



QUEENSHIP AND POWER

# THE MAN BEHIND THE QUEEN

*Male Consorts in History*

Edited by  
Charles Beem and Miles Taylor





## CHAPTER 8

# Prince Albert: The Creative Consort

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They courted journalists, controlled paintings of themselves, and inspired favourable press articles. They lived a very visible family idyll and propagated the idea of “simplicity, princely thrift, and concern for the common people.” The Prussian Crown Princess Vicky and her husband Fritz, were excellent self-publicists. Yet their royal show-casing was a franchise. The methods Vicky employed had been developed by her father Prince Albert. Vicky had been his brightest child and it was certainly not for lack of trying that the Prussian franchise ended badly. The original British version however was an immense success and parts of Prince Albert’s presentation are employed by the Royal family to this day.

If one wants to understand how and why the monarchy changed in the nineteenth century, it is therefore essential to understand Albert. Of course monarchs had marketed themselves and their families successfully for centuries. Pomp and Circumstance had usually worked well. But though the pomp was still appreciated, the circumstances had changed. In the nineteenth century the monarchy had lost power and came under pressure to perform more frequently and in a novel way. Prince Albert realised this and as a consequence became a highly creative consort.

The stagecraft in which Albert would excel started with his courting of Victoria. This courtship was sold as a true love story, but primarily it was a well-planned *remake* of the popular marriage between the handsome Leopold of Sachsen-Coburg-Saalfeld and George IV’s daughter Princess Charlotte in 1816. For the British people Charlotte had been a national treasure and when she died unexpectedly in childbirth, the public felt cheated. The Coburg family had every reason to share this feeling. They had groomed Leopold as the ideal prince consort in waiting and had lost their prospects overnight. However, they remained determined not to give up their foothold in Britain and commissioned a *remake*. It was an uncertain enterprise, but unlike so many *remakes*, the Victoria and Albert one became much more successful than the original.

That Albert would become an outstanding prince consort would have been hard to predict. The moment he set foot on English soil, he was told

what he could *not* do: he could not get involved in his wife's work, he could not choose his own staff and he could not expect an adequate allowance. What he *should* do was father children and be an ornament. He famously ignored the latter and consequently faced endless criticism.<sup>2</sup>

The role of a male consort per se was an abnormality in an age when men were in sole charge of everything. Albert's sheer existence threatened comfortable gender roles. His predecessor as consort, Queen Anne's husband Prince George of Denmark, had been regularly ridiculed.<sup>3</sup> Now it was Albert's turn to be publicly emasculated. To contemporary eyes he showed a "want of manliness." According to rumour he was bad on horseback and generally useless at hunting. Even his German habits irritated the British public. Dining early was one of them. It was also seen as odd that he did not spend time at London clubs but preferred a daily walk with his wife instead (whether walking with one's wife was very German, could not be verified though). That he was in charge of running the family's daily life and actually displayed an interest in his children made him look even more feminine. One caricature showed him, surrounded by his offspring, tugging helplessly at Victoria's petticoats. At the same time he was accused of being the eminence grise behind the throne. Of course it was contradictory that he was seen as both—a feminine, pitiful partner and a dangerous, powerful manipulator.

His Coburg background seemed to be his greatest liability. From the moment of his engagement to Victoria, Albert had been perceived as a weak choice. In the British aristocracy there existed a general snobbishness about a penniless bridegroom: "[The English aristocrat] marries out of love and loves where the money is. He seldom marries to improve his crest."<sup>4</sup> Victoria's uncle William IV had favoured richer and more powerful suitors. The Coburgs were seen as pushy newcomers on the dynastic marriage market, travelling solely on looks and charm. Also their morals seemed doubtful. Albert's father, Duke Ernst I, had not only discarded Albert's mother under a feeble pretext, he was also known for his preference for underage girls. One of them had written an unflattering memoir which was available in most European countries.<sup>5</sup>

