

EIGHT

Tableaux peccadilles

Sartor Resartus – To Smoke or not to Smoke – Mother’s Milk – *Domini canes*

~ Sartor Resartus ~

Missy was as adamant over her mother’s sartorial eccentricity as she was about her religious habits – and equally as mistaken. The numerous quotations extracted from her memoirs in this respect mostly appear in the following passage:

Mamma was very funny about her hats. Altogether, indeed, she had strange ideas about clothes because ... [she] was always just a little in opposition to the times. It seemed to give her a particular satisfaction to consider yesterday much better than to-day, and I have known her bitterly to regret a fashion of yesterday, which she had loudly denounced with hoots of disapproval when it had been the fashion of to-day!

Mamma had, for instance, a strange idea that she could only stick a pin into her hat on the right side. She had never, she said, learned in her youth how to put in a pin with the left hand, she had never done it in Russia and she was not going to try and do it either in England, Germany, or Malta ... Anyhow, because Mamma had never learnt in Russia how to put two pins into her hat, she hated the wind with the healthy hate she put into all her hatreds through life. There was nothing half-hearted about Mamma: what she liked she liked, innovations were abhorrent to her, and she preferred places where she had not to ‘dress up’, as she called it.

She wore practical skirts, jackets and hats, though she always stuck to funny-shaped boots with little leather bows on their tips, boots that were ordered in St Petersburg, and she had these specially made the same for each foot, declaring that it was nonsense to imagine that you needed a left and right shoe, it was much more rational to have them both alike.¹

Marie certainly lacked the sartorial vanity and pretentiousness that occupied so much of Missy’s life; this can be only to her credit, yet has been treated subsequently as though vanity were a virtue.

One part of Missy’s casual generalization is true only in a specific context. Marie undoubtedly disliked the tedium associated with having to ‘dress up’, and she preferred to wear more casual clothing when by herself; but she was perfectly capable of wearing the latest finery, and did so whenever the occasion required. A complete inventory of Marie’s vast special storage cabinet at Clarence House (containing just some of her clothes) was taken on 10 November 1883, of which the following is the first folio:

| No | Description of item | No of items | Time when entered for safe keeping |
|----|--|-------------|---|
| 1. | <i>Ermine-trimmed christening blanket</i> | 1 | 16 January 1861 |
| 2. | <i>Sleeveless winter cloak, mountain blue velvet on white angora.</i> | 1 | 23 February 1874 |
| 3. | <i>Sable cloak, chequered in satin (old)</i> | 1 | Procured through the offices of the Most August Children 22 February 1874 |
| 4. | <i>Sable pelisse (mens’) with beaver collar and sleeves, lined with grey wool.</i> | 1 | February 1874, as No 447 |
| 5. | <i>Black fox pelt (old)</i> | 1 | Procured through the offices of the Most August Children 22 February 1874 |

| | | |
|---|---|--|
| 6. <i>Sable boa with head</i> | 1 | do. |
| 7. <i>Ermine-lined short jacket with ermine cuffs and edged with fox fur, length 1 arshine [28 inches] 7 vershoks [7/16 of an arshine], width 2_ vershoks (old)</i> | 1 | do. |
| 8. <i>Two muffs with ermine necks (one from a mature beast)</i> | 2 | do. |
| 9. <i>Five strips of sable from two fur hats (old)</i> | 5 | do. |
| 10. <i>Sable trimmings from a pair of shoes</i> | 2 | do. |
| 11. <i>Minx fur from a cloak (old)</i> | 1 | do. |
| 12. <i>Two sable muffs with white lining</i> | 2 | As No 447 |
| 13. <i>Yakut sable pelisse with a dark blue velvet collar</i> | 1 | 17 May 1876. |
| 14. <i>Yakut sable palatine</i> | 1 | do. |
| 15. <i>Yakut sable boa</i> | 1 | do. |
| 16. <i>Two pelts of white sable</i> | 2 | do. |
| [] | | |
| 18. <i>Ermine muff</i> | 1 | do. |
| 19. <i>Ermine-lined collar from a wedding mantle (with crimson edging)</i> | 1 | Made over from the chamber of Frau von Winkler 19 July 1880 |
| 20. <i>Yakut sable lining from the train of a dress with three additional pieces</i> | 4 | Made over from the chamber of Frau von Winkler 10 June 1883 ² |

Some of the contents of this vast storeroom confirm Missy's description, but a good many do not. The boa was not an invention of post-Edwardian Europe, but the height of fashion from the 1870s (Lady Randolph Churchill wore them often and sent one as a gift to Charly in August 1891), while the number of fur items reflected Marie's Russian background.

Even a casual glance through the various Court Circulars of the day belies Missy's accusation, and two should suffice in addition to those already described on Malta. On Saturday 14 March 1874, *The Times* described Marie's appearance at the Queen's Court at Buckingham Palace the afternoon of the day before:

Her Royal Highness the Duchess of Edinburgh wore a train of pale pink satin, trimmed with two flounces of English lace, headed with a roll of satin and pearls; petticoat of white tulle over white silk, festooned with wreaths of wild roses. Head dress – coronet of diamonds, white feathers and tulle veil. Ornaments – necklace and brooch of diamonds and sapphires. Orders – the Russian order of St Catherine and the Coburg Order.

The same paper noted her appearance at Victoria's Drawing Room on the afternoon of Wednesday 25 March, described the following day:

Her Royal Highness the Duchess of Edinburgh wore a petticoat of white tulle over white silk spangled with silver and striped with wreaths of roses; a train of the same material trimmed with a wreath of roses and plate of silver striped with bands of silver and roses. Head dress – coronet of diamonds and rubies, white feathers, and veil. Ornaments – necklace and brooch of diamonds and rubies. Orders – Victoria and Albert and the Russian order of St Catherine.

It did not seem to occur to Missy that the wearing of uniform boots was not particular to her mother. Cossack boots were so designed to prevent confusion when having to put them on in a hurry – a confusion known to Alice's White Knight when Carroll had him lament having to 'madly squeeze a right-hand foot / Into a left-hand shoe'. Such an emergency call-to-arms at dawn was not likely to befall the duchess of Edinburgh, but Marie's very Carrollian eccentricity is entirely defensible by the very logic she had employed to Missy. She certainly did not have some wretched Russian

shoemaker subvert the sacred articles of his creed to satisfy a stubborn sartorial peccadillo.

