

THE RECEPTION OF THE BRAGANÇAS IN ENGLAND  
AS RECORDED IN THE BRITISH PRESS, 1827-1851

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This article investigates the Braganças' visits to Britain in the period 1827-1851, as recorded in the British press and other contemporary sources. It consists mostly of information collected by José Baptista de Sousa for his doctoral thesis *Portugal and Holland House, 1793-1840*, submitted to the University of Buckingham in 2015. Some material not used in the thesis is included here. Owing to its biographical interest for those who study Anglo-Portuguese relations in the second quarter of the 19th century, we thought it would be useful to publish it in the *Revista de Estudos Anglo-Portugueses/Journal of Anglo-Portuguese Studies*.

After Catarina de Bragança's residence in England from 1662 to 1699, the first Bragança who seriously considered visiting Britain was D. João V, her nephew, a prospect never accomplished. In 1715, under the pretext of honouring a promise to Our Lady of Loreto, the young King planned to travel 'incognito' with a household of 200 persons and a body of eighty guards. Yet the King's plan to visit the main capitals of Europe, including London, was opposed by the Queen D. Maria Ana and his Ministers, who went as far as to threaten to call a *cortes* to dissuade João (Silva 371; Livermore 205). Faced with the King's obstinacy, the Queen conceived a plan to prevent her husband's *grand tour*. It consisted in persuading the King's younger brother, the Infant D. Manuel Bartolomeu (1697-1766), to escape from the Royal Palace on the night of 4 November 1715 and embark for Amsterdam aboard an English ship. After partying in The Hague for three months, Manuel moved to Paris and from

thence to Austria and Hungary to enlist in Prince Eugene of Savoy's army in the Austro-Turkish War. Under these circumstances, D. João V had little choice but to adjourn his journey *sine die* (Silva 371-72).

The next Bragança to visit England was the Infant D. Miguel, on his way back from Austria towards the end of 1827 to take the Regency. Miguel had been exiled in Vienna after the *Abrilada*, an attempt to dethrone his own father, D. João VI, in 1824. João's death on 10 March 1826 precipitated a dynastic crisis which lasted until 1834, when the Concession of Evoramonte ended the civil war and banished Miguel from Portugal *ad eternum*. Although the King's eldest son and heir, Pedro, was unanimously acknowledged as D. Pedro IV of Portugal (20 Mar. 1826), his accession to the throne was regarded as a mere formality, as it was clear that the Emperor intended to remain in Brazil. Although on hereditary grounds Pedro had the strongest claim, he was still regarded by many as a traitor for having declared the independence of Brazil; Miguel, who was still in Vienna, was also open to serious objection. In the event, it was the Infanta D. Isabel Maria who became Regent, at least while waiting for Pedro's instructions.

But Pedro was preparing a surprise which was to leave Portugal and the whole of Europe in shock. On 29 April 1826, five days after the news of his father's death reached Rio de Janeiro, Pedro issued a Constitutional Charter for Portugal and, on 2 May, abdicated the throne of Portugal in favour of his daughter, the eight-year old Infanta D. Maria da Glória. Pedro further stipulated that the abdication was subject to two conditions: that Miguel should take the oaths to the Charter and to D. Maria II – after which and when reaching the age of twenty-five he was to become Regent – and that his daughter should marry her uncle in the course of the following year. Although the first condition was eventually fulfilled (26 Oct. 1826), the second was not. The marriage was celebrated by proxy and *per verba futuri* in Vienna on 29 October, but it had not been consummated (*Gazeta de Lisboa* 27 Nov. 1826: 1235; id. 28 Nov. 1826: 1241-42). Arguably, therefore, Pedro's abdication only became effective when both conditions had been fulfilled and, since they had not been, he was still King of Portugal.

In their different ways – and indicative of their attempts to turn the situation in Portugal to their own advantage – both Canning and Metternich chose to ignore these legal and

constitutional niceties.<sup>1</sup> Pressured by Austria, Lord Dudley, the British Foreign Secretary, agreed to send a deputation to Rio de Janeiro to urge Pedro to complete the process of abdication. Faced with Britain's unwillingness to support a different policy, the Emperor had little choice but to comply with Austria's demands and, on 3 July 1827, appointed Miguel his Lieutenant-General and Regent of Portugal.

On 12 September, Dudley informed Palmela, the Portuguese Minister in London, that his Government and Austria were in agreement about Portugal's future (Palmela, *Despachos* 3: 283-84). Miguel should return to Lisbon as soon as possible to become Regent, although in the course of his journey he should pay a short visit to Britain – an arrangement intended to pacify the Liberals and please the British authorities (Palmela, *Despachos* 3: 294). Miguel left Vienna for Paris on 6 December 1827, where he arrived on 13 escorted by the Conde de Vila Real (Soriano 13: 193). He then moved to Calais, embarking on the royal yacht to Greenwich, where he landed on 30 December (Soriano 13: 196). The Infant was met by Palmela and by the Duke of Clarence, commissioned to convey the Prince and his entourage to Lord Dudley's house in Arlington Street, and by Wellington, soon to be appointed Prime Minister – with the possible exception of Metternich his strongest foreign supporter (Resende 165; Alpedrinha 44; Soriano 13: 184; *The Times* 29 Dec. 1827: 2). The importance of Miguel's visit to England is suggested in a letter from William Holmes to Wellington, explaining that "(...) the King swears he will not see any of his ministers on business till after Don Miguel goes away" ("Mr Holmes to Field Marshal the Duke of Wellington", *Despatches* 4: 171). In fact, it was not until 8 January 1828, a few days before the Infant's departure from London, that George IV finally appointed Wellington Prime

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<sup>1</sup> Article 92 of Pedro's Charter stipulated that "During the King's minority, the Kingdom shall be governed by a Regency, which shall belong to the nearest relative of the King, according to the order of succession, and who shall have attained the age of twenty five" (*Carta Constitucional* Cap. V, Art. 92, p. 21); "Durante a sua menoridade, o Reino será governado por huma Regencia, a qual pertencerá ao Parente mais chegado do Rei, segundo a ordem da successão, e que seja maior de vinte e cinco anos" (translation taken from Bernardo Castro, *A Letter* 22). At the time Miguel was disqualified because he was too young. In other words the rightful Regent should have been Isabel Maria, already an adult woman. The constitutional question was whether – as Metternich contended – the Infanta D. Isabel Maria would have to step down in favour of Miguel when he reached the required age. The Constitution contained no such stipulation. But for the moment such issues were purely academic as government was still conducted in the name of Pedro IV, and Maria had not been proclaimed Queen of Portugal. Thus Isabel Maria was actually acting as Regent for the absent Pedro rather than for Maria.

Minister in place of Viscount Goderich.<sup>2</sup>

While in England, Miguel attended a number of social functions and visited several places of interest. On the evening of 31 December, the Infant was entertained by George IV at the Royal Lodge, Windsor Park, and again on 1 January 1828, at a dinner attended by several guests, including Lord Beresford. On the next morning, the King breakfasted with Miguel, after which they proceeded to Sandpit-gate to see the camelopard and other exotic animals (*The Times* 3 Jan. 1828: 2). The King's new pet, the camelopard, a giraffe presented by the Pascha of Egypt, had been conveyed to Windsor on 13 August 1827 (*The Times* 14 Aug. 1827: 3).<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Frederick John Robinson (1782-1859), 1st Viscount Goderich and 1st Earl of Ripon, British statesman. On George Canning's death (6 Aug. 1827) Lord Goderich became First Lord of the Treasury, and formed a coalition Cabinet of Canningites and Whigs, including Lord Dudley, reappointed Foreign Secretary, Huskisson, the Marquess of Lansdowne, C. W. Wynn, George Tierney and Palmerston. But Goderich's Government proved weak, resigning in January 1828 without even meeting Parliament.