There are three factors that can cause the downfall of a dynasty: the biological factor (lack of heirs), outer threats (war and revolution), and inner threats (dysfunctional family dynamics). Albert feared the last the most. In June 1843 he wrote: "no outside enemy can harm a family as much as its own members."<sup>6</sup> At the time he was alluding to his brother Ernst who had money problems and a weakness for prostitutes (later Albert would experience a repetition of this with his son Bertie). In the prince's opinion such "vices in high places" could cause social unrest and therefore had to be suppressed. Albert tried his utmost to restore the honour of the House of Coburg. Because of his marriage to Victoria the Coburg family hierarchy had been turned upside-down. The younger brother Albert was allowed to criticise his older brother Ernst, something he would never

have dared to do if circumstances had been different. Since Albert was married to a queen, he could be brutally honest. His letters to Ernst are therefore vacillating between cajoling and threatening. Repeatedly Albert lamented about Ernst's "moral insanity" which was bringing disrepute on the Coburg family: "it is sad for me to say that my brother is ruining his life and does not care about his reputation." And when Ernst protested, Albert retorted: "Perhaps I should just write about the weather then."<sup>7</sup>

Apart from trying to sort out the Coburg family, Albert was also doing his best to get the British royals under control—in particular Victoria's "vicious uncles." In the early 1840s the Hanoverians, that is, the old royal family, were still very visible and therefore potentially harmful. Rehabilitation for them seemed difficult. At the wedding of the duke of Cambridge's daughter in 1843, one of the vicious uncles Ernst August, king of Hanover turned up.<sup>8</sup> Albert had given Hanover the nickname "the Satan King" and indeed Ernst August had a famously violent side. He thought of Albert as a socially inferior person who did not deserve precedence at royal events. Consequently Hanover insisted on walking Victoria in and out of the church. Yet he underestimated his opponent. Prince Albert looked angelic but he was certainly no pushover. He retaliated by elbowing the King down the church steps, grabbed Victoria and signed the marriage register before "Satan." Albert took particular pleasure in hearing that after the cantankerous ceremony, Hanover had fallen over some stones at Kew and damaged his ribs.<sup>9</sup>

The "vicious uncles" were not just a serious threat to Albert but also to his concept of a new royal family. After the Cambridge wedding, Albert and Victoria therefore decided to freeze out the "Satan King" and the duke of Cambridge who had sided with him. Pushing the lesser, and morally ambiguous members of the old royal family to the periphery, meant that a new dynasty could begin. Albert wanted a dynasty with new values. But where did he—a product of his father's court—get these values from?

The prince had a seismographic sensitivity to the new rhythm of his epoch. He recognised the social problems that industrialisation had produced but he also recognised that it had created a new class—the middle class. They symbolised everything he admired. His bourgeois teachers at Coburg had been Florschütz and Stockmar. It was their value system he now copied: a strong work ethic, close-knit family ties, lifelong education, thrift, and self-improvement. Albert and Victoria consciously wanted to appeal with their exemplary family life to the tastes of the upcoming meritocratic middle classes. It was in some ways a PR strategy—of course a royal couple could not live a bourgeois family life. But Albert and Victoria really did believe in this value system. They invented new family rituals, new family homes, and circulated new images of their family. The new rituals changed the court life forever—it became a place that must have looked to aristocratic eyes square and dull. The Royal family staged musical evenings, the children played theatricals, drew pictures, and wrote

poems as presents for their parents (when Bertie actually *bought* a present for his mother's birthday, Victoria was shocked about this lack of originality). This was a family that went on outings to the circus, built a snowman, and went to bed at ten.<sup>10</sup>

A new royal family also needed a new stage, that is, new homes. The grandest medium of dynastic display had always been public architecture. Albert, like so many princes, saw himself as a born architect and John Davis has shown in his monograph of the Great Exhibition how instrumental Albert's support for the controversial Crystal Palace was.<sup>11</sup> But apart from public architecture, Albert also created new *private* homes. They were meant to be the opposite of George IV's Brighton Pavilion. In reaction to such loucheness, Balmoral and Osborne House stood as mixtures of aristocratic grandeur and bourgeois cosiness. They were also meant as an educational tool. Balmoral for the outdoor life to toughen the childrens' character and the Swiss Cottage at Osborne to teach them how to cook, fire a cannon, and shop for milk.

