestic*, Volume 1625–1626, p. 416.
74. Starkey, *Six Wives*, pp. 149, 171, and 525–532.

75. For an example see "A discovery of practices of the Queen's French servants prejudicial to the court and state," in *Calendar of Domestic State Papers*, 1625–1626, p. 390.
76. Gardiner, *History of the Great Civil War*, Volume 6, p. 135n.
77. BL, Additional Mss 39288, f. 7.
78. Bone, *Henrietta Maria*, 56–57.
79. BL, Harley Mss 383, f. 33.
80. BL, Harley Mss 6988, p. 96.
81. Sara Wolfson, "'Poor, Pitiful Sort of Women' The French Catholic Female household of Queen Henrietta Maria and the Breakdown of Anglo-French Relations 1625–1626" (Paper presented at The Society for the Study of French History, 23rd annual conference, Dublin, Ireland, 29–30 June 2009).
82. *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, Volume 20, p. 616.
83. BL, Royal Mss 136, f. 18a.
84. BL, Royal Mss 136, f. 18a.
85. White, *Henrietta Maria and the English Civil Wars*, pp. 16–17.
86. Caroline Hibbard, "The Role of a Queen Consort," pp. 399–400
87. For example, Dorothy Seymour remained part of Henrietta Maria's household until at least 1665. See Sarah Poynting, "'In the name of all the Sisters': Henrietta Maria's Notorious Whores," in Clare McManus (ed.), *Women and Culture*, p. 174.
88. BL, Egerton Mss 2987, ff. 42 and 37.
89. BL, Egerton Mss 2987, f. 37.
90. BL, Egerton Mss 2987, f. 37.
91. Smuts, *Court Culture and the Origins of a Royalist Tradition in Early Stuart England*, p. 251.
92. Edward Peyton, *The Divine Catastrophe of the Kingly Family of the House of Stuart or, A short history of the rise, reign and ruin thereof* (London: Giles Calvert, 1652), p. 47.
93. Butler, *The Stuart Court Masque*, pp. 56–57.
94. Norman Egbert McClure (ed.), *The Letters of John Chamberlain*, 2 volumes (Philadelphia, PA: The American Philosophical Society, 1939), Volume 1, p. 630.
95. Britland, "A Fairy-Tale Marriage," p. 45.
96. William Prynne, *Historio-matix or The Players Scourge* (London: Michael Sparke, 1633), index.
97. Prynne, *Historio-matix*, p. 47.
98. For further discussion of Catholicism in Historio-matix see Veevers, *Images of Love*, pp. 89–92.
99. White, *Henrietta Maria and the English Civil Wars*, p. 27.
100. BL, Additional Mss 27402, ff. 57–66
101. BL, Lansdowne Mss 93, f. 136.
102. Parliament of England and Wales, *The Diurnall Occurrences of every day's proceeding in Parliament since the beginning thereof, being Tuesday the twentieth of January, which ended the 10th of March Anno Dom 1628. With the arguments of the members of the House then assembled* (London: William Cooke, 1641), p. 45.

103. *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, Volume 24, p. 217.
104. *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, Volume 24, p. 319.
105. *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, Volume 24, p. 319.
106. BL Harley Mss 3888, f. 119.
107. *Calendar of Domestic State Papers*, Volume 1631–1633, p. 142.
108. Campan, *Memoirs*, pp. 75–76.
109. For a detailed discussion of nineteenth century defenses of Marie Antoinette's relationships with her female favorites see Castle, "Marie-Antoinette Obsession," in Goodman, *Marie Antoinette*, pp. 199–238. For analysis of the queen in pamphlet literature, see Hunt, *The Family Romance of the French Revolution*, p. 17; Thomas, *The Wicked Queen*, p. 13; and Elizabeth Colwill, "Pass as a Woman, Act Like a Man: Marie Antoinette as Tribade in the Pornography of the French Revolution" in Goodman, *Marie Antoinette*, pp. 139–169.
110. Henrietta Maria transported the furniture for her private rooms and chapel to England from France. For the inventory of her chapel goods see BL Additional Mss 22,724, f. 412.
111. Mercy Argenteau to Maria Theresa, 7 June 1774 in Lever, *Marie-Antoinette*, p. 179.
112. Henrietta Maria`s first grand almoner the Bishop of Mandé challenged his expulsion with the majority of the French household on the grounds of diplomatic immunity. See BL Harley Mss 383, f. 33.
113. "Je me suis assure de trois personnes du service en sous-ordre de Mme l'archiduchesse. C'est une de ses femmes et deux garçons de chambre qui me rendent un compte exact de ce qui se passé dans l'intérieur. Je suis informé jour par jour des conversations de l'archiduchesse avec l'abbé Vermond auquel elle ne cache rien." Mercy-Argenteau to Maria Theresa, 16 November 1770, Lever, *Marie-Antoinette*, p. 63.
114. Marie Antoinette to Maria Theresa, 12 July 1770 in Lever, *Marie-Antoinette*, pp. 50–52.
115. Marie Antoinette to Marie Theresa, 22 June 1775 in Lever, *Marie-Antoinette*, p. 216.
116. Fraser, *Marie Antoinette*, p. 81.
117. Mercy-Argenteau to Maria Theresa, 19 January 1775 in Lever, *Marie-Antoinette*, p. 204.
118. Marie Antoinette to Maria Theresa, 18 April 1773 in Lever, *Marie-Antoinette*, p. 141 and Maria Theresa to Marie Antoinette, 4 May 1773 in Lever, *Marie-Antoinette*, p. 143.
119. Marie Antoinette to Rosenberg, 13 July 1775 in Lever, *Marie-Antoinette*, pp. 217–218.
120. Campan, *Memoirs*, p. 103.
121. Letter from Maria Theresa to Marie Antoinette, 30 July 1775 in Lever, *Marie-Antoinette*, p. 224.
122. "Elle a toujours eu bonne réputation et n`a pas du tout le caractère italien. Elle est établie pour sa vie ici, ainsi que son frère. Je crois qu'ils sentent bien, l'un et l'autre, que la France est à présent leur véritable patrie." Letter from Marie Antoinette to Maria Theresa, 15 September 1775 in Lever, *Marie-Antoinette*, p. 228.

123. Zweig, *Marie Antoinette*, p. 26.
124. Campan, *Memoirs* p. 120.
125. "La générosité du roi pour Trianon, qu'on dit la plus agréable des maisons, me fait grand plaisir." Letter from Maria Theresa to Marie Antoinette, 16 June 1774 in Lever, *Marie-Antoinette*, p. 183.
126. Archives des Affairs Etrangeres (AE), Documents Relative to the Marriage of Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette, 426, f. 308.
127. For evidence of Anne Austria and Maria Theresa of Spain serving as precedents for the household of Marie Antoinette, see AN, O1 3791.
128. Jean-Francois Solnon, *La Cour de France* (Paris: Fayard, 1987), p. 433.
129. Felix, *Louis XVI, et Marie Antoinette*, pp. 249–250.
130. "C'est une grande joie pour moi de voir que la manière de penser du roi m'épargnera toute sollicitation pour mon amie . . . Il sera charmé de lui faire du bien pour elle-même." Letter from Marie Antoinette to Maria Theresa, 15 February 1780 in Lever, *Marie-Antoinette*, p. 376.
131. Letter from Marie Antoinette to Maria Theresa, 15 February 1780 in Lever, *Marie-Antoinette*, pp. 150–156.
132. Francoise Barry, *La Reine de France* (Paris: Les Editions du Scorpion, 1964), p. 222.
133. Lever, *Marie Antoinette* p. 134.
134. Louis Nicolardot, *Journal de Louis XVI* (Paris: E. Dentu, 1873), p. 44.
135. AN, O1 1875.
136. AN, O1 1874, 1875, and 1883.
137. Elisabeth Reynaud, *Le Petit Trianon et Marie Antoinette* (Paris: Éditions SW Télémaque, 2010), pp. 191–196.
138. Vincent Bastien, "Se Mettre en Scéne," in ed. Aillagon, pp. 292–293.
139. AN, O1 3795
140. AN, O1 3795 and 3796.
141. Annick Notter, *The Palace of Fontainebleau* (Versailles: Artlys, 2007), pp. 52–53 and Yves Carlier, "Le Boudoir de la Reine au Chateau de Fontainebleau," in ed. Aillagon, p. 170.
142. Marie Antoinette's elder brother, Joseph II, visited Versailles in 1777, maintaining a strict incognito as Count von Falkenstein. See Lever, *Marie Antoinette*, p. 106. Gustavus III of Sweden arrived at the French court "uninvited and unexpected" in 1784 and Catherine II of Russia's heir, Grand Duke Paul, and his wife Maria visited as the Comte and Comtesse du Nord in 1782. See Campan, *Memoirs*, pp. 169 and 166.
143. Reynaud, *Le Petit Trianon*, pp. 66–73, 180–185, and 212–217.
144. AN, O1 3791.
145. Letter from Marie Antoinette to Rosenberg, 13 July 1775 in Lever, *Marie-Antoinette*, p. 218.
146. Ruth Kleinman, "Social Dynamics at the French Court: The Household of Anne of Austria," *French Historical Studies* (Volume 16, Number 3, Spring 1990), p. 526.
147. Reynaud, *Le Petit Trianon*, pp. 47–48.
148. Barry, *La Reine de France*, p. 233.

