CHAPTER LVIII

CINDERELLA WILL OBEY

It was thus amid serious controversies, at home and abroad, that Queen Victoria met her first cousin, Albert, Duke of Saxony and Prince of Coburg and Gotha:

"I saw Prince Albert for the first time. He is exactly like the drawing of him (and the Queen) a handsome face without much expression, rather a slouching air and though tall, clumsily made, but without speaking to him, and hearing him speak, it is difficult to judge of his looks. Everybody speaks well of him."

Queen Victoria held that "Albert's beauty is most striking." He seemed "perfection." "I love him," declared the Queen, "more than I can say." And with her matrimonial prospects, she would permit no interference:

November 27, 1839: The Queen settled everything about her marriage herself, and without consulting Melbourne at all on the subject, not even communicating to him her intentions. The reports were already rife, while he was in ignorance; and at last he spoke to her, told her that he could not be ignorant of the reports, nor could she; that he did not presume to inquire what her intentions were, but that it was his duty to tell her that, if she had any, it was necessary that her Ministers should be apprised of them. She said she had nothing to tell him, and about a fortnight afterward she informed him that the whole thing was settled. A curious exhibition of her independence, and explains the apprehension which Lady Cowper has recently expressed to me of the serious consequences which her determined character is likely to produce. If she has already shaken off her dependence on Melbourne, and begins to fly with her own wings, what will she not do when she is older, and has to deal with Ministers whom she does not care for, or whom she dislikes?

On November 15th, at Windsor, "Lord Melbourne," writes Greville, "told me to search the Council books and see what was the form of the Sovereign's marriage, so that the matter is pretty clearly settled."

November 26, 1839: The Queen wrote to all her family and announced her marriage to them. When she saw the Duchess of Gloucester in town, and told her she was to make her declaration the next day, the Duchess asked her if it was not a nervous thing to do. She said, "Yes; but I did a much more nervous thing a little while ago." "What was that?" "I proposed to Prince Albert."

The Queen adds the information that the Duchess of Gloucester was "suffering much from the necessity of keeping the secret."

November 23, 1839: . . . The Council being summoned to declare the Queen's marriage to-day, I have come up to town for it, and am just returned from the declaration, which took place in the lower apartments of the Palace. About eighty Privy Councillors present, all who were within call having attended, Peel, Lyndhurst, and the Duke. The Duke arrived last night for the purpose; he looked very old, very feeble, and decrepit. I thought a great change was observable in him, but he was cheerful as usual, and evidently tried to make the best of it. The Queen had sent in the morning to enquire after him, and the answer was, "He had had a restless night." All the Privy Councillors seated themselves, when the folding doors were thrown open, and the Queen came in, attired in a plain morning gown, but wearing a bracelet containing Prince Albert's picture. She read the declaration in a clear, sonorous, sweet-toned voice, but her hands trembled so excessively that I wonder she was able to read the paper which she held. Lord Lansdowne made a little speech, asking her permission to have the declaration made public. She bowed assent, placed the paper in his hands, and then retired.

"I felt my hands shook," wrote the Queen, in her Journal, "but I did not make one mistake." It was so "awful" a moment that she hardly knew who was there. Still she was told

that she did it very well and she thus felt so happy about it. Lord Melbourne was now at a distance, with tears in his eyes.

Outside the Palace, the crowds cheered loudly, and Greville records on January 17, 1840, that at the opening of Parliament, "the Queen was well enough received—much better than usual—as she went to the House." Still:

January 18, 1840: . . . The Queen has been attacked for going down in person to Parliament, just after the news arriving of the Landgravine's death; but she consulted her relations, the Princess Augusta particularly, who advised her to go, said it was a public duty, and that they had all been brought up in the doctrine that the discharge of the duties of their station was to supersede everything. So she went.

The Landgravine was the Princess Elizabeth, third daughter of King George III and Queen Victoria's Aunt.

At a marriage of the Sovereign, many matters, including the allowance of the Consort, have to be decided by Parliament. And the Queen soon learned that it was a disadvantage to be on bad terms with the Tories.