<sup>3</sup> On 14 August 1827, Lord Maryborough wrote to Wellington: "(...) everybody was so engrossed by talking of the cameleopard who had just arrived, that nothing else seemed to be thought of." ("Lord Maryborough to Field Marshal the Duke of Wellington", *Despatches* 4: 94). Unfortunately, the giraffe did not survive more than two years, dying in August 1829.



The Camelopard, or a new hobby: [George IV and Lady Conyngham riding a giraffe] / print. William Heath, August 1827, hand-coloured etching, BM Satires 15425.

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On 11 January, Miguel entertained Wellington and Beresford at a dinner attended by other selected guests, after which he went to a party at the Earl of Tankerville's house in Upper Brook St (*The Times* 12 Jan. 1828: 2). On 12 January, the Infant attended a conference with Dudley, Prince Esterhazy, Comte Henri de Bombelles, Palmela and Vila Real, where the British and Austrian representatives stressed that the abdication of Pedro in favour of his daughter should be concluded as soon as possible. It was also agreed that Britain would provide the Portuguese Government with a loan of £200,000, through the Rothschild Bank, so that Miguel's Regency could start without embarrassments resulting from lack of funds (*British and Foreign State Papers: 1828-1829* 493-94; Resende 165; Soriano 13: 200, 221-22).

Miguel remained in London until 13 January 1828. After attending a mass at the Chapel of the Portuguese Legation in South Audley Street and taking leave of George IV at Windsor, the Infant went to Strathfieldsaye, Wellington's seat in Hampshire, where he and Palmela remained for two days. According to Greville's *Memoirs*, when they were in the Duke's library trying to agree on the wording of the oath to be taken by Miguel on arrival in Portugal, the Prince took no interest in the discussion but rather "(...) sat flirting with the Princess Therese Esterhazy" (3: 26). One wonders whether Miguel realised that he must go through the charade of taking an oath to the Constitution but, since he had no intention of keeping it, simply did not care about its terms. As Princess Lieven acutely observed, "(...) Don Miguel tries to make himself out in all things a thorough-going Constitutionalist. Is not the part somewhat suspicious in one who has so recently left Metternich's workshop?" (Lieven 1: 76). Wellington quickly became irritated by Miguel's behaviour, commenting to Palmela: "This will never do, he must settle the terms of the oath, and if he is so careless in an affair of such moment, he will never do his duty" (Wellington qtd. in Greville 3: 26), to which Palmela replied "Oh, leave him to us, we will manage him" (Palmela qtd. in Greville 3: 26).

On 16 January, on his way to Plymouth, Miguel stopped at Plympton, where he was entertained by the Earl Morley at Saltram House (Soriano 13: 201).<sup>4</sup> Miguel arrived at Plymouth

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<sup>4</sup> John Parker (1772-1840), 2nd Baron of Boringdon and 1st Earl of Morley, popularly known as 'Borino' - perhaps derived from Borington, but perhaps also a joke to describe someone who was extremely boring. English politician and MP, only son of John, 1st Baron Boringdon (†1788), and his second wife, Theresa, daughter of Thomas

on the evening of 17 January to embark on the Portuguese frigate *Pérola*, but poor weather prevented him from sailing until 9 February (*The Times* 22 Jan. 1828: 3). While in Plymouth, lodged at Whiddon's Hotel, the Infant attended a ball at the Hotel and Theatre Royal, owned by Morley, where Garrett's play *Catão* was to be performed the following winter by Portuguese exiles (Alpedrinha 44-45; Soriano 13: 184, 201-02; *The Times* 12 Jan. 1828: 2; id. 29 Jan. 1828: 2; Sousa 27-8). On 18 and 19, after visiting the dockyard, breakwater and other public works, Miguel dined with Earl Northesk, the port-admiral (*The Salisbury and Winchester Journal* 28 Jan. 1828: 4). On his journey back to Portugal, Miguel was accompanied by Vila Real and Frederick Lamb, who had been chosen to succeed A'Court as British Minister to Portugal. The *Pérola* and the brig *Tejo* were escorted by H.M.S. *Ocean*, *Windsor Castle* and the *Briton* frigate (Alpedrinha 45; *The Colonist* 17 Apr. 1828: 171).

Miguel landed in Lisbon on 22 February 1828, where he was enthusiastically received by a huge crowd shouting "Long live Dom Miguel the First". On 25 April 1828 – the Queen Dowager's birthday and regarded by some as the beginning of the usurpation – several petitions were addressed to the Infant begging him "to assume the Crown" as Absolute King of Portugal ("Sir Frederick Lamb to the Earl of Dudley." *British and Foreign State Papers: 1828-1829* 403; Soriano 13: 229, 244-46). Although the only 'legal channel' that could authorise such a dramatic change was D. Pedro IV himself – or, at least, the Chambers of the Parliament – it was decided to summon the traditional Cortes. "The mock Cortes, or the sham Assembly of the Three States of the Realm (...)", as *The Times* called it, met from 23 June to 11 July 1828, when the final Act was concluded (7 Jul. 1828: 6).<sup>5</sup> Miguel was acknowledged as the only legitimate successor of D. João VI, while Pedro was divested of any rights to

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Robinson, 1st Baron Grantham. The family came originally from Warwickshire, but their seat was transferred in the 17th century from Boringdon to Saltram House, Plympton, near Plymouth, where the movie *Sense and Sensibility* was filmed in 1995. Morley was married twice. His first wife, Lady Augusta Fane (1786-1871), second daughter of the 10th Earl of Westmorland, despised her husband and on 18 May 1808 eloped with Sir Arthur Paget and married him immediately after her husband divorced her in February 1809. Borington's second wife was Frances (†1857), daughter of Thomas Talbot, a surgeon, of Wymondham, Norfolk, with whom he had a son and a daughter.

<sup>5</sup> The Cortes met at the Royal Palace of Ajuda, Lisbon, on 23 June, for the inaugural session, attended by Miguel himself, seated on a throne. Apart from Ministers and the clergy, all members wore the traditional Portuguese Court dress: black silk coat and breeches, white silk stockings, black cape and hat with only one brim raised and white feathers (*Autos de abertura* 4; Soriano 13: 257-58).

the Portuguese throne following his recognition of Brazilian independence in 1825 (*Assento* 4; *Gazeta de Lisboa* 2 Ago. 1828: 984). On 30 June 1828, Miguel had already signed a decree declaring his accession to the Portuguese throne and, on 7 July, took the oath as King of Portugal in a solemn ceremony attended by the Three Estates of the Realm. The usurpation had been completed.

Persecutions, detentions and confiscations were thence conducted on a large scale, leading several Liberals to emigrate to France or England. By 22 July 1828, there were already three hundred Portuguese exiles of high rank living in London, including the Infanta D. Ana de Jesus,<sup>6</sup> D. João VI's youngest daughter, and her husband, the Duque de Loulé.<sup>7</sup> Towards the end of August and beginning of September 1828, the *émigrés* were joined by thousands of their countrymen, who had fled from Oporto following the *Belfastada*, an attempted revolution against Miguel's regime. A depot of refugees was established in Plymouth, where they lived in extremely difficult conditions for several months.

Ana de Jesus de Bragança and her husband had left Portugal in February 1828. The marriage had been precipitated by the Infanta's unexpected pregnancy and celebrated in secrecy at the Palace of Queluz on 5 December 1827 under the protection of the Queen Dowager. As Isabel Maria and Miguel were against their union, Carlota Joaquina thought it prudent to send them abroad, a measure that did not prevent the confiscation of Loulé's properties as soon as Miguel arrived in Lisbon. On 3 February the royal exiles embarked at Gibraltar for Falmouth on the Cornish merchant schooner *Venus*, and arrived at the British capital on the night of 25 February (Palmela, *Despachos* 3: 424-28; *The Times* 20 Feb. 1828: 3). The couple remained in London, at Mivart's Hotel, Mayfair, until the 13 April, when they moved to Paris. On 10 April the Loulés "gave a grand dinner on

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<sup>6</sup> D. Ana de Jesus Maria Luís Gonzaga Joaquina Micaela Francisca Xavier de Paula de Bragança e Bourbon (1806-1857), the youngest daughter of D. João VI and his wife, Queen D. Carlota Joaquina.

