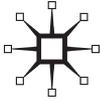




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INTRODUCTION: THE QUEEN VERSUS THE PEOPLE

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 dissensions 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 councilors⁷ 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 Catholicism²⁴ 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 focussed 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.



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