January 29, 1840: On Monday night, Government were beaten by 104 on the question of reducing the Prince's allowance from 50,000l. to 30,000l. a year. They knew they should be beaten, but nevertheless John Russell would go doggedly on and encounter this mortifying defeat, instead of giving way with the best grace he could. He lost his temper, and flung dirt at Peel, like a sulky boy flinging rotten eggs; in short exposed himself sadly. His friends were much annoyed that he did not give way, as soon as he found that there was no chance of carrying it, and that many Government supporters would vote against it; besides the mortification to the Prince, there was something mean and sordid in squabbling for all the money they could get, and the sum given him is *satis superque* for all his wants.

The comment of the Queen was that "she was aware that Sir Robert Peel would do anything he could to spite her, and she was therefore not surprised." What "she had not anticipated" was "the opposition of the Duke of Wellington." In fact, "Her Majesty was . . . more provoked at what passed in the House of Lords than at the defeat in the Commons."

February 15, 1840: It is a sad sight to see him [the Duke of Wellington] almost insulted by the Court, just as his Sun is about to set. It turns out to be quite true that it was with great difficulty the Queen was induced to invite him to her wedding, and at last, only, when it was hinted to her that, if he was not there, there would very likely be some unpleasant manifestation of public opinion. He is well aware of this, and he told Lord Lyndhurst (who told me) that she said:

"I won't have that Old Rebel."

Not however that I believe she did say this. This is one of the inventions, I have no doubt, of the busy mischief-makers and angry Tories, who make bad as much worse as they can.

Apparently, the invention had a basis in fact. On February 18, 1840, Melbourne wrote:

"I told Melbourne in the interview I had with him on Thursday 19th, how all the Queen said, and probably much more, was not only talked of, but told to the Duke himself, and I told him of the saying ('I won't have that Old Rebel') which I said I was convinced was not true, and so I had said to Arbuthnot, though no doubt she did express herself with asperity. He admitted the asperity and he did not deny the particular expression so much that I am disposed to suspect she did say so, or something very like it. But the Duke's women and flatterers do much harm in repeating these things to him. His weakness is extraordinary in listening to them as he does."

The income to be received by the Prince was not the only delicate matter under discussion. "The Queen," we read, "is bent upon giving him precedence of the whole Royal Family."

Lord FitzGerald's view, however, was (January 31, 1840) that "they might and ought to give him precedence for her life over the rest of the Royal Family . . . but not over a Prince of Wales, to which, he thought, they never would consent." The Queen's Consort might walk in front of his wife's uncles but must walk behind his own eldest son.

Lord Ellenborough, as a peer, would not agree even to this. He appealed to the memory of Queen Anne, who had also married a Prince Consort.

January 31, 1840: . . . I met him at his own door (next mine), when I said to him, "What are you going to do about the

precedence?" To which he said, "Oh, give him the same which Prince George of Denmark had: place him next before the Archbishop of Canterbury." I said, "That will by no means satisfy the Queen"; at which he tossed up his head, and said, "What does that signify?"

The status of the Prince as Privy Councillor was also to be submitted to the shades of Queen Anne:

March 12, 1840: . . . When I was with the Chancellor the other day, he said a difficulty had been started about making Prince Albert a Privy Councillor before he was of age, and asked me if there was anything in it. I found, on looking into the books, that the Royal Dukes had not been brought into Council till they were of age, but probably that was because they could not take their seats in the House of Lords before; but I also found very clear proofs that George III's sons had not been sworn but *introduced* in his reign, and this puzzled me, for I remembered to have sworn several of them at different times, during the present and two last reigns. I therefore wrote to the Duke of Sussex, and asked him what had occurred in his case. His reply cleared the matter up. He said the King's sons are *born* Privy Councillors, and that they are declared sworn by the King whenever he pleases; that accordingly he was merely introduced into Council in 1807; but after the death of George III, when he stood in a different relation to the reigning Sovereign, he was sworn; and again at the accessions of King William IV and Queen Victoria. I found an account in the Council Books of the form with which the Prince of Wales was introduced into Council in 1784, and this I sent to Melbourne to show to the Queen, suggesting that Prince Albert should be introduced upon the same terms as Prince George of Denmark [husband of Queen Anne] had been, and with the same ceremonies as the Prince of Wales in 1784.

