

## THE STORMY PASSAGE TO ENGLAND OF “A QUEEN COMING FROM FAR!”<sup>1</sup>

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*Loe! A Queen Coming from far! fam'd Beauties Magazin*  
*Henry Bold, 1661*

### **1. “A Queen coming from far.”**

Caught between two cultures, Catherine of Braganza, the Catholic Portuguese wife of King Charles II, had to adjust to her new circumstances and to undertake many difficult situations during her thirty years in England. Her life as Queen of England was not exempt from adversities, and the peaceful course of the life she had led unto then became inverted not long after her arrival. As Henry Bold, a seventeenth century English poet, pointed out a lot was expected from this “Queen coming from far”.

A great number of authors have studied the biography of Queen Catherine of Braganza, the historical and diplomatic problems of the political alliance, the treaties and the marriage,

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<sup>1</sup> This essay is the version of a paper presented at the International Conference ‘Dashed all to pieces’: *tempests and other natural disasters in the literary imagination*, organized by CETAPS, at Faculdade de Letras, Universidade do Porto, Portugal, 1-3 December 2011, and was carried out in the framework of project PEst-OE/ELT/UI4097/2011, hosted by CETAPS (Centre for English, Translation and Anglo-Portuguese Studies) and funded by FCT – Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia, Portugal. It is also part of my ongoing research which has led to the production of a serious of studies on the representations of Queen Catherine of Braganza in English literature and culture. This study deals with one of several specific moments in the life of Catherine as Queen of England.

the iconography, her image as a woman in a foreign country, her life after her return to Portugal, the palaces she lived in. But the presence of Queen Catherine of Braganza in England, her representations on the English literature of her time as well as other literary works up to the present date, and even the repercussions of her presence in England have often been minimized and underestimated by historians and writers. In fact, there was a tendency to generalize the idea that her years as consort in England in no way contributed to arouse the attention of writers or poets.

Nowadays, through intensive and personal research during the last years, it is feasible to speak of a literary tradition connected with the Anglo-Portuguese life of Queen Catherine of Braganza, which includes collective and individual works from the seventeenth century till today, texts by major or minor writers, works varying from laudatory poetry to historical novels, from satirical poetry to biography, from references in diaries and memoirs to allusions in drama.<sup>2</sup> Furthermore, Queen Catherine of Braganza played a fundamental part in the diplomatic affairs of the seventeenth century and was an important instrument in the renewal of an alliance between the two royal courts. Moreover, she was a woman who abdicated, personally and conscientiously, of her own will and dreams during a large part of her life, thus voluntarily serving the cause of Portugal with all the advantages and disadvantages therein involved.<sup>3</sup> It is equally important to underline the role of Princess Catherine to achieve the goals of Portugal's agenda. With her life and marriage she contributed to the maintenance of the Portuguese Restoration and she has been ascribed the title of "construtora da independência", as Eduardo Brazão expressed. (129)

Her life in England was described by Lancelot Reynolds, another seventeenth century English poet, as a "Royal adventure". In the first lines of his poem *A Panegyrick On her most Excellent Majestie, Katharine, Queen of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland: or Her Highness Cordiall welcome into England. Her Royal Majesty landed at Portsmouth, on Wednesday night, the 14 this instant May; to the great joy of all those that truly fear God, and honour the King*,<sup>4</sup> after having wished happiness to the

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<sup>2</sup> For an appraisal of this subject see my PhD Dissertation *A Melhor Jóia da Coroa: Representações de D. Catarina de Bragança na Literatura Inglesa* (2005), and also the essay "The theme of song in England: Queen Catherine of Braganza in English literature" (2007).

<sup>3</sup> On this issue see Theresa Castello Branco (1971) e (1973).

<sup>4</sup> This poem was unpublished and unknown in Portugal since its publication in

court of Portugal and to all those people who in Lisbon merrily expressed their farewell wishes to the Infanta who was leaving them, the poet highlights the embarking of Queen Catherine on the English ship *Royal Charles*.<sup>5</sup> It was a moment of great expectation for the English, as referred by the following lines: “At last into the Ship, you did enter: / Resolving on a Royal adventure” (ll. 14-5). These lines not only keep a literary record of the embarking of Queen Catherine on the English ship *Royal Charles* anchored on the Tagus but also emphasize the first time the Portuguese Queen of England stood diplomatically on English territory, which was a very important and symbolic moment for all. Right after the Treaties of 1661 were signed in Whitehall, on the 23rd of June, – *Treaty of Peace and Alliance between King Afonso VI and King Charles II and Treaty of Marriage between the King Charles II and the Princess of Portugal, Catherine of Braganza* – the Portuguese Infanta was immediately addressed in England as in Portugal as Queen of England. But the moment above described was the first one in which she and her entourage were under the protection of a British fleet commanded by *Lord Sandwich*. L. Reynolds’ metaphor of a “Royal adventure” (l. 15), summarizes what was to be the Anglo-Portuguese uneasy life of Queen Catherine of Braganza, also described by Reynolds as a “Jewel”: “A Jewel so Rich, so Rare is hard to find” (l. 20).