<sup>7</sup> D. Nuno José Severo de Mendonça Rolim de Moura Barreto (1804-1875), 9th Conde de Vale de Reis and 2nd Marquês de Loulé, afterwards 1st Duque de Loulé, several times Chief Minister of Portugal. Son of D. Agostinho Domingos José de Mendonça Rolim de Moura Barreto, 1st Marquês de Loulé, whose murder at Salvaterra on 28 February 1824 has been attributed to Miguel and his collaborators. The Loulés descended from Don Lopo Sarraciniz (fl. 871), Lord of Biscay, and are the ancestors of D. Pedro José Folque de Mendonça Rolim de Moura Barreto, the present 6th Duque de Loulé, who claims the right to the Portuguese throne against the official claimant, D. Duarte Pio de Bragança.

Tuesday at their residence (Milvart's Hotel) to the Marquis and Marchioness Palmella, and a large party of the first distinction." (*The Times* 17 Apr. 1828: 2). At Pedro's invitation, they passed from Paris to Rio de Janeiro, where they were received and lived according to their rank (Palmela, *Despachos* 3: 471; *The Times* 11 Apr. 1828: 2; Soriano 13: 199-200).

Unaware of all that was happening in Portugal and pressured by both Britain and Austria, Pedro had signed a decree on 3 March 1828 completing his abdication in favour of his daughter Maria and renouncing his rights to the Portuguese crown. By abdicating Pedro deprived himself of any right to act against his brother; legally he could not revoke the decree appointing the Infant as his Lieutenant. On 5 July, when the recent events in Portugal were still unknown at Rio de Janeiro, the young Queen Maria was sent to Austria aboard the Brazilian frigate *Imperatriz*, where she was to remain under the protection of her grandfather, Emperor Francis, until she reached the age to consummate her marriage with her uncle (*Gazeta de Lisboa* 6 Oct. 1828: 1240). On 2 September, the Marquês de Barbacena,<sup>8</sup> who had been commissioned to escort the young Queen to Lisbon, was informed of the events in Portugal when the ship put into Gibraltar. The Marquês immediately diverted the *Imperatriz* to Falmouth, where she arrived on the morning of 24 September (Soriano 14: 201-02; *O Panorama* 18 Mar. 1851: 134; *Ilustração Popular* 1866: [1]; *The Times* 27 Sept. 1828: 2).

The arrival of the young Queen, herself an exile, aroused the sympathy of the British public. The local authorities received her with appropriate civic and military honours, in accordance with instructions from King George IV, who sent Lord Clinton and Sir William Freemantle to receive Maria (*The Times* 27 Sept. 1828: 2; id. 30 Sept. 1828: 2; Palmela, *Despachos* 4: 178; Soriano 14: 203). It was announced that the Queen would proceed to Plymouth "where she will be presented to the Portuguese refugees, the unfortunate sufferers by adherence to her cause, collected at that place" (*The Times* 27 Sept. 1828: 2).

Maria's first night in England was spent in Truro, at Pearce's Royal Hotel, from whence she was escorted by the 4th corps of Royal Irish Dragoon Guard to Exeter, "where dinner was ordered at six o'clock on that evening at the New London Inn" (*The Times* 30 Sept. 1828: 2). The next morning, rather than proceeding to

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<sup>8</sup> Felisberto Caldeira Brant Pontes de Oliveira Horta (1772-1842), 1st Visconde and Marquês de Barbacena, Brazilian officer, diplomat and politician born in Portugal but left for Brazil in 1807 with the Royal Family.

Plymouth as initially advertised, the Queen took the Bath road to London (*The Times* 30 Sept. 1828: 2; Soriano 14: 203). On 5 October, she visited Bristol, returning to York House, Bath, to dinner, where she was met by the Duke of Wellington, who had been authorised by the King to welcome her. According to *The Times*, “She was dressed quite in the English fashion, with white silk hat, and acknowledged, by the constant motion of her head and hand, the marks of respect which were invariably paid her by all ranks through whom she passed” (6 Oct. 1828: 2).

In the morning of 6 October, Maria left Bath for Bristol to embark in a frigate to London where she arrived in the evening. This somewhat puzzling itinerary was chosen to delay Maria’s arrival so as to give Barbacena enough time to make appropriate arrangements with the British authorities for her accommodation in London (*The Times* 6 Oct. 1828: 2; *The Spectator* 11 Oct. 1828: 1; Palmela, *Despachos* 4: 193; Soriano 14: 204). While still aboard the frigate, Maria was visited by a deputation of *émigrés* residing in London, including Almeida Garrett.<sup>9</sup> Maria stayed at Grillon’s Hotel, 7 Albemarle Street, where, according to *The Spectator*,

A guard of honour is placed at the door; and the rabble crowd the street, for the chance of catching a sight of the young Queen when she appears at the window or comes out on the balcony. The royal child has been congratulated, by message, from his Majesty; and visited by the Duke of Wellington and the Earl of Aberdeen. We are not sure that she made the speech to the Premier set down for her by the newspapers — “I know that your Grace once saved the crown of Portugal for my august grandfather, and I trust that it will now be a second time saved by you” (11 Oct. 1828: 1).

On 26 October, Maria moved to Laleham House, Surrey, the seat of the Earl of Lucan, where she remained until her departure for Rio de Janeiro on 30 August 1829 (Palmela, *Despachos* 4: 193; Palmela, *Memórias* 207; *Padre Amaro* Oct.-Nov. 1828: 440). According to an article in *The Mirror of Literature*:

Thus, a beautiful villa at Laleham, a village in Middlesex, eighteen and half miles south west of London, has acquired frequent passing notice from its having lately become the tempo-

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<sup>9</sup> ANTT, MNE, Legação Portuguesa em Londres, MSS Cx. 161, Mç. 34, Lista das Pessoas que tiverão a honra de beijar a mão a Sua Magestade a Senhora Dona Maria 2.<sup>a</sup>, no dia 7 do corrente mez de Outubro, f. 5<sup>r</sup>.

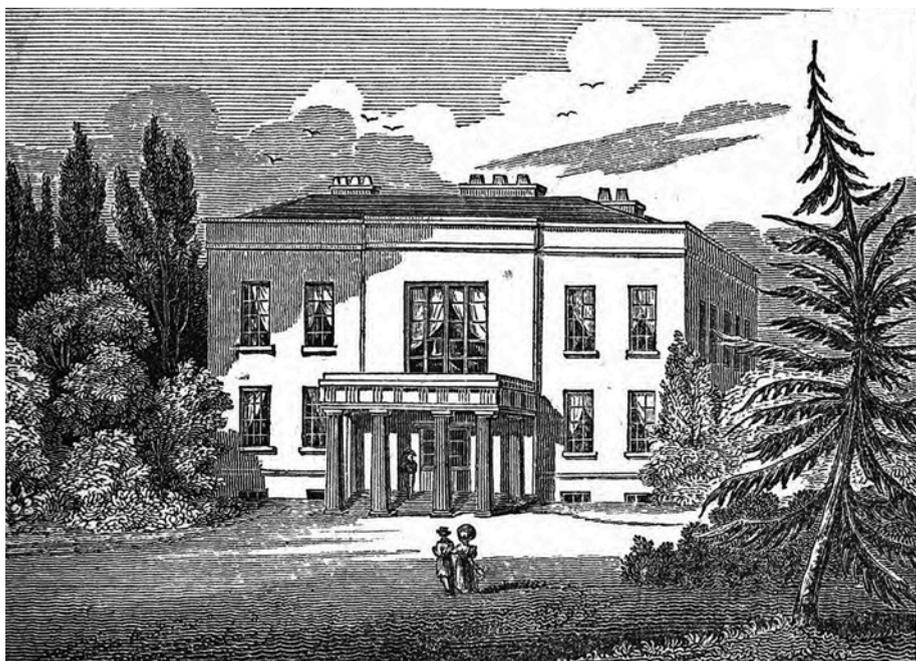
rary residence of the young “*Queen of Portugal*,” whose removal to England appears to have been a prudent measure to keep her *petite* Majesty “out of harm’s way.” (...)