149. Kleinmann, "Social Dynamics at the French Court," p. 518 and Barry, *La Reine de France*, p. 223.
150. "Nous sommes dans une épidémie de chansons satiriques . . . On m'a très libéralement suppose les deux gouts, celui des femmes et des amants. Quoique les méchancetés plaisent assez dans ce pays-ci, celles-ci sont si plates et de si mauvais ton qu'elles n'ont eu aucun succès ni dans le public ni dans la bonne compagnie." Marie Antoinette to Maria Theresa, 15 December 1775, in Lever, *Marie-Antoinette*, p. 235.
151. Historians who posit that political pornography was a significant cause of the French Revolution, most notably Robert Darnton, Lynn Hunt, and Chantal Thomas argue that obscene images of Marie Antoinette and her circle were widely available and influential throughout Louis's reign. See Robert Darnton, *The Literary Underground of the Old Regime* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1985), pp. 195–196; Hunt, *The Family Romance of the French Revolution*, pp. 89–123; Lynn Hunt, "The Many Bodies of Marie Antoinette," in Goodman, *Marie Antoinette*, pp. 117–138; Thomas, *The Wicked Queen*, in Goodman, *Marie Antoinette*; and Thomas, "The Heroine of the Crime: Marie Antoinette in Pamphlets," in Goodman, *Marie Antoinette*, pp. 99–116.
152. Kaiser, "From the Austrian Committee to the Foreign Plot," p. 604. Simon Burrows and Vivian Gruder discuss the transmission of pamphlet literature, arguing that libels concerning the queen were difficult to obtain prior to the French Revolution. See Burrows, *Blackmail*, pp. 147–170 and Gruder, "The Question of Marie Antoinette, pp. 269–298.
153. Fewer than 10 percent of surviving pamphlets pertaining to Marie Antoinette were written prior to 1789. See Hunt, "The Many Bodies of Marie Antoinette," in Goodman, *Marie Antoinette*, p. 124.
154. Hunt, "The Many Bodies of Marie Antoinette," in Goodman, *Marie Antoinette*, p. 17.
155. Vincent Bastien, "Les Dépenses" in Aillagon et al., p. 266.
156. Vincent Bastien, "Les Dépenses" in Aillagon et al., p. 266. Despite well publicized cost saving measures introduced to address popular outrage concerning court expenditure, the budget for the queen's household continued to increase, climbing to 4,700,000 livres by 1788.
157. Letter from Mercy-Argenteau to Maria Theresa, 17 September 1776 in Lever, *Marie-Antoinette*, pp. 258–259.
158. "Le public a vu d'abord avec plaisir que le roi donnait Trianon a la reine. Il commence a etre inquiet et alarmé des dépenses que S.M. y fait. Par son ordre, on a culbuté les jardins pour y faire un jardin anglais, qui coutera au moins cent cinquante mille livres." Letter from Mercy-Argenteau to Maria Theresa, 17 September 1776 in Lever, *Marie-Antoinette*, p. 258.
159. Campan, *Memoirs*, pp. 68–69.
160. Campan, *Memoirs*, p. 69.
161. Lever, *Marie Antoinette* p. 63.
162. Campan, *Memoirs* p. 69.

163. Felix, *Louis XVI, et Marie Antoinette*, pp. 103–109.
164. Xavier Salmon, "Le Petit Vienne," in Aillagon et al., p. 272.
165. Anonymous, *La Ligue Aristocratique ou Les Catiniaires Francoises* (Paris: Josseran, 1789), translated and reprinted in Thomas, *The Wicked Queen*, p. 230.
166. Campan, *Memoirs*, p. 104 and Fraser, *Marie Antoinette*, p. 130.
167. Campan, *Memoirs*, p. 107.
168. AN, O1 3795
169. AN, O1 3791
170. During the reign of Louis XIV, the queen's first horseman lost the right to control the expenditure and appointments to the queen's stables but the mention of expenditure in Mercy's letter indicates this prerogative was restored by Marie Antoinette. See Barry, *La Reine de France*, p. 232.
171. "La survivance de la place de premier écuyer rappelle la surintendance créée pour Mme de Lamballe. On voit avec peine l'emploi de 150 000 livres d'appointements pour une place qui n'est bonne que pour occasionner de la bouillerie et de la division dans la maison de la reine." Mercy-Argenteau to Maria Theresa, 17 September 1776 in Lever, *Marie-Antoinette*, p. 258.
172. Albert-Émile Sorel, *La Princesse de Lamballe: Une Amie de la Reine Marie Antoinette* (Paris: Brodard et Taupin, 1933), pp. 89–92.
173. Hunt, *The Family Romance of the French Revolution*, p. 94.
174. "La Princesse de Lamballe, qui est revenue depuis quinze jours des eau de Plombières, a été reçue par la reine avec beaucoup de démonstrations de bonté, mais cet accueil n'est qu'une forme de bienséance qui devient de plus en plus embarrassent et gênante." Letter from Mercy-Argenteau to Maria Theresa, 12 September 1777 in Lever, *Marie-Antoinette*, p. 296.
175. Thomas, *The Wicked Queen*, p. 56.
176. AN, O1 3791
177. AN, O1 3791
178. John Rogister, "Queen Marie Leszczynska and Faction at the French Court 1725–1768," in Campbell Orr, *Queenship in Europe*, p. 193.
179. AN, O1 3791
180. Maria Theresa had died in 1780.
181. "On continue ici les économies et retranchements. On réduit les gardes du corps a quatre escadrons de 250 hommes chacun . . . La destruction de la gendarmerie est applaudie de tout le militaire." Marie Antoinette to Joseph II, 22 February 1788 in Lever, *Marie-Antoinette*, p. 458.
182. Letter from Joseph II to Marie Antoinette, 5 November 1787 in Lever, *Marie-Antoinette*, p. 456.
183. "Cette princesse est maintenant toute livrée aux arrangements de l'intérieur, aux économies, aux reformes . . . Ces matières sont traitées sans plan, sans suite, toujours décidées par the intrigue et des impulsions de société." Mercy Argenteau quoted in Lever, *Marie-Antoinette*, p. 458n.

3 Wife of the King

1. Outside noble and courtly circles, most marriages in Early Modern Europe were celebrated between couples in their twenties who belonged to the same locality. Marriage celebrations themselves were relatively simple. For marriage demographics in early modern England and France, see Merry Weisner, *Women and Gender in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 72–78.
2. Susan Moller Okin, "Patriarchy and Married Women's Property in England: Questions on Some Current Views," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* (Volume 17, Number 2, Winter 1983–1984), p. 12.
3. See Ozment, *Ancestors*, pp. 33–37 and Alan Macfarlane, *Marriage and Love in England: Modes of Reproduction 1300–1840* (London: Blackwell, 1987), p. 46.
4. Veevers, *Images of Love and Religion*, p. 205 and Karen Hearne (ed.), *Van Dyck and Britain* (London: Tate Publishing, 2009), p. 65.
5. Duidam, *Vienna and Versailles*, p. 180.
6. Campan, *Memoirs*, p. 67 and Lever, *Marie Antoinette*, p. 64.
7. See Dolan, *Whores of Babylon*, pp. 95–156.
8. For a publicly circulated English translation of the marriage articles printed in 1625, see BL, Egerton Mss 2026, f. 68. The clauses protecting Henrietta Maria's Catholicism were also reprinted and circulated during the English Civil Wars in William Prynne, *The Popish Royal Favourite* (London: William Spark, 1643), p. 53.
9. Weisner, *Women and Gender*, p. 222.
10. Anne Kugler, "Constructing Wifely Identity: Prescription and Practice in the Life of Lady Sarah Cowper," *The Journal of British Studies* (Volume 40, Number 3, July 2001), pp. 291–323.
11. Louis, Chevalier de Jacourt, "La Femme" in Jacques d'Alembert and Denis Diderot, *The Encyclopédie ou Dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers, par une Société de Gens de letters* (Paris: Brisson, David, Le Breton, and Durand, 1751–1772), Volume 6, p. 471.
12. Dena Goodman, *The Republic of Letters: A Cultural History of the French Enlightenment* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1996), pp. 32–33.
13. Timothy O'Hagan, *Rousseau* (London: Routledge, 1999), pp. 3–4.
14. Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Emile*, trans. Barbara Foxley (London: Everyman, 1998), p. 388.
15. This letter is reprinted in Green, *Letters of Queen Henrietta Maria*, pp. 5–6 and Various Authors, *Calendar of the Clarendon State Papers* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1869), Volume II, Appendix, p. xvii.
16. The royal houses of France and Spain were the only powers that could provide a dowry large enough to meet England's financial needs. See Conrad Russell, *Parliaments and English Politics 1621–1629* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979), p. 154.
17. *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, Volume 18, p. 479 and Bibliotheque St. Genevieve (BSG) Mss 820, f. 291.

18. *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, Volume 18, pp. 124, 139, 202, and 326 and BSG Mss 820, f. 33b.
19. TNA PRO/31/3/68, f. 58.
20. Green, *Letters of Queen Henrietta Maria*, pp. 5–6.
21. Garrett Mattingly, *Catherine of Aragon* (New York: Book-of-the-Month Club, 1990), pp. 142–143.
22. Giles Tremlett, *Catherine of Aragon: Henry's Spanish Queen* (London: Faber and Faber Ltd, 2010), pp. 160–161.
23. During the divorce proceedings from Catherine of Aragon, Henry VIII stated publicly, "As touching the Queen if it may be adjudged by law of God that she is my lawful wife, there was never anything more pleasant and acceptable to me in my life . . . she is a woman of most gentleness, of most humility and buxomness . . . if I were to marry again, if the marriage might be good, I would surely choose her above all other women." Cited in Mattingly, *Catherine of Aragon*, p. 280.
24. Anna of Denmark would later convert to Roman Catholicism.
25. James Thomson Gibson Craig (ed.), *Papers Relevant to the Marriage of James the Sixth of Scotland, with the Princess Anna of Denmark* (Edinburgh, 1828), p. 13.
26. Craig, *Papers*, p. 5.
27. Glyn Redworth, *The Prince and the Infanta: The Cultural Politics of the Spanish Match* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2003), pp. 39–50 and Strickland, *Lives*, Volume 5, p. 98.
28. Redworth, *The Prince and the Infanta*, p. 138
29. Redworth, *The Prince and the Infanta*, p. 3.
30. Bell, "The Three Marys," p. 95 and Geraldine A. Johnson, "Pictures Fit for a Queen: Peter Paul Rubens and the Marie de' Medici Cycle," *Art History* (Volume 16, Number 3, September 1993), p. 458.
31. While Henrietta Maria was eager to be married and pestered her mother and brother to conclude the negotiations, the future Charles I did not have the strong interest in women that his late brother, Henry, Prince of Wales, had exhibited. See *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, Volume 17, pp. 450–451 and Volume 18, pp. 486 and 459.
32. Green, *Letters of Queen Henrietta Maria*, p. 5.
33. Britland, "A Fairy Tale Marriage," pp. 123–138.
34. Britland, "A Fairy Tale Marriage," p. 124.
35. See Britland, "A Fairy Tale Marriage," p. 126 and Veevers, *Images of Love and Religion*, pp. 174–178.
36. BL, Harley Mss 383, f. 33.
37. *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, Volume 19, p. 329.
38. Kevin Sharpe, "The Image of Virtue: The Court and Household of Charles I, 1625–1642," in David Starkey (ed.), *The English Court from the Wars of the Roses to the Civil War* (London: Longman, 1987), p. 247.
39. *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, Volume 19, p. 427.
40. Charles I to Dudley Carleton Viscount Dorchester, 7 December 1626, reprinted in Carlton, *Charles I* pp. 86–87.

