

REPRESENTATIONS OF ELIZABETH I
IN THE PERIODICAL PRESS OF PORTUGUESE
ROMANTICISM:
FLATTERING AND DEROGATORY PORTRAYALS¹

Maria Zulmira Castanheira
Universidade Nova de Lisboa/CETAPS

The definitive victory of Liberalism in Portugal in 1834 and the subsequent abolishing of censorship prepared the ground for the implanting of Romanticism and for the flowering of the periodical press, which then opened up to contemporaneity (cf. Tengarrinha 473-564). The privileged intermediary for cultural contacts and transfers, the periodical press became, during the Portuguese Romantic process (here situated between 1836 and 1865, two dates around which there is consensus in terms of a timeline), a basic, uncontested means of approaching the 'foreign'. Acknowledging the great potential to carry out the modernising and civilising mission they set themselves, the founders and writers involved in the many journals and magazines published at the time used the periodical press to implement a programme inspired by two main guiding principles, that is, popular education and national progress. Such a programme of necessity implied the dissemination of knowledge not only of Portuguese reality but also of that of the more developed countries and the diversity of the world, with a view to

¹ This study 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. This paper was given at the 25th SEDERI (Spanish and Portuguese Society for English Renaissance Studies) International Conference, Oviedo, Spain on 15 May 2014.

making Portugal a more illustrated and open society.

The periodical press was the main reading matter of Portuguese Romanticism. It is, nevertheless, essential to consider the very low levels of literacy of the time: in 1864 only about 12% of the population was literate (cf. Serrão 27). We should, however, not confuse the segment of the literate public with that of the total number of consumers of journals and magazines, since the former benefitted from the group practice of listening to a single reader. This means that circulation figures, if they were available in significant number, which they are not — it is estimated that the most prominent titles published in Lisbon had a print run of 1,000 to 1,500 copies; the others, the vast majority, printed below one thousand copies (cf. Tengarrinha 621) — even if they did supply important information on the dissemination of the periodical press, they would not provide the true dimension of consumer numbers. Not only were these publications read aloud in the evenings as a form of cultural leisure in middle class homes (cf. Cascão 227-228), they were also read in a number of political and cultural socialising spaces frequented by men, such as associations, clubs, cafés, barber shops and chemists', which considerably broadened the sphere of individual buyers. *O Panorama* (1837-1868 with breaks), one of the most important journals of this period and which greatly helped disseminate Romanticism in Portugal, was especially successful on the national scale, since, as early as n°5, it had a print run of 5,000 copies. On the other hand, the fact that this magazine presented itself at its launch in 1837 as a publication 'for every class of citizen' gives us an important pointer as to its target readership: in accordance with its aim of cultural democratisation, there was the wish to reach 'every' individual (of every social class and occupation, of every type of taste), even those who did not have the competence of reading.

Informing and forming every class of citizen, with the aim of building a democratic society with broad cultural horizons, implied disseminating knowledge, both theoretical and practical, which Liberal utilitarianism viewed as indispensable for the enlightened and possible resolution of the ills of Portuguese society. Thus, in the pages of the journals and magazines of the time, there was a proliferation of texts on politics, economics, technical and scientific questions, but also literary, historical and art texts, many of which taken, translated and adapted from the foreign press, especially the French and British.

The research I have conducted over the past nearly three decades on the reception of British culture in the periodical press of Portuguese Romanticism has allowed me to note the

great frequency with which England appears as news. A maritime and colonial power on the international stage, initiator of major material gains, a permanent source of scientific and technological innovation which contributed to the advancement of human knowledge, Britain was newsworthy and of the utmost interest to journalists. In the case of Portugal, this interest was buttressed by the close political, economic and military ties between the two nations and which, during the course of the nineteenth century, underwent periods of great tension.