The “Young Queen” is described as an interesting and lively child, and is within a month of the same age as the Princess Victoria, and Prince George of Cumberland, both of whom were born in May, 1819. She has not the slightest tinge of a tropical complexion; her hair is extremely light, her face pale, her eyes light blue and very sparkling. She is not tall of her age, but remarkably well formed (16 May 1829: [321]).

In another article in *The Mirror of Literature*, Maria’s stay at Laleham is described in detail:

The period of residence of the young Queen of Portugal at the house of Lord Lucan, at Laleham (...) will be long remembered with satisfaction and gratitude by the inhabitants of that village, and perhaps with some pleasure by the Portuguese Court itself.

It is delightful to hear of the many acts of charity and benevolence that proceeded from the Palace, as it was then called, not a few of which are attributable to the amiable disposition of Donna Maria herself (...) and very many kindnesses from the Royal Household will cause its memory to be blessed by the poor of the village. The house was divided into all the departments of the household that could be kept up, and the chambers of the chamberlain, ladies in waiting, physicians, steward, &c., had their respective distinctions marked over the doors (...). An English governess formed part of the establishment; and the Queen was attended by an English music master, and other professors (...). Lord Clinton, one of the lords of the king’s bedchamber, used to frequently call and play with her for hours together at amusing games, which her Majesty was rather fonder of than of the studies imposed upon her (...). The physician to the household exercised over her Majesty a surveillance which did not always please her; and she, on more than one occasion, showed that she was not forgetful of the royal dignity that resided in her youthful person (2 Jan. 1830: [4]).



'Laleham Park'. *The Mirror of Literature* 16 May 1829: [321]

While at Laleham, Maria was visited by several distinguished people, including the arch anti-Liberal Beresford, who, according to Lady Holland, eccentrically presented himself to the young Queen "in full Portuguese Marshal's uniform" and "on his knees kissed her hand, & asked if there was anything for her services he could execute, a complete offer of duty & obedience to her commands" (Holland, *Lady Holland to Her Son* 104). Learning that Maria was in England, Lady Callcott, who had been employed in Brazil as tutor to the young Princess for a short time in 1824, requested Palmela to arrange a meeting with her former pupil. Palmela replied on 28 October 1828, asking to visit her to discuss the subject, but there is no record of further developments (Callcott 295-98).

While in England, Maria was certainly the centre of attention. At least two children's balls were organised for her, one by the Duchess of Clarence on 19 January 1829, and the other by the King himself on 28 May – the first attended by the future Queen Victoria (*The Times* 21 Jan. 1829: 2; *Somerset* 19; Palmela, *Despachos* 4: 321, 478). Greville, who attended the ball, commented in his journal: "Yesterday the King gave a

dinner to the Dukes of Orleans and Chartres, and in the evening there was a child's ball. It was pretty enough, and I saw for the first time the Queen of Portugal and our little Victoria" (Greville 1: 209). Lady Holland, herself a guest, provided a typically condescending account of this 'Ball of young ones' in a letter to her son:

It was very beautiful. Pour little soul, she [Maria] fell down just as she was leaving & cut her lip. Upon seeing her own blood she was nearly fainting away. Were she in Don Miguel's power, he would accustom her to such sights, & perhaps more of her own (Holland, *Lady Holland* 104).

On 30 August 1829, Maria and the future Empress, Amélie of Leuchtenberg, escorted by Barbacena, left Falmouth on the Brazilian frigate *Imperatriz* for Rio de Janeiro, where they landed on 16 October (Soriano 14: 343, 350, 391; Palmela, *Despachos* 4: 561-62; *The Times* 1 Sept. 1829: 2). Maria remained in Brazil until 13 April 1831, when, following Pedro's abdication, she left for Europe with her father and stepmother, landing at Brest on 14 July.

On the night of 7 April 1831, in a replica of the French July Revolution, Pedro had been forced to take the difficult decision to abdicate the Brazilian throne in favour of his son, D. Pedro II. Rejected in Brazil, the ex-Emperor determined to leave for Europe to assist his daughter's cause, or – according to some versions – to recover the crown of Portugal for himself. Following his abdication, Pedro 'voluntarily' embarked with his wife and daughter aboard H.M.S. *Warspite*, where they remained until 12 April. Fearing that the vessel might be attacked by the mob, Admiral Baker transferred Pedro and his entourage to H.M.S. *Volage* frigate under Lord Colchester. The next morning the *Volage* sailed for Europe, followed by the French frigate *Le Seine* carrying Maria da Glória and the Loulés (Magalhães 77; Soriano 14: 464; id. 15: 89; Lieven 2: 238; *The Times* 10 June 1831: 3; *The Gentleman's Magazine* June 1831: 552). On 30 May, Pedro arrived off Faial, the Azores, and sailed from there to Falmouth, where the *Volage* put in for a few hours on 7 June before resuming its journey to France (*The Gentleman's Magazine* June 1831: 552; Soriano 15: 89). Although the ex-Emperor had at first planned to live in England he changed his mind "(...) from a consideration of the great expense of living in this country compared with the continent" (*The Times* 13 June 1831: 4). On 12 June, Pedro and his wife landed at Cherbourg, where they were welcomed with the twenty-one-gun salute due to reigning

monarchs (*O Mosaico* 1839: 238; Macaulay 257; *The Times* 13 June 1831: 4; Lima 447-48; Soriano 15: 89).

According to *The Times*, “Ever since the Emperor Don Pedro arrived in France, Louis Philip and his Government have omitted no opportunity of showing him the most delicate attentions (...)” (23 July 1831: 5), a kindness later extended to Maria da Glória. The French King had prepared the Château of Saint-Germain-en-Laye – ironically the residence of James II of England in his final years – to receive Pedro and his family, but the ex-Emperor preferred to remain at Cherbourg (*The Times* 23 June 1831: 5). José Liberato Freire de Carvalho, who was in London at that time, claimed in his memoirs that Louis Philippe planned to marry one of his sons to the young Queen and proposed to recognise her rights if Pedro agreed to let her live in Paris. Louis Philippe’s plan was obviously to gain influence over Portugal by placing Prince Louis Charles on the Portuguese throne.<sup>10</sup> Pedro, accused by Liberato of seeking to regain the Portuguese throne for himself, ignored Louis Philippe’s offer (Carvalho, *Memórias da Vida* 336).

Despite all the honours and proofs of friendship received while in France, Pedro appreciated that really decisive support could only be procured on the other side of the Channel. Hence, leaving his wife at Cherbourg, the ex-Emperor paid a short visit to England to seek British assistance for his daughter’s cause. Pedro travelled on 21 June 1831 accompanied by his old friends Francisco Gomes da Silva (‘o Chalaça’)<sup>11</sup> and the

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<sup>10</sup> Louis Charles Philippe Raphaël d’Orléans (1814-1896), duc de Nemours, Louis Philippe’s second son.