In fact, the “royal adventure” of this Portuguese princess, was not limited to her departure from Portugal, the embarking and voyage, but also included the arrival in England and the many years that she lived there; in other words, it was the Royal adventure of her whole life. Initially, she was a stranger in a strange land. This essay looks at the first of her many “adventures”: her departure from Portugal, her embarking and, especially, **her voyage to England presented by contemporary eyewitnesses** in some literary and historical records of her time, written in English as well as in Portuguese.<sup>6</sup>

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London. Today, its entire version can be read in *Antologia de Poemas Ingleses sobre D. Catarina de Bragança*, the annexed volume that accompanied my PhD Diss. *A Melhor Jóia da Coroa: Representações de D. Catarina de Bragança na Literatura Inglesa* (FCSH, UNL, Lisbon, 2005).

<sup>5</sup>The ship *Royal Charles*, previously known as the *Naseby* during the Commonwealth, was renamed with the Restoration. Under the command of Sir Edward Montagu it brought King Charles II and his entourage to England in his homeward journey from exile. In 1662, just as in 1660, the *Royal Charles*, also under the command of Admiral Edward Montagu, first Earl of Sandwich, was chosen to carry King Charles II’s bride, Catherine of Braganza, from Lisbon to England, leading a large Anglo-Portuguese fleet.

<sup>6</sup> Words and expressions highlighted in bold are the author’s responsibility.

## **2. A stranger in a strange land: Princess of Portugal, Queen of England.**

The reasons of Catherine of Braganza going to England can be summarized in King Charles II's own words in his speech to the members of Parliament, in May 8<sup>th</sup>, 1661:

I will not conclude without telling you some News; News that I think will be very acceptable to you; and therefore I should think myself unkind and ill-natur'd, if I should not impart it to you. I have been often put in mind by my Friends, That it was now high Time to marry; and I have thought so myself ever since I came into England: But there appeared Difficulties enough in the Choice, tho' many Overtures have been made to me: (...) I can now tell you, not only that I am resolv'd to marry, but **to whom I resolve to marry**, if God please: And towards my Resolution; I have us'd that Deliberation, and taken that Advice as I ought to do in an Affair of that Importance; and, trust me, **with a full Consideration of the Good of my Subjects in general, as of myself: It is with the Daughter of Portugal.** (...) and so took up my own Resolution, and concluded all with the Ambassador of Portugal, who is departing with the whole Treaty sign'd, which you will find to contain many great Advantages to the Kingdom: And I make all the haste I can to fetch you a Queen hither, who, I doubt not, will bring great Blessings with her, to me and you.<sup>7</sup>

Queen Catherine, as Princess of Portugal, was one of the pawns of an international and political game. The marriage of the English King to the Portuguese Infanta, was the result of many diplomatic conversations followed attentively by the rest of Europe. After the Restoration, the future of the English monarchy depended on Charles II's marriage, as Richard Lodge pointed out: "The absorbing interest of domestic affairs during the first two years of Charles II had not wholly distracted attention from foreign policy. (...) He was still unmarried, and the future relations of England depended very largely upon the choice of a bride"

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<sup>7</sup> See Charles II's "Speech to Both Houses at the First Session of the Second Parliament, May 8, 1661" (Bryant, 111-12). The Speech uttered in this session of Parliament had a Portuguese version written by D. Francisco de Mello Torres, the Portuguese Ambassador, with the title "As particularidades que sucederão no Parlamento, quando nelle se tomou este assento, (...)" (Melo, 1661). This document can also be examined in the genealogical work by D. António Caetano de Sousa, described as "Prova Num.37" (1950, 493-502). On this subject see also Clarendon (1761, 181-82), and Rau (1941, 50-51).

(19). On this matter Edgar Prestage also remarked: “Quando Carlos II foi restituído ao trono, tornou-se o seu casamento uma questão de importância internacional, esforçando-se tanto as grandes como as pequenas potências, por intermédio dos seus representantes em Londres por encaminhar a escolha do Rei em harmonia com os seus interesses políticos” (157). It was a diplomatic issue as Sir George Clark, another historian, declared: “Any choice implied friendship with one power and enmity with others” (60). Apart from the Portuguese Infanta, Charles II had had several hypothetical brides, “a whole litany of marriages”, as he personally declared.<sup>8</sup> And on this subject, according to other writers, such as Keith Feiling, he also stated, “I hate Germans, or princesses of cold countries” (38) designating the German princesses recommended to him as “dull and foggy”.<sup>9</sup>

In fact, there were choices to be made, as Lingard mentioned in his: “to marry a Catholic princess from the south was likely to shock the religious prepossessions of the majority of his subjects” (1849, 69). In this situation of apparent deadlock, the monarch was approached by the Portuguese Ambassador with a most tempting proposal for both countries, which was also supported by the French court and positioned against Spain. After mastering many obstacles and after prolonged talks, in which intervened kings and ambassadors, ministers and cardinals, politicians and military officials, laymen and members of the clergy, Catholics, Jews and Protestants, some to favor yet others to oppose, the marriage of Catherine of Braganza, with Charles II became a fact.