It is also untrue that Marie rejected innovations outright, or always fully resisted the latest fashionable items; this really depended on what they were. At Ducky's christening on Malta, she wore what she described as 'a very pretty light grey dress'.³ In 1879, before leaving Clarence House for one of her Continental journeys, and being unwilling to purchase run-of-the-mill toiletries in England, Marie explained how she was impatient to reach France 'for the coming pleasure of ordering some toiletries in Paris' where she would stay 'for a day and a half' to complete her shopping.⁴ Seven years later, she was again in Paris, as she explained to Lady Randolph Churchill:

I spent dreary hours with dressmakers, getting a whole new and very fashionable outfit for my journey to Russia. I hope you admired the new French bonnets? Has one ever seen such extraordinary and monumental, or rather conical, shapes? I laughed myself to death trying them on my fat and rounded face.⁵

Or, as she put it to Lorne:

I leave Paris and its very frivolous life ... the mysteries of fashion were rather a trial, as one has always to keep dressmakers within the bounds of decencies and personal convenience. Bonnets are quite marvellous ... and most interesting to study.⁶

Even into her fifth decade, Marie was still concerned with acquiring at least some new clothes, explaining to Victoria how she wanted 'one or two days in London' on her way from Darmstadt to Windsor 'to see the dressmaker and do some shopping' before presenting herself to the queen.⁷

One reason for Marie's unaffected disinterest in clothing stemmed from the fact that it was she who was responsible for keeping a keen eye on the household finances. Affie was not especially gifted in this area – not parsimonious as some have claimed; simply incompetent – and Marie, in spite of her family's immense wealth, was raised to respect money, as the best wealthy children always are. Her excuse to Queen Victoria in 1889 that a family sojourn in Cannes would prove too expensive for the Edinburgh purse may well have been true, and there are other instances where she hesitated before parting with her money. In 1877, she 'found a lovely snuff-box for £50 which I am sure Alfred would like', but 'Everything is so frightfully expensive that one does not know what to get!'⁸

Many of Missy's inaccuracies – or mendacities – in her memoirs are simply risible. She stated that she never dressed in white as a child because 'Mamma had a curious aversion to dressing her daughters in white'.⁹ Yet there was Marie's own description, already cited, of how her children 'were all dressed in white' as they arrived at Malta in 1886, which the eleven-year-old Missy should have been old enough to remember as clearly as she claimed to recall several other facts related to this episode. However, Marie may have discouraged the wearing of white for the very sound and practical reason that it discoloured easily and looked shabby rather quickly. It is this pragmatic aspect of Marie's character, coupled with her natural lack of vanity and immense common sense, that led her to adopt a style of clothing that would one day be regarded as commonplace.

In contradistinction to this perceived dowdiness, royal lore has fixed in the prosopography of Marie an ostentatious display of jewellery originating in a petulant reaction to the alleged snub following the establishment of Alix's precedence over her

in 1874. That her collection of jewellery was little short of fabulous is not in question. Queen Victoria wrote Vicky in March 1874: 'About Marie's jewels I think the sapphires magnificent and the rubies and the pearls also'.¹⁰ A friend of Sir Charles Dilke heard about some of these pearls when Marie showed them to him during the Eastwell Park 'mini-conference': 'The finest pearls known belonged to the Duchess of Edinburgh: she showed Sir Charles a collar valued at two millions sterling'.¹¹

Lord Brooke was honoured with a more elaborate show during his 1881 visit to Eastwell Park:

It was there that I saw the finest jewels I have ever seen in my life. The Duchess and my wife were talking about jewellery, and the Duchess said: 'If you would like to see my jewels, I will tell my maid to put them all out in my room tomorrow evening, after tea, and if your husband is interested, bring him too'. We went together at the time appointed. The Duchess received us in her bedroom, which was one blaze of precious stones; the bed, the tables, the chairs were all covered with cases containing tiaras, dog-collars, ropes of pearls, necklaces, bracelets, brooches of rarest lustre and beauty and of inestimable value. One would have thought that the world had been ransacked to lay these treasures at the Duchess's feet, and there seemed to be enough for an entire royal family rather than for one member of it.¹²

Lady Frances Brooke also remembered the occasion:

One evening ... we all begged to see the famous jewels ... [Marie's] jewel-room, opening out of her bedroom, had its walls lined with glass cupboards with velvet-covered shelves and stands. In these were displayed the most wonderful gems I have ever seen. Each vitrine held a set ... Every set had huge tiaras or crowns, with necklaces, pendants, and bracelets, *en suite* ... There were heavy iron shutters to clasp over all the cases, and special watchmen were kept in the jewel-room day and night. It seemed to me that such portable wealth carried with it unenviable embarrassment, not to say dangers.¹³

The habit of wearing jewellery in England was by nature more restrained than in Russia, where even regional folk-costumes are studded with glittering stones, whether precious or not, imitation or real. In the English mind, over-decoration with jewellery was firmly associated with the sort of vulgar 'orientalism' with which Russia was so indelibly tainted. But in reality there were not more than perhaps a dozen social occasions over two decades when Marie literally outshone her English counterparts to the extent that it was made noticeable. She certainly enjoyed having her jewels and considered it her right to own them, and therefore to wear them whenever she pleased. But she certainly did not succumb to what the Church Fathers might have called 'unlawful attachment' to her jewels, and she was happy to give items away whenever the occasion demanded. The duchess of Albany is one example, and for Princess May's coming-out gown in 1887 Marie donated the beaten gold bracelet she wore on her right arm and in which she was photographed; for May's twenty-first birthday on 26 May 1888, Marie gave her a selection of gemset brooches and more bracelets. By the time of her death, Marie had none of this extraordinary collection left in her possession – all of it had been either sold or given away.

Whether or not it was morally right for one person to possess so much material wealth when so many in Russia and England went hungry is one matter; quite another is whether the English ladies at Victoria's court behaved like Sir Walter Scott's Norman ladies in *Ivanhoe* (vii) observing the Jewish interloper Rebecca of York at the tourney of Ashby-de-la-Zouche, and perhaps the Russian interloper's jewels were also 'scoffed and sneered at by the proud dames who sat above her, but secretly envied by those who affected to deride them'.

~ To Smoke or not to Smoke ~

‘Clarence House ... had an odour all its own, a mixture of fog, oakwood, cigarette smoke and a certain Russian scent Mamma used for burning in the rooms’.¹⁴ Thus Missy recalled her mother’s London home in the 1880s. Twenty years later, a new summer home in Germany would bring to her mind ‘the smell of Russian cigarettes’.¹⁵ Before the 1890s, it was rather unusual for a woman to smoke (even in private), and especially for a ‘society lady’ to do so. For Marie to have smoked outside the drawing room as early as the 1870s was considered eccentric by some, improper by others, and little short of indecent by a vociferous minority.

This attitude among Western Europeans – and social classes elsewhere affecting to possess the higher European mores – stemmed from one simple fact: Hispanics had introduced tobacco to wealthy European men, after which smoking became widespread among the less pretentious women of Spain and Latin America. In his memoirs, the prince de Joinville recalled how in Cuba, in 1838, his native dancing partner for a Habanera first introduced him to the pleasures of smoking in that most erotic and suggestive fashion of lighting a crude cigarillo in her own mouth before passing it on to him, an act he appreciated would have been unimaginable in Europe. Well-born Hispanic ladies, however, were not supposed to smoke in case they should be confused with their lowborn sisters. Therefore when they did, publicly, such as the future Empress Eugénie, they caused something of a scandal. Eugénie’s mother also smoked (but privately), and it was she who inspired Prosper Mérimée to write his popular novel *Carmen*, first serialized in 1847. Mérimée had originally intended to have Carmen as a cigarette-smoking prostitute (thereby perpetuating the stereotype), but under her influence he changed her to a morally suspect gypsy working in a cigarette factory in 1820s Seville.