To document for the public that this Royal family lived a different life style, Albert used photography, paintings, and prints. By doing this he consciously chose to *sentimentalize* his family. This meant he played with the public's emotions—a risky business if gotten wrong. But Albert was successful at it because being an emotional person himself he understood emotions well. Like Proust's hero in *À la recherche du temps perdu*, he could write in a sensual way about the taste of certain sweets he had eaten in childhood or the feelings for his beloved dog that died prematurely. What some would call an almost feminine sensitivity, was turned by him into an asset. The sentimental staging of his family did not feel fake. It also mirrored the *Zeitgeist* well. The *Saturday Review* believed that all Victorians lived in a thoroughly sentimental age.<sup>12</sup> Albert recognised this mood. He wanted to show a stable, caring family monarchy that offered a moral compass in a world of unprecedented change. Like every good director, Albert needed a gifted set designer to transport the right pictures of his family. The painter Franz Xaver Winterhalter became his favourite. Winterhalter might not have been, as Roy Strong put it, "an El Greco," but he created family portraits that were distinctive.<sup>13</sup> While other Royal families still preferred being painted with regal insignia, the British Royal Family commissioned both: stately and "intimate" paintings, like the one of the five year old Prince of Wales leisurely standing in front of the sea, his hands firmly in his pockets.<sup>14</sup>

Pictures of charming royal children and their good looking parents are an important point if one wants to understand Albert's novel image making. To be successful, the project needed attractive subjects. Royal portraits had always been commissioned to sell one's children on the marriage market, to impress the public and as a reference point for the family. To have a Habsburg jaw was seen as proof of authenticity. Yet more charming chins were increasingly preferred. In the nineteenth century the gaze of the public had become intense and Albert wanted his family "to look the

part." As a young man he himself fitted the ideal he propagated: he was handsome and did his best to battle against his greatest enemy—hair loss: "to save my hair from total ruin, I have now started a radical treatment. Mr Mesnakur rubs in rectified spirits on my skin at night and in the morning a very fatty oil. He thinks it will work out very well."<sup>15</sup>

In the nineteenth century, a model aristocrat needed a slim, elegant body for hunting, fencing, and other sports. A haughty, distinguished aristocratic face was of course another ideal (seldom achieved when it came to the offspring of the rather podgy Hanoverians). Karl Marx got it right when he wrote that the aristocracy believed in zoology. Like dogs and horses, aristocratic and royal children had to be a good breed and if that breed was wanting, parents increasingly despaired. The obsession with looks became an important issue in many royal and aristocratic correspondences. One father for example admonished his married daughter that her portrait was problematic: "your eyes are not bright and open as they should be with a friendly expression, your chin is too much of a double one...do have this altered."<sup>16</sup> She was also sent on endless diets. Queen Victoria shared this predicament. Because her husband wanted the family on public display as often as possible, she fretted in long letters to her half sister Feodora about her weight and skin problems.<sup>17</sup> In her quest for beauty she was not only highly critical of herself, but also of her family. The letters between Queen Victoria and her oldest daughter Vicky are full of complaints about little grandson Wilhelm's disappointing appearance. It was not just his withered arm that caused offence, but also his face which looked "too weak and podgy."<sup>18</sup> Wilhelm internalised this criticism and became obsessed with beauty himself. His officers had to be sewn into their tight uniforms and he himself designed his wife's elaborate dresses.<sup>19</sup> When she did not fit into them—after seven pregnancies hardly a surprise—he put her on a strict diet. It was an obsession that Albert would have approved of. He had done his best to present a moral *and* beautiful family to the public. Once the pictures were right, the accompanying newspaper stories had to be flattering too. The media revolution of the time helped. The circulation of newspapers had increased, more people could now read and afford papers. The hunger for stories and pictures of the Royal Family grew. Also the new middle-class readers yearned for role models whose lifestyle could equip them with a moral compass.