Queen Anne, moreover, determined whether the Prince was worth praying for:

February 25, 1840: . . . Besides the Precedence question, another is now raised about the Liturgy. The Queen wants to insert the Prince's name in it; they sent to me to know if Prince George's [of Denmark] had been inserted, and I found it

had not. There was a division of opinion, but the majority of the Cabinet were disposed to put in Prince Albert's. Before deciding anything, they consulted the Archbishop of Canterbury. Yesterday, however, on looking into the Act of Uniformity, I satisfied myself that the Queen has not the power to insert his name; and I believe that the insertion, on former occasions, of Princesses of Wales was illegal, and could not have been sustained if it ever had been questioned.

Amid all this etiquette, the Queen was greatly irritated. And Melbourne, anxious to placate the Tories, appealed to the Duke of Wellington—

February 4, 1840:. . .who immediately agreed to receive him; when he went to Apsley House, and they had an hour's conversation. Melbourne found him with one of his very stiffest crotchets in his head, determined only to give the Prince precedence after the Royal Family; and all he could get from him was, that it would be *unjust* to do more. All argument was unavailing, and he left him on Saturday evening without having been able to make any impression on him, or to move him by a representation of the Queen's feelings to make concessions to meet those the Government were prepared to make; for the Queen had already descended from her high horse and would have been content to accept precedence for her life, and saving the rights of the Prince of Wales. This, however, they would not consent to; and so determined were they to carry their point that they made a grand whip up, and brought Lord Clare all the way from Grimsthorpe, to vote upon it. Under these circumstances the Government resolved to withdraw the clause, and they did so, thus leaving the Prince without any specific place assigned by Parliament, and it remains with the Queen to do what she can for him, or for courtesy, tacit consent, and deference for her Consort to give him the precedence virtually which the House of Lords refuses to bestow formally. I think the Duke has acted strangely in this matter, and the Conservatives generally very unwisely.

On the merits of the case, Greville prepared an elaborate memorandum, in which he quoted the precedents and strongly supported the Queen's case. "Upon the broad question of moral

fitness," he wrote, "there seems no reason why the husband of the Queen Regnant should not be invested, by virtue of his *consortium*, with the highest dignity, over other men, just as the wife of the King is participant by virtue of her marriage of divers prerogations over other women."

March 5, 1840: . . . There has been a great delay in getting ready the patent of precedence for Prince Albert, because the law officers can't make up their minds as to the terms of it, and whether exceptional words should be introduced or not. My pamphlet has succeeded far beyond my hopes or expectations, and got me many compliments, which I never looked for from such a trifle. Peel said civil things to FitzGerald about it; only the Royal Family and the Cambridges don't like it, on account of my having explained the status of Prince George [of Cambridge]; and they fancy, in the event of his going to Germany, it might be injurious to him, which seems very fanciful; but their pride is hurt.

"As an abstract question," Greville did not think that a legislative precedence was necessary, "but under all the circumstances it would have been expedient and not at all unjust to grant it." The fact that the question had been thus "left unsettled" was thus "much to be regretted." While "there certainly was not room for much more dislike in her mind of the Tories," still "it was useless to give the Prince so ungracious and uncordial a reception and to render him as inimical to them as she already is." Greville hoped they would "pacify the Queen if possible, who, however unreasonably, was much excited about it."

Over the problem of precedence, ignored by Parliament, the Queen was thus brought into personal collision with her family.

March 6, 1840: . . . Prince Albert was gazetted last night. His precedence is not fixed by patent under the Great Seal, but by Warrant (I suppose under the Sign Manual).

There were three uncles to be considered.