However, there was equal interest in the past of the old ally, to which Portugal was attached by a centuries-old alliance, an interest highlighted in the periodical press of the time, with history — among the many, diversified matters relating to Britain's hegemony which were at the time selected to feature in journals and magazines. This was, in fact, the matter which gave rise to the largest number of articles (cf. Castanheira, 2005: 481-513). Close scrutiny of the so-called 'instruction and leisure' periodicals and those in the category of 'useful knowledge' indeed makes it clear that history, both foreign and above all of Portugal, constituted one of the major concerns, with articles on English history strongly appealing to a distinctive feature of Portuguese Romanticism: its historicist tendency.²

For the Liberal-Romantic mindset, history was an abundant source of patriotic, pedagogic and moral lessons and an instrument towards a better, critical understanding of contemporaneity. Besides embodying this didactic value, it was also rich in characters and dramatic, tragic, thrilling, emotional or merely unusual episodes, which went a long way to satisfying the tastes of the time for the sentimental, sensationalist and anecdotal.³ Of the

² *O Panorama*, with its encyclopaedic vocation and published weekly, worked tirelessly to promote a taste for history. In the Foreword to Volume III of the second series, the editors themselves declare this important role to be that of the journal: 'Depois que a imprensa definitivamente se libertou da censura, foi o Panorama a primeira publicação do seu genero, que revocou certa afeição pelas cousas que o passado tinha boas e veneráveis, sem que por isso trahisse a missão de progresso, que incumbe aos escriptores que sabem quaes são os destinos da epocha presente' ('Introduccão' 1) ['After the press liberated itself definitively from censorship, *O Panorama* was the first publication of its kind which recalled a certain affection for the good and venerable things about the past, without, in so doing, betraying its mission of progress taken on by the writers who know the nature of the present time.'].]

³ The middle classes, usually not very educated and culturally not very demanding, represented the main consumers of journals and magazines. It should not be forgotten that the major impetus behind the periodical press in Romantic Portugal came in the form of the triumph of the political regime, Liberalism, defended precisely by the middle classes. As the latter's political and economic power enhanced their prestige, they began

many testimonies of interest in English history which abound in the periodical press of the period under discussion —accounts of past events and great achievements, biographies of prominent figures, anecdotes of famous characters, descriptions of places, monuments and customs of bygone days, transcripts of documents, curious facts, short stories, novels, dramas⁴ —, there is a large number of texts on the Tudor monarchs – especially on Elizabeth I (1533-1603), a queen who, over the centuries, has greatly fascinated literature and the arts.⁵ In this essay I will examine a set of articles about Elizabeth I collected from about 300 literary and cultural newspapers and magazines and will analyse the representations and image of the monarch, consisting of both flattering and derogatory portrayals.

The corpus I gathered, totaling 51 texts of very different lengths, some of which fictionalised, others more factual and objective, is quite heterogeneous in thematic terms.⁶ Although we find a number of more detailed articles which sought to inform readers of the historical and political context of the Spanish Armada and the religious events under the Tudors, in which Elizabeth's role in the English Reformation is examined and commented upon, there is a predominance of biographical detail and above all, of historical anecdotes and 'curiosities'. These evince moralising and comical components, or were simply deemed of interest because they provided specificities on the Queen's life and habits, brief stories showing her character and the outstanding features of her reign. With a view to entertaining readers, history is thus 'dumbed down', in a search for the unusual, exotic, witty. On the other hand, there is a strong tendency to touch readers' sensibility by exploring the 'soap opera' component of the turbulent Tudor period, which is rich in episodes involving power, treason, violent passions, adventure, executioners, victims, violence, cruelty, blood, sacrifice and death. Under this category, for example, we find articles

to aspire to cultural capital as a means of social valorisation and dignity, this cultural capital being to a large extent garnered from the periodical press, which addressed their interests and promoted their values. The strong moralising strands found in the textual corpus under discussion in this essay both derived from and reinforced the ideology of the ascending middle classes.

⁴ Despite their fictional content, the historical stories, novels, romances and plays evoke real events, characters and scenarios and thus create an illusion of truth, strengthened by the use of credibilisation strategies such as assertions that the texts are 'true stories'.

⁵ See Silva 2009.