Crude, hand-rolled cigarettes (as distinct from cigars or pipe tobacco) were introduced to England and France under Turkish influence during the Crimean War, becoming immediately popular among men. Flagship smokers such as Napoleon III thereafter abandoned cigars and remained faithful to cigarettes. With respect to women, however, the association between smoking and prostitution remained. In 1867, Louis Veuillot, the Catholic editor of the ultramontane *L’univers religieux*, expressed his horror at seeing women smoking openly at a Paris café – and not just any women but ‘ladies’. Such attitudes were not exclusive to the right wing of politics. In 1871, the leftist journal *Le combat* attacked the defunct Second Empire by claiming that its prostitutes had emasculated and depraved the bourgeoisie with their beer drinking and cigarette smoking. Mérimée’s original novel was told in retrospect by the imprisoned Don José, but when Henri Meilhac and Ludovic Halévy adapted it for Georges Bizet, they brought Carmen to the fore with the first act taking place outside the cigarette factory. When *Carmen* opened at the Opéra-Comique on 3 March 1875, there was not a Frenchman alive who would have been surprised to learn that the dubious anti-heroine worked in a cigarette factory.

Countess Sophie von Hatzfeld, widow of the Prussian ambassador in Paris under Napoleon III, was a lady who, as Bülow remembered her, ‘in eccentric costume, a big cigar in her mouth ... walked through the streets and into the taverns of Leipzig arm-in-arm with a Socialist much younger than herself’.¹⁶ Her relative, the marquis de Castellane, recalled that she was ‘one of the few women who had the courage to smoke, and to enjoy an after-dinner cigar’.¹⁷ On 27 May 1878, Lord Brooke was in Paris for the International Exhibition, dining with ex-King George of Hanover, when he was astonished to see ex-Queen Marie smoke two cigarettes simultaneously: ‘I

smoke in this fashion because I get more smoke into my mouth, and that is what I like'.¹⁸ Lady Randolph Churchill recalled how as a girl she had been struck by the behaviour of an imperial refugee from Paris in 1871 (the Comtesse de Béchêvet) who in the company of a friend astonished 'the country yokels' by 'smoking cigarettes, a thing unheard of in those days'.¹⁹ Another Parisienne of the 1860s likened to a prostitute for smoking was Princess Pauline von Metternich, wife of the Austrian ambassador, who, as a French nobleman put it, 'has assumed the manners and tone of a strumpet ... She drinks, she smokes, she is ugly enough to frighten one'.²⁰

Marie had begun to smoke in Russia where her father was a smoker. As with France and England, cigarettes had been introduced into Russia following the Crimean War; but unlike France and England, smoking among women was more widespread and tolerated in Russia, and where even unmarried ladies could smoke in private. When the Churchills visited St Petersburg in the winter of 1881, Lady Randolph Churchill observed that 'most Russian ladies smoke cigarettes, and at all the parties to which I went one of the reception-rooms was set apart for the purpose'.²¹ Thus Marie did no more than bring her social custom with her, only to learn that the habit in England was very different, far more restrictive and permeated by misogyny.

There were three distinct cigarettes available to Marie: Turkish blend, as had been available since the 1850s; the stronger Russian blend adapted for home consumption from the Turkish; and the later Virginian cigarette, hand-produced in England by W. D. & H. O. Wills since 1871, machine-produced from 1883. To smoke the Virginian blend from America was regarded as definitely vulgar until the twentieth century, and Marie quite naturally remained faithful to the Russian blend she had always known, having small boxes sent regularly to her various residences.

Marie did not smoke in the royal houses, of course, unless they were her own. Queen Victoria's obsessive opposition to tobacco hovered on the fringes of a mania, obliging inveterate smokers such as Napoleon III and Bertie to lean out of palace windows and puff up towards the stars, or curl up in fireplaces exhaling up chimney stacks like naughty little pupils at a boarding school. Lady Brooke once found Charly at Buckingham Palace 'smoking at an open window ... in case the Queen should find out'.²² Marie smoked in the privacy of her rooms, carriages, railway compartments, and royal gardens where there was no one to stop her if the queen was not present. It does not appear that she smoked at public dinners or in confined spaces where she might cause offence.

It would have been a very different matter outside royal residences, however, and her sympathy would have been aroused at reading the fulminating letter published in *The Times* on Friday 2 July 1875 by a male proto-politically-correct anti-smoker (regrettably) unwilling to reveal more than his initials. 'Can you or anyone satisfactorily explain why ladies, and especially young ones, force themselves knowingly into smoking compartments?' he fumed, having found to his 'disgust' that such a compartment on his train had been 'occupied by a young lady'. His horror at this effrontery was further compounded when he called a guard to eject her and she resolutely 'declined to move'. The man then went on to outline the threat this posed to civilization as he knew it, reaching a new level of terror as he announced that he had 'frequently seen ladies get into smoking carriages' in spite of vigorous efforts on his behalf to prevent them doing so. In such an atmosphere of bigotry, it would not have been difficult for Marie's even partial predilection for tobacco to become part of the general opprobrium with which she would be saddled for so long after her death.

That Marie was only an occasional smoker, however, is clear from her first letter to Lord Randolph Churchill, written in 1886, whom she had already helped convert to Russophilia and then attempted to convert to Russian cigarettes:

Dear Lord Randolph – will you kindly accept this very small offering of Russian cigarettes and let me express the very sincere hope that you may enjoy them in your spare moments. Will you also make allowances for my total ignorance of the quantity a real smoker can absorb in the shortest time. I sent only for half a dozen boxes and they only contain a small number.²³

Her friend Lord Wolseley could have told her that General Gordon had chain-smoked cigars and cigarettes from dawn till dusk, and often through the night, consuming on average one hundred a day. Churchill's intake was considerably more modest, and perhaps he told her so, but as to the merits of the Russian blend (he smoked Turkish) he was uncertain, so Marie tried a new tactic:

Dear Lord Randolph – Though I am not at all sure that you really appreciate this production of Russian industry (a very prosperous one, methinks!) I know you will not despise the attention. To make it short by putting it into plain English, I have received from Petersburg a quantity of new cigarettes. They seem to me rather smaller and of a different kind, but still they are quite pleasant to smoke. Will you then accept them, and if not smoked by yourself, offer them to your lady visitors who will think them small enough to smoke one occasionally in the drawing-room.²⁴

Churchill was by then quite certain that he did not like them, but Marie, not one to surrender her convictions readily, continued to pass boxes onto him. 'Will you accept this box of Russian cigarettes for *ancien souvenir!*' she wrote almost eighteen months after her first delivery. 'Though you really do not like them, you will, I hope, not mind the attention'.²⁵

The 1890s were years of considerable social change for women in Britain, from the first Doctorate of Divinity to 'cycling bloomers' that grew to resemble trousers. No decades are ever more self-consciously progressive than those representing a *fin de siècle*, and this was as transparent and superficial (and tiresome) in the 1890s as it would be in the 1990s. But it did mean that for the first time women could smoke more freely, even if the illustrators of the day still shrunk at the thought of publishing images of women smoking in the *Picture Magazine* or *The Lady*.