41. "La Reine, sa femme monstre passionnée pour la roi: nous verrons a cette heure, si celle prendra…autre credit dans les affaires que du Temps du Grand Trésorier." TNA, Baschet's French Transcripts, PRO 31/3/68, f. 38.
42. TNA, Baschet's French Transcripts, PRO 31/3/68, f. 33b.
43. Michael Questier, *Stuart Dynastic Policy and Religious Politics, 1621–1625* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 22–23n.
44. TNA, Baschets French Transcripts, PRO 31/3/68, f. 29 and PRO 31/3/66, f. 31b.
45. Caroline Hibbard, "Henrietta Maria in the 1630s: Perspectives on the Role of Consort Queens in Ancien Regime Courts," in Ian Atherton and Julie Saunders (eds.), *The 1630s: Interdisciplinary Essays on Culture and Politics in the Caroline Era* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006), pp. 92–93.
46. "Les souffrances des pauvres catholiques et des autres qui sont serviteurs du Roi monseigneur m'est plus sensible que quoy qui me put arriver en mon particulier. Imaginés quelle est ma condition de voir le pouvoir osté au Roy, les Catholiques persécutés." Letter from Queen Henrietta Maria of England to Christine, Duchess of Savoy, 18 August 1641, in Hermann Ferrero (ed.), *Lettres de Henriette-Marie de France, Reine d'Angleterre a sa Soeur Christine Duchesse de Savoie* (Rome: Bocca Freres, 1881), p. 58.
47. J. S. A. Adamson, "Chivalry and Political Culture in Caroline England," in Kevin Sharpe and Peter Lake (eds.), *Culture and Politics in Early Stuart England* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1993), pp. 170–177.
48. Britland, *Drama at the Courts of Henrietta Maria*, pp. 146–147.
49. Thomas Carew, *Coelum Britanicum, A Masque at Whitehall in the Banqueting House, on Shrove Tuesday Night, the 18 of February, 1633* (London: Thomas Walkley, 1634), p. 9.
50. Prynne, *The Popish Royal Favourite*, p. 56.
51. Graham Parry, *The Arts of the Anglican Counter Reformation: Glory, Laud and Honour* (Woodbride: The Boydell Press, 2006), pp. 127–128.
52. See the address received by Henrietta Maria in Canterbury, upon her arrival in England, in which she is described as "Queen Marie, fair daughter of France." BL, Additional Mss 28011, f. 14.
53. A recent biographer of Mary I argues that the burnings would not have persisted in the popular imagination without the widespread dissemination of Foxe's work, with its gruesome illustrations. See Linda Porter, *Mary Tudor: The First Queen* (London: Piatkus Books, 2009), pp. 361–362.
54. Hutchison, *Memoirs*, p. 70.
55. Anonymous, *Epithalamium: Gallo-Britanicum* (London: Thomas Archer, 1625), p. 1 and Alison Plowden, *Henrietta Maria: Charles I's Indomitable Queen* (London: Sutton Publishing, 2001), p. 28.
56. Letter from Thomas More to Thomas Rant, 28 February 1624 in Questier, *Stuart Dynastic Policy*, p. 250.

57. *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, Volume 17, p. 623.
58. Mendelson and Crawford, *Women in Early Modern England*, p. 138.
59. Dolan, *Whores of Babylon*, p. 62.
60. Susan Amussen, *An Ordered Society: Gender and Class in Early Modern England* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998), p. 100.
61. See Anonymous, *A pittilesse mother That most vnnaturally at one time, murthered two of her owne children at Acton within sixe miles from London vppon holy Thursday last 1616. The ninth of May* (London: n.p., 1616) and Frances Dolan, *Dangerous Familiars: Representations of Domestic Crime in England (1550–1700)* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1994), p. 148.
62. BSG Mss 820, f. 4.
63. Bone, *Henrietta Maria*, p. 41.
64. BL, Harley Mss 383, f. 33.
65. Southcott to Biddulph, 15 February 1633 in Michael Questier (ed.), *Newsletters from the Caroline Court* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), p. 153.
66. *Calendar of State Papers Domestic*, Volume 11, p. 518.
67. Prynne, *The Popish Royall Favourite*, p. 18.
68. Prynne, *The Popish Royall Favourite*, p. 19.
69. BL, Egerton Mss 2541, f. 116.
70. *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, Volume 24, pp. 120–121.
71. *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, Volume 24, pp. 120–121.
72. *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, Volume 24, f. 419.
73. Caroline Hibbard, "The Contribution of 1639: Court and Country Catholicism," *Recusant History* (Volume 16, Issue 1, 1982), pp. 42–60.
74. Secret Catholics who attended Church of England services to avoid arrest.
75. "To His Sacred Majesty, ab ignoto" in Anonymous, *Cabala*, p. 278.
76. "To His Sacred Majesty, ab ignoto" in Anonymous, *Cabala*, p. 278.
77. Christopher Highley, *Catholics Writing the Nation in Early Modern Britain and Ireland* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), pp. 157–158.
78. *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, Volume 24, f. 424.
79. *Calendar of State Papers Domestic*, Volume 12, p. 521.
80. Southcott to Biddulph, 7 June 1633, reprinted in Questier, *Newsletters from the Caroline Court*, p. 182.
81. "Instruction concerning the present state of the Protestant church of England, May 1636," reprinted in Questier, *Newsletters from the Caroline Court*, p. 278.
82. Hutchison, *Memoirs*, p. 70.
83. Margaret Cavendish, Duchess of Newcastle, *CCXI Sociable Letters* (London: William Wilson, 1664), pp. 15–16.
84. Whitaker, *Mad Madge*, pp. 53–56 and Emma L. E. Rees, *Margaret Cavendish: Gender, Genre, Exile* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003), pp. 43–44.
85. Bodleian Library (BodL), Ashmole Mss, 36–37, fol. 264r.
86. *Calendar of State Papers Domestic*, Volume 12, p. 259.

87. For the expenditures relating to Marie de Medici's visit, see *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, Volume 24, p. 471.
88. "Mes goûts ne sont pas les mêmes que ceux du roi, qui n'a que ceux de la chasse et des ouvrages méchaniques. Vous conviendrez que j'aurais assez mauvais grâce auprés d'une forge. Je n'y serais pas Vulcain, et le rôle de Vénus pourrait lui déplaire beaucoup plus que mes goûts, qu'il ne désapprouve pas." Marie Antoinette to Rosenberg, 17 April 1775, in Lever, *Correspondance*, p. 208.
89. Marie Antoinette to Rosenberg, 13 July 1775 in Lever, *Correspondance*, p. 217. Also, BL, Zweig Mss 171.
90. Theresa to Marie Antoinette, 30 July 1775 in Lever, *Correspondance*, p. 223.
91. Theresa to Marie Antoinette, 30 July 1775 in Lever, *Correspondance*, p. 224. For Marie Antoinette's political naivety, see Felix, *Louis XVI*, p. 162–163. Other political studies analyzing Louis XVI's reign focus instead on the veracity of her claims that she influenced "the poor man" to meet with the pro-Austrian Duke of Choiseul and dismiss his successor as chief minister, the Duke d'Aiguillon. See Hardman, *French Politics*, p. 205 and Price, *Road from Versailles*, p. 37.
92. Fraser, *Marie Antoinette*, pp. 140–141.
93. See Margaret R. Darrow, "Popular Concepts of Marital Choice in Eighteenth Century France," *Journal of Social History* (Voume 19, Number 2, 1985), pp. 261–272.
94. See Evelyne Lever, *Madame de Pompadour: A Life* (New York: Farrar, Strauss and Giroux, 2002), pp. 168–179.
95. Rousseau, *Emile*, pp. 429 and 446 and Susan Moller Okin, "The Fate of Rousseau's Heroines," in Lynda Lange (ed.), *Feminist Interpretations of Jean-Jacques Rousseau* (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2002), p. 99.
96. Jennifer Popiel, *Rousseau's Daughters: Domesticity, Education and Autonomy in Modern France* (Lebanon: University of New Hampshire Press, 2008), p. 9.
97. Even Archduchess Marie Christine's "love match" with Prince Albert of Saxe-Teschen suited Maria Theresa's goals concerning the governance of the Austrian Netherlands. Macartney, *Maria Theresa*, pp. 110–113.
98. Maria Theresa to Mercy-Argenteau, 4 January 1771 in Lever, *Correspondance*, p. 68.
99. Felix, *Louis XVI*, p. 17.
100. Felix, *Louis XVI*, pp. 28–29.
101. Campan, *Memoirs*, p. 67.
102. Hanley, "Engendering the State," p. 6.
103. Maria Theresa to Marie Antoinette, 2 December 1770 in Lever, *Correspondance*, p. 65.
104. "Je ne désapprouve pas les promenades, mais il ne faut pas y excéder, surtout à cheval. Je suis bien fâchée d'avoir appris que vous ne m'avez pas tenu parole et que vous courez à la chasse." Letter from Maria Theresa to Marie Antoinette, 9 June 1771 in Lever, *Correspondance*, p. 80