Albert was highly aware of the power of the press. He read numerous newspapers (English ones, but also German ones, in one letter he lists "die Deutsche-, die Kölner-, die Berliner-, die Weser- und die Allgemeine Zeitung.")<sup>20</sup> He also saw how cunning politicians cultivated the media. Palmerston, Gladstone, and Disraeli knew what journalists needed and equipped them with the necessary "sound-bites." Albert and Victoria had to be much more careful but they could "inspire" the press in their own way, *indirectly* by delivering the right stories and pictures and *directly* by "encouraging" a pamphlet like "Why is Prince Albert so unpopular"—a pamphlet which, despite its title gave all the reasons for him to be popular.<sup>21</sup> What



an old hand Albert became at playing the press, shows a letter he wrote to his brother Ernst. During the revolution of 1848 he advised him to get the German press "inspired": "Encourage your best people to write, no official articles with bureaucratic authority, that patronise the ignorant audience, but arguing in a popular way, talking common sense. This is more important now than any files."<sup>22</sup>

In peacetime Albert "inspired" articles about royal travels, charity work, and military commitment. Travelling was particularly popular with the papers. Before Albert took over the management of Victoria, she had been sent on annual cross-country trips by her mother the duchess of Kent and the despised comptroller of the duchess's household, Sir John Conroy. These enterprises had been successful with the public but made Victoria highly strung. To open parliament or to travel to industrial centres put her into a state of "greatest anxiety." As soon as Albert accompanied her to these functions she overcame her fears. He kept admonishing her not "to retreat into herself"—what he actually meant was that she tended to be self-obsessed. Albert had not only to get his wife's nerves under control, but everyone else's as well. These trips were planned like a military operation—"spontaneity" was organised. When the royal couple travelled to Coburg for example, Albert gave very specific instructions. Dances to amuse Victoria had to be arranged but it was also important to draw in the public. To his brother Albert wrote: "the citizens must be allowed to give (Victoria) a reception which mirrors their feelings."<sup>23</sup>

Because his mental map embraced at least two countries—"Germany" and Britain, it was natural for Albert to think internationally. He therefore also encouraged visits to Ireland and France. They secured excellent press coverage and eventually Albert made this concept global. By developing the idea of sending his sons on trips around the empire (something the royal family does so effectively to this day), he widened the geographical reach of the monarchy. Though he could not know that one day members of his family would even become governors, he was the first to realise that the empire posed new fields of influence for the Crown. India was a particular passion of his, which Victoria inherited. Already in the 1840s Albert was outraged by the East India Company's practices and he did have an impact on the 1858 Government of India Act. Ever the imaginative designer, he also developed a special award system for Indian and British elite: *The Star of India*. After all he knew how effective an extended honours system could be.<sup>24</sup>

Another way of demonstrating the new royal value system was through charity work. Since the medieval period, anecdotes about charitable monarchs had helped to legitimise them. This was never "The Kindness of Strangers" but followed the principle, "do good and talk about it." Charity was propaganda work and also a means of exerting social control. The aristocrat or the monarch decided where to place his charity—who was included and who was excluded.<sup>25</sup> Prince Albert thought along these lines. When his brother Ernst did not equip his wife with money to spend on

charities, Albert admonished him: "Alexandrine should have pocket money to do charity work... She needs this to fulfil her role as a mother to the country (Landesmutter). This will support your work as well. She is very popular but in our rotten times powerlessness is not respected."<sup>26</sup>

Albert knew what could happen when such duties were neglected. If the first family of the region was not considered to be generous and "caring," this could be another contributing factor for social unrest. To build trust was decisive. This was easier in the countryside than in urban centres, where social unrest was much more likely. During the 1848 revolution Albert therefore reminded his brother Ernst to invite local policeman and talk to them about the eventuality that the "Citymob" (Stadtgesindel) could get out of control. In his opinion to be personally invited by the duke of Coburg would ensure the loyalty of every policeman in the region.

It would be cynical to see Albert's charity work solely as a PR stunt. He and Victoria were also driven by their religious convictions. Victoria was a patron of 150 charitable organisations and spent 15 percent of her income on charity. Though *Punch* claimed that Albert had only discovered his social conscience when his cousins lost their thrones in 1848, this was untrue. He had always supported many good causes, among them the international antislavery movement, housing and education projects for workers, and better hygiene schemes, like new sewage systems.<sup>27</sup>