It was, indeed, an episode of extraordinary importance for both countries and a renewal of the Anglo-Portuguese alliance in a time when, as C. Hermenegildo de Sousa emphasized, “o sistema de casamentos era a forma mais completa e segura das alianças dos estados” (69). With the Treaties of 1661, England would receive a large dowry which included riches in money, merchandise, trading facilities in Brasil and the East Indies, and some Portuguese important cities in North Africa and in India; King Charles was obliged to help and support Portugal and its territories, in land as in sea, against Spaniards and pirates, and would also try to achieve and maintain peace between Portugal and the Netherlands. He also determined to let her bride and queen, keep her religion, rituals and devotions. The marriage of Catherine of Braganza, with Charles II was fundamental to the

<sup>8</sup> On this subject see Bryant (104), and Feiling (38).

<sup>9</sup> On this matter see Strickland (1883, 357).

good outcome of the consolidating process of the Restoration and Independence of Portugal. In article XV of the Treaty, the English King promised the following: “trazer no coração as coisas e conveniências de Portugal e de todos os seus domínios”. As José de Almada observed, by this Treaty a new period begun between the two nations (vol. I, 55).

A new queen for England, coming from a faraway country, naturally caught the attention not only of the King and his Privy Council but also the curiosity of the English subjects. Henry Bold was one of the first to announce in verse, in 1661, the expectations over the consort chosen by Charles II, by proclaiming enthusiastically in one of his poems the new and unexpected Queen who was coming from far:

(...) Loe! **A Queen**  
**Coming from far!** fam'd Beauties Magazin  
The Wealth oth' World! the Glory of the Earth!  
Fair as the Star that Blaz'd at Charles His Birth!  
A Queen of Beauty, Love, and Innocence!  
Sweet as the Smoak perfum'd with Frankincence! (ll. 9-14).

In the following year, in 1662, the year of the Anglo-Portuguese marriage, James Howell, in *A Brief Account of the Royal Matches or Matrimonial Alliances*, also made some considerations on the strengthening of ties between the kingdom of England and the kingdom of Portugal<sup>10</sup> and, in a brief statement, he declared: “By the former Alliance, it may be said that Portugal married with England, by this England hath married with Portugal.” (6) Within the scope of this study the expression “coming from far” becomes especially relevant.

On the 23rd of April, 1662, not having yet completed twenty four years of age, Catherine of Braganza embarked on a journey to England, leaving her country of birth towards a faraway country only to return thirty years later. We must take into

<sup>10</sup> Howell's Account concludes with a reference to the earlier Anglo-Portuguese marriage in the fourteenth century: “King Charles the Second, married the Lady Catherine, sole Daughter to Don John the fourth King of Portugal, and Sister to Don Alonso the sixth now regnant, there was a matrimonial Alliance once before 'twixt the Blood Royal of England and Portugal, which was about Ann. 1376, between John the first King of Portugal, and the Lady Philippa Daughter to John of Gaunt Duke of Lancaster. As that former was the fortunatest Alliance that Portugal ever made, by their own Confession, to this Day; so may this prove to England! May all the Blessings of Heaven be poured down on it, according to the due and daily Devotions of all true-hearted Subjects, and particularly of J.H.”.

account that in previous generations, and for a long time, a lot of marriages and alliances had been planned between the reigning courts of Portugal and Spain, which meant that the Portuguese *Infantas* only crossed the frontier, but did not really leave their usual environment. The courts were very similar to the ones they had left and, generally, they shared the same manners, the same climate, the same religion and, as far as the language was concerned, there were no great differences. By becoming united to the English monarch, Queen Catherine not only crossed the frontier, but also crossed the seas, leaving for a faraway country on a journey which was not exempt of difficulties. Besides, there was not the slightest parentage or affinity between the royal pair; they did not know each other personally, except by portraits, and the wedding ceremony required the celebration of two religious ceremonies to content both Catholics and Anglicans. The religious ceremony of the marriage took place in Portsmouth, on the 31<sup>st</sup> of May, 1662 (according to the Gregorian calendar), firstly in a private ceremony, in accordance with the Catholic rite, and secondly in public, in accordance with the Anglican rite. These ceremonies were to bring up comments and discussions many years later. At first, there was a combination of joy, veneration and curiosity on the part of the English at her arrival. These ways of looking at the new queen along with others clearly antithetical which were quickly developed, were to accompany her throughout her stay in England.