105. Marie Antoinette to Maria Theresa, 21 June 1771, in Lever, *Correspondance*, p. 81.
106. Campan, *Memoirs*, pp. 32–33.
107. "Je prêche a ma fille la patience et qu'il n'y a rien de perdu, mais qu'elle redouble de caresses." Maria Theresa to Mercy-Argenteau, 2 October 1770 in Lever, *Correspondance*, p. 55.
108. Maria Theresa to Marie Antoinette, 8 May 1771, in Lever, *Correspondance*, p. 76.
109. "J'avoue que cela me frappe d'autant plus que, de jour, étant toujours dissipée et sans le roi, s'il ne vient plus coucher chez vous pour de la succession, il faudra donc y renoncer." Letter from Maria Theresa to Marie Antoinette, 2 June 1775 in Lever, *Correspondance*, p. 214.
110. Mercy-Argenteau to Maria Theresa, 14 July 1770 in Lever, *Correspondance*, pp. 53–54 and Letter from Mercy-Argenteau to Maria Theresa, 20 October 1770 in Lever, *Correspondance*, p. 59.
111. "Le roi actuel, ayant peine vingt ans, avait affaire a trois tantes et trois princesses . . . femmes avec qui il allait vivre et qui, en ayant chacune beaucoup a leur suite, dont plusiers habiles, lui faisaient une centaine de femmes a qui il allait avoir affaire." Anne-Emmanuel, Duc de Croy, *Journal Inedit du duc de Croy – 1718–1784 – publié d'apres le manuscript autographe conserve a la Bibliothéque de l'Institut*, Volume 3 (Paris: Flammerion, 1906–1921), pp. 117–118.
112. Maria Theresa to Marie Antoinette, 30 July 1775 in Lever, *Correspondance*, pp. 223–224.
113. See Rogister, "Queen Marie Leszczynska," pp. 186–220.
114. This unity between the physical existence of the monarch and the divine right of kingship encouraged the theory of "The King's Two Bodies." Ernst Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Medieval Political Theology* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1957), p. 7.
115. "Elle le croit trop apathique et timide pour supposer qu'il puisse jamais se livrer aux désordres de la galanterie. La reine en est si persuadée qui lui est arrivé de dire à quelques gens de ses entours qu'elle ne serait ni en peine ni bien fâchée que le roi prit quelques inclination momentanée et passagère." Mercy-Argenteau to Maria Theresa, 19 November 1777, in Lever, Correspondance, p. 304.
116. Maria Theresa to Marie Antoinette, 5 December 1777, in Lever, Correspondance, pp. 305–306.
117. "à la manière dont le roi est et vit actuellement avec moi, j'ai grand confiance qu'avant peu je n'aurai plus rien désirer." Marie Antoinette to Maria Theresa, 19 December 1777, in Lever, Correspondance, p. 306.
118. "Je sens bien l'avantage qu'il y à ce qu'il vienne passer la nuit pour établir la confiance." Marie Antoinette to Maria Theresa, October 1777 in Lever, Correspondance, p. 300.
119. "Ces deux femmes célèbres se ressemblèrent encore dans l'art de tromper et d'avilir celui qu'elles devaient faire respecter." Anonymous, *Essai Historique sur la vie de Marie-Antoinette d'Autriche Reine de France* (Paris: Chez la Montensier, 1789), pp. 4–5.

120. Anonymous, *Song on the Wedding of His Royal Highness the Dauphin* (Paris: n.p., 1770), Bibliotheque Nationale (BN), Ye 20763, quoted in Antoine de Baecque, *The Body Politic: Corporeal Metaphor in Revolutionary France, 1770–1800* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1993), p. 36.
121. Hesse, *The Other Enlightenment*, pp. 15–16; Fraser, *Marie Antoinette*, p. 137, Lever, *Marie Antoinette*, p. 93.
122. Anonymous, *Sermon on the Wedding of His Royal Highness the Dauphin* (Paris: n.p., 1770); BN, Lb 39, 119A, translated and reprinted in Baecque, *The Body Politic*, p. 36.
123. Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Politics and the Arts: Letter to M. D'Alembert on the Theatre*, trans. and ed. Allan Bloom (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1960), p. 49
124. Lever, *Madame de Pompadour*, pp. 115–122 and Joan Haslip, *Marie Antoinette* (London: Wiedenfeld and Nicolson, 1987), p. 105.
125. Various Authors, *Lettre des Laboureuses de la Paraisse de Noisi pres Versailles a la Reine* (Paris: n.p., 1775), Bibliotheque de la Histoire de la Ville de Paris (BHVP), p. 5.
126. Various Authors, *Lettre des Laboureuses*, p. 15.
127. "Que la voie publique a appris à Votre Majesté que la reine (de sa propre volonté) était restée plusieurs semaines faisant lit à part avec le roi, que tout Paris en été instruit et en a glosé, au grand détriment du crédit et de la considération de la reine." Mercy-Argenteau to Maria Theresa, 18 May 1775 in Lever, *Correspondance*, p. 212.
128. "Il est inutile de dire à ma chère maman combine j'ai souffert de voir un héritier qui n'est pas de moi." Marie Antoinette to Maria Theresa, Versailles, 12 August 1775 in Lever, *Correspondance*, p. 225.
129. "heritier" instead of "enfant."
130. Campan, *Memoirs*, p. 95.
131. Sarah Maza, *Private Lives and Public Affairs: The Causes Celebres of Prerevolutionary France* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1993), pp. 167–211; Frances Mossiker, *The Queen's Necklace* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1961); Frantz Funck-Bretano, *L'Affaire du Collier* (Paris: Hachette, 1901); and Simon Schama, *Citizens: A Chronicle of the French Revolution* (New York: Knopf, 1989), pp. 203–227.
132. Maza, *Private Lives and Public Affairs*, pp. 319–320.
133. Burrows, *Blackmail* p. 205.
134. Mossiker, *The Queen's Necklace*, pp. 35–37 and Haslip, *Marie Antoinette*, pp. 133–134.
135. Maza, *Private Lives and Public Affairs*, pp. 185.
136. Maza, *Private Lives and Public Affairs*, pp. 190–191.
137. "On n'a pris nulle peine pour contrefaire mon écriture, car elle ne lui ressemble en rien, et je n'ai jamais signé 'de France.' C'est un étrange roman, aux yeux de tout ce pays-ci, que de vouloir supposer que j'ai pu vouloir donner une commission secrète au Cardinal." Letter from Marie Antoinette to Joseph II, 22 August 1785 in Lever, *Correspondance*, p. 443.

138. Archives Nationale (AN), K 162.
139. Maza briefly compares the reputations of Henrietta Maria and Alexandra of Russia to that of Marie Antoinette." See Maza, *Private Lives and Public Affairs*, p. 172.
140. Lamballe was the widow of a grandson of Louis XIV's legitimized son, Louis-Alexandre de Bourbon, Count of Toulouse while de la Motte-Valois was a descendent of an illegitimate son of Henry II. See Mossiker, *The Queen's Necklace*, pp. 4–5.
141. Campan, *Memoirs* pp. 70–71.
142. Campan, *Memoirs* p. 71.
143. Campan, *Memoirs* p. 120.

4 Mother to the Royal Children

1. Green, *Letters of Queen Henrietta Maria*, pp. 8–10.
2. David Herlihy, *Medieval Households* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1985), pp. 113 and 128.
3. In Scotland, James VI and his firstborn son, Prince Henry, were raised by the Earls of Mar. In France, the future Henry IV spent extended periods at the French court, under the nominal supervision of King Henry II.
4. See Green, *Letters of Queen Henrietta Maria*, pp. 28–29 and Hearn, *Van Dyck and Britain*, pp. 68–69.
5. Michael Anderson, *Approaches to the History of the Western Family: 1500–1914* (London: The MacMillan Press Ltd, 1980), p. 60; Pollock, "Parent-Child Relations," pp. 194–195; and Ozment, *Ancestors*, pp. 74–75.
6. Marie Antoinette to Tourzel, 24 July 1789 in Lever, *Correspondance*, p. 489.
7. Marie Antoinette to Maria Theresa, Versailles, 12 June 1778 in Lever, *Ancestors*, p. 331.
8. Ronald Hutton, *Charles the Second, King of England, Scotland and Ireland* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), p. 4.
9. BL, Additional Mss 27402, ff. 57–66. BL, Stowe Mss 132, ff. 208–211, and BL, Egerton Mss 2554.
10. Rosalind K. Marshall, *Queen Mary's Women: Female Relatives, Servants, Friends and Enemies of Mary Queen of Scots* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 2006), p. 4.
11. Susan Amussen, *An Ordered Society: Gender and Class in Early Modern England* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998), pp. 34–66 and Mendelson and Crawford, *Women in Early Modern England*, pp. 62 and 67.
12. *Calendar of State Papers Domestic*, Volume 6, 1633–1634, p. 229.
13. *Calendar of State Papers Domestic*, Volume 6, 1633–1634, p. 242.
14. *Calendar of State Papers Domestic*, Volume 6, 1633–1634, p. 264.
15. Hutton, *Charles the Second*, p. 1

16. Green, *Letters of Queen Henrietta Maria*, p. 18
17. *Calendar of State Papers Domestic*, Volume 4, 1629–1631, p. 439 and p. 329 and Volume 5, 1631–1633, p. 250.
18. *Calendar of State Papers Domestic*, Volume 8, 1635, p. 25 and Volume 6, 1633–1634, p. 375.
19. *Calendar of State Papers Domestic*, Volume 6, pp. 250 and 270
20. David Starkey and Susan Doran, *Henry VIII: Man and Monarch* (London: The British Library, 2009), pp. 23 and 29.
21. Tremlett, *Catherine of Aragon*, pp. 239–240 and 382–383.
22. Starkey, *Six Wives*, pp. 717–720 and 756–758.
23. Mary Queen of Scots adopted the French spelling of the name during her upbringing in France.
24. Rosalind K. Marshall, *Scottish Queens: 1034–1714* (East Lothian: Tuckwell Press, 2003), p. 147.
25. Marshall, *Scottish Queens*, p. 71.
26. Maria Perry, *The Sisters of Henry VIII: The Tumultuous Lives of Margaret of Scotland and Mary of France* (London: Andre Deutsch Ltd., 1998), pp. 78–79.
27. Maureen M. Meikle, "A Meddlesome Princess: Anna of Denmark and Scottish Court Politics 1589–1603," in Julian Goodare and Michael Lynch (eds.), *The Reign of James VI* (East Lothian: Tuckwell Press, 2000), pp. 132–135.
28. Marshall, *Scottish Queens*, pp. 142 and 147.
29. Steven Ozment, *When Fathers Ruled: Family Life in Reformation Europe* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1983) and Marc R. Forester and Benjamin J. Kaplan (eds.), *Piety and Family in Early Modern Europe* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005).
30. Green, *Letters of Queen Henrietta Maria*, pp. 9–10. See also British Library (BL), Stowe Mss 132, f. 206.
31. Green, *Letters of Queen Henrietta Maria*, p. 8. See also BL, Stowe Mss 132, f. 205.
32. Robert Mandrou, *Introduction to Modern France 1500–1640: An Essay in Historical Psychology* (New York: Holmes and Meier, 1976), p. 86; David Martin Luebke (ed.), *The Counter Reformation: The Essential Readings* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd., 1999), pp. 11–12; and Elizabeth Rapley, *The Devotes: Women and the Church in Seventeenth Century France* (Kingston: Queens-McGill Press, 1993), pp. 10–19.
33. *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, Volume 19, pp. 494–498.
34. *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, Volume 20, p. 297.
35. BL, Harley Mss, 6988, f. 220. The list contains at least three mistakes, including Princess Anne's year of birth and Princess Elizabeth's birthday. See White, *Henrietta Maria and the English Civil Wars*, p. 15n.
36. *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, Volume 24, p. 495.
37. *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, Volume 25, p. 106.
38. Anonymous, *Musarium Oxoniensium Charisteria pro Serenissima Regina Maria* (Oxford: n.p., 1639).