Albert was also aware of the competition the monarchy faced. Charismatic politicians such as Palmerston and Gladstone styled themselves as national figureheads and were becoming more popular than the queen (one reason why Victoria despised them both). Therefore, the royal couple did their best to demonstrate great patriotic commitment. Royals had of course always been traditionally close to the church and the fighting services. But Queen Victoria went a step further: she saw herself as a female warrior, eagerly attending parades and inventing the Victoria Cross as the highest honor for all ranks of "her brave soldiers."<sup>28</sup> During the Crimean war she spent endless hours waving them off, knitting scarves, and handing out medals. To show their commitment to the navy, the Royal couple also developed the "Sailor Prince concept."<sup>29</sup> Their second son Alfred served from the bottom up in the navy, therefore displaying meritocratic and national commitments. How successful Albert's presentation strategy was is shown when one compares the press reports about royal receptions, royal trips, and charity events in the 1850s to critical reports of the royal family—the positive outnumber the negative by far.

While Albert was creatively turning his family into a success, the irony was that he himself did not profit much from the new image. Though he had become a British subject, his "Germaness" continued to be held against him. Of course "foreigner-bashing" and aggressive nationalism usually go hand in hand—every nation needs what Jean Bodin saw as the glue that seals the state. Yet Albert's critics even went so far as to see him as a security risk. His continental correspondence was viewed with great suspicion. Shortly before the outbreak of the Crimean War he was even accused of

colluding with foreign powers and committing high treason. The accusations were without substance and hurt him deeply. He had always been well aware of the fact that his mail was not safe. To his brother he wrote in 1844: "I never write to Germany about English politics because everything is read."<sup>30</sup> Even 170 years before the invention of PRISM, international correspondence was already a risky business.

Though Albert avoided commenting on British politics, he had no qualms about giving advice on continental ones. Here his critics had a valid point—he did mingle. He also must have had some discrete couriers. One of his many interesting dynastic correspondences was with his relative and co-consort, Ferdinand of Portugal. It was Albert, the newcomer among the prince consorts, who approached Ferdinand and asked him whether they could start a "secret" political correspondence. Both were members of the House of Coburg and both shared the problem of being unpopular abroad. In the early years of his marriage Albert had envied Ferdinand who exerted a great influence over his wife, Queen Dona Maria II of Portugal. But once Albert had gained access to Victoria's red boxes, they were equals. As the queen's closest advisor, Albert now wanted to collect information that went beyond diplomatic dispatches. Ferdinand therefore had to inform him about Portugal's domestic affairs, social unrest, and constant ministerial crises. In return he was lectured by Albert in a rather direct way—the kind of directness you use only for relatives.<sup>31</sup> For Albert's detractors this correspondence might have been another incidence of secret networking, but a closer look shows that Albert did inform Prime Minister Lord Aberdeen about it. He wanted to achieve two things: to help his relative to stabilize the Portuguese throne and at the same time to help British interests in Portugal.

Albert felt convinced that foreign affairs were an important traditional field of monarchical influence. He remained adamant that his knowledge of continental politics and his closeness to European monarchs could be of great use. He would not live to read Bagehot and if he had, he would have certainly disagreed with him. According to David Craig, "it was a common view in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries that 'show' was the best way of transfixing the imaginations of the 'masses,' who were suffering a rationality deficit."<sup>32</sup> The monarchy certainly had to offer "theatrical show," yet despite all his artful presentation, Albert also defended the queen's prerogatives. He saw the monarchy's role as that of an arbiter, that is, above party politics. This was however a rather vague concept and it has often been turned against him. Even Disraeli—who became Victoria's favourite Prime Minister—once talked about Albert's idea of "absolute power." David Cannadine agrees. He claims that Albert "wanted to be a sovereign who governed as well as reigned."<sup>33</sup> If this had been Albert's intention, Palmerston certainly destroyed any such illusions. He clashed repeatedly with Albert over foreign affairs—a field in which Palmerston did not endure any competition by a young princeling.<sup>34</sup> Things came to a

head when in 1848 Palmerston believed in supporting revolutionary movements *abroad* (not in Ireland of course!) while Albert feared for the survival of his correspondents, and a knock-on effect in Britain. While Palmerston supported Italian nationalism—Albert wanted the Habsburg Empire—despite criticising its faults—to stay intact. During the 1848 Schleswig-Holstein crisis, Albert backed the German nationalists who wanted to incorporate the duchies into a united Germany, while Palmerston instead favoured Denmark. Palmerston also did not share Albert's long-term plans for the German states. The prince worked for a united Germany under Prussia's leadership, not because he was a reactionary, but because he knew that only Prussia was strong enough to achieve such a goal. His long-term plan was an Anglo-German alliance which would have "westernised" Prussia—a plan that might have saved a lot of bloodshed.