Queen Catherine had to endure a difficult period of adaptation to a new court, a new lifestyle and new manners; the language of the country of destiny was unknown to her, and she had to rely on precious help of Father Russell,<sup>11</sup> who initiated her in her first contact with the foreign language. She left a court of a traditional and clerical nature, to go to live and reign in a foreign, recently restored and licentious court avid of entertainment, music, balls, masquerades; in other words, a very different world from the quiet one which she was leaving behind. She had to face difficult problems such as the imposition of the mistresses of the king as her ladies of the bedchamber, the constant infidelities of the king, the misfortune of not being able

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<sup>11</sup> Father Richard Russell played a leading role in the negotiation of the marriage treaty of Charles II and Catherine of Braganza and the consequent alliance between England and Portugal. This included, as stated in his papers, "the provision of English troops and supplies for Portugal's war against Spain, as well as England's acquisition of Tangier and Bombay with the use of money provided from Catherine's dowry". (<<http://reed.dur.ac.uk/xtf/view?docId=ead/ush/lcprussell.xml>> accessed in 28.06.14).

to lead any of her pregnancies to the end and thus assure the succession, the fact that she was a Catholic queen living in an Anglican country, a generalized feeling of lack of religious tolerance, especially during the period of the Popish Plot, and an exaggerated fundamentalism against Catholics who were called "papists" and the consequent attempts to put her away from the throne.

The idea of Catherine as a silent and discreet queen of England cannot and should not be mistaken by the image of an unintelligent and practically inactive queen. It is true that on the subject of politics she abstained voluntarily and never interfered as did some of the mistresses of Charles II. The Queen found, however, other ways, cultural and religious ways, of strengthening her position as Consort at the court. Her discreetness did not mean lack of intelligence. Above all, she did not leave a trail of indifference and positively or negatively, she left strong impressions on those who surrounded her or simply observing her. As was already emphasised the Queen "coming from far" was the object throughout the years of very different opinions and sentiments: she was admired and praised by some, criticized and satirized by others, she attracted sympathies and enmities. This is a fundamental aspect which is to be observed, both in historical documents, as well as in literary texts of her time and of later periods.

With the passing of time, she learned how to move about in the licentious court of Charles II. She had to endure difficulties of controversial nature. Even as Queen Dowager she had to stay seven more years in England in spite of her wish to return to Portugal. When she finally returned to her country of birth she had to face again a natural and inevitable adaptation and a new acculturation.

### **3. The stormy passage to England of Queen Catherine of Braganza.**

The young Portuguese princess who became the bride of the profligate Charles II was initially, as already mentioned, a stranger in a strange land, where she could barely speak the language of the country and where her religion was outlawed. Among the many controversial occasions and trials she had to face as Queen of England, perhaps the first one was her voyage to England. Psychologically it was undoubtedly a difficult experience: homesickness, fear of the unknown, the expectation of a king and husband never seen before as well as a foreign

language, foreign places and foreign manners. All these circumstances were to make gigantic changes in her way of life. Having in mind “tempests and other natural disasters in the literary imagination”, the central issue of this essay will be the impact of people and nature in her passage to England as presented by eyewitnesses in literary and historical records of her time.

After the signature of the Treaties of 1661 many public manifestations of joy and enthusiasm took place all throughout the kingdom of Portugal and the festivities celebrated in Lisbon were poetically depicted with great detail in *Festas Reays na Corte de Lisboa, Ao feliz Cazamento dos Reys da graõ Bretaña Carlos, & Catherina. Em os, Touros que se correram no Terreiro do Passo em Outubro de 1661. Dedicadas a Europa Princeza de Phenicia. E Escritas Por Izandro, Aonio, e Luzindo, Toureiros de forcado*, published in Lisbon in 1661,<sup>12</sup> and *Relacion de las Fiestas que se fizieron en Lisboa, Con la nueua del casamiento de la Serenissima Infanta de Portugal Doña Catalina (ya Reyna de la Gran Bretaña,) con el Serenissimo Rey de la Gran Bretaña Carlos Segundo deste nombre, Y todo lo que sucedió hasta embarcarse para Inglaterra*, published in Lisbon in 1662. The latter is a text in Spanish which was published anonymously at the time and is attributed to D. António de Sousa de Macedo, who described with interesting detail, observations and metaphors all the joy felt in Lisbon:

Los casamientos de los Príncipes son tan útiles al común, por el fin de la sucesión y por la amistad que concilian entre las naciones, q no es lisonja sino deuda el celebrarlos con fiestas públicas; y por la misma razón es conveniente hacer relación de ellas, para comunicárlas a los amigos absentes, y para mostrar a todos, que no se ha faltado a lo que se deuía.

Llegado, pues, a Portugal aústo de estar concluido el casamiento de su Serenísima Infanta Doña Catalina, con el Fernissimo Rey de la Gran Bretaña Carlos II. Hizieron todas las Ciudades, y Villas principales, demostraciones públicas del contento general con que lo recibían; mas, porque sería muy largo el referir todas, diremos solamente lo que pasó en Lisboa a cabeza del Reyno. (ll. 1-15)

About the commemorations of April 1662, after the English Ambassador arrived in Lisbon to take the new Queen to England, Macedo observed that “toda la naturaleza mostraua su contento”

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<sup>12</sup> This collection of poems is attributed to António Lopes Cabral in the National Library of Portugal's digital catalogue.