39. See Raymond A. Anselment, "'The Tears of Nature': Seventeenth Century Parental Bereavement," *Modern Philology* (Volume 91, Number 1, August 1993), pp. 26–53.
40. French diplomatic correspondence of the period describes Marie de Medici as personally dispatching Peronne to attend her daughter. See TNA, PRO 31/3/66, p. 41.
41. See Philip A. Kalisch, Margaret Scobey, and Beatrice J. Kalisch, "Louyse Bourgeois and the Emergence of Modern Midwifery," in Edwin R. Van Teijlingen, George W. Lowis, and Peter McCaffery (eds.), *Midwivery and the Medicalization of Childbirth: Comparative Perspectives* (New York: Nova Science Publishers Inc., 2004), pp. 75–88 and Antonia Fraser, *The Weaker Vessel: Woman's Lot in Seventeenth Century England* (London: Mandarin Paperbacks, 1984), p. 500.
42. *Calendar of State Papers Domestic*, Volume 3, p. 548.
43. *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, Volume 22, p. 316.
44. *Calendar of State Papers Domestic*, Volume 4, p. 278.
45. *Calendar of State Papers Domestic*, Volume 6, p. 246.
46. *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, Volume 27, p. 107.
47. Linda Levy Peck, *Consuming Splendor: Society and Culture in Seventeenth Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp. 25–26 and 162–168.
48. Queen Henrietta Maria to Christine, Princess of Piedmont, July 1635, in Ferrero, *Lettres de Henriette-Marie*, pp. 39–40 and Letter of Lord Astor to Mr. Windebrooke, 25 February 1637, Bodleian Library (BodL), Clarendon State Papers, Volume 11, f. 889.
49. Hamilton, *Henrietta Maria*, p. viii.
50. Hearn, *Van Dyck and Britain*, pp. 68–69.
51. Laura Lunger Knoppers, *Politicizing Domesticity from Henrietta Maria to Milton's Eve* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), p. 4.
52. BL, Harley Mss 6988, f. 111.
53. National Archives of Scotland (NAS), MS GD. 112/39/43/22 and *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, Volume 23, p. 160.
54. BL, Harley Mss 6988, f. 95. Also reprinted in Green, *Letters of Queen Henrietta Maria*, pp. 28–29.
55. Princes Charles continued to resist taking his medicine. See BL, Harley Mss 6988, ff. 99 and 101.
56. *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, Volume 17, p. 573.
57. BL, Harley Mss 6988, f. 81.
58. BL, Harley Mss 6988, f. 81.
59. *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, Volume 22, p. 431.
60. See Elizabeth Coiro, "'A ball of strife': Caroline Poetry and Royal Marriage," in Thomas H. Corns (ed.), *The Royal Image: Representations of Charles I* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. 28 and Malcolm Smuts, "The Political Failure of Stuart Court Patronage," in Guy Fitch Lytle and Stephen Orgel (eds.), *Patronage in the Renaissance* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981), p. 182.

61. John Rous, *Diary of John Rous: Incumbent of Santon Downham, Suffolk from 1625 to 1642*, ed. Mary Anne Everett Green (London: Camden Society, 1856), p. 54.
62. *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, Volume 27, p. 130.
63. Anonymous, *A speech delivered in the star chamber on Wednesday the 14th of June, 1637* (London: Richard Badger, 1637), p. 25.
64. BL, Harley Mss 383, f. 98.
65. BL, Harley Mss 383, f. 98.
66. *Calendar of State Papers Domestic*, Volume 4, p. 283.
67. *Calendar of State Papers Domestic*, Volume 4, p. 277.
68. Sybil Jack, "In Praise of Queens: The Public Presentation of the Virtuous Consort in Seventeenth Century Britain," in Stephanie Tarbin and Susan Broomhall (eds.), *Women, Identities and Communities in Early Modern Europe* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), pp. 211–224.
69. Anonymous, *A Thankesgiving and Prayer for the safe child-bearing of the Queens Majestie* (London: Robert Barker and John Bill, 1629), p. 1
70. Anonymous, *A Thankesgiving and Prayer*, p. 1.
71. *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, Volume 23, p. 501.
72. Trevor Royle, *The Wars of the Roses: England's First Civil War* (London: Little Brown Book Group Ltd, 2010), Anne Crawford, *The Yorkists: The History of a Dynasty* (London: Hambledon Continuum, 2007), pp. 151–168.
73. *Calendar of State Papers Domestic*, Volume 4, p. 346.
74. *Calendar of State Papers Domestic*, Volume 4, p. 489.
75. *Calendar of State Papers Domestic*, Volume 4, p. 477.
76. *Calendar of State Papers Domestic*, Volume 7, p. 318.
77. Hutton, *Charles the Second*, p. 4.
78. TNA, PRO 31/3/72, f. 630.
79. TNA, PRO 31/3/72, f. 119.
80. *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, Volume 22, p. 58.
81. "On a toujours accoutumé mes enfants à avoir grand confiance en moi, et, quand ils ont eu des torts, à me le dire eux-mêmes. Cela fait qu'en les grondant, j'ai l'air plus peinée et affligée de ce qu'ils ont fait que fâchée." Marie Antoinette to Tourzel, 24 July 1789 in Lever, *Correspondance*, p. 489.
82. Rousseau, *Emile*, pp. 389–390.
83. Kaiser, *Scandal in the Royal Nursery*, p. 410.
84. Felix, *Louis XVI*, pp. 238–239.
85. Felix, *Louis XVI*, pp. 428–429.
86. Okin, "The Fate of Rousseau's Heroines," p. 99.
87. Rousseau, *Emile*, p. 169.
88. Rousseau, *Emile*, p. 388.
89. Popiel, *Rousseau's Daughters*, p. 9.
90. Father-in-law of Jeanne Campan.
91. Archives Nationale (AN), 440 AP2.
92. See Lacroix, *Bibliotheque de la Reine*, p. 30.

93. Lacroix, *Bibliotheque de la Reine*, p. 88.
94. Campan, *Memoirs* p. 131.
95. Ourida Mostefai, "The Author as Celebrity and Outcast: Authorship and Autobiography in Rousseau," in John O'Neal and Ourida Mostefai (eds.), *Approaches to Teaching Rousseau's Confessions and Reveries of the Solitary Walker* (New York: Modern Language Association, 2003), p. 72.
96. "A la manière dont on les élevé à cette heure, ils sont bien moins gênés; on ne les emmaillote pas, ils sont toujours dans une barcelonnette ou sur le bras, et du moment qu'ils peuvent être a l'aire, on les y accoutume petit à petit, et ils finissent par y être presque toujours. Je crois que c'est la manière la plus saine et la meilleure de les élever." Marie Antoinette to Maria Theresa, Versailles, 12 June 1778 in Lever, *Correspondance*, p. 331.
97. Margaret H. Darrow, "French Noblewomen and the New Domesticity 1750–1850," *Feminist Studies*, (Volume 5, Number 1, Spring 1979), p. 42.
98. Campan, *Memoirs*, p. 147.
99. Felix, *Louis XVI*, p. 239.
100. Campan, *Memoirs*, p. 152 and De Baecque, *The Body Politic*, p. 46.
101. Rousseau, *Emile*, p. 391.
102. Rogister, "Queen Marie Leszczynska," in Campbell Orr, *Queenship in Europe*, p. 209.
103. "Cette circonstance si désirée et si heureuse ajouterait un grand poids à la influence et au crédit de la Reine." Mercy-Argenteau to Joseph II, Paris, 21 February 1781 in Chevalier Alfred D'Arneth and Jules Flammermont (eds.), *Correspondance Secrete de Comte de Mercy-Argenteau avec L'Empereur Joseph II et Le Prince de Kaunitz* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1889), p. 24.
104. D'Arneth and Flammermont, *Correspondance Secrete*, p. 66 and Colin Jones, *The Great Nation: France from Louis XV to Napoleon 1715–1799* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), p. 305.
105. "La Reine jouit de la plus parfaite santé et du plus grand credit . . . Elle se prête aux instances que je Lui ai faites de s'entretenir quelquefois avec le Roi de matières politiques. J'ai particulièrement suggère trios points essentiels: celui de l'utilité d'ouvrir le congrès de paix le plus tôt possible, celui de parer aux machinations de le cour de Berlin, et finalement d'être attentive à diminuer l'impression de jalousie que causent ici les liaisons de Votre Majesté avec la Russie." Mercy-Argenteau to Joseph II, Paris, 16 October 1781 in D'Arneth and Flammermont, *Correspondance Secrete*, p. 66.
106. Lever, *Marie Antoinette*, pp. 142–143.
107. Campan, *Memoirs*, pp. 197–199.
108. "La Reine est fortement occupe des moyens d'établir un bon plan d'éducation pour le Dauphin. Sa Majesté est convenue avec le Roi qu'il n'y aura point de gouverneur désigne avant cinq ans." Mercy-Argenteau to Joseph II, Paris, 11 November 1781 in D'Arneth and Flammermont, *Correspondance Secrete*, pp. 74–75.

109. D'Arneth and Flammermont, *Correspondance Secrete*, pp. 74–75.
110. AN O 3798,
111. Lacroix, *Bibliotheque de la Reine*, p. 17.
112. See Andrew O'Malley, *The Making of the Modern Child: Children's Literature and Childhood in the Late Eighteenth Century* (New York: Routledge, 2003).
113. Cardin le Bret, *De la souverainte*, cited in Kaiser, "Scandal in the Royal Nursery," p. 404.
114. Kaiser, "Scandal in the Royal Nursery," p. 407.
115. Various Authors, *The Wallace Collection* (London: Scala Publishers Ltd., 2006), p. 138.
116. AN KK 1452: "Livre qui contient tout ce qui peut intéresser Madame La Gouvernante des Enfants de France et surintendante de Leurs Maisons," cited in Kaiser, "Scandal in the Royal Nursery," p. 407.
117. Louis-Philippe succeeded his father as Duke d'Orleans in 1785.
118. Provence to King Gustavus of Sweden cited and translated in Zweig, *Marie Antoinette*, p. 150.
119. Zweig, *Marie Antoinette*, pp. 149–151 and Thomas, "The Heroine of the Crime," in Goodman, *Marie Antoinette*, p. 105.
120. "The Austrian Woman on the Rampage or the Royal Orgy," 1789, in Thomas, "The Heroine of the Crime," p. 205.
121. Anonymous, *Les Amours de Charlot et Toinette* (Versailles: n.p., 1789).
122. Anonymous, *Lettre de la Reine envoyee au Comte d'Artois avec la Reponse du Comte D'Artois a la Reine* (Paris: Valois, n.d.).
123. Georges Bordonove, *Louis XVIII Le Désiré* (Paris: Pygmalion, 1989), p. 26.
124. Mercy-Argenteau to Maria Theresa, 7 June 1774 in Lever, *Correspondance*, p. 178: "La famille royale dîne et soupe ensemble dans l'appartement de la reine, et le roi met beaucoup de simplicité, d'amitié et d'aisance dans la façon d'être vis-à-vis de ses frères et de ses belle-sœur; il leur a ordonné de supprimer le titre de Majesté lorsqu'ils lui parlent."
125. Fraser, *The Weaker Vessel*, p. 101 and Lever, *Marie Antoinette*, p. 201.
126. "Il est bien certain que non seulement il n'y a point de brouillerie entre Monsieur et moi, mais ce qui est plus, c'est qu'on n'en croit pas, et tout le monde remarque mes bonnes manières pour lui et sa femme." Marie Antoinette to Maria Theresa, 12 November 1775 in Lever, *Correspondance*, p. 232.
127. Marie Antoinette to Maria Theresa, 16 August 1779 in Lever, *Correspondance*, p. 361.
128. Kaiser, "Scandal in the Royal Nursery," p. 418.
129. Mercy-Argenteau to Maria Theresa, 15 June 1777 in Lever, *Correspondance*, p. 282.
130. "La reine ne peut plus se passer de la société de cette jeune femme. Elle est dépositaire de toutes ses pensées et je doute fort qu'il y en ait d'exceptées a cette confiance sans bornes." Letter from Mercy-Argenteau to Maria Theresa, 12 September 1777 in Lever, *Correspondance*, p. 295.