However, it was in *The Lady*, a fashionable weekly for the 'Gentlewoman', that on 10 August 1893 a very lively debate on the question 'Should women smoke?' was opened by 'Nicotina', who observed that only in 'Spain, Italy, Russia, and Hungary' had the practice 'been sanctioned for many generations'. England, as usual, was lagging behind social advances on the Continent. 'Nicotina' included an anecdote in which an elderly matron had rushed towards a group of mixed-sex smokers in Hyde Park in order to admonish them when she suddenly found them to be 'foreigners' and therefore 'their behaviour was all that could be desired'. This intense debate, largely by female correspondents, although a few males entered into it, continued each week until 30 November, covering the period of Marie's transition to Germany, by which time she had been one of those 'foreigners' who had been smoking in England for almost twenty years.

Many of the women who had contributed to the debate in *The Lady* advocated the use of tobacco on health grounds from personal experience (they had all agreed that bronchial conditions and neuralgia had been dispelled by smoking), and women were soon afterwards recommended to smoke, as *Punch* observed on 21 May 1898. 'The cigarette', it began in a comment derived from an article recently published in the *Daily Graphic*, 'which was banned for so many years by the faculty, is now upheld by

the hospital as “a panacea against many of the smaller ills of life”, and women are urged to seek the solace of tobacco when troubled by domestic or other worries’. Mr Punch then celebrated this liberal decision in verse, the final stanza of which ran:

But now thy dark eclipse is past,
Thine hour of triumph dawns at last;
While Slander, dumb and put to shame,
No longer dares besmirch thy name.
The sick and sorrowful shall flee,
A trustful confidence, to thee,
To find a cure for cares and fret
In thy sweet joys, my Cigarette!

Marie would have agreed wholeheartedly; but she might have pointed out that she had been doing this already for twenty-five years. Never a habitual smoker, she appeared to indulge precisely as *Punch* had suggested she should, at times of emotional stress, a conclusion many women smokers had reached in *The Lady* debate. Unfortunately, and also unsurprisingly, she did not make a detailed note of such occasions, but a man she knew only too well did, and by so doing accurately paralleled her attitude. In 1891, after a celebrated breach in their twenty-year association, Sullivan wrote W. S. Gilbert his first letter of reconciliation suggesting that they meet for a communal smoke. ‘We can dispel the cloud hanging over us’, Sullivan concluded, ‘by setting up a counter-irritant in the form of a cloud of smoke’.²⁶

Happy days.

~ Mother's Milk ~

Marie had four physicians assigned to her throughout her stay in England. On her arrival, she was put into the general hands of Wilson Fox, Queen Victoria's physician-in-ordinary attached to her staff since 1870. Fox had studied under Virchow in Berlin and had been Hulme professor of pathological anatomy at University College, London, since 1867. Marie's two physicians accoucheur were William Playfair, principal obstetric surgeon to King's College Hospital, London, since 1872, and Arthur Farre, former physician-accoucheur to King's College Hospital, physician extraordinary to Victoria, and since 1852 examiner in midwifery at the Royal College of Surgeons. Finally, there was George Wilks of Ashford in Kent, a justice of the peace and Anglican precentor who had graduated from St Bartholomew's medical college in 1867. He was appointed medical attendant to both Affie and Marie while at Eastwell Park, physician-in-ordinary to Affie, and after his death physician-in-ordinary to Marie when in England.

Marie had wanted to give birth to her first child at Eastwell Park, and she consulted with Farre on 29 September 1874 to discuss the arrangements, which included the rather uneasy task of finding a suitable nurse whom Marie could trust – a task entrusted to Lady Frances Baillie. The tsaritsa and tsarevich were expected to arrive at Eastwell Park on 15 October, and their rooms had been newly built on to the existing house to accommodate them and their suites. These included Hartmann and Botkin, since the tsaritsa (who had brought five servants from Russia) was never very far from her physicians, while Sasha had brought three manservants. The plan was for Marie to leave London two days earlier while Affie met the imperial guests at Calais to escort them to Dover and then directly to Eastwell Park.

Meanwhile, Lady Frances Baillie had found a suitable nurse. Euphemia Holden Johnson was a professional 'ladies' nurse' from Inveresk near Edinburgh. Widowed in 1850, her succession of employers had steadily moved up in social grades until a recommendation by Sir James Simpson, one of the queen's physicians for Scotland and a pioneering obstetrician, placed her at the disposal of Princess Christian in 1867. Johnson had not long since returned from Jugenheim where she had attended Princess Alice in her recent confinement, she having given birth to her ill-fated daughter in Affie's presence on 24 May. Marie thought Johnson 'a quiet, good-natured person with gentle manners and voice'. It was the day before the proposed departure: 'I don't feel too heavy, can walk quite easily and my stomach was never in better order'.²⁷ However, she had recently returned to London from Balmoral, having arrived at Clarence House on 21 September, and she had begun to feel a little weak the following month. The day after Marie had written this letter, Farre returned from Eastwell Park, where he had been overseeing the arrangements for her confinement, and suddenly advised Marie against travelling to Kent. Affie was telegraphed at Eastwell Park and told to expedite the tsaritsa's arrival in any and every manner possible, and to bring them directly to Buckingham Palace.

It was a tremendous disappointment for Marie, who had wanted the homely atmosphere of Eastwell Park rather than the austere experience of a palace birth. Nevertheless, Queen Victoria had remained at Balmoral, and Affie succeeded in bringing the tsaritsa and Sasha to Buckingham Palace on the evening before the birth. However, Marie was therefore at least accompanied by her mother and brother throughout the delivery, along with Fox, Farre, Lady Frances Baillie (very shortly to become her lady-in-waiting), and of course Johnson.

The child, a son, was born at 2:45 in the morning of Wednesday 15 October 1874 in the presence of the earl of Derby in lieu of Home Secretary Richard Cross. Four years later, Tsaritsa Marie would remind her daughter than when the foreign secretary held Prince Alfred up to formally announce his arrival (it was still customary with royal births to have the secretary of state for home affairs present), to everyone's amusement little Alfred had 'imitated Derby's face'.²⁸ Salisbury, secretary of state for India, immediately telegraphed Gathorne-Hardy at the War Office instructing him to prepare a twenty-one gun salute at St James's Park and the Tower of London for later that morning.

Marie's attitude to childbearing was heavily prejudiced in favour of abstinence, but her ability to cope with it was unusual. Although she felt inconvenienced by her confinements, she endured pre-natal life and birthing with ease. Her post-natal recovery periods, although not anticipated with pleasure, were at least brief and uncomplicated. While pregnant with Alfred, she had travelled to Germany: 'I feel as well as possible and the journey from Germany has not fatigued me at all'.²⁹ Only on one occasion during her seven pregnancies was Marie indisposed due to her condition, in May 1874, when she had to miss one of the queen's drawing-rooms. When Victoria saw Marie at Balmoral one month before Alfred's birth, she wrote Loosy that her 'enormous size makes one nervous. But I never saw anyone make less fuss about it ... May God carry her *safely* through the *great* trial which awaits her, and which luckily for her she knows nothing of!'³⁰ Births had always been a great trial for Victoria, but on 12 November Farre sent the appropriate certificates concerning Marie's confinement and Alfred's birth to Richard Cross at the Home Office, confirming the astonishing ease with which Marie had endured the event.