(ll. 375-6) and that a kind of micro world or, as he expressed, “vn Mundo abreuiado” was reunited to enjoy the festivities:

las dòs Mageſtades de el Rey de Portugal y de la Reyna de la Gran Breña a ſu mano derecha, y en otro balcon el ſereniffimo Infante D. Pedro ſu hermano, en otros los Officiales de la Caſa Real, en otros la beleza de las Damas de Palacio, y otras ſeñoras de la Corte, en outro balcõ el Embaxador de Inglaterra, y en outro el Cōmiſſario de los Eſtados de Holanda; y viendose los tablados, y Plaza todo poblado de Miniftrós, Señores, y Caualleros cõ ſus galas, y de inumerable Pueblo, que haſta los terrados cobria parecendo un Mundo abreuiado. (ll. 91-100)

For the embarking and farewell to Infanta Catarina, Queen of England, a regulation had been prepared in advance with the convenient formalities, ceremonies and festivities, in particular the day of departure of the Princess. It was prepared with great detail and thoughtfulness and in the 14<sup>th</sup> April 1662 the Secretary of State made a public announcement of the ceremonies to commemorate this event.<sup>13</sup>

In the first days of March, 1662, a large fleet arrived in Lisbon under the command of Lord Sandwich, aboard the Royal Charles, to conduct the Queen to England. The festivities related to the embarking of the Portuguese Infanta, now Queen of England, took place with magnificent illuminations in the city, bullfights in the arena, plays in theatres and masquerade parties; a religious procession also took place and the *Te Deum* prayer of thanksgiving was recited, as depicted by D. António de Sousa de Macedo. After the ceremonies of the Holy Week and those of Easter had ended, some of the problems related with the dowry having been resolved, the holds of the ships filled with merchandise, and the festivities which went on for days having come to an end, everything was ready for the English fleet to leave. The young Queen embarked with her retinue on the 23rd

<sup>13</sup> See “Aviso do secretario de estado Pedro Vieira da Silva – 14 d’abril de 1662” (Oliveira, 336-38) and “Programma das formalidades que se haviam de seguir no dia da despedida e embarque da Senhora Infanta D. Catharina, Rainha de Inglaterra” (Santarém, 236-56). In *Relacion de las Fiestas* the author refutes that the arrangements for the ceremonies were fortunately successful but belatedly fixed: “Ques esto se ordenasse tan tarde, que no hauia tiempo para hazerse pareciò descuido, y fue prouidencia, porque se conociesse el amor de los Portugueses a sus Principes, y la fuerça del amor que acaba imposibles; no se sabe el como, hallòse dentro de dòs dias, que fue un Domingo, todo tan perfeto, como si en ello se tauajára d’s meses por lo menos” (ll.541-47).

of April, 1662, Feast of Saint George. Leaving the mouth of the river Tagus, the *Royal Charles* left Lisbon sailing towards the Atlantic Ocean, passed the difficult Bay of Biscay, went around the Isle of Wight to the port of the city of Portsmouth, where the first meeting with Charles II was to take place and the religious wedding was to occur.

The fleet, as described by Silva Tullio, included “quatorze naus, cinco sumacas com mil caixas de assucar (parte do dote), e uma barca de Cezimbra, que, por sua velocidade, quis o almirante inglez levar para amostra ao rei da Gran-Bretanha” (213). The retinue of Dona Catarina of about thirty persons included the Marquis of Sande, the Portuguese ambassador in England, and his secretary Francisco de Sá de Menezes, Richard Russel, the Queen’s chaplain and almoner, the Counts of Penalva and Pontevel, Francisco Corrêa da Silva, ladies of honour, countesses of Penalva and Pontevel, maids of honour, maid-servants, musicians and others.

There are some fundamental texts which describe the embarking of the Queen of England and her voyage, written by eyewitnesses of the events, some of them travelling on board, thus leaving us historical and literary records of the departure and the voyage specifically: *Relaçam dedicada A Sereníssima Senhora Rainha da Gram Bretanha da jornada que fez de Lixboa the Port-tfMouth*, a collection of Portuguese stanzas published in London, written by Father Sebastião da Fonseca, Master, Chaplain and President of Hospital Real de Todos os Santos in Lisbon at the time, *Relaçam diaria da jornada, que a Sereníssima Rainha da Gram Bretanha D. Catherina fez de Líboa a Londres, indo já desposada com Carlos II Rey daquelle Reyno : e das festas, que nelle se fizeraõ até entrar em seu Palacio*, an anonymous narrative account printed in Lisbon and *Iter Lusitanicum; or The Portugal Voyage*. With what memorable Passages interven’d at the shipping, and in the transportation of her most Sacred Majesty Katherine, Queen of Great Britain, from Lisbon, to England, Exactly observed By him that was Eye-witnesse of the same, who though he publish this, conceals his name, a long English poem by Samuel Hynde, published in London in 1662.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> There are other books or reports which mention the voyage but they are not exclusively about that issue, such as diaries, memoirs and other poems, the reason why they were not included in this brief study. The same could be said of a report sent to the Portuguese Queen D. Luísa de Gusmão by D. Francisco de Melo, the Portuguese Ambassador who negotiated the royal marriage and who travelled in the fleet which took Catherine to her new country, as well as a passage in Lord Sandwich’s *Diary*. Both these two texts are not easily handy.