131. Maria Theresa to Mercy-Argenteau, 1 October 1777 in Lever, *Correspondance*, p. 298.
132. AN, O1 3799.
133. AN, O1 3799.
134. AN, O1 3799.
135. AN, O1 3799.
136. AN, O1 3799.
137. Tracy Adams, *The Life and Afterlife of Isabeau of Bavaria* (Baltimore, MD: John Hopkins University Press, 2010), pp. 38–72.
138. "Parmi les mauvais contes que l'interrègne de la gouvernante des Enfants de France fait faire on remarque celui qui suppose que Monsieur Provence est allé trouver le roi, son frère, et lui a dit que . . . si son choix pour remplacer Madame de Guememe tombait sur Madame de Polignac, il serait blâmé de tout la France." Bombelles,, *Marquis de Bombelles: Journal*, ed. Georges, Comte de Clam-Martinic, Jean Grasson, and Frans Durif (Geneva: Librarie Droz S.A., 1977), Volume 1, p. 165.
139. Bombelles, *Journal*, p. 169.
140. "La Reine ne sait pas encore combien cet enfant, si précieux pour l'Etat et pour elle, a été en danger. Elle a la cœur très bon, aime beaucoup son fils et sa fille, mais une grande dissipation nui nécessairement a la sensibilité, et l'on s'étourdit souvent sur ce qui devrait nous affecter le plus." Bombelles, *Journal*, p. 326.
141. "Promenades nocturnes." Anonymous, *Porte-Feuille d'un Talon Rouge. Contenant des anecdotes galantes et secrettes de la cour de France* (Paris: De l'imprimerie du Comte de Paradès, ca. 1780), p. 11.
142. "Le Reine devint enceinte & quand sa grossesse fut déclarée. Madame de Lamballe fut encore son intime amie. Le tems de couches arrive, la frayeur de la mort s'empara de son esprit. Elle avait déjà prés deux millions de Dettes; elle ne voulait pas mourir insolvable . . . La Reine . . . en parla elle-même au roi, qui espérant un Dauphin, consola la reine, fit payer ses dettes, & témoigna sa reconnaissance a M. Necker." Anonymous, *Porte-Feuille*, pp. 23–24.
143. In the pamphlet, Necker valiantly attempts to protect the funds until her receives orders from the king. See Anonymous, *Porte-Feuille*, pp. 23–24.
144. Hunt, *Family Romance*, pp. 89–123.
145. "Je pourrais en dire autant pour Mme de Polignac par rapport au roi. Il l'aime beaucoup, et quoique je sois fort sensible et reconnaissante du bien qu'il lui fait, je n'ai pas besoin de l'en solliciter. Les gazetiers et nouvellistes en savent plus que moi. Je n'ai entendu parler ni de la terre de deux millions ni d'aucune autre." Marie Antoinette to Maria Theresa, 13 April 1780 in Lever, *Correspondance*, p. 381.
146. AN, O1 3799
147. Kaiser, "Scandal in the Royal Nursery," pp. 412 and 418.
148. Bombelles, *Journal*, Volume 1, p. 160.
149. Anonymous, *Essai Historique*, p. 127.

150. Anonymous, *Essai Historique*, pp. 126–128.
151. "Le 19 du présent mois, a onze heures 35 minutes de matin, la reine est accouchée, a terme, d'une princesse forte & bien constituée, après une travail long & douloureux de prés de 12 heures." E. Lasson, *Premier Bulletin* (Versailles: De l'imprimerie du Cabinet du Roi, 1778), p. 1 and AN, O1 3791.
152. Lever, *Marie Antoinette*, pp. 120–121 and 142–143.
153. AN, O1 3799.
154. Blanning, *Culture of Power* p. 107.
155. Mary D. Sherriff, "The Portrait of the Queen," in Goodman, *Marie Antoinette*, p. 49.
156. See "Marie-Antoinette, Madame de Royale et le dauphin dans les jardins de Trianon" by Eugene Battailé, which was displayed at the Grand Palais in 1785 and "Marie Antoinette et ses enfants" by Eugene Battailé, which was exhibited in the Salon in 1787. Xavier Salmon, "Repondre a la critique par l'image," in Aillagon et al., pp. 306–321.
157. Sophie-Beatrix died in 1787.
158. Elisabeth Vigee-Lebrun, *Souvenirs*, ed. Claudine Herrmann (Paris: Des Femmes, 1986), Volume 1, pp. 65–66. Excerpt translated and cited in Sherriff, "The Portrait of the Queen," p. 46.
159. Salmon, "Repondre a la critique," p. 314.

5 The English Civil Wars and the French Revolution

1. Amusson, *An Ordered Society*, pp. 34–66
2. Orr, *Queenship in Europe*, pp. 11–29.
3. See Collins, *The State in Early Modern France*, pp. 281–290 and Van Kley, *Religious Origins*, pp. 75–134.
4. Parliamentary Archives at Westminster (PAW), House of Lords Journals, 4 February 1641–25 March 1642, f. 5.
5. *Reimpression de L'Ancien Moniteur*, Volume 18, p. 122.
6. Green, *Letters of Queen Henrietta Maria*, p. 71.
7. British Library (BL), Harley Mss 164, f. 395.
8. Anonymous, *Seaven Great Matters of Note . . . 4. Her Majesties Answer to a Message of Both Houses* (London: R.O and G.D. for F. Coules, ca. 1641), p. 4.
9. Jacques Dupperon, *A Warning to the Parliament of England* (London: R.W., 1647), p. 9.
10. Strickland, *Lives*, Volume 5, pp. 180; Haynes, *Henrietta Maria*, p. 215; and Rosalind K. Marshall, *Henrietta Maria: The Intrepid Queen* (London: H.M.S.O., 1990), p. 106.
11. Sir Simonds d'Ewes, *Journal of the House of Commons* (Volume III, 3 February1641–27 June 1643 and BL, Harley Mss 164, f. 329.
12. BL, Harley Mss 164, f. 329

13. Sir William Davenant, "Spalmacida Spolida," in David Lindley (ed.), *Court Masques: Jacobean and Caroline Entertainments 1605–1640* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), line 271.
14. Britland, *Drama at the Courts of Henrietta Maria*, p. 185.
15. Anonymous, *A Discoverie, to the praise of God, and joy of all truehearted Protestants* (London: n.p., 1641).
16. Caroline Hibbard, *Charles I and the Popish Plot* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1983), p. 181.
17. TNA, PRO 31/3/70, f. 113
18. *Calendar of State Papers Domestic*, Volume 17, p. 126.
19. *Calendar of State Papers Domestic*, Volume 24, p. 468.
20. BL, Egerton Mss 2533.
21. Hibbard, "The Contribution of 1639," pp. 52; Gordon Albion, *Charles I and the Court of Rome: A Study in Seventeenth Century Diplomacy* (London: Burns, Oates & Washbourne, Ltd, 1935), p. 335 and K. J. Lindley, "Lay Catholics of England in the Reign of Charles I," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* (Volume 22, 1971), p. 214.
22. Hibbard, "The Contribution of 1639," pp. 53–56.
23. BL, Sloan Mss 1470, f. 41.
24. *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, Volume 24, p. 539.
25. Hibbard, "The Contribution of 1639," p. 52.
26. See letter from John Southcott to Peter Biddulph, 7 June 1633, reprinted in Questier, *Stuart Dynastic Policy*, p. 182.
27. See Dupperon, *A Warning to the* Parliament, and Laura Lunger Knoppers, "Opening the Queen's Closet: Henrietta Maria, Elizabeth Cromwell and the Politics of Cookery," *Renaissance Quarterly* (Volume 60, 2007), pp. 464–499.
28. BL, Additional Mss 11045, f. 16.
29. John Rylands Library, Manchester, English Mss 737, f. 1, cited in Hibbard, "The Contribution of 1639," p. 44.
30. PAW, House of Lords Journals, 4 February 1641–25 March 1642, ff. 147 and 234.
31. BL, Harley Mss 1519, f. 104.
32. BL, Harley Mss 1519, f. 104.
33. *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, Volume 25, p. 186.
34. Parliament of England and Wales, *The Kings cabinet opened* (London: Robert Bostock, 1645).
35. Ed. Wallace Notestein, *Journal of Sir Simond d'Ewes* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1923), pp. 323–325.
36. Peacey, "Print and Public Politics in Seventeenth Century London," pp. 85–86.
37. Parliament of England and Wales, *The Declaration of Both Houses of Parliament to the King's Majestie, concerning the Queene* (London: I. Weight, 1643), p. 7.
38. In the early 1640s, accounts of discussions in parliament appear to have been provided for independent publishers to print for a broad audience. See *The Declaration of Both Houses of Parliament to the King's Majestie*,

concerning the Queen. By the Protectorate Period, particular publications were explicitly "ordered by parliament." See Parliament of England and Wales, *An additional act for sale of the goods belonging to the late King, Queen and Prince* (London: Printed by John Field, Printer to the Parliament of England, 1651).