<sup>11</sup> Francisco Gomes da Silva (1791-1852), an obscure individual nicknamed ‘o Chalaça’ (‘the Joker’) who became close friend of D. Pedro and the Emperor’s private secretary. He was a natural son of Francisco José Rufino de Sousa Lobato, 1st Barão and Visconde de Vila Nova da Rainha, by Maria da Conceição Alves, a 19-year old chamber-maid. Francisco Lobato trusted the boy to the care of António Gomes da Silva, a goldsmith, to whom he paid a generous sum to register him as his own child. Francisco was baptised on 2 October 1791 at the Parish Church of São Julião, Lisbon, as the legitimate son of António Gomes da Silva and his wife Ana Barbara (Arquivo Distrital de Lisboa, MSS, B6, Liv. B6 - Cx 2 (MIC. 1196 SGU), Arquivos Paroquiais: Livro de Baptismos, Paróquia de S. Julião, f. 31<sup>v</sup>). Francisco was educated in a Seminary at Santarém, where he studied Philosophy and acquired several languages, including English. He was among the thousand Portuguese who accompanied the Royal Family to Brazil in 1807. In 1810 he was employed at the Royal Palace of Rio de Janeiro, where he met the young and bohemian Infant D. Pedro. About 1816, Francisco became Pedro’s favourite companion for his night escapades and was transformed into a sort of private secretary for all matters, including Pedro’s affairs with women. Gomes da Silva became influential at the Brazilian Imperial Court and, in 1830, was appointed Minister Plenipotentiary to Naples.

Marquês de Resende,<sup>12</sup> who had joined him at Cherbourg. When he arrived in London on 26 June, Pedro took up residence at the Clarendon Hotel under the name of Duque de Bragança (Lima 434; Macaulay 259).

Pedro was fascinated by the sparkling life he found in London, certainly very different from that of his former Court in Rio (Macaulay 259; Carvalho, *Memórias* 336). On 30 June, he was invited for a musical party and a magnificent ball at St James and, on 1 July, William IV gave a state dinner in his honour (*The Times* 1 July 1831: 3; id. 2 July 1831: 5; Lima 435). Guests included Ambassadors and Cabinet members, among them Earl Grey and Lord Holland (*The Times* 2 July 1831: 5). On 2 July, Pedro went to *Othello* at the Italian Opera House with Resende, Gomes da Silva, João da Rocha Pinto and Major Henry Webster,<sup>13</sup> Lady Holland's second son, who had been commissioned by the Government to escort the ex-Emperor (*The Times* 4 July 1831: 2; Lima 434). Two days later, Pedro was invited to a grand entertainment given by Prince Leopold at Marlborough House, attended by the Royal Family and "(...) a very numerous musical party" (*The Times* 6 July 1831: 5). On 9 July, Pedro was at the Guildhall when the Lord Mayor presented the freedom of the city to Lord John Russell and was loudly cheered when he attended the subsequent reception at the Mansion House (*The Times* 11 July 1831: 6).

Yet compared to his enthusiastic reception in France, there were times in England when Pedro might have felt neglected, although it is well to remember that the Reform Crisis was engrossing the attention of both Court and Ministry at this time. Pedro was cordially received by Palmerston on 27 but rather indifferently by the King on the afternoon of 29 June 1831 (Macaulay 259; Webster 1: 242; Lima 434-35). Grey, who had

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<sup>12</sup> António Teles da Silva Caminha e Meneses (1790-1875), 1st and only Visconde and Marquês de Resende in the Brazilian peerage, Brazilian nobility, Brazilian diplomat of Portuguese origin, son of D. Fernando Teles da Silva Caminha e Meneses, 3rd Marquês de Penalva and 7th Conde de Tarouca, and D. Joana de Almeida, daughter of the 2nd Marquês de Lavradio. Resende was one of many Portuguese nobles who supported the Brazilian revolution and made a career at the court of Rio de Janeiro. He married Fanny Hélène Le Roi in 1800.

<sup>13</sup> Sir Henry Vassall Webster (1793-1847), British officer, second son of Sir Godfrey Webster and his wife Elizabeth Vassall (afterwards Lady Holland). Henry Webster entered the army in 1810 to serve in the Peninsular War. In 1831, he was promoted to Lieut.-Colonel and commissioned to escort D. Pedro during his stay in England. His service earned him the Portuguese Knighthood of Tower and Sword and, in 1838, on Palmela's recommendation, the military Order of São Bento de Avis (Carvalho, *Vida do Duque de Palmella* 3: 526; *The Gentleman's Magazine* July 1847: 93).

scheduled an interview with Pedro for the 20th, admitted in a letter to Princess Lieven on 27 June that “I have not seen Don Pedro” (Lieven 2: 250), and again, two days later, that “Don Pedro had his audience [with the King], but I did not see him” (Lieven 2: 251). Finally, on 1 July, Grey told the Princess, “I am going, notwithstanding, to dine at St. James’s, at a dinner given to Don Pedro” (Lieven 2: 255). Henry Webster, effectively Pedro’s ‘minder’, went so far as to protest to Lord Holland “(...) with truth, but perhaps with more asperity than is prudent or justified, that our indifference to Pedro forms a strong contrast to the cordiality of the French Govt” (Holland, *The Holland House Diaries* 23).

During his meeting with William IV on 29 June, which lasted approximately forty-five minutes, Pedro listed the requests he hoped His Britannic Majesty would not deny (Magalhães 78). In a most informal way, Pedro declared that

(...) he did not require direct and material support to overthrow the usurper from the throne, but only moral support; and that England had now a good opportunity to offer such a mighty help, bringing the Queen from Cherbourg to London aboard British war vessels and taking her to the Palace of His Britannic Majesty, to the very room of the Queen Adelaide, where she would stay only while the Emperor was on his way to Munich to leave the Empress, who will have a better stay there. In short, His Imperial Majesty declared that he asked or wanted nothing for himself, but that in the quality of Father and Tutor he would do all the efforts to place his August Daughter on the throne belonging to her (Lima 435).<sup>14</sup>

A final request, which Pedro decided to leave to advisers to deal with, was for a cash advance on the security of his jewels (Holland, *Diaries* 8; Magalhães 79). The subject was privately and separately discussed between Resende and Lords Holland and Palmerston, but request fell through because the required

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<sup>14</sup> “(...) que não precisava de apoio directo e material para derribar o usurpador do throno, mas sómente de apoio moral, e que a Inglaterra tinha agora boa occasião de prestar esse poderoso auxilio, mandando-se vir a Rainha de Cherburgo para Londres em vasos de guerra inglezes, e indo Sua Magestade hospedar-se no Palacio de Sua Magestade Britanica, e no quarto mesmo da Rainha Adelaide, onde ficaria sómente emquanto o Imperador fosse a Munich levar a Imperatriz, que ali deve ter o seu bom successo. Em fim Sua Magestade Imperial declarou que já agora nada queria nem pretendia para si, mas que na sua qualidade de Pae e Tutor, faria todos os esforços para collocar sua Augusta Filha no throno que lhe pertencia” (Our translation).

guarantee could not be obtained. Alternatively, Holland suggested that Resende should write an official letter listing Pedro's needs, including a request for a loan to support the Queen. Holland further advised Resende that the letter should be written with great care so that the Tories would have no excuse to attack the arrangement in Parliament.

Now that things seem to be going in the right direction with the British Government, Pedro left for the Continent to meet his wife and daughter and to try to obtain support from Louis Philippe. Maria had landed at Brest on 14 July, where she had been enthusiastically received by the authorities and the local population. Maria took up residence at the Maritime Prefecture, which had been specially prepared to receive her. On 20 July, she proceeded to Cherbourg to meet her stepmother and wait for her father to join them (Soriano 15: 89; Lima 450; *The Times* 23 July 1831: 5; Carvalho, *Memorias* 336; Macaulay 260).