Missy later recalled that her mother 'hated anyone to be ill' because she 'had marvellous health'; she nurtured an 'extreme contempt for medicine and anything pertaining to hospitals, doctors or nurses ... never ill herself, she treated all medical innovations as "modern fads" that we were quite able get on without in our days'.³¹ As usual, extreme caution must be used with these preposterous statements. The third one was arguably partly true since Marie would have little need of either physicians or their 'medicines' throughout her life, her general and very commendable view being that 'one gets weaker from over-care'.³² However, it is of course quite untrue that Marie was 'never ill'; she was often ill, and sometimes very seriously, as noted.

Missy's first statement, with its implication of callousness, was also not true. Marie took exceptional care with her children's health and had great sympathy for their suffering; the only occasions when she 'hated anyone to be ill' was when (like Affie after Malta) they were at least partially responsible for their condition through neglect, ignorance, and human inertia. Missy also mentioned that fact that her mother disapproved of aspirin as an analgesic, neglecting to remind her readers that acetylsalicylic acid was not introduced into medicine until 1893, and as aspirin only in 1899, by which time Marie had very happily lived for forty-six years without it. Writing with the comfortable hindsight of the 1930s, Missy also mocked her mother for ridiculing the 'bacillus theory' of disease, forgetting to remind her younger readers that this was a theory that had not gained widespread acceptance in the scientific community until after 1900, and was even then imperfectly understood.

Three weeks after Alfred's birth, Marie informed Victoria that she was nursing him herself 'with delight',³³ and she continued to do so until the christening. Prince Alfred was baptized at one o'clock in the afternoon of Monday 23 November in the Lower Bow Room [Fifty-three Room] at Buckingham Palace as Alfred Alexander William Ernest Albert. The celebrants were Archbishop Tait of Canterbury, Dean Stanley,

Gerald Wellesley, dean of Windsor since 1854 and domestic chaplain to Queen Victoria since 1849, and William Onslow, rector at Sandringham since 1866, Affie's former religious instructor when a naval chaplain now domestic chaplain to Bertie and Alix. Prince Alfred's sponsors were Queen Victoria; Tsar Aleksandr (Sasha representing); Emperor Wilhelm (duke of Connaught representing); Vicky (Princess Christian representing); and Duke Ernst II (Prince Christian representing). Among those invited were Shuvalov, Alix, Disraeli, and Derby. Only Disraeli, who was suffering from a severe attack of gout at Whitehall Gardens, did not eventually attend.

Marie may have experienced her first affront to her precedence at this christening, since Alix was given order of precedence over her but before the tsaritsa, who led the royal procession from the Lower Bow Room to the Forty-four drawing room for lunch while other guests assembled in the Picture Gallery. However, Marie probably paid more attention to the christening of her child than to any matters of precedence. According to the published account of the ceremony, Euphemia Johnson (Head Nurse) carried Prince Alfred through to the Lower Bow Room and handed him over to the queen who then passed it to the archbishop who then baptized the infant before passing him back to Johnson. According to Victoria, Tait 'got nervous and confused',³⁴ and then 'made a great mistake ... and *christened* the Child without waiting *for me* to name it! I was so provoked'.³⁵

Two days after Alfred's christening, Victoria wrote Vicky that he 'is greedy and takes more than Marie can I think afford. He is fed besides',³⁶ making the same observation to Loosy: 'Dear Marie looked very pale and dragged; I think the Baby is a greedy boy and too much for her. He is *fed* too, but must be more so'.³⁷ Marie was keen to feed her own children rather than employ a wet-nurse, but Victoria disapproved of this, believing that it sapped the natural strength of the mother and was besides unseemly. The queen was not alone in this: Ponsonby wrote that 'the Duchess nurses herself, which somewhat scandalizes prim English ladies'.³⁸

There was of course nothing wrong with Marie's health. Five days after the birth of Alfred, she was guiding the tsaritsa and tsarevich around the South Kensington Museum, and two days after that she was helping to entertain Eugénie at Buckingham Palace. On 10 November, Marie went for her first post-natal drive out from Buckingham Palace, and two weeks after that she saw her mother and brother off at Charing Cross station, having spent the previous fifteen days accompanying them all over London. It is this that had quite naturally tired her, not breast-feeding her son.

The complex debate over whether wet-nursing is to be preferred over mother's milk can be traced back to the medieval period, but it was during the nineteenth century that wet-nurses virtually disappeared in England. Some English 'society' women of the previous century had nursed their own infants (Georgiana, duchess of Devonshire, was a noted example), but on the whole for a mother to feed her child was a French fashion where the habit had been cogently supported by Rousseau in his influential educational novel-as-treatise *Émile* (1762). A generation later, the writer Mary Wollstonecraft – who had read and admired the first English translation of *Émile* – wrote that a mother's 'parental affection ... scarcely deserves the name, when it does not lead her to suckle her children'.³⁹ Wollstonecraft had not been fed by her own mother, although her elder brother had been, and in her opinion this had made a considerable difference to her subsequent emotional life.

Wet-nursing cost money, of course, and poor mothers who could not afford the pennies for a wet-nurse invariably nursed their own children. But within cultures heavily dependent on French ideas, such as Russia, even those who could afford not to do so took to natural feeding sooner than those cultures such as England where

only the élite were formerly Francophile. Ironically, Queen Victoria had been fed by her mother, but by the time of Vicky's birth in 1840, French influence in a predominantly Teutonic royal family had almost entirely disappeared. Victoria strongly resisted the habit, rather cruelly criticizing Alice for breast-feeding, and at the same time making Vicky too frightened to admit to her that she had acted as Alice's wet-nurse on occasion.

Missy was born at Eastwell Park at 10:30 in the morning of Friday 29 October 1875. Gathorne-Hardy would take the medical certificate back to London and the Privy Council and order the firing of the Park and Tower guns. 'My whole confinement was a very quick and easy affair, and I never thought one could get over it so comfortably'.⁴⁰ As with Alfred, the 'attending' physicians – allegedly Farre, Fox, and Wilks – published the announcement of the birth in the second daily edition of *The Times* as though they had been there from the outset to carefully direct affairs. The reality was quite different, as Gathorne-Hardy noted in his diary:

At a few minutes after 11 I got a telegram from Eastwell summoning me to the accouchement ... I ... reached my destination by 1.30. The event had taken place at 10.30, one doctor present, Farre not. The child was duly & fully displayed to me a very fine little girl it was with good lungs ... I was home at _ past 6, having discharged an official but I can't say a very useful duty.⁴¹

Affie described the situation to Countess Tolstaia on 9 November:

The confinement itself was of the shortest possible duration, barely over an hour in all, although warnings about three hours before ... Nobody was with Marie but Mrs Johnson and myself, we had not even time to call the doctor from the other room. Dr Farre did not arrive from London till half an hour after it was over.⁴²

Affie was being risibly charitable, as Eastwell Park was not so large that Wilks required an hour to walk from one room to another, and more probably Marie preferred not to have him present, while Fox had not been there at all.