39. Peacey, "Print and Public Politics in Seventeenth Century London," p. 93.
40. J. Nalson, *An Impartial Collection*, 2 volumes (London: n.p., 1682–1683), Volume 2, p. ix, cited in Peacey, "Print and Public Politics in Seventeenth Century England," p. 91.
41. Alexandra K. Wettlaufer, "Absent Fathers, Martyred Mothers: Domestic Drama and (Royal) Family Values in *A Graphic History of Louis XVI*," *Eighteenth Century Life* (Volume 23, Issue 3, 1999).
42. Thomas Hansard (ed.), *Hansard's Parliamentary debates* (London: Cornelius Buck, 1858), Volume 149, p. 954.
43. There were numerous missions by English diplomats to acquire the unpaid portion of Henrietta Maria's dowry. BL, Additional Mss, 78202, f. 31.
44. TNA, PRO 31/3/72, f. 352.
45. The Earl of Clarendon, *The History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars*, Volume 1, p. 233n.
46. Clarendon, *The History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars*, p. 470.
47. Clarendon, *The History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars*, p. 573.
48. National Library of Wales (NLW), Wynnstay Mss 171 and 172.
49. PAW, *House of Lords Journals*, 4 November 1640–4 February 1641, f. 140.
50. Henry Jermyn was Henrietta Maria's High Steward and one of the most prominent members of her household.
51. PAW, House of Lords Journals, 4 February 1641–25 March 1642, f. 150.
52. PAW, House of Lords Journals, 4 February 1641–25 March 1642, f. 73.
53. Sharpe, "The Image of Virtue," p. 247.
54. *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, Volume 25, p. 150.
55. *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, Volume 25, p. 80 and Volume 17, p. 12.
56. PAW, House of Lords Journals, 4 February 1641–25 March 1642, f. 5.
57. Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts, *Report on the Manuscripts of Lord Montague of Beaulieu* (London: Mackie and Co. Ltd, 1900), p. 132. See also Bone, *Henrietta Maria*, p. 131.
58. *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, Volume 25, p. 241.
59. Francoise de Motteville, *Memoires of the History of Anne of Austria translated from the original French* (London: J. Darby, A. Bettesworth, F. Fayram, J. Pemberton, C. Rivington, and 4 others, 1725), pp. 210–211.
60. Francoise de Motteville, *Memoires*, p. 211.
61. *Calendar of State Papers Domestic*, Volume 18, p. 282 and PAW, House of Lords Journals, 4 February 1641–25 March 1642, f. 37.
62. White, *Henrietta Maria and the English Civil Wars*, p. 46.
63. TNA, PRO 31/3/73, f. 91.
64. *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, Volume 26, p. 13.

65. *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, Volume 25, p. 186 and White, *Henrietta Maria and the English Civil Wars*, p. 55.
66. *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, Volume 26, p. 280.
67. *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, Volume 26, p. 280.
68. Bone, *Henrietta Maria*, p. 162.
69. Clarendon, *The History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars*, Volume 1, p. 413n.
70. Quentin Bone's biography of Henrietta Maria has a chapter entitled, "The Queen and the Tribunal of People" but it discusses general perceptions of the queen during the 1640s rather than the impeachment alone. See Bone, *Henrietta Maria*, pp. 115–143. Other works discuss the impeachment with the broader context of the English Civil Wars. See White, *Henrietta Maria and the English Civil Wars*, pp. 53–55.
71. Bone dismisses the impeachment as a matter that did not greatly concern Henrietta Maria, see Bone, *Henrietta Maria*, p. 162. The most recent popular biography of Henrietta Maria does not once directly mention the impeachment. See Plowden, *Henrietta Maria.*
72. See White, *Henrietta Maria and the English Civil Wars*, pp. 54–55.
73. Anonymous, *L'Angleterre Instruisant la France ou Tableau: Historique et Politique du Regne de Charles I et de Charles II* (London and Paris: Chez Lepetit, 1793) and J. Ango, *Relation Veritable de la Mort Cruelle et Barbare de Charles I, Roi D'Angleterre* (Paris: Lepetit, 1792).
74. Charles Carlton, *Archbishop William Laud* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1987), p. 86.
75. Mendelson and Crawford, *Women in Early Modern England*, p. 37.
76. *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, Volume 26, p. 287.
77. Simon Schama, *Citizens: A Chronicle of the French Revolution* (New York: Vintage Books, 1989), p. 597.
78. TNA, PRO 31/3/63, f. 32.
79. TNA, PRO 31/3/62, f. 8b.
80. See Orr, *Queenship in Europe*, pp. 171–172 and Roger D. Congleton, *Perfecting Parliament: Constitutional Reform, Liberalism, and the Rise of Western Democracy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), p. 315.
81. Green, *Letters of Queen Henrietta Maria*, p. 214
82. The National Art Library (NAL), Forster Mss 1560.
83. PAW, House of Lords Journals, 4 February 1641–25 March 1642, f. 5.
84. *Calendar of State Papers Domestic*, Volume 16, p. 293.
85. Wentworth Papers, Sheffield Archives (SA), ff. 42–46
86. TNA, PRO 31/3/73, f. 94.
87. *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, Volume 25, p. 119.
88. Anonymous, *Contrareplicant His Complaint to His Majesty* (London: 1643).
89. *Calendar of State Papers Domestic*, Volume 16, p. 507.
90. *Continuation of Certain special and remarkable passages from both Houses of parliament* (London: Coles and Leach, Thursday, 18 May 1643, Issue 46), p. 4.

91. *Continuation of Certain special and remarkable passages*, p. 4
92. Strickland, *Lives*, Volume 4, p. 225 and Bone, *Henrietta Maria*, p. 165.
93. *Parliament Scout Communicating His Intelligence to the Kingdom* (London: Tuesday, 20 June 1643, Issue 1).
94. Lynn Hunt, "The Many Bodies of Marie Antoinette," in Goodman, *Marie Antoinette*, p. 118.
95. BL, Harley Mss 164, f. 395.
96. Caroline Hibbard, "Henrietta Maria," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.
97. *Mercurius Aulicus* (Oxford: Sunday, 21 May 1643), p. 13.
98. NAL, Forester Mss 254.
99. Sarah Poynting, "Deciphering the King: Charles I's letters to Jane Whorwood," *The Seventeenth Century* (Volume 21, Number 1, Spring 2006), pp. 128–140.
100. Lever, *Correspondance*, pp. 455–821.
101. Paul and Pierette Girault de Coursac, *Enquete sur la proces du roi Louis XVI* (Paris: Table Ronde, 1982), pp. 240–256, 181–183.
102. See Crawford, *Perilous Performances*, pp. 177–198.
103. Hardman, *French Politics*, pp. 211–215; Price, *French Politics*, pp. 366–367; and David P. Jordan, *The King's Trial: Louis XVI vs. The French Revolution*, 25th Anniversary Edition (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2004), pp. xvi–xviii.
104. Price, *Road from* Versailles, p. 366.
105. Price, *Road from* Versailles, p. 366.
106. AN, 440AP1, ff. 58 and 59.
107. Archives Nationale (AN), O1 3795.
108. "J'aurais bien désire pouvoir écrire a votre majesté en même temps que la Roi a écrit au Roi d'Espagne, mas les moments n'ont marques, et il faut être si circonspect dans toutes nos démarches." AN, AP 440.
109. Price, *Road from* Versailles, p. 366.
110. Zweig, *Marie Antoinette*, pp. 246–247.
111. "Je n'en ai pas même eu le soupçon un jour." Marie Antoinette to Joseph II, 22 February 1788 in Lever, *Correspondance*, p. 458
112. A rare pamphlet that mentioned Fersen is Anonymous, *Confession Derniere et Testament de Marie-Antoinette, Veuve Capet* (Paris: Lefevre, 1793), p. 15.
113. Historians who argue a physical affair took place posit a variety of dates for the consummation of the relationship between 1787 and 1793. See Price, *Road from* Versailles, pp. 16–17. Zweig, *Marie Antoinette*, pp. 226–247; Timothy Tackett, *When the King Took Flight* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003), p. 33; and Fraser, *The Weaker Vessel*, pp. 204–205.
114. Marie Antoinette to Fersen, 4 July 1791 in Fersen, *Rescue the Queen: A Diary of the French Revolution 1789–1793*, ed. Anni Carlsson (London: G. Bell and Sons, 1971), p. 39.
115. Vigée-Lebrun, *Souvenirs*, p. 45 and AN, O1 3799.
116. d'Oberkirch, *Memoirs sur la cour de Louis XVI*, p. 260.

117. Bombelles, *Journal*, Volume 1, p. 208.
118. See Marie Thérèse, Duchesse de Angouleme, *Memoirs*, ed. M. de Barghon-Fortrion (Paris: Bureau de la Mode Nouvelle, 1858), pp. 54–65.
119. Campan, *Memoirs*, pp. 227–228.
120. Campan, *Memoirs*, p. 228.
121. "Pour le cadet, il a exactement en force et en sante tout ce que son frere n'en pas assez. C'est un vrai enfant de paysan, grand, frais et gros." Marie Antoinette to Joseph II, 22 February 1788 in Lever, *Correspondance*, p. 458.
122. Tackett, *When the King Took Flight*, p. 47.
123. Campan, *Memoirs* pp. 234–236.
124. "La Reine supporte sa position avec beaucoup de patience et de courage. Elle a fait a l'opinion publique le sacrifice de ses alentours favouris." Mercy-Argenteau to Joseph II, 23 July 1789 in Lever, *Correspondance*, p. 487.
125. The first editions of *Essai Historique sur la vie de Marie-Antoinette*, circulated as early as 1781.
126. Polignac's replacement, Tourzel, was especially significant to Marie Antoinette's political activities, becoming a key figure in the Flight to Varennes. See Tackett, *When the King Took Flight*, pp. 53–54 and 60–63.
127. "Quoique cette auguste princesse se soit laissé un peu trop émouvoir par la cabale infernale dirigée contre le ministre de finances, cependant, c`est à la moderation et à la sagesse de avis de la reine qu'est dû l'etat présent des choses et l'avantage d'avoir évité de plus grands malheurs." Mercy Argenteau to Joseph II, 4 July1789 in Lever, *Correspondance*, p. 484.
128. Thomas Kaiser, "Who's Afraid of Marie Antoinette: Diplomacy, Austrophobia and the Queen," *French History* (Volume 14, Number 3, 2000), p. 243 and Vincent Cronin, *Louis and Antoinette* (New York: William Morrow and Co. Inc.), p. 311.
129. Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen*, pp. 221–222.
130. "le roi l'a toujours désirée lui-même pour le bonheur de son peuple, mais loin de la licence et de l'anarchie qui précipitaient le plus beau royaume dans tous les maux possibles." Marie Antoinette to Leopold II, 7 November 1790, p. 518.
131. See Tackett, *When the King Took Flight*, pp. 35–37.
132. Hardman, *French Politics*, pp. 184–197
133. Duc de Sérent, "Note sur les motifs qui ont déterminé le depart de Monseigneur le comte d'Artois et de ses enfants dans la nuit du 15 au 16 julliet 1789," Bombelles papers, translated in Price, *French Politics*, pp. 94–95.
134. Price, *French Politics*, p. 95.
135. "Il est immanquable qu'on m'attribuera ce traité, et qu'aux états générale les ministres s'excuseront par la vraisemblance de mon crédit et de mon influence. Jugez du rôle odieux qu'on m'y fera jouer." Marie Antoinette to Mercy-Argenteau, 27 January 1789, p. 477.
136. Campan, *Memoirs*, p. 263.