As the eldest of them, the Duke of Cumberland was now himself a reigning Sovereign—that is, King of Hanover:

Belvoir Castle, January 4, 1838: . . . When the late King had evidently only a few days to live, the Duke of Cumberland

consulted the Duke [of Wellington] as to what he should do. "I told him the best thing he could do was to go away as fast as he could: Go instantly," I said, "and take care that *you don't get pelted*." . . . The Duke also advised him not to take the oaths as Privy Councillor, or those of a Peer in the House of Lords, because he thought it would do him an injury in the eyes of his new subjects, that he, a King, should swear fealty as her subject to the Queen as his Sovereign; but somebody else (he thought the Duke of Buckingham) overruled this advice, and he had himself a fancy to take the oaths.

Whether King or Duke, Cumberland was not a man to surrender his rights. For instance, there were certain jewels in Hanover:

December 29, 1857: . . . Lyndhurst said the Court was very anxious about it, for Prince Albert had told him the pearls were the finest in Europe. The value of them has been enormously exaggerated, but is still considerable. Lord Lyndhurst said they were worth about 150,000l. and Kielmansegge told me the same thing.

It took twenty years to decide who was to wear those pearls:

December 29, 1857: The long-pending dispute about the Crown jewels claimed by the King of Hanover was settled the other day. The history of it is this. The late King of Hanover on the death of William IV claimed these jewels upon the ground that they were partly belonging to the Crown of Hanover and partly had been bequeathed to him by Queen Charlotte. Our government, on behalf of the Queen, naturally resisted the claim. After a good deal of wrangling they were at last prevailed on to name a commission to investigate the question.

The award, by English judges, was in favour of Hanover:

December 29, 1857: . . . Lord Wensleydale came into my room at the Council Office just after they had finished their award, and told me about it. I asked him if they had decided it on *evidence* or only by a sort of rough estimate, but he said they had ample evidence, and they were all quite satisfied upon the point. Last night I asked Lord Lyndhurst about his share in the question, when he told me their difficulty had been to make out

whether the jewels which Queen Charlotte had disposed of by her will had really been hers to leave, or whether she had only had the use of them, but that this had been decided by the discovery of George III's will, in which he expressly left them to her.

December 31, 1857: . . . I met Clarendon last night, talked about the Hanoverian jewel question, that the Queen and Prince were desperately annoyed at the award, which they thought unfair. The Prince asked Clarendon whether Parliament could not be applied to, to make good the jewels, which were the very ones the Queen had always worn, and that the dignity of the Crown required she should be properly furnished with such ornaments. Clarendon told him it was out of the question, that the Government could not make any such application to Parliament, and that it was far better for *them* [the Court] that it should not be done, that her popularity was in great measure owing to her own judicious conduct and abstinence from that extravagance which had marked the reign of George IV, that nobody cared whether she was attired in fine pearls or diamonds, and would rather rejoice to see her without them than that she should wear them when they belonged to somebody else, or that substitutes were supplied by funds raised by taxation. So they gave it up, as he says they are always ready to do when a matter is fairly put before them; but he said the Queen was very anxious to know Lord Lyndhurst's opinion upon the award.

The King of Hanover was also a tenacious guest:

March 29, 1840: . . . The case is this: When the Queen was going to be married, the Duchess of Kent told Duncannon that she must have a house, and that she could not afford to pay for one (the greater part of her income being appropriated to the payment of her debts). Duncannon told her that there were no royal apartments unoccupied, except the King of Hanover's at St. James's; and it was settled that he should be apprised that the Queen had occasion for them, and be requested to give them up. Duncannon accordingly wrote a note to Sir F. Watson, who manages the King's affairs here, and told him that he had such a communication to make to his Majesty, which he was desirous of bringing before him in the most re-