Six days earlier, Marie had also written Tolstaia giving her opinion of the daughter she had just birthed:

What a sweet little one I have produced, with big eyes and a big nose, and a little mouth, plenty of hair and a monstrous appetite. In a word, I am very proud of my production of a daughter, after all – and above all after all – the [contrary] predictions!⁴³

No doubt the obstetric experts Farre and Playfair had previously insisted that she would give birth to a second son.

Such typical arrogance and foolhardiness could not have been calculated to improve Marie's opinion of medicine in general and English physicians in particular. Nonetheless, Marie admired and respected Playfair: 'I like [him] very much, he is a quiet, cheerful little man'.⁴⁴ On Tuesday 15 February 1881, Marie would visit King's College Hospital because 'Dr Playfair had asked me to visit it as he has two wards in it for women and children'.⁴⁵ Remembering Marie's self-confessed abhorrence of hospitals (which Missy recalled correctly), her respect for Playfair must have been considerable.

Missy did not prevent Marie from living an ordinary life shortly after her birth, although she was advised against going to Welbeck Street for the moleben celebrated the following Sunday as a thanksgiving. A moleben would be served at Welbeck Street following each successful birth, attended on this occasion by much of the Russian diplomatic body in London, including Berg (now consul general after twelve

years as attaché), Shuvalov, and Adlerberg. Marie and Affie arrived at Windsor Castle on 13 December for a dinner, attended the memorial service the following day for Prince Albert, and baptized their daughter at St George's Chapel on Wednesday 15 as Marie Alexandra Victoria before leaving for Clarence House on the following morning.

Marie's third pregnancy was causing her only psychological problems, as she explained to Queen Victoria while in Russia ten weeks before the birth: 'Balls are no pleasure for me just now, for with my present appearance I can't dance, though I feel perfectly up to it'.⁴⁶ When she arrived at Malta, heavily pregnant, *The Times* of Saturday 25 October 1876 described her as looking 'in perfect health and much pleased'. There were nurses, physicians accoucheur, and midwives on Malta of course, but by now Marie trusted only Johnson and Playfair. Unfortunately, Johnson, who was happy to travel to her clients even as far away as Jugenheim, had now retired from her peripatetic activities and taken on a new job at a small privately-run London hospital. Her successor was Mrs Hill, an able nurse but one who would cause a certain amount of trouble in other respects. Playfair arrived on 10 November to find Marie perfectly healthy.

On 24 October, the earl of Carnarvon, secretary of state for the colonies, had written to Van Straubenzee explaining to him that he would have to act in place of Richard Cross, authorizing him to act in the temporary capacity of a secretary of state for home affairs. On 28 November, Van Straubenzee replied to Carnarvon, describing what had happened:

On the evening of the 25th instant, on receipt of a telegram, I proceeded to San Antonio Palace, where Her Royal and Imperial Highness the Duchess of Edinburgh was safely delivered of a daughter at 5 minutes to 6 p.m. The infant was brought into the room and seen by me a few minutes after its birth.⁴⁷

Van Straubenzee had also ordered a General and Royal Salute to be fired from La Valetta's guns and all naval ships on the following morning. Marie immediately informed her father of the birth by telegram, and two weeks later he replied by letter: 'We already know, my dearest darling, how you were overjoyed with your happy delivery. Thank goodness that everything went so well and that you recovered so quickly. Let us hope that your Victoria [Melita] will be as dear as her older sister'.⁴⁸ The naval chaplain aboard the H.M.S. *Sultan* baptized Ducky on New Year's Day at Van Straubenzee's residence.

Curiously, Marie did not nurse her second daughter. 'You will be pleased to hear that I have decided upon taking a wet-nurse', she explained to Victoria, 'and we have even found one, the wife of a soldier in a Scottish regiment, who has just been confined of a fine boy and is in perfect health'.⁴⁹ No doubt the queen was very pleased; but so too was Marie: 'My dear little Victoria is a fine healthy child, with a fine crop of dark hair and dark blue eyes ... I am quite pleased not to nurse myself, finding it much less trouble and better for baby'.⁵⁰ 'Less trouble' it certainly was; but quite how Marie had reasoned out her second statement she did not make clear.

Marie stated that she did not want more than three children and so regarded her next theoretical pregnancy with horror: 'I feel perfectly miserable in anticipation of a similar event occurring again soon'.⁵¹ Unfortunately for Marie, perhaps, Affie soon ensured the inevitability of the next 'similar event', and when she arrived at Coburg on 8 August 1878 she was eight months pregnant. Sandra was born at the Palais Edinburgh at 6:45 in the morning of Sunday 1 September in the presence of William Jocelyn, chargé d'affaires at the courts of Hesse and Baden, and two long-serving members of Affie's ducal household: his chamberlain and privy councillor. Once

again, Playfair had been there with Mrs Hill: 'I had such an easy time, such a quick confinement and feel now so strong and well ... I was not disappointed at a third daughter as I am so fond of girls [although Affie] so much hopes to have another boy ... Mrs Hill was very well-behaved this time and we had no stories'. On this occasion, Marie nursed her new arrival herself, at least to begin with, but she soon took on a wet-nurse so as not to 'tire myself and be partly deprived of my lifestyle'.⁵²

Sandra was baptized in the ducal chapel at the Schloss Ehrenburg on 2 October as Alexandra Louise Olga Victoria in the presence of Ernst and Alexandrine as well as Grand Duke Aleksei. As usual, guns were fired, this time from the Veste Festung overlooking Coburg. However, as Sandra had been born neither in Britain nor on British territory, of course no secretary of state was required to be present, and the information was verified and transmitted to the Home Office by William Jocelyn in lieu of the chargé d'affaires at Coburg, who was otherwise engaged.

Marie was now dreading the virtual inevitability of the next pregnancy, which was confirmed the following July:

I myself can't enjoy social life very much this year, as I am sorry to own that I am again in family way. I was in such despair about it that words can't express what I felt when I made this dreadful discovery ... It is very, very hard indeed and I can't get over it at all. I feel often inclined to cry when I am alone ... [and] I really don't know when I am to stop and I feel sometimes the deepest despair.⁵³

However, Marie in this instance did not have to endure for long what was becoming for her an increasingly unpleasant business. On 13 August, at Eastwell Park, and twenty weeks before viability, she suffered a spontaneous embryonic abortion of a female foetus. Victoria later misrepresented this as a miscarriage, in addition to confusing the sex of the would-be child: '[Marie] has had a little boy who died at once, wh will be a great disappointment. The accts. of her are very good however'.⁵⁴

But, in Marie's more robust era, and before the general inclination to indulge in sentimentality regarding unborn offspring, she unsurprisingly took all this with her usual high degree of pragmatism and common sense. This is no more evident than in her second failure to produce a child, and which was a genuine miscarriage. She became pregnant for the sixth time at the beginning of September 1881, but she soon realized that something was very wrong: 'I am now laid up, being threatened with a miscarriage. I only discovered it two days ago, though I had some suspicions during the last month as I was not getting larger at all, nor feeling any movement'. She immediately consulted Playfair who advised her to 'lie quite still' for a week, believing that the foetus was still alive and that resting the mother might benefit it. But both Marie and Hill knew 'that the child is not alive ... and that sooner or later it would all come away of itself, like it did last time'.⁵⁵