Pedro called at Holland House in the morning of 20 July, to invite Lord Holland to dinner on the following Sunday (24 July), just before his departure. Holland was, however, obliged to decline the honour "(...) being invited or rather commanded with all my *Etonian* colleagues to Windsor on that day" (Holland, *Diaries* 8). Holland found Pedro

(...) good humoured and easy, but his countenance was clouded and he spoke with some bitterness when Lady Holland inadvertently asked what become of the Marquis de Barbacena, who formerly conducted the little Queen here. Il est a Rio et c'est pour cela que je suis ici (Holland, *Diaries* 8).

On 22 July, Pedro dined at the French Embassy with Holland and Grey, the Ministers of Austria, Prussia, and Bavaria, several Ladies and the Chancellor. According to Holland, "Don Pedro highly satisfied with his reception at Windsor, not a little gratified at his daughter being treated as a Queen in France" (Holland, *Diaries* 12). At dinner, Talleyrand advised Pedro to take advantage of Louis Philippe's good will and suggested that the first anniversary of the July Revolution would be a good occasion to address the King (Macaulay 259). According to the French Minister, "Dom Pedro had the greatest wish to go to Paris. But he finds in his wife's name a drawback to doing so, and he does not want to cause any trouble" ("The Prince de Talleyrand to Madame Adelaide d'Orléans." *Memoirs* 4: 165).

Pedro left for France on 24 July 1831, accompanied by Henry Webster, and arrived just in time for the celebrations marking the first anniversary of 'the glorious week', which had

raised the duc d'Orléans to the French throne (*The Times* 30 July 1831: 3; Lima 450; Holland, *Diaries* 12). Pedro embarked at Portsmouth on the *Lightning* steamer to land at Cherbourg on 25 July, and then hurried to Paris (Lima 452-53; Magalhães 81). By 26 July, he was sitting at table with Louis Philippe and his Queen, Maria Amalia of Naples and Sicily, who received him graciously ("Madame Adelaide d'Orléans to the Prince de Talleyrand", *Memoires* 4: 166; Carvalho, *Memorias* 336). According to Macaulay, Pedro was shy in responding to the ladies – strange in a man famed for his 'marialvismo' – and was introduced to the old General Lafayette, who "became one of Dom Pedro's staunchest supporters" (259). Harriet Granville wrote to Lady Carlisle: "There we found the Dom [Pedro], the Empress and French music; very hot, but amusing from the circumstances, very much so to see the Emperor and Lafayette in a confab" (Granville 2: 104). The next morning, during the celebrations, Harriet Granville observed from the "*balcon* of the *Hotél Bristol chez Monsieur Motteux (...)* Pedro with all his green feathers rode up to the Queen's *balcon*, like a tourney (...)" (2: 104). On 29 July, after accompanying the King in the review of soldiers who had been decorated with the Grand Cross of the Legion of Honour, Pedro dined with Louis Philippe, who again tried to persuade him to stay in Paris. Despite the King's efforts, Pedro was unmoved and, the next day, took his leave of the Royal Family and returned to Cherbourg (Magalhães 81-83; *The Times* 1 Aug. 1831: 4).

On 1 August, Pedro embarked for England with his wife, daughter and entourage aboard the *Lightning*, landing in Falmouth that night to the salute of the warships and batteries (*The Times* 3 Aug. 1831: 3). On the next morning, the party proceeded to London and again took a suite in the Clarendon Hotel. According to Liberato, while Pedro occupied the entire noble floor of the Hotel, the young Queen of Portugal was left with a small apartment between the ground and first floors, with the door next to the stairs, and forbidden to speak with Portuguese people (Carvalho, *Memorias* 336-37).

One week later, Maria received an invitation from Queen Adelaide to visit her at St James's Palace. But rather than sending his daughter alone to the Royal Palace, as the invitation appeared to suggest, Pedro decided to accompany her and take his wife with him. To make matters worse, rather than conveying the royal visitors through the Palace's main door, by some mistake or intentionally, Henry Webster led them directly to the Queen's chamber, where she received the intruders with obvious coldness. William IV joined them soon afterwards, but rather than

inviting the party to one of the main salons, as might have been expected, the King remained with his unwanted guests in the Queen's chamber. Pedro was so distressed and irritated with the episode that he now informed the King that had decided to take up Louis Philippe's kind offer of a suitable residence in Paris (Lima 464; Magalhães 83).<sup>15</sup>

The story seems so incredible that it is tempting to suspect that something lies behind it. Although etiquette was broadly the same in all Courts, there were always differences of detail. It was Webster's job to advise Pedro on these matters, but he does not seem to have been very competent. Taking Pedro directly to the Queen's apartments was extremely foolish and Webster should have known better. Despite his complaints on Pedro's behalf, it almost looks as if Webster did not want him to be well received. But what was Webster's role and why did Lima describe him as "Palmerston's spy" in a letter to the Regency? (454). And who had suggested his name to escort Pedro during his stay in England? It seems likely that Webster was recommended by Holland, on Lady Holland's insistence, as on several other occasions. In 1838, probably at Holland's request, Palmela wrote to Sá da Bandeira, then the Chief Minister of D. Maria II, successfully requesting the military Order of São Bento de Avis for Henry Webster (Carvalho, *Vida do Duque de Palmella* 3: 526). Yet, there are hints that Webster was never fond of the Hollands or grateful to them despite everything they had done for him. After Lady Webster's divorce and subsequent marriage to Lord Holland in 1797, Henry and his elder brother, Godfrey, went to live with their father, who constantly told them of their mother's iniquities. Hence, Henry may have developed a resentment against his mother, and indeed against Lord Holland and his own half-brother Charles Fox.<sup>16</sup> According to Ilchester, Henry Webster was so jealous of Charles that the Hollands had to keep them apart (Ilchester 55-6). In 1817, Lord Holland lent Henry Webster two pistols belonging to Charles, which he intentionally left behind in a hackney-coach (Keppel 260-61). Hence, it is possible that, knowing Holland was particularly fond of Pedro, Henry Webster may have done all he could to sabotage Pedro's

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<sup>15</sup> According to Abreu Lima, on 14 August Pedro wrote to the French King and communicated his intention to travel for Paris within a fortnight (Lima 455).

<sup>16</sup> Charles Richard Fox (1796-1873), army officer and archaeologist, was the natural son of Lady and Lord Holland born before their marriage. In 1824, Charles married Lady Mary FitzClarence, a daughter of the future William IV by his mistress Dorothy Jordan.

cause, thus irritating and damaging the Hollands. Although Pedro, never a subtle man, was probably unaware of these complexities, Abreu Lima hints that there was something odd about Webster.

Yet not everyone blamed Webster. Liberato claimed that the apparent lack of courtesy towards the Duque de Bragança and his family was really Pedro's fault. As soon as he arrived in London he should have immediately informed the government of his arrival, which he simply omitted to do. Pedro's lack of etiquette was considered an outrage, leading Palmerston to officially ignore his presence. In a despatch to the Terceira Regency in the Azores, Abreu Lima contradicted Liberato's version, declaring that Palmerston had been notified of Pedro's arrival on 3 July 1831. According to Lima, Palmerston had also been informed of everything that had passed in the discussions with Louis Philippe – which if true was rather a waste of time since Palmerston had already been given a full report by his “spy”, Major Webster (Lima 454). Although Liberato's statements are not always reliable, on this occasion he was probably not far from the truth. The fact that Lima felt obliged to inform Palmela that Palmerston had been notified of Pedro's arrival makes the whole story seem highly suspicious.