⁶ For the complete list of the corpus, see Primary Sources at the end of this article. The vast majority of the articles is not signed.

narrating the attempt on the life of Elizabeth by a cross-dressing lady in the entourage of Mary Stuart and the last moments of the Queen's life when she learnt, to her fatal grief, that Essex (1567-1601), her favourite, had sent her a ring with his plea for pardon but which the person charged with delivering it had not done so out of enmity towards the Earl, who was then executed:⁷

Consternada e attonita volve a rainha á sua camara, lança-se sobre uma almofada; rejeita todo o alimento; e manda retirar para longe quantos pertendem suavizar sua dôr, ou aconselha-la a que recorresse á medicina. Quam triste era vêr a maior rainha do mundo despedaçada de pezar, sentada sobre a almofada, recostada a um dos seus braços, e com os olhos constantemente fixados no chão! Assim permaneceu, durante dez dias, prestando somente atenção ás preces, que o arcebispo de Canterbury junto della recitava. ('Scenas d'Historia' 75).

[Devastated and unbelieving, the Queen returns to her chambers, throws herself on a cushion; she rejects all nourishment; and she gives orders for the removal of all who seek to lessen her pain, or who counsel her to turn to medicine. How sad it was to see the greatest Queen on earth stricken by grief, sitting on the cushion, leaning on one arm, her gaze not lifting from the floor! Thus she remained for 10 days, listening only to the prayers which the Archbishop of Canterbury uttered at her side.]

In the illustrated press,⁸ the melodrama of such a portrayal

⁷ This was also the episode which inspired the only original poetical composition devoted to Elizabeth, a piece in quatrains titled 'Rainha e Mulher' [Queen and Woman] and signed 'A.F.S.P.'. It was published in 1859 in the journal *Archivo Pittoresco*. The melodramatic potential of the episode is underscored by the introductory note to the poem, which stresses the following: 'Isabel, rainha de Inglaterra, filha de Henrique VIII, e de Anna Bolena, tendo assignado a sentença e feito executar como rebelde o conde de Essex, seu amante, ficou possuida de profunda tristeza, que claramente manifestou antes da sua morte, conservando-se por espaço de oito dias deitada no chão em almofadas, com os olhos fitos n'um mesmo lugar, e um dedo posto na bocca impondo silencio.' (A.F.S.P. 327) [Elizabeth, Queen of England, the daughter of Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn, having assigned the sentence and had her lover the Earl of Essex executed as a rebel, was overcome by great sadness which she clearly manifested before her death, lying on cushions on the floor for eight days, her gaze fixed on the same spot and a finger on her lips commanding silence.]

Another article signed simply 'P.' even reproduces the last words the Queen is reported as uttering: 'Todo o meu reino, Senhor, por mais um minuto.' (P. 264). [My entire Kingdom, Lord, for one more minute.]

⁸ The illustrated Portuguese press, self-titled as 'pittoresca' [picturesque] or 'pintoresca' [painterly], emerged in the mid-1830s inspired by foreign journals which foregrounded

(which at a deeper level might be read as an example of the sacrifice of personal sentiment to the reasons and duties of State) could be emphasised by an image, and that is the case in the article quoted above, published in 1839 in *O Mosaico*; it is illustrated by a reproduction of Delaroche's 'The Death of Elizabeth I, Queen of England,' dated from 1828.⁹ However, even though the French painter used theatricality in his representation of the grief of those who surround the dying Queen, the profusion of decorative elements in terms of costumes, furniture and other objects drains some of the dramatic impact of Elizabeth's death.



the image as the means of communication most likely to tie in with the accelerated rhythm of the times and proved pivotal to the expansion of the popular press. From then on, several journals were published linking images to texts, with a view to addressing 'the eyes and thought' at the same time, as expressed by the editors of *O Panorama* ('Aos nossos leitores' 2). Historicism being one of the most prominent features of Portuguese Romanticism, it comes as no surprise to find, as we do, engravings inspired in historical characters and episodes, including Elizabeth I, in the illustrated press.

⁹ Paul Delaroche (1797-1856) attained great popularity in this time for the melodrama he imprinted on his historical scenes, many of which on English themes.

Another etching, published in 1851 in *O Jardim Litterario*, showing the Queen 'no leito de morte, abandonada, e em pavorosa tristeza, entregue ás mais terriveis apprehensões, representando fogos eternos para a devorar' ['on her death-bed, abandoned, and in terrifying sadness, in the clutch of the most terrible worry, representing eternal fire to devour her'] ('Isabel de Inglaterra' 109), however clumsy, may have touched readers deeply, for it suggests the image of the Queen as a great sinner and about to come face to face with divine retribution:



ISABEL DE INGLATERRA.