Unfortunately, it did not 'come away of itself', and Playfair arranged for a course of medicines to help reduce the inflamed uterus and to induce a natural abortion. But Marie confessed that several days later she still had not taken Playfair's medicines 'as I will have to lay up, which I don't like at all, feeling as well as I do'.⁵⁶ Queen Victoria sent Marie a new piano (a Broadwood grand that replaced an existing earlier model) for Eastwell Park for her forthcoming birthday, not only as it would be her first birthday without her parents but also to take her mind off her current problem. Marie remained secluded in Kent, enjoying her two pianos and the usual Eastwell Park family Christmas and New Year, and finally aborted her infant at two o'clock in the afternoon of Saturday 4 February 1882. 'I knew it was coming on', she explained later to Victoria, 'so I sent at once for Mrs Hill and Playfair. I took some medicines and ... it was all over. I will certainly do anything for my health'.⁵⁷

In March, Marie took a cruise of several days to Cornwall after her long seclusion in Kent. She visited Falmouth (the spot where the *Derzhava* had run aground was solemnly pointed out to her), Plymouth, Bristol, and Pembroke where she met Affie for the launch on Saturday 18 of the 9,420-ton armour-plated turret ship H.M.S. *Majestic*, immediately renamed *Edinburgh* in their honour. At Stackpole Court near Pembroke she dined with Lady Victoria Lambton, daughter of the 2nd Earl Cawdor, who had married an officer born the younger son of the earl of Durham. She surely enjoyed conversing with this titular descendant of Shakespeare's historical Macbeth, now married to the son of 'radical jack' Lambton of the 1832 Reform Bill.

But by July 1883, Marie was pregnant yet again, and loathing every minute of it, while Wolseley attempted to amuse her with his witty letters. 'It is kind of you to try and cheer up a poor creature in my condition', she replied, 'when I imagine one ought to inspire ... repulsive pity [in] men! I hate myself so much just now, that I should like to hide from everybody's looks'.⁵⁸ Nevertheless, she coped admirably as usual:

I continue to feel very well and am going about as usual, though I am as heavy and uncomfortable as I can be and do nothing but sigh and wish it to be over ... Everybody tells me it is going to be a boy. For Alfred's sake I would like it, though for myself I wished another little girl ... and called Beatrice. I am sure Alfred will like to call a boy Leopold in memory of his brother.⁵⁹

Marie's fifth and last surviving child was born at Eastwell Park at 11:10 in the morning of Sunday 20 April 1884 (not 1883 as Missy stated, and not Easter Sunday but a week later), delivered by Playfair and Wilks in the presence of Lord Derby. Derby left immediately for London and the Privy Council, but as it was a Sunday the letter authorizing the firing of the Park and Tower guns was not signed in time for a discharge that day. The following morning, in an unusual move, the War Office was telephoned and the order given verbally.⁶⁰ Regrettably, Affie missed the birth, as he would not arrive at Portsmouth until 7 May.

Marie was overjoyed that the dismal experience was at last over, and she took some comfort in the nature of her newest arrival:

I have never made a better recovery and never for a moment felt weak or uncomfortable. The baby too is the best child I ever had, she gives no trouble, hardly ever screams ... I have been nursing with success and intend doing so ... as it does me good ... We had always decided to call our next daughter Beatrice for my dear sister-in-law's sake ... I am delighted it gave Beatrice such pleasure and I am sure she will get fond of her little niece, who promises to be a pretty child.⁶¹

However, the baptism had to be delayed because Marie also wished for Queen Victoria's fifth and last daughter to stand as sponsor. Unfortunately, Beatrice was at that moment in Darmstadt with Victoria for the wedding of Alice's eldest daughter to Prince Ludwig von Battenberg, and Marie had to wait for their return almost one month later. When they did so, Victoria travelled directly to Windsor Castle, but Beatrice went to Eastwell Park where, on Sunday 18 May, Baby Bee was christened Beatrice Leopoldine Victoria by Anglican rite in the parish church of St Mary in honour of her godmother, late uncle, and grandmother. Ella was also there, shortly before her marriage to Sergei. A few days later, Marie and her family were once again on their way to Coburg.

~ *Domini canes* ~

One aspect of Marie's life must be mentioned, however briefly, for the curious but penetrating light it casts on her character. Marie adored dogs, but, in keeping with her individualistic view on life, she never owned more than one at any given time.

Her first dog was an impure Bearded Collie, which she named Sandy not from its colouring – it was black with white socks and chest – but from the Russian 'Aleksandr' in honour of her father who had bought it for her as a puppy in May 1874 during his state visit. The two became very closely attached during a relationship that would be repeated three times over the following forty years. On 10 August 1881, Mountstuart Grant Duff, now under-secretary of state for the colonies, chanced to meet Marie at Norris Castle in East Cowes on the Isle of Wight. He noted in his diary that she came towards him with 'a fine large black dog, who seemed much attached to his mistress'.⁶² Sandy went everywhere with Marie: to Malta where he was several times photographed participating in the grand picnics; to Coburg where he accompanied Marie on her regular Sunday walks (Sunday was always dog day, no matter where); and even to Russia.

Sandy, rather like her cigarettes, was a great comfort to Marie during her dark hours. Twice in Russia she confessed how much this was the case, particularly when Affie was being difficult, as he so often was. While at Peterhof following the coronation of Sasha and Minny, she wrote Wolseley: 'As usual, my Lord and Master was very angry with me and his temper was not of the best, so I called my dog and went out for a stroll, and the evening was quite heavenly'.⁶³ A year later she was feeling lonely and depressed while waiting to move down to Illinskoe, having only 'my faithful dog to keep me distant company, as he runs about wildly'.⁶⁴ Sandy expired at Coburg at the excellent age of fifteen in 1889 and was buried in the grounds of the Rosenau, where he remains.

Flock (English: Flake) was a very different dog, acquired in Coburg on the death of Sandy, and as the name suggests he was pure white. This time Marie selected a Hungarian Kuvasz with a penchant for snuffling around the thickets in the local woods while Marie hunted for mushrooms in the autumn, or as she just walked with him. Unfortunately, this habit would prove to be Flock's undoing. On Friday 7 June 1901, he suffered a fatal accident, as Marie explained to Countess Tolstaia three days later: 'I have, however, only one great sorrow: my excellent and faithful dog Flock was killed the other day by an over-zealous huntsman – while he was poaching! I have been pouring out such great tears – he was such a faithful and intelligent companion!'⁶⁵ Flock joined his predecessor in the grounds at Schloss Rosenau.

After Flock, Marie acquired a typical Wachtelhund (German Spaniel) whose name and date of death have not survived but who was still living in 1907 when he was photographed with his mistress outside the Rosenau, and in any event this appears to have been Marie's third and final dog. His sex was almost certainly male if the first two were part of a pattern, as they appear to have been, since Marie's dogs were always procured as puppies and always owned singly and serially. It may be conjectured that this was quite deliberate in order to reduce the frequency of deaths and to avoid as much as possible the terrible anguish associated with them and which she seems to have suffered to the fullest extent. It must have also been an additional trial for her not to have been able to bring her dog with her to England after 1 January 1902, as she had been accustomed to doing, when the Importation of Dogs into Great Britain act required a quarantine period of six months at a registered kennel.