While Holland deplored “ (...) the contrast of their reception here and in France must strike them in a way far from advantageous to this Country” (Holland, *Diaries* 31), Henry Webster, who accompanied Pedro everywhere, complained that “Even the Royal carriages, he says, are now withdrawn, and he and his Empress are left to lodge in a tavern and fumble about in a Glass Coach” (Holland, *Diaries* 23). Palmerston himself later admitted to Lima, though as a pro-forma, that he strongly regretted that it had been impossible to find a royal residence to receive the Braganças, but none were available. Palmerston further confessed his embarrassment at the tight-fisted behaviour of the government in not paying Pedro's expenses while he was in Britain, although this would have been impossible without first submitting the issue to Parliament (Lima 471). Eventually, however, protocol difficulties were overcome and, according to Lima, the Braganças were invited to spend three days at Windsor, an invitation Pedro initially declined on the grounds that his wife was pregnant. Yet, after an affectionate farewell letter from Queen Adelaide to the young Queen Maria on 13 August, Pedro reconsidered and accepted the invitation (Lima 464-65). According to Holland,

Pedro and the Queen Donna Maria of Portugal went down to

Windsor, were received with due honors and much cordiality, and have returned to night to set off for France tomorrow, apparently in better humor with the King, Court, and Country than they were a few days ago (Holland, *Diaries* 31).

On 15 August, after taking leave of Lord Holland, Pedro departed with his wife and daughter and spent the night in Dover (Holland, *Diaries* 31; Lima 467). The next morning, the party embarked on the *Lightening* to Calais, where they landed later the same day. By 20 August, the Braganças were already established at the Château de Meudon, which had been especially prepared to receive them (Lima 476; Magalhães 83). On the same day, Pedro left for Paris to meet Louis Philippe, who again received him graciously in the Royal Palace and praised his decision to head an expedition to Portugal. On the following day, the King and Queen visited the Braganças and, the day after, Pedro and his wife and daughter returned the courtesy by calling on the French Royal Family (Lima 476). Holland's response to the news of Pedro's reception in France reveals a mixture of gratification and disappointment. He wrote in his journal on 19 August:

A glorious piece of news of Don Pedro and his daughter, whom it is unlucky that we should have neglected and the French so warmly and generously received and cultivated. I urged these considerations when he was here, but economy, multiplicity of business, silly and overscrupulous fear of interference, and I am afraid some little prejudice in our King's mind prevailed, and he was allowed to depart with his Empress and Daughter to Paris (Holland, *Diaries* 34).

Pedro was invited to attend William IV's coronation on 8 September 1831, but after some hesitation – and probably unwisely – decided to decline the honour, a decision much deplored by Abreu Lima (482). Even Louis Philippe had “ (...)been persuading Dom Pedro to take a journey to London, in order to assist at the coronation of the English king (...)” (“King Louis Philippe to the Prince de Talleyrand”, *Memoirs* 4: 194), but, true to form, he remained stubborn. Pedro's apparent irresponsibility and poor judgement, which Canning had noted a few years earlier, was perhaps one of the reasons why Palmerston was reluctant to grant him the support he asked for. The Foreign Secretary told Abreu Lima on 2 July 1831, “The Emperor says he is animated with the best of intentions and that he wants to act; however we do not yet know what he wants or what he

can do" (Lima 438).<sup>17</sup> On 4 August Lord Londonderry raised the question of Pedro in the House of Lords. Grey explained that "it was agreed that Royal honours should be paid to Don Pedro and his daughter Donna Maria" but went on to stress

(...) these honours are paid in the same way to all individuals connected by relationship with the Royal houses of Europe – they are not paid to them in their political character of crowned heads – they are paid to them as a mark of respect to their Royal rank (*The Times* 5 Aug. 1831: 3).

The real issue was whether Pedro could be induced to change his mind and agree to attend William IV's coronation. Three weeks later, Lord Holland noted that it had been agreed that Pedro should be "accommodated with carriages (...) and every attention shewn that may induce him to attend it" (Holland, *Diaries* 38). On 26 August, Lady Holland wrote to her son that "Don Pedro is to return for the Coronation at his *own* request, & will be lodged & conducted about in Royal carriages, etc., all free of expense. This is very right (...). Henry Webster is again appointed to attend him" (113). Yet, as Lord Holland observed, "It is rather too late now, but the impolicy of neglecting him begins to be felt as the prospect of Miguel's overthrow becomes more certain" (Holland, *Diaries* 38).

Pedro remained in France until 10 February 1832, when he embarked at Belle-Île for the Azores on the *Rainha de Portugal*, the flag-ship of a fleet intended to liberate Portugal from despotism. On 27 June, Pedro's fleet left São Miguel for Portugal and on 8 July about 7,500 Liberal troops, including foreign mercenaries, disembarked at Mindelo, alias Arnosa de Pampelido, on the north coast of Portugal. The capture of Lisbon by the Liberals on 24 July 1833 represented the culmination of the Portuguese Civil War, which ended up on 26 May 1834 with D. Miguel's capitulation at Evoramonte and subsequent banishment. On Miguel's acceptance of the Convention – alias Concession – of Evoramonte and in accordance with "his own wishes", it was decided that he should embark at Sines on a British ship. As stipulated in the additional articles, "He shall be accompanied on his journey thither by the Persons in his personal Suite, by 20 Horse Soldiers, selected from those who previously served in his Army, and by 2 squadrons of the Cavalry of the Queen"

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<sup>17</sup> "L'Empereur dit être animé des meilleures intentions, et qu'il veut agir; cependant nous ne savons encore ni ce qu'il veut, ni ce qu'il peut" (Our translation).

(*British and Foreign State Papers: 1833-1834* 1344).

Early in the morning of 1 June Miguel left Évora and travelled to Sines, where he embarked on H.M.S. *Stag* which was to take him to Italy and from thence, to quote Webster, "(...)" into merited oblivion" (Webster 1: 399). According to *The Times*, when Miguel arrived in Sines, "the inhabitants of that town were so bent upon punishing him for his deeds of tyranny, that it was with great difficulty that by the exertions of the two squadrons of the Queen's Lancers, (...) who were escorting him, his life was saved (...)" (25 June 1834: 4). As soon as he landed in Genoa on 20 June, Miguel issued a declaration protesting that the capitulation was null and void because he had been compelled to sign under duress.

Maria, who had been living in France with her stepmother since Pedro's departure to the Azores in 1832, was called to Lisbon following the capture of the Portuguese capital by the Liberal forces on 24 July 1833. Maria embarked at Le Havre on the *Soho* steamer to Portsmouth, where she landed on 8 September (*The Times* 9 Sept. 1833: 3; 'The Prince de Talleyrand to the Due de Broglie.' *Memoires* 5: 173). Those waiting for the young Queen included the Marquês do Funchal and the Marquês de Resende, Admiral Sir Thomas Williams and, of course, the town Mayor (*The Times* 11 Sept. 1833: 3).

While in England, where she remained one week, Maria was warmly received, not least by members of the Royal Family, who, according to Lord Holland, "express satisfaction at the arrival of Donna Maria" (Holland, *Diaries* 247). According to Greville, William IV "was at first very angry at her coming to England, but when he found that Louis Philippe had treated her with incivility, he changed his mind, and resolved to receive her with great honours. He hates Louis Philippe and the French with a sort of Jack Tar animosity" (3: 33). Louis Philippe was furious when he learnt of Pedro's plans to marry his daughter to the duc de Leuchtenberg, a Beauharnais. From Portsmouth, Maria went directly to Windsor Castle, where William IV and Queen Adelaide were her hosts for a few days. On 11 September, Princess Lieven commented to Grey: "Donna Maria is in the midst of all the pomp of Windsor. I trust she will receive good news from Portugal. What a great opportunity it will be for *speechifying!*" (2: 462). A few days later, the Princess resumed her gossip: "They tell me Donna Maria is extremely plain-looking. It is a misfortune in a Queen. On the other hand, they tell me her stepmother is perfectly charming" (2: 466). On 12 September, heavy rain caused an excursion to Virginia Water to be postponed to the next day. In the evening, Queen Adelaide entertained her royal

guests in St George Hall. William IV, who arrived from London at 9 o'clock, joined the royal party in the drawing room, where they remained until 11 o'clock. On the following day, the King honoured Maria with a banquet in St George Hall, attended by sixty guests, including Palmerston, Melbourne and Argyll. At dinner, Maria was placed between their Majesties, while the Duquesa de Bragança took the King's left. Maria and her step-mother remained at Windsor until 15 September, when they left for Portsmouth, passing through Chertsey, near Laleham, so that Maria could pay her compliments to the inhabitants of the village who had been so kind during her residence in England (*The Times* 13 Sept. 1833: 3). On 17 September, Maria embarked on the *Soho* at Portsmouth, arriving in Lisbon on 22 (*Chronica Constitucional de Lisboa* 23-24 Set. 1833: 267, 273; Soriano 17: 40-3; Napier 1: 298-99).<sup>18</sup>