spectful manner, and that the arrangement should be made in whatever way would be most convenient to him. Watson informed him that he had forwarded his note to the King, and shortly after Duncannon received an answer from the King himself, which was neither more nor less than a flat refusal to give up the apartments. Another communication then took place between Duncannon and Watson, when the latter said that it would be very inconvenient to the King to remove his things from the apartments without coming over in person, as the library particularly was full of papers of importance. Duncannon then proposed that the library and the adjoining room, in which it was said that his papers were deposited, should not be touched, but remain in his possession; that they should be walled off and separated from the rest of the suite, which might be given up to the Duchess for her occupation. This proposal was sent to the King, who refused to agree to it, or to give up the apartments at all. Accordingly the Queen was obliged to hire a house for her mother at a rent of £2,000 a year. I told Duncannon that they were all very much to blame for submitting to the domineering insolence of the King, and that when they thought it right to require the apartments, they ought to have gone through with it, and have taken no denial. It was a gross insult to the Queen to refuse to give up to her an apartment in her own palace which she desired to dispose of; and they were very wrong in permitting such an affront to be offered to her. So Duncannon was himself of opinion; but Melbourne, who is all for quietness, would not allow matters to proceed to extremities, and preferred knocking under.

Cumberland, who had been a Tory leader, displayed an inconvenient sincerity:

Knowsley, July 18, 1837: . . . Just before I left London, the Proclamation of the King of Hanover appeared, by which he threw over the new Constitution. Lyndhurst told me of it, before I had seen it, with many expressions of disappointment, and complaining of his folly and of the bad effect it would produce here. The Government papers have taken it up, though rather clumsily, for the purpose of connecting this violent measure with the Tory party; but it is a great folly in the Opposition, and in the journals belonging to them, not to reject at once

and peremptorily all connection with the King of Hanover, and all participation in, or approbation of, his measures. Lyndhurst told me that the King [William IV], had all along protested against this Constitution, and refused to sign or be a party to it; that he contended it was illegal, inasmuch as the States by which it had been enacted had been illegally convoked; that he was *able* to do what he has done by his independence in point of finance, having a great revenue from Crown lands. The late King was very anxious to give this up, and to have a Civil List instead; but when this was proposed, the Duke of Cumberland exerted his influence successfully to defeat the project, and it was accordingly thrown out in the Senate (I think the Senate) by a small majority. Though we have nothing to do with Hanover, this violence will, no doubt, render him still more odious here than he was before, and it would be an awful thing if the Crown were, by any accident, to devolve upon him. The late King's [William's] desire to effect this change affords an indisputable proof of the sincerity of his constitutional principles, and it is no small praise that he was satisfied with a constitutional sovereignty, and did not hanker after despotic power.

The Duke of Cumberland, that used to be, would sometimes visit England:

August 6, 1843: . . . The King of Hanover has been the great lion of London, all the Tories feasting and entertaining him with extraordinary demonstrations of civility and regard; but not so the Court, for the Queen has taken hardly any notice of him. He seems to have behaved very well, taking great pleasure in the attentions he has received, but giving no cause for complaint by any indecorous or imprudent language; in fact, he seems not to have meddled with politics in any way whatever.

The precedence to be granted to the Prince Consort "did not immediately concern" the Duke of Cumberland in his new dignity, but, on principle, he "refused" to give way. And at an early ceremony, the issue was evaded:

June 6, 1843: . . . The King of Hanover arrived on Friday, too late for the Royal christening, and all the world is asking why he did not arrive in time, or why they did not wait for him.

Conversation, however, was affectionate:

August 6, 1843: . . . They tell a story of him, that one day at Buckingham Palace he proposed to Prince Albert to go out and walk with him. The Prince excused himself, saying he could not walk in the streets, as they should be exposed to inconvenience from the crowd of people. The King replied, "Oh, never mind that. I was still more unpopular than you are now, and used to walk about with perfect impunity."

Greville thus explains that while "there is no great sympathy for the lucky Coburgs in this country"—that is for Leopold of Belgium, the Duchess of Kent, and the Prince Consort himself—"there is still less for King Ernest of Hanover." And the Tory attitude over precedence "will have all the effect of being a slight to the Queen out of a desire to gratify him."

The Duke and Duchess of Cambridge were no more pleased about it all than was the Duke of Sussex:

February 29, 1840: Every day some little *tracasserie de cour*, or trivial story of affront or squabble comes out. The reason (it seems) why the Cambridges were not asked to the Palace last Monday was that, when Prince Albert's health was proposed at the Queen Dowager's dinner, the Duchess did not rise, though the two Queens did. So to mark a sense of the affront they were not invited. The Duchess, however, declares that she did not observe that the Queen rose, and was not aware that she ought to have done so, or that it was expected, and that she meant nothing. It is patched up and they are invited next Monday. However, it shocks people to see that the Queen takes next to no notice of her paternal relations, treats the English ones as aliens, and seems to consider her German uncles and cousins as her only kith and kin.