NOTES and REFERENCES to Chapter Eight

- ¹ *Marie of Romania* i 28-9.
- ² RIG 4°x 4, *List of articles belonging to Grand Duchess Marie Aleksandrovna, duchess of Edinburgh, conserved in the store-room cabinet of her Highness*. Item 17 was inadvertently omitted in the original document.
- ³ RA VIC/Add. A 20/1482, Marie to Queen Victoria 22 Jan. 1874.
- ⁴ RIG A.I.s. 8°x 4, London to St Petersburg 29 Dec. 1879.
- ⁵ CAC Churchill Papers CHAR 28/46/13-15, Coburg to London 2 Jun. 1886.
- ⁶ RA VIC/Add. A 17/1761, Coburg to London 1 Jun. 1886.
- ⁷ RA VIC/Add. A 20/1690, Darmstadt to Windsor Castle 12 Nov. 1896.
- ⁸ RA VIC/Add. A 20/1507, Marie to Queen Victoria 22 May 1877. Everything may have been expensive but also relative, and there were thousands in Britain for whom even £5 would have been prohibitive.
- ⁹ *Marie of Romania* i 42.
- ¹⁰ *Fulford: DC* 132.
- ¹¹ *Gwynn and Tuckwell* ii 555.
- ¹² *Warwick I* 89-90.
- ¹³ *Warwick II* 79. Where Lady Brooke obtained her notion that Marie kept ‘special watchmen’ immured in her ‘jewel-room day and night’ is a mystery. She may have confused these inventions with members of the County Constabulary, two of whom were indeed stationed at Eastwell Park during the day and who took night shifts. They spent most of their shifts in the telegraphic room.
- ¹⁴ *Marie of Romania* i 55.
- ¹⁵ *Ibid.* ii 277.
- ¹⁶ *Bülów* i 124.
- ¹⁷ *Castellane* 20-1.
- ¹⁸ *Warwick I* 28.
- ¹⁹ *Cornwallis-West* 28.
- ²⁰ *Buchanan: Gallery* 9.
- ²¹ *Cornwallis-West* 174.
- ²² *Warwick II* 79.
- ²³ CCC MS 1357, Clarence House to Connaught Place 1 Feb. 1886.
- ²⁴ CCC MS 1403, Clarence House to Connaught Place 2 Mar. 1886.
- ²⁵ CCC MS 2619, Osborne Cottage to Connaught Place 13 Aug. 1887.
- ²⁶ *Jacobs* 339, Sullivan to Gilbert 6 Oct. 1891.
- ²⁷ RA VIC/Add. A 20/1445, Marie to Queen Victoria 12 Oct. 1874.
- ²⁸ HL MS 62 MB1/U24, Livadia to Coburg 2/14 Sep. 1878.
- ²⁹ RA VIC/Add. A 20/1441, Marie to Queen Victoria 25 Aug. 1874.
- ³⁰ *Longford: Loosy* 184.
- ³¹ *Marie of Romania* i 30, 164.
- ³² RA VIC/Add. A 20/1541, Marie to Queen Victoria 19 Sep. 1878.
- ³³ RA VIC/Add. A 20/1446, Buckingham Palace to Balmoral 4 Nov. 1874.
- ³⁴ *Fulford: DC* 163.
- ³⁵ *Longford: Loosy* 187.
- ³⁶ *Fulford: DC* 163.
- ³⁷ *Longford: Loosy* 187.
- ³⁸ *Longford: Victoria* 371.
- ³⁹ *Todd* 4.
- ⁴⁰ RA VIC/Add. A 20/1461, Marie to Queen Victoria 11 Nov. 1875.
- ⁴¹ *Johnson* 253.
- ⁴² HL MS 62 MB1/U24, Eastwell Park to St Petersburg.
- ⁴³ HL MS 62 MB1/U24, Eastwell Park to St Petersburg 3 Nov. 1875.
- ⁴⁴ RA VIC/Add. A 20/1478, Marie to Queen Victoria 25 Nov. 1876.
- ⁴⁵ RA VIC/Add. A 20/1600, Marie to Queen Victoria 17 Feb. 1881. Marie had thought the ‘big’ hospital ‘very interesting’ – an unremarkable comment that in fact probably revealed much more than she had intended. This was not the only hospital Marie knew, she being a constant visitor to and supporter of Ashford Cottage Hospital near Eastwell Park. Marie seems to have given a worse impression of herself in her correspondence – at least in this connection – than was the actual case.
- ⁴⁶ RA VIC/Add. A 20/1472, Marie to Queen Victoria 9 Aug. 1876.

⁴⁷ PRO HO 45/9422/59350 (5). Poor Van Straubenzee found himself somewhat out of his depth here as ‘acting home secretary’, and Carnarvon had to explain to him precisely what to do and how to do it, including which forms were to be submitted to him by Playfair and how they were to be endorsed before being sent on to the Home Office.

⁴⁸ RIG A.I.s. 8°x 4, St Petersburg to Malta 27 Nov./9 Dec. 1876.

⁴⁹ RA VIC/Add. A 20/1478, Malta to Windsor Castle 25 Nov. 1876.

⁵⁰ RA VIC/Add. A 20/1479, Marie to Queen Victoria [30?] Nov. 1876.

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² RA VIC/Add. A 20/1541, Marie to Queen Victoria 12 Sep. 1878.

⁵³ RA VIC/Add. A 20/1561, Marie to Queen Victoria 30 Jul. 1879.

⁵⁴ *Hough* 19, Balmoral to Darmstadt 14 Oct. 1879.

⁵⁵ RA VIC/Add. A 20/1603, Marie to Queen Victoria 5 Oct. 1881.

⁵⁶ RA VIC/Add. A 20/1604, Marie to Queen Victoria 19 Oct. 1881.

⁵⁷ RA VIC/Add. A 20/1606, Eastwell Park to Osborne 8 Feb. 1882. Unfortunately, the sex of this seven-month-old deceased baby and what became of it was not recorded. Stillbirths in England and Wales were not legally required to be registered by anyone until the Births and Deaths Registration Act (16 & 17 Geo V c.48) of 1926, effective from 1 July 1927.

⁵⁸ RA VIC/Add. A 20/1084, Eastwell Park to London 6 Feb. 1884.

⁵⁹ RA VIC/Add. A 20/1622, Marie to Queen Victoria 15 Apr. 1884.

⁶⁰ PRO HO 144/135/A35306.

⁶¹ RA VIC/Add. A 20/1623, Marie to Queen Victoria 29 Apr. 1884.

⁶² *Grant Duff* ii 345.

⁶³ RA VIC/Add. A 20/1056, Peterhof to London 3/15 Jun. 1883.

⁶⁴ RA VIC/Add. A 20/1097, Marie to Wolseley 15/27 Jun. 1884.

⁶⁵ RIG A.I.s. 8°x 4, Rosenau to St Petersburg 10 Jun. 1901.