The premature death of D. Maria II's first husband, the Duke of Leuchtenberg, on 28 March 1835, only two months after the Royal Wedding, meant that finding a suitable husband for the young Queen in order to guarantee the succession was a matter of urgency. Since the Prince was expected to be a Catholic, there appeared to be only two suitable candidates – one from Austria, the other the duc de Nemours, the son of Louis Philippe. But while the Austrian candidate carried associations with Absolutism, the prospect of a French marriage was likely to encounter objections from Britain. Hence, the Conde de Lavradio was sent to London with instructions to discuss Maria's marriage with Palmerston (Webster 1: 481). A few names were considered, including those of the son of the Archduke Charles, Albrecht, and the Neapolitan Prince of Carignan, but there was no agreement. Lavradio was inclined to the Austrian match, while Palmerston objected, not just due to Albrecht's aversion to Liberalism but also because "The Austrian family are neither healthy nor handsome. Big lips and epilepsy are greatly abundant therein" (Palmerston, qtd. in Webster 1: 483). On 22 July 1835, during a meeting between Palmerston, Lavradio, Mendizábal and Morais Sarmiento, the name of Ferdinand August Saxe-Coburg Gotha<sup>19</sup> emerged as the

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<sup>18</sup> The rest of the suite, which now included the Loulès, the Duquesas de Palmela and Terceira, the Countess of Saldanha and the Viscondessa do Cabo de São Vicente (Napier's wife), embarked on the steamers *City of Watford* and *Superb*, the former wrecked off São Martinho Bay on 24 September without casualties, the latter arrived on 2 October (Napier 1: 306-08).

<sup>19</sup> Fernando II of Portugal, née *Ferdinand August Franz Anton von Sachsen-Coburg-Gotha-Koháry* (1816-1885), Prince of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha and King Consort of

perfect match (Palmerston, qtd. in Webster 1: 483; Alviella 38). Not only was Ferdinand a Catholic, but he was also a cousin of Princess Victoria. Negotiations were held, in which the Duchess of Kent, the Princess's mother and Ferdinand's aunt, was personally involved (Palmela, *Memórias* 317). Apart from Lavradio who was not present, almost the same party had assembled at Holland House on 1 March 1835, although there had been additional guests including the Duke of Devonshire, John Russell and the Granvilles.<sup>20</sup> Both Morais Sarmiento and Lavradio were at Kensington on 16 June, where the subject was certainly discussed (Holland, *Diaries* 308). In December 1835, Sarmiento informed Holland that "the treaty for Marriage with Ferd[inand] of Coburgh is advancing and that Lavradio hopes to complete it before the 2d. of Jany. when Cortes meet" (Holland, *Diaries* 336). Lavradio's instructions to conclude the contract of marriage were issued on 11 December (Valdez 44). The royal marriage was celebrated by proxy in the Cathedral of Lisbon on 1 January 1836, with Terceira acting on Ferdinand's behalf. According to *The Times*, quoting private correspondence from Portugal:

The whole affair went off with very marked coldness, as far as the inhabitants of Lisbon were concerned. Their curiosity was, most undoubtedly, called into action, if we are to judge from the crowded streets as well as balconies, but their enthusiastic feelings, evidently, were not roused; nor one *viva* was to be heard either from the people or from the National Guard who were on duty, lining the streets, and mustered very strong. In short, the whole was widely different from what took place upon the former occasion of the marriage with the late Prince Augustus (14 Jan. 1836: 5).

On his way to Portugal, Ferdinand visited London, where he arrived on 16 March 1836 and made a good impression on Palmerston (*The Times* 18 Mar. 1836: 4). Ferdinand landed at Ramsgate from Calais and, after spending the night at Sittingbourne, called upon his aunt, the Duchess of Kent, at

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Portugal, eldest son of Prince Ferdinand of Saxe-Coburg-Saalfeld-Koháry (1785-1851) and Princess Maria Antonia Koháry de Csábrág. On 10 June 1869, long after Maria's death, Ferdinand married the Swiss-born actress Elisa Hensler (1836-1929), created Gräfin von Edla.

<sup>20</sup> BL, HHP, MSS Add. 51955, Dinner Books: 1831-1838, f. 95<sup>r</sup> (Sunday, 1 Mar. 1835).

her apartments in Kensington Palace. Ferdinand was accompanied by his father and brother, while his suite included Lavradio and Morais Sarmiento. In the afternoon, Princess Victoria, the Duchess of Kent, Ferdinand and his father left Kensington in the same carriage for Windsor, where a grand dinner was given for the Royal visitors and attended by a numerous and splendid party. Ferdinand remained in Britain until 29 March, when he embarked for Portugal at Portsmouth on the British steamer *Manchester*. On 1 April the ship was forced to put into Plymouth during a tremendous gale but arrived safely in the Tagus on 8 April (*The Times* 28 Mar. 1836: 5; id. 5 Apr. 1836: 2; Gomes 1: 176-77). According to a witness quoted by *The Times*,

(...) he was not received with any feeling of enthusiasm by the people, not a single *viva* having been uttered on his landing or afterwards, yet he certainly made a good first impression on their minds, being rather good-looking, and evidently possessing kind, gentle, and conciliating manners (26 Apr. 1836: 5).

But despite the initial lack of enthusiasm for Maria's new husband, Ferdinand became popular and esteemed. He was known as the 'King Artist' and, unlike his predecessor, he had a long and worthy life.

Following his banishment, Miguel lived for several years in either Italy or in England. He arrived in Britain sometime in 1847 and is known to have attended Her Majesty's Theatre on 29 June (*The Times* 30 June 1847: 5) and to have lived for a time at Capt. Bennett's Canonbury Cottage, Islington (*The Times* 24 Dec. 1847: 6). On 27 September 1849, the death of his aunt, Maria Cristina Amelia Teresa (1779-1849), the Queen of Naples, prevented him from attending the wedding – at St John's Wood Catholic Chapel – of Matthew Bayly of Coimbra to Esther, youngest daughter of E. Weld (*The Times* 27 Sept. 1849: 7). Miguel moved to Germany in 1851, to marry Princess Adelaide of Löwenstein-Wertheim-Rosenberg on 19 September (*The Times* 4 Oct. 1851: 6). The couple settled in a former Cistercian monastery at Bronnbach, Grand Duchy of Baden, where they raised six daughters and one son, Miguel (1853-1927), who, after his father's death, proclaimed himself D. Miguel II. On 19 November 1866, *The Times* announced the "death of a person who once made a great noise in the world, but whose very existence has been for the last 20 years utterly forgotten (...)" (19 Nov. 1866: 7). Miguel died on 14 November 1866 after suffering an apoplectic stroke while hunting. He was buried in the Franciscan Convent of Engelberg, in Großheubach, Miltenberg,

but his remains were moved to the Braganças Pantheon on 5 April 1967.

The next Braganças who visited England in 1854 were the Infants Pedro and Luís, afterwards Kings D. Pedro V and D. Luís, the children of D. Maria II and D. Fernando II. Half a century later, following the Republican rebellion of 1910, Manuel II sought exile in England, where he remained until his death in 1932. These late royal visitors will be investigated in a following article.

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