Interestingly, the thrust of the article does not judge Elizabeth as severely as other pieces I have gathered: there is an acknowledgement that the Queen, 'apezar de heterodoxa' ['despite being heterodox'], had her flaws but also 'muitas e sublimes virtudes' ['many sublime virtues'], and it concentrates mainly on the latter (forcefulness, wisdom, valour). Of great significance, however, is the concern of the author of the article in stressing that the figure of the Queen is very polemical and gives rise to ambivalent responses of admiration and hatred: 'A historia da rainha Isabel é seguramente uma das mais melindrosas e

dificeis a escrever por motivo da contrariedade de opiniões pró e contra ella.' [The story of Queen Elizabeth is surely one of the most delicate and difficult about which to write because of the disparity of opinions for and against her.]

Indeed, on examining the corpus of texts under discussion using the concept of representation as an analytical category, it becomes clear that the image of Elizabeth projected by it is constructed by means of discourse which at the same time flatters and denigrates, gaining meaning in the light of the Roman Catholicism at its root. In fact, if the mostly anonymous writers of these articles acknowledge Elizabeth's many qualities as a ruler – note the use of positive adjectives such as 'great', 'illustrious', 'intelligent', 'wise', 'valorous', 'firm', 'wise', 'skilful' –, they hardly ever fail to mention her as an enemy of Roman Catholicism, obscuring her image with very negative adjectives: 'ambitious', 'cunning', 'hypocritical', 'unyielding', 'cruel', 'spiteful', 'choleric', 'vain', 'envious', 'jealous', 'barbaric', 'pitiless'.¹⁰ This duplicity, in line with what has been the literary and artistic rendering of Elizabeth down the centuries, was developed as follows in one of the journals I studied:

O odio que ella tinha sempre testemunhado contra a Igreja Catholica, lhe tem procurado os maiores elogios da parte dos escriptores protestantes. É preciso convir, que ella tinha um espirito fino, e penetrante, que era muito hábil na arte de reinar, e que se fazia muitas vezes admirar dos seus inimigos. Conservou sempre gosto pelas bellas-artes, que ella tinha cultivado na mocidade. Fallava cinco ou seis linguas, e tinha traduzido diversos tractados do grego, e do francez na sua lingua natural. Mas além do seu zelo pelo scisma, e heresia, ella mostrou sempre um desejo ardente, e apaixonado de dominar, uma duplicidade sem exemplo, uma politica que lhe fez violar as leis divinas e humanas, sobre tudo na sua conducta a respeito de Maria, rainha da Escossia, finalmente uma dissimulação tão profunda, que a maior parte dos passos d'esta

¹⁰ Interestingly, very little attention was bestowed on her sister Mary Tudor in the journals under discussion, despite her being a Catholic, and she was usually depicted in equally dark colours. *Arquivo Pittoresco* devoted a biographical article to her in 1843 which presents an absolutely sinister portrait: 'Maria Tudor era huma daquelas mulheres, que por fortuna a natureza raras vezes deita ao mundo.' ('Maria Tudor, a sanguinaria' 360). [Mary Tudor was one of those women, whom nature fortunately rarely gives to the world.] She is given ugly and odious traits both physically and morally, highlight is given to the amount of blood she ordered shed, even her superstitious nature is denounced, and above all the story of Lady Jane Grey (1537-1554), her unfortunate victim, is stressed. Once again these features tie in with the taste for sentimentalism of the time.

princeza são inyngmas, que não tem podido ainda ser explicados. (Villar 234)

[The hatred she always displayed towards the Catholic Church has already procured her the greatest compliments on the part of Protestant writers. It must be granted that she had a refined and penetrating spirit, that she was very gifted in the art of ruling and that she very often garnered the admiration of her enemies. She always loved the Fine Arts, which she had cultivated in her youth. She spoke five or six languages and had translated several Greek and French treatises into her native tongue. But besides her taste for schism and heresy she always showed a burning desire to dominate, an unmatched duplicity, a politics which made her violate the laws of Man and God, above all in her conduct towards Mary, Queen of Scots, finally a dissimulation so profound that most of the actions of this Princess are an enigma which remains unexplained to this day.]