In addition to these works in Portuguese and English, there are also some beautiful memorials of the magnificent spectacle on the Tagus River of the parting of Dona Catarina, her embarking, and her arrival at Portsmouth in a set of engravings by Dirk Stoop, a Dutch painter who had already painted a portrait of the Infanta, and which are important due to the detail of the historical representation and to their quality and esthetical value, since they allow us to visualize the moments referred to. According to Theresa Castello Branco, Catherine of Braganza and her retinue looked like a small Portuguese world or, in her words, “um pequeno mundo português lançado em terras inglesas” (Branco, 1971, 424).

The Fleet did not leave on the 23<sup>rd</sup> April as there were contrary winds and Queen Catherine and her retinue had to stay aboard during the night. Thus the festivals and the fireworks continued without interruption. Music could be heard onshore and on the river Tagus celebrating Queen Catherine's voyage to England. D. António de Sousa de Macedo, in his *Relacion de las Fiestas que se hizieron en Lisboa*, described the feasting at night:

La noche no quiso, en su tanto, quedar inferior. Alumbróse con tales fuegos en todos los nauios, que parecia que ardian las aguas; y el artilleria representaua vna batalla de los elementos; señalando más los Holandezes, por auerse offerecido a este género de fiesta. Y acabado aquel estruendo, el horror que dexara se bolvió apacible con los suaves cantos de los músicos de Camera del Rey, que desde la mar en bateles entretuviieron la Reyna grande parte de la noche. (ll. 717-24)

As on the 24<sup>th</sup> April the contrary winds did not calm down, Queen Catherine's brothers, D. Afonso VI and Prince D. Pedro, asked after her, wrote the anonymous author of *Relaçam Diaria, da jornada*, “a saber como Sua Magestade hauia passado a noite, & com ella foi até junto a Belém, aonde a Armada deu fundo” (ll. 19-20). At night the King visited her sister again, bringing his musicians to give their last farewell to Her Majesty who got up to hear the songs they were singing to her: “os seus Musicos da camera a dar as vltimas despedidas do mar a Sua Magestade, que se leuantou a ouuir os tonos que lhe cantarão” (Macedo, ll. 21-23). The Fleet left Lisbon on the 25th of April. Until that time Catherine was repeatedly visited by her brothers, the King and the prince of Portugal.

It was in fact **a stormy passage to England** due to the violence of the sea, the strong and contrary winds and the climate, in addition to the potential or eventual threat of attack by

the neighbouring country or even by corsairs, after passing by the North of the Iberian Peninsula.

The narrative *Relaçam Diaria da jornada* was written by someone who travelled in Queen Catherine's fleet and who reveals profound nautical knowledge, describing difficult moments of navigation as can be seen by the following significant excerpt:

Na manhã de quarta feira amanhecemos com hum Sudueste rijo, cõ que fomos nauegando até as dez do dia. Despois se mudou a Nordèste, & logo a Nornordéste, crescendo de maneira, que nos foi força força pôr à capa, por não perdermos a altura em que nos achauamos, que feria de quarenta graos. Do mesmo modo estivemos o dia seguinte, crescendo cada vez mais o vento, & os mares, com que a Almiranta perdeo pella menhã a vella de gauia, & à tarde a vella grande, & sobreceuadeira, h̄a fumaça o maſto, & a noſſa barca a vella maior, & ao moutro dia nos desappareceo, não se ſabendo até agora ſe perdida, ſe arribada. (...) Porém de ſenganados, & achâdonos mais emmarados do neceſſário, voltamos na volta da terra o dia seguinte, & affi indo os dias na volta do mar, & as noites na da terra, andamos aos bordos todo o tempo que nos durou a tormenta, que foi até a quinta feira pella menhã, em que com a Lua abrandou mais o vento, & o dia seguinte ficou em calmaria. **Foi notael a constância, & valor com que Sua Mageſtade ſe houue na tempeſtade,** não ſentindo mais que os primeiros dias aquelles ordinários mouimentos do mar, que ſentem ainda os mais experimentados nelle, & de q **nem o proprio General ſe liurou,** o qual por não faltar em couſa alḡa à affiſtência, & diuertimento de S. Mageſtade, vinha as mais das noites à porta da ſua camera com a ſua muſica de instrumentos, tocando peſsoalmente muitos delles com toda a destreza, eſpecialmente a Tiorba, & com vários diſcantes **entretenha a S. Mageſtade, para que ſentiffe menos os diſcomodos com q ſe paſſauão as noites.**