Ten years later, the old question cropped up:

November 10, 1850: . . . The Duke of Cambridge and his family have been, and still are, excited about the place he is entitled to occupy in the House of Lords, and they are very angry with me because I said, in my pamphlet on Prince Albert's precedence ten years ago, that he was only entitled to sit as Duke of Cambridge according to the date of his peerage, and this I adhere to now. It is incredible what importance

they attach to this nonsense. The Duchess of Gloucester sent to me to beg a copy of that old pamphlet, and afterward the Chancellor did the same. I have had a correspondence with Lord Redesdale about it, who has taken up the Duke's cause, and sustained it by some very bad arguments and very inapplicable precedents. I have stuck to my original opinion, but nevertheless am now endeavouring to help the Duke to attain his purpose, and have furnished him with a better precedent than he and his advisers have been able to find for themselves.

Other uncles had a reason for amiability—"the Dukes of Sussex and Cambridge who each want some additions to their incomes have signified their consent."

Unfortunately, the tact, displayed by the Duke of Sussex, was treated with ingratitude:

July 18, 1838: The Duke of Sussex has quarrelled with the Government on account of their refusal to apply to Parliament for an increased allowance, and his partisans are very angry with Melbourne, and talk of withdrawing their support. The Duke began by requesting Melbourne to bring the matter before the Cabinet, which he did, and the result was that they informed his Royal Highness it could not be done. He was very angry, and the rest of the Royal Family (glad to make bad blood between him and the Whigs) fomented his discontent. The Duke of Cambridge went to Melbourne and begged that he might not stand in the way of his brother's wishes, from its being supposed that, if they were complied with, his own claims could likewise be urged. The Duke, finding he could do nothing with the Government, determined to do what he could for himself, and began to canvass and exert all the influence he possessed among Members of Parliament, and (as he thought) with such success, that he counted upon 250 votes in his favour. He then employed Mr. Gillon to move the matter in the House of Commons, having previously conveyed to Melbourne his intention to do what he could for himself, but not making any communication to Lord John Russell, and directing his confidants to conceal from him what it was intended to do. Accordingly John Russell paid very little attention to the motion of Mr. Gillon, which he saw entered on the Order Book, and when it came on, he opposed it. Peel pronounced a very

warm eulogium upon John Russell's conduct, and the motion was rejected by ninety to forty, the Duke's anticipated supporters having dwindled away to that paltry number. Bitter was his mortification and violent his resentment at this result. He wrote an angry letter to John Russell, to which John sent a temperate and respectful reply, but his Royal Highness has since informed Melbourne that he shall withdraw his support from the Government, and the Duke of Cleveland has likewise given notice that the conduct of Government to the Duke "makes the whole difference" in his disposition to support them. The Duke's friends generally have expressed so much dissatisfaction that it is matter of considerable embarrassment and annoyance to the Government, and if this was to be carried to the length of opposition, or even neutrality, it might be productive of serious consequences, weak as they are. But as this session is about to close, means will probably be found of pacifying them before the opening of the next. Much of the mischief has arisen from the want of communication and understanding between the parties. . . .

. . . The Duke has some sort of claim, under all the circumstances. When King William came to the throne, he told him he was anxious to do what he could for him, and would therefore give him the best thing at his disposal, the Rangership of Windsor Park, 4,000l. a year; but immediately after came Lord Grey's economical reforms, which swept this away. The King then gave him Bushey; but it was found necessary to settle a jointure house on the Queen Dowager, and Bushey was taken from him for this purpose. At last they gave him the Rangership of Hyde Park, and he had actually drawn for the first quarter's salary, when the salary was done away with, so that he has been three times disappointed, and he really is over head and ears in debt. It is now more difficult than ever to do anything for him, because all parties are committed, and there is a vote of the House of Commons recorded against the grant. In his dudgeon, he talks of withdrawing from politics, and of selling by public auction all his personal property, library included.