137. By the outbreak of the French Revolution, literacy rates in France were estimated to be 47% for men and 27% for women but these numbers were higher in urban areas, particularly Paris. See Blanning, *Culture of Power*, p. 112.
138. "Je parle au peuple: milices, poissardes, tous me tendent la main . . . Dans l'intérieur de l'Hôtel de Ville, j'ai été personnellement très bien reçue . . . J'ai dit aux poissardes d'aller répéter tout ce que nous venions de nous dire." Marie Antoinette to Mercy-Argenteau, 7 October 1789 in Lever, *Correspondance*, p. 496.
139. Lever, *Correspondance*, p. 522n.
140. Marie Antoinette to Mercy-Argenteau, 20 April 1791, in Lever, *Correspondance*, p. 528.
141. Marie Antoinette to Leopold II, 27 February 1791 in Lever, *Correspondance*, p. 522.
142. Marie Antoinette to Mercy-Argenteau, 27 April 1791 in Lever, *Correspondance*, p. 531.
143. Marie Antoinette to Count Fersen, 8 July 1791 in Lever, *Correspondance*, p. 548.
144. Tackett, *When the King Took Flight*, p. 63. Zweig argues that Louis XVI himself may have dismissed Fersen as soon as the royal party left Paris. See Zweig, *Marie Antoinette*, pp. 301–302.
145. She wrote in her memoirs, "It was with uneasiness that I saw her occupied with cares that seemed to me useless, and even dangerous, and I remarked to her that a Queen of France would find linen and gowns anywhere." Campan, *Memoirs*, p. 291. Marie Antoinette also famously insisted that her hairdresser be part of an advance party traveling to Montmedy. See Tackett, *When the King Took Flight*, pp. 59.
146. Tackett, *When the King Took Flight*, pp. 101–102.
147. See Gerard Walter, *Le Procés de Marie Antoinette*, *23–25 Vendemiarie an II (October 14–16, 1793)*, *Acts du Tribunal révolutionnaire* (Paris: Éditions Complex, 1993) and Andre Castelot, *Le process de Marie Antoinette* (Paris: Presses Pocket, 1965).
148. Carlton, *Archbishop William Laud*, p. 345.
149. Marie-Olympe de Gouges, *Declaration de les droits de la femme adressé* à *la reine* (Paris: n.p., 1791), pp. 1–5.
150. "Si l'étranger porte le fer en France, vous n'êtes plus a mes yeux cette faussement inculpée, cette Reine intéressante, mais une implacable ennemie des Français. Ah Madame, songez que vous êtes mère et épouse; employez tout votre crédit pour le retour des princes." de Gouges, *Declaration de les droits de la femme*, p. 2.
151. Parliament of England and Wales, *The Kings cabinet opened.*
152. See Lever, *Correspondence*, pp. 35–37.
153. Walter, *Le Procés de Marie Antoinette*, p. 24 andFraser, *The Weaker Vessel*, p. 432.
154. Jordan, *The King's Trial*, p. 120.
155. Claude François Chauveau-Lagarde, *Note Historique sur le procès de Marie-Antoinette*, *Reine de France et de Madame Élisabeth au*

tribunal révolutionnaire (Paris: Guide et Delaunay, 1816), p. 5. For Marie Antoinette`s letter to the President of the National Convention, see Lever, *Correspondance*, p. 820.

156. *Reimpression de L'Ancien Moniteur*, Volume 18, pp. 218–219. Translated and reprinted in Lever, *Marie-Antoinette*, p. 302.
157. Tackett, *When the King Took Flight*, pp. 54–55.
158. Zweig, *Marie Antoinette*, p. 438, Lever, *Marie Antoinette*, p. 300. Of Marie Antoinette's recent biographers, only Fraser notes the timing of Marie Antoinette's defence within the larger context of Hebert's accusations. See Fraser, *The Weaker Vessel*, p. 431.
159. *Reimpression de L'Ancien Moniteur*, Volume 18, p. 146.
160. Zweig, *Marie Antoinette*, pp. 438–439.
161. Bibliotheque Nationale (BN), Département des Estampes et de la Photographie, reprinted and annotated in Xavier Salmon, "La calomnie" in Various authors, *Marie Antoinette*, pp. 356–357.
162. Girault de Coursac, *La Secret de la Reine*, pp. 413–440.
163. Antoinette to the Comte de Provence and Comte d'Artois, March or April 1793 in Lever, *Correspondance*, pp. 818–819.
164. "Je n'ai pas un moment à moi, entre les personnes qu'il faut voir, les écritures, et le temps que je suis avec mes enfants. Cette dernière occupation, qui n'est pas la moindre, fait mon seul bonheur . . . et quand je suis bien triste, je prends mon petit garçon dans mes bras, je l'embrasse de tout mon cœur, et cela me console dans ce moment." Marie Antoinette to Fersen, 7 December 1791 in Lever, *Correspondance*, pp. 724–725.
165. Mirabeau, "Notes a la Cour," reprinted in Coursac, *La Secret de la Reine*, p. 181.
166. Axel de Fersen, *Le Comte de Fersen et La Cour de France. Extraits des papiers du grand maréchal de suede, comte Jean Axel de Fersen*, ed. R. M. Klinckowstrom, 2 volumes (Paris: Librarie Frimin-Didot et Cie, 1877), Volume 2, p. 62, translated in Crawford, *Perilous Performances*, pp. 193–194.
167. Crawford, *Perilous Performances*, pp. 180–189.
168. These comparisons were also a popular theme in revolutionary pamphlet literature of the 1790s. See Anonymous, *Catherine de Medicis dans le Cabinet de Marie-Antoinette a St. Cloud, Premier Dialogue, de l'Imprimerie Royale (*Paris: n.p., 1789).
169. *Moniteur Universel*, Volume 18, p. 146.
170. *Moniteur Universel*, Volume 18, p. 211.
171. Zweig, *Marie Antoinette*, p. 430.
172. Germaine de Stael, *Réflexions sur le Procès de la Reine*, ed. Monique Contret (Paris: Montpellier, 1994), pp. v and xxx. Translated in Fraser, *The Weaker Vessel*, p. 425.
173. "Il y a lieu de croire que cette criminelle jouissance n`etait point dictée par le plaisir, mais bien par l'espoir politique d'énerver le physique de cet enfant, que l'on se plaisait encore à croire destiné à occuper un trône, et sur lequel on voulait, par cette manœuvre, s'assurer le droit de régner."
174. Fraser, *The Weaker Vessel*, p. 426.

Conclusion: The Legacy of Two Queens

1. Bone, *Henrietta Maria*, p. 251.
2. *Calendar of State Papers Domestic Series (1649–1660)*,Volume 7: 1654, p. 407
3. TNA, PRO 31/3/107, f. 36.
4. BL, Egerton Mss 2542, f. 518 and TNA, PRO 31/3/106, f. 143.
5. TNA, PRO 31/3/106, f. 149.
6. TNA, PRO 31/3/106, f. 155.
7. All of Charles II's surviving siblings, Princess Mary of Orange, James, Duke of York, Henry, Duke of Gloucester, and Princess Henrietta Anne, future Duchess of Orleans, joined him in England in 1660. Mary and Henry died of smallpox the same year.
8. BodL, Mss CSP, Volume 74, ff. 311–312.
9. This portrait is now part of the collection of the Musee Conde in Chantilly.
10. TNA, PRO 31/3/107, f. 119.
11. BL, Add. Mss 72850, f. 88. The actual value of the jointure was 60,000 pounds with the potential for this income to increase by 10,000 or 20,000 through the improvement of her lands. See *Calendar of State Papers Domestic of the reign of Charles II*, Volume 1, p. 7.
12. Samuel Pepys, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, ed. Robert Latham and William Matthews (London: Bell and Hyman, 1983), Volume 3, p. 303
13. Sir John Reresby, *The Memoirs and Travels of Sir John Reresby* (London: Edward Jeffery, 1813), p. 163.
14. See Michelet, *Histoire de la Revolution Francaise*, p. 591.
15. See de Saint-Amand, *Marie Antoinette*, p. 19 and Castle, "Marie Antoinette Obsession," pp. 213–214
16. See Robert H. Jackson, *Sovereignty: The Evolution of an Idea* (Cambridge: Polity Books, 2007), pp. 63–64.
17. Hannah Pakula, *An Uncommon Woman: The Empress Frederick, Daughter of Queen Victoria, Wife of the Crown Prince of Prussia, Mother of Kaiser Wilhelm* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1995), pp. 69–70.
18. Iraida Bott, "The Home of the Last Russian Emperor," in Marilyn Pfeifer Sweezey (ed.), *Nicholas and Alexandra: At Home with the Last Tsar and His Family* (Washington, DC: The American-Russian Cultural Co-operation Foundation, 2004), pp. 27–38.
19. Virginia Rounding, *Alix and Nicky: The Passion of the Last Tsar and Tsarina* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2012), pp. 18–33.
20. Grand Duke Alexander of Russia, *Once a Grand Duke* (New York: Garden City Publishing Inc., 1932), p. 270.
21. Robert Massie, *Nicholas and Alexandra* (New York: Random House, 1967), pp. 147–164.
22. See Orlando Figes and Boris Kolonitskii, "The Descralization of the Russian Monarchy," in *Interpreting the Russian Revolution: The Language and Symbols of 1917* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1999), pp. 9–29.

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Bodleian Library (BodL) Ashmolean Manuscripts, 36–37, Clarendon State Papers, Volume 11, Volume 37, Volume 49, Volume 74.
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