These last lines demonstrate a very complimentary note to the Queen of England (ll.83-86) and the author also enhances the visits of Lord Sandwich to the Queen paying special attention to her comfort and entertainment (ll.86-91). The author of *Relaçam Diaria da jornada* also mentions other difficulties caused not by the storm but by an encounter with adversaries who could not be seen in the darkness of the night, but who in daylight revealed themselves to be pirates:

(...) até que com a claridade do dia soubeffſemos adonde eſtauamos. Affi se executou, & pouco despois paſſou por nós hum

nauio pequeno, de quem, querendoo saber não respondeo outra coufa, senão que nos não entendia, & se foi desfuiando de nós quanto pode. Por este, & por outros finaes se aueriguou ser **nauio de Turcos**, que tambem infestão estes mares, & o mesmo deu occasião a que o nosso lhe atirasse aquella peça, que nós tiuemos por final de terra.

Samuel Pepys in his diary also refers to these threats. On the 7<sup>th</sup> April, he mentions what was said or heard-said in London about a hypothetic threat to Lisbon by foreign powers: "The great talk is, that the Spaniard and the Hollander do intend to set upon the Portugais by sea at Lisbone so soon as our fleet is come away; and that means our fleet is not likely to come yet these two months or three – which I hope is not true." (Latham & Matthews, vol III, 61).

Near Portsmouth, after the storm had gone, the first member of the English Royal Family Queen Catherine met was James Duke of York, the King's brother, who visited her aboard the Royal Charles. Catherine was very kind and dressed in the English fashion, showing a lot of interest in the conversation and cordially and spontaneously talked with her brother in law:

S. Mag. o esperaua na sua Camera sentada, & vestida à Ingleza de tela cor de cana, guarnevida de rendas de prata, & quando entrou S.A. o sahio a receber tres passos fóra do docel; quiz o Duque beijarlhe a mão, & ella o leuantou nos braços, & tornando ao seu lugar, estiuerão em pé falando hum pouco, sendo interprete o Bispo Ruxel. Despois, instando S. Mag. cõ o Duque para que se tasse em hua cadeira de espaldas, que para elle estaua, o não quiz fazer, & finalmente se sentou em hua cadeira raza, à sua mão esquerda fóra do docel, (...)." (*Relaçam Diaria, da jornada*, ll.256-63).

*Iter Lusitanicum: or, The Portugal Voyage*, is the only English poem to describe with great detail Queen Catherine's passage to England. On the first page the author presents himself as an eyewitness as he writes: "Exactly observed/ By him that was Eye-witnesse of the same,/ Who though he publish this, conceals his name". He signs as "S.H., a Cosmopolite", and after an epigraph in Latin the poet wrote a second epigraph in English: "Verses ask time, and leisure, but I'me tost/ With windes, and waves, and with cold winters blast", which suggests in some way that the conditions at sea were not the most suitable to the writing of the poem. The details depicted indicate that Samuel Hynde went to England in the fleet of England's new queen.

The author of the *Relaçam diaria da jornada* also mentions the English people onboard: “outras pessoas particulares, que el Rey de Inglaterra mandou para acompanharem a Rainha sua mulher.” (ll. 1-2).

The English poem begins with a dedication to the King (“To the King, His most Sacred, and most Excellens Majesty”), a dedication to the Queen (“To the most Serene and Powerfull Queen, the Queen of *Great Britain, France, and Ireland, &c.*”) and an apology to the reader (“The apology, to the reader”). The poem ends praising again the King and Queen (“To the King and Queen”), and addressing the Nation in general (“To the Nation in General”), presenting a very brief narrative on the history of Portugal, the Queen’s native country.

The poem is constituted by sections or small poems with subtitles which can be read as a sequence or separately. Some deal with the history of Portugal. Others, such as the following ones, describe the voyage in particular: “Her Majesty Ship’d on St. George his day” (ll. 217-52), “The Queen comes aboard” (ll. 273-98), “St. Georges Night” (ll. 313-58), “That morning we put to Sea” (ll. 389-428), “Good Wind and Weather” (ll. 429-36), “Across and contrary Wind” (ll. 437-64), “The Passengers in this Storm” (ll. 465-84), “A Whale neer the Ship” (ll. 485-500), “The Mariner’s Prayer” (ll. 501-534), “The Queens Courage” (ll. 535-62), “The reward of Patience” (ll. 563-82), and “On the Royal Charles” (ll. 623-720).