The Duke of Sussex "fancies (it seems) that *he made* Lord Grey's Administration." And naturally:

July 18, 1838: . . . He had buoyed himself up with the notion that his popularity was so great that there would be a Parliamentary demonstration in his favour sufficient to compel the Ministers to yield, and he now sees how much he overrated it, and miscalculated the support he fancied he had secured. What he complains of with the greatest bitterness is the conduct of Lord Howick in having asked Mr. Hawes to oppose this grant: "that the son of the man whose administration I made only a few years ago should have canvassed others to oppose me is the deepest wound that ever was inflicted on me."

What particularly disturbed the Duke was his heraldic prestige:

March 18, 1840: . . . He is dissatisfied on account of the banners of the Knights of the Garter having been moved in St. George's Chapel, to make room for Prince Albert's, I suppose; but I could not quite make out what it was he complained of, only he said when such a disposition had been shown in all quarters to meet her Majesty's wishes, and render to the Prince all honour, they ought not to push matters farther than they can properly do, &c. . . . something to this effect. He is not altogether pleased with the Court; that is evident.

The situation was complicated by the marriage of the aged Prince to Lady Cecilia Underwood, without the Queen's formal consent under the Royal Marriage Act. The marriage was recognized but only on condition that the lady's title be Duchess of Inverness and not Sussex:

March 18, 1840: . . . I dined yesterday at Devonshire House, a dinner of forty people to feast the Royalties of Sussex and Capua with their quasi-Consorts, for I know not whether the Princess of Capua is according to Neapolitan law a real Princess any more than our Cecilia is a real Duchess, which she certainly is not, nor takes the title, though every now and then somebody gives it her. However, there they were yesterday in full possession of all the dignities of their husbands. The Duke [of Devonshire] made a mystery of the order in which he meant them to go out to dinner, and would let nobody know how it was all to be till the moment came. He then made the Duke of Sussex go out first with the Princess of Capua, next the Prince

with Lady Cecilia, and he himself followed with the Duchess of Somerset, and so on.

The last act of the Duke of Sussex was to renounce whatever of his "precedence" was left:

April 23, 1843: The Duke of Sussex died yesterday, and his memory has been very handsomely treated by the press of different shades of politics. He placed the Court in great embarrassment by leaving directions that he should be buried at the Cemetery in the Harrow Road; and there was a grand consultation yesterday, whether this arrangement should be carried into effect, or whether the Queen should take on herself to have him buried with the rest of the Royal Family at Windsor.

May 7, 1843: . . . It is unnecessary to say that the discussion about the Duke of Sussex's funeral ended by his being buried with Royal honours at Kensal Green. It all went off very decently and in an orderly manner. Peel and the Duke, in both Houses, spoke of him very properly and feelingly. He seems to have been a kind-hearted man, and was beloved by his household. On his deathbed he caused all his servants to be introduced to his room, took leave of them all, and shook hands with some.

The Queen was married, not in Westminster Abbey, but in the Chapel of St. James's Palace, a very small edifice. Over invitations other than Wellington's therefore, difficulties were reported:

February 13, 1840: She [the Queen] had been as wilful, obstinate, and wrong-headed as usual about her invitations, and some of her foolish and mischievous Courtiers were boasting that out of above 300 people in the Chapel there would only be five Tories; of these five, two were the joint Great Chamberlains Willoughby and Cholmondeley, whom they could hardly omit, and one Ashley, the husband of Melbourne's niece, the other two were Lord Liverpool her own old friend, and the Duke, but there was a hesitation about inviting them. The Duke and Duchess of Northumberland were not there, and she did worse than not invite them, for though the day of the ceremony had been fixed a month before, and it was well known that they were at Alnwick, the invitation was sent to them so

late that they could not have got it in time to come, and the truth is that it was intended not to invite them at all. Nothing could be more improper and foolish than to make this a mere Whig party, and if she was to make a selection she might with great propriety have invited all those, such as the Dukes of Rutland and Exeter, who had formerly received and entertained her at their houses, but she would not, and stuffed in a parcel of Whigs, taken apparently at haphazard, in preference to any of these.