Though he was often a lone fighter, in his 22-year struggle to establish a role as prince consort, Albert was not completely alone. He had several advisors: the Coburg network (his uncle Leopold, the king of the Belgians, and Stockmar), occasionally politicians such as Peel, and most importantly his wife who fought for his status. Victoria was outraged at every slight her husband endured, especially his lack of a proper title. To Palmerston she wrote: "it is a strange omission in our Constitution that while the wife of a King has the highest rank and dignity in the realm after her husband assigned to her by law, the husband of a queen regent is entirely ignored by law."<sup>35</sup> In the end it was Victoria who had to give Albert the title of prince consort by royal patent in 1857.

It was the Cambridge weather that killed Albert a few years later. As Chancellor of the University, he should have been used to it, but despite being highly enervated he travelled to Madingley Hall to sort out his son Bertie. The future Edward VII was supposed to study at Cambridge, but he had involved himself in other activities and was in danger of being blackmailed. On his return, Albert developed a fever. At first the queen did not understand the gravity of the situation and complained that men were such difficult patients. It was, however, typhoid fever and Albert was not fighting it. He was warning Victoria not to overdo the postmortem adulation—a wish she famously ignored. The warning was not false modesty on his part, but common sense. He knew all too well that the British public could not be manipulated into any kind of forced hero worship. After his death on December 14, 1861, the queen kept the illusion of Albert alive: by constantly talking and writing about him, by sleeping next to a cast of his hand, even having his clothes and shaving foam put out every day. In aristocratic circles such excessive grieving was highly unusual. *Not* to show emotions was seen as the highest form of self-control—one simply did not bother other people. Victoria had never been a good psychologist and her determination to "canonise" Albert did not go down well. But she was right in seeing him as an outstanding prince consort. Over the years Albert's role had varied between successes and failures. Yet despite all the



drawbacks of his position, he kept finding backdoors to power that the royal family uses to this day.

For a man who officially had no power, he used it brilliantly.

## Notes

1. Frank Lorenz Müller, *Our Fritz. Emperor Frederick III and the Political Culture of Imperial Germany* (Cambridge, Mass 2011). See also: Eva Giloi, *Monarchy, Myth, and Material Culture in Germany 1750–1950* (Cambridge 2011); Edward Berenson and Eva Giloi (eds.), *Constructing Charisma: Celebrity, Fame, and Power in Nineteenth Century Europe* (Oxford, 2013).
2. Karina Urbach, "Introduction," in Theodore Martin, *The Life of the Prince Consort: Prince Albert and His Times, Vol. 1* (London, 2012), viii.
3. See Charles Beem's chapter, "Why Prince George of Denmark Did Not Become a King of England."
4. Nancy Mitford, "Die Englische Aristokratie," *Der Monat: Internationale Zeitschrift*, vol. 9, no. 97 (1956), 40–9.
5. A biography of Prince Albert's mother has uncovered new details of this bizarre affair: Ulrike Grunewald, *Luise von Sachsen-Coburg-Saalfeld (1800–1831): Lebensräume einer unangepassten Herzogin* (Cologne, 2013).
6. Albert to his brother Ernst, LA A 6971: vol. III, 1841–43. State Archive Coburg.
7. Ibid. June 1843.
8. Princess Augusta Caroline, eldest daughter of the duke of Cambridge, married Frederick, hereditary grand duke of Mecklenburg-Strelitz.
9. Prince Albert to his brother Ernst, July 30, 1843, LA A 6971: vol. III, 1841–43. State Archive Coburg.
10. See for this in more detail, Karina Urbach, *Queen Victoria* (Munich, 2011), 80ff.
11. John Davis, *The Great Exhibition* (London, 1999).
12. Quoted in: David Newsome, *The Victorian World Picture* (London 1997), 10.
13. Roy Strong interview in: *Queen Victoria. A Royal Lovestory*, BBC 1, March 14, 2010.
14. *Manja Wilkens*, Liebesgaben für den Prinzgemahl. Gemälde Franz Xaver Winterhalters als Geburtstags-, Hochzeitstags- und Weihnachtsgeschenke von Victoria an Albert und von Albert an Victoria, in Franz Bosbach, Frank Büttner (eds.), *Künstlerische Beziehungen zwischen England und Deutschland in der viktorianischen Epoche* (Munich, 1998).
15. 838 V 16, RA VIC/Add A 6 nr 3, Royal Archives Windsor.
16. Count Bentinck to his daughter Mechthild, 27.4.1909. Papers of Mechthild Fürstin zu Castell-Rüdenhausen (born Countess Bentinck, 1877–1940). Fürstlich Castell'sches Archiv Castell (Franconia).
17. See Karina Urbach (ed.), *Royal Kinship: Anglo-German Family Networks 1815–1918* (Munich, 2008).
18. Roger Fulford (ed.), *Dearest Child: Private Correspondence of Queen Victoria and the Crown Princess of Prussia 1858–1861* (London, 1964); Ibid., *Dearest Mama: Private Correspondence of Queen Victoria and the Crown Princess of Prussia 1861–1864*, (London, 1968); Ibid., *Your Dear Letter, Private Correspondence*