The stanzas designated as “St. Georges Night” describe in English and in verse the night Catherine of Braganza spent on the river Tagus aboard the *Royal Charles*, as *Relacion de las Fiestas* and *Relaçam Diaria da jornada* also referred to. During the night, the festival takes place ashore as well as on the river filled with many different kinds of ships and boats coordinated with nature, here impersonated as “Dame Nature”:

And yet no noise nor harm; what did appear,  
Was fitted to the *Eye*, and not the *Ear*,  
To please the Queen, the *Elements* conspire,  
That of the Earth, the Waters, and the Fires. (ll. 353-56)

The show of lights and fire was fulfilled with the music her brother brought her in a Royal boat next to the Royal Charles. Chorus, instrumentals, sonnets, epithalamia, madrigals could be heard over the Tagus river, everything to honour the new Queen of England:

Down comes the King in’s Royal Barge, amain

*Incognito!* with his harmonious train:  
To sing his Sisters Farewell, which was done,  
To Extasie, and Admiration.  
Under our gilded Galleries he floats,  
And there they advance their most melodious throats  
In severall Sonnets, which the Artist calls  
Epithalamions, Carols, Madrigals.  
*Thalia* to the Queen did here impart  
What skill in Musick lay, and what in Art.  
What comes from Instruments, what from the throats,  
Well warbl'd out in sweet-dividing Notes.  
The vocall Musick that we heard this Night,  
Had in't the Quintessence of all delight.  
Here was the true *Arion*, who, they say,  
Made *Dolphins* dance, and caper in the Sea.  
Hers was the *Orpheus*, and *Amphion* too. (ll. 363-79)

The third part of the poem starts with “That morning we put to Sea” and the fleet leaving Lisbon. The storm and the winds are terrifying in contrast with the music of the Spheres that has delighted the passengers before:

The very day was darknesse, and the Night  
Presented nought but horrour to the sight. [...] (ll. 455-56)  
The Face of Heaven was dreadfull; and the noise  
Of wind, and water drown'd the Sailors cries.  
'Larums of vengeance sounding in our ears,  
So lately fill'd with Musick of the Spheres." (ll.459-62).

And if nature brought the storm, and disturbed the sea and the winds, it also disturbed the passengers as the poet expresses in “The Passengers in this Storm”. The relief that overcomes everyone after the storm is introduced in the section “A Whale neer the Ship”. In “The reward of Patience” Hynde delights in the quietness and peace of nature, praising the ship, *Royal Charles*, which was the light and guide for all the fleet, as a character more in the passage to England:

Ships are Hermophrodites; we call them Men:  
*Charles*, *James*, and *Henry*; At next breath agen,  
She's a brave Man of War, here's one for all,  
Both the Worlds wonder, and her Admiral.  
The Royall *Charles*; the name o'th Faith Defender  
Admits Expressions in a double Gender. (ll. 623-28).

This poem expresses some of the issues usually present in the English panegyrical poetry about Queen Catherine of Braganza during her first years in England, such as the royal marriage, the symbolical and material wealth of the alliance, the bonds uniting two recently restored nations, an understandable curiosity towards the Queen chosen by the monarch and expected mother of the heir of England, and an initial interest for the history, language and culture of her country. What makes it different from other poems in the English language and other works of Portuguese writers is its comprehensiveness: besides its encomiastic characteristics it is simultaneously a heroic poem, an epithalamium, a narrative epic and a piece of travel literature. Unlike the already mentioned *Relaçam Diaria da jornada*, which contains a lot of technical detail about tides, wind, sails, ships, etc., Samuel Hynde praises the King and Queen and underlines the character of the new Queen and her retinue, the magnificence of her chamber aboard the Royal Charles, the ship itself, the beauty of the sea and landscape, the whale and the dolphins, and, the impressiveness of the storm and the beauty and quiet of fairy winds.

#### 4. Final remarks

*Here sits in Majesty Great Britains Queen.*  
Samuel Hynde, 1.707

“The reward of Patience” is the title of one of *Iter Lusitanicum*’s sections and can be seen as a summary of Catherine’s voyage. It was a voyage by sea that led Catherine of Braganza not only to Portsmouth but to a whole life as Queen of England. The stormy passage to England of Queen Catherine of Braganza may also be paraphrased by the words of Charles Boxer, a British lusophile, referring to the anglo-portuguese marriage: “With all its ups and downs, [it] symbolises both the vicissitudes and the enduring nature of the Anglo-Portuguese connection.”(30)

Catherine of Braganza’s life as Queen of England had, undoubtedly, political, economical, social, religious, cultural and literary consequences which go much further than the theme of this essay. Concerning politics she was much more influential in Portugal than in England, particularly as Queen Regent of Portugal on her return. In 1662, when she arrived in England, most of the spheres of influence were already taken, and she was young and inexperienced in statehood. As Queen Regent

of Portugal she exercised her power by supporting an anti-French feeling in what concerns foreign policy and contributed substantially to the Anglo-Portuguese negotiations which led to the signature of the famous Methuen Treaty of 1703.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> See Corp (67), Davidson (482) and Lousada (335-50).

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