The Queen was, in fact, as nervous and as unaccountable as other brides:

February 15, 1840: . . . It is a very curious fact, but perfectly true, that a few days before her marriage, she felt considerable misgivings about the step she was going to take. She was very nervous and feverish, so much so that they fancied she was going to have the measles. In this state she got alarmed for the result of her matrimonial venture, and she said:

"After all, it is a very hazardous experiment, and how unhappy I shall be if it does not answer. I have always had my own way, and particularly for the last two years, and suppose he should endeavour to thwart me, and oppose me in what I like, what a dreadful thing it would be."

I dare say the words are incorrectly reported, but the fact and the substance are correct and true, and this, though they say she is in love with him. It is her dread of being thwarted, and her love of power, stronger than love, which stirred up these doubts and this emotion. The best thing for her will be, that he should have some firmness and resolution, and should show it, for her guidance and restraint.

February 13, 1840: . . . The wedding on Monday went off tolerably well. The week before was fine, and Albert drove about the town with a mob shouting at his heels. Tuesday, Wednesday, and to-day, all beautiful days; but Monday, as if by a malignant influence, was a dreadful day—torrents of rain, and violent gusts of wind. Nevertheless, a countless multitude thronged the park and was scattered over the town. I never beheld such a congregation as there was, in spite of the weather. The Queen proceeded in state from Buckingham House to St.

James's without any cheering, but then it was raining enough to damp warmer loyalty than that of a London mob. The procession in the Palace was pretty enough by all accounts, and she went through the ceremony with much grace and propriety, not without emotion, though sufficiently subdued, and her manner to her family was very pretty and becoming. Upon leaving the Palace for Windsor she and her young husband were pretty well received; but they went off in a very poor and shabby style. Instead of the new chariot in which most married people are accustomed to dash along, they were in one of the old travelling coaches, the postillions in undress liveries, and with a small escort, three other coaches with post horses following. The crowds on the road were so great that they did not reach the Castle till eight o'clock.

February 13, 1840: . . . Her honeymoon seems to be a very curious affair, more strange than delicate, and even her best friends are shocked and hurt at her not conforming more than she is doing to English customs and at not continuing for a short space in that retirement, which modesty and native delicacy generally prescribe, and which few Englishwomen would be content to avoid, but she does not think any such restraint necessary. Married on Monday, she collected an immense party on Wednesday, and she sent off in a hurry for Clarence Paget, to go down and assist at a ball or rather dance, which she chose to have at the Castle last night. This is a proceeding quite unparalleled, and Lady Palmerston said to me last night that she was much vexed that she had nobody about her who could venture to tell her that this was not becoming and would appear indelicate; but she has nobody who dares tell her, or she will not endure to hear such truth. Normanby said to me the same thing. It is a pity Melbourne, when she desired him to go there on Wednesday, did not tell her she had better not have him, nor anybody except perhaps her own family. He probably did not think about it. It was much remarked too that she and Prince Albert were up very early on Tuesday morning, walking about, which is very contrary to her former habits. Strange that a bridal night should be so short, and I told Lady Palmerston that this was not the way to provide us with a Prince of Wales.

February 26, 1840: Called on the Duke of Bedford yesterday morning, and had a long talk about the Court, when he told me

several little things (in great confidence) about Prince Albert's position, how little to be envied, and possibly hereafter to be pitied. Taken from his family, who adored him, and from his country and habits, and put down in the midst of a grandeur which is so very heavy and dull, and which unless something is done to improve the social gaiety of the Court must end by fatiguing and disgusting him. The Duchess of Bedford's impression is that the Queen is excessively in love with him, but he not a bit with her. All the courtiers point with admiration to their walking together arm in arm in the garden, and say how charming it is to see such signs of mutual passion, but the Duchess does not think it is mutual, and he gives her the impression of not being happy. The Duchess of Saxe Coburg told her (or some of them) that there never were such heartbreaking scenes as his leave-taking of his family, eternal as it must be.