- of *Queen Victoria and the Crown Princess of Prussia 1865–1871* (London, 1971); Ibid., *Darling Child: Private Correspondence of Queen Victoria and the Crown Princess of Prussia 1871–1878* (London 1976); Ibid., *Beloved Mama: Private Correspondence of Queen Victoria and the Crown Princess of Prussia 1878–1885* (London, 1981).
19. Philip Mansel, *Dressed to Rule: Royal and Court Costume from Louis XIV to Elizabeth II* (London, 2005).
20. April 13, 1848. Letter from Albert to Ernst, LA A 6974, vol. VI. 1848–49. no. 45. State Archive Coburg.
21. F. Airplay, *Prince Albert: Why is he so unpopular?* (London 1857), 8.
22. March 17, 1848, Albert to Ernst, LA A 6974, vol. VI, 1848–49. State Archive Coburg.
23. Albert to Ernst, LA A 6971: vol. IV, 1844. State Archive Coburg.
24. See Miles Taylor's forthcoming book, *Queen Victoria and India*.
25. See Gareth Stedman Jones, *Languages of Class, Studies in English Working Class History, 1832–1982* (Cambridge, 1983), 77.
26. Albert to Ernst, LA A 6971: vol. III, 1841–43. State Archive Coburg.
27. Stanley Weintraub, *Albert: Uncrowned King* (New York, 2001).
28. Walter Arnstein, "The Warrior Queen: Reflections on Victoria and Her World," *Albion* 30 (Spring, 1998) 1–28.
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30. "Ich schreibe nie nach Deutschland über englische Politik, da alles gelesen wird." Albert to Ernst, LA A 6971: vol. III, 1841–43. State Archive Coburg.
31. For this correspondence, see Franz Bosbach, John Davis (eds.), *Common Heritage: Dokumente aus den Royal Archives Windsor and Staatsarchiv Coburg* (Munich, 2014).
32. David M. Craig goes on to show that this view is one-sided. Craig, "The Crowned Republic? Monarchy and Anti-Monarchy in Britain, 1760–1901," *The Historical Journal*, 46, 1 (2003), S. 167–85.
33. David Cannadine, The Last Hanoverian Sovereign? The Victorian Monarchy in Historical Perspective, 1688–1988, in A. L. Beier (ed.), *The First Modern Society: Essays in English History in Honour of Lawrence Stone* (Cambridge, 1989), 127ff.
34. See Karina Urbach, "Prince Albert and Lord Palmerston: Battle Royal," in David Brown and Miles Taylor (eds.), *Palmerston Studies, Vol. 1* (Southampton, 2007).
35. Quoted in Weintraub, *Albert*, 337.

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*The Man behind the Queen: Male Consorts in History*  
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## THE MAN BEHIND THE QUEEN

### MALE CONSORTS IN HISTORY

Edited by

*Charles Beem and Miles Taylor*

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THE MAN BEHIND THE QUEEN

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