This quote is very representative of the two contradictory and conflicting perceptions of Elizabeth, which have tinged the posthumous representation of this Tudor Queen and which is very clearly formulated in the periodical press of Portuguese Romanticism:¹¹ on one side the image of the great and glorious sovereign, on the other the anti-image of a Queen who is very far from perfect, despotic and enigmatic. The special attention given to Elizabeth's death sentence regarding Mary decisively conditions the image projected, stressing the dark side of the portrayal. There are constant comparisons between the two female figures: the beauty, goodness and Catholicism of the Scottish Queen appear in contrast to the envy, jealousy, cruelty and heresy of the English monarch. In the articles under analysis and in others devoted to Mary in the journals and magazines of the time, she is described as the most illustrious and ill-fated of Elizabeth's victims, a martyr of the 'true Faith', able to bear terrible suffering thanks to her Catholic faith, which teaches forgiveness.¹² At the opposite pole, Elizabeth is represented as

¹¹ 'Characteristically, the variability, the paradoxes and contradictions that have been shown to underlie the steadfastness of the queen's contemporary and posthumous celebrations has proved a source of renewed interest, critically emphasized and welcomed rather than minimized or regretted. An irresistible critical *topos* concerns the irony in which the course of history has enveloped the queen's motto, *Semper Eadem* — "always the same": a constancy of attraction is found to be possible only because of the "infinite variety" that has empowered Elizabeth's allure against the plurality of times and spaces in which she has been received and resignified.' (Homem 8-9)

¹² On the depiction of Mary, Queen of Scots, in the periodical press of the time,

the executioner of her royal cousin, the symbol of a religion which bestows impunity on the crime and who 'dalli em diante foi olhada com horror por todo o mundo civilizado' ['from that moment on was looked upon with horror in all the civilised world.'] ('Maria, Rainha de Escocia' 87).

In a number of the articles I have studied, the execution of Mary, an event which cannot be dissociated from Elizabeth's image in the popular imagination, is at the root of interpretations that drain Gloriana of the qualities identified as feminine:¹³ in this regard, I quote from the definition found in an 1860 article written by R. J. F. d' Assis in *O Camões*, 'um ente indigno da qualidade de mulher e de rainha' ['a being unworthy of the quality of Woman and Queen'] (Assis 18). To the lack of compassion and sensibility other writers add flaws and vices which they designate as 'female weaknesses', notably vanity and jealousy, frequently appearing in a binary counterpoint to the virtues of the Catholic Mary. The scandalous sexual promiscuity of the Tudor monarch, another of her negative images which began to circulate even during her lifetime, is also occasionally referred to. It should be noted that exploring the Queen's amorous affairs and her private passions was a way of rendering her more 'feminine', even contributing to reducing the notion of control and authority traditionally linked to the exercise of royal power. The writer and literary critic António Pedro Lopes de Mendonça (1826-1865) does so humorously, no less accusingly for all that, when in 1851 he refers to 'Izabel de Inglaterra, virgem segundo diziam os lisonjeiros, epitheto que passaria á posteridade sem Leicester, e o conde de Essex' (Mendonça 1) ['Elizabeth of England, a virgin according to flatterers, an epithet which would enter posterity without Leicester and the Earl of Essex.']. Much of the discourse found in the periodicals of the time correspond to the spirit of what Julia M. Walker calls in *Dissing Elizabeth: Negative Representations of Gloriana* (1998) 'the less famous discourse of disrespect and dissent' on Elizabeth (Walker 1), much of it caused by religious prejudice or else by the 'venomous misogyny dominating pre-twentieth century studies of Elizabeth and her reign' (Walker 3).

predominantly describing situations of great emotional turmoil, such as her captivity and martyrdom, see Castanheira 2001.

¹³ Only one of the articles collected takes the view that Elizabeth had to order Mary's execution to protect herself from Catholic conspiracies seeking her overthrow: 'História de Inglaterra' (1843).

Arquivo Popular is the only periodical which quotes Elizabeth's powerful Secretary of State, Sir Robert Cecil, 1st Earl of Salisbury (1563-1612) writing about the Queen in 1603 in a letter to Sir James Harington (c. 1555-1614): 'Era mais que homem, e ás vezes menos do que huma mulher' ('Izabel, rainha de Inglaterra,' 1842: 382) '[she] was more than a man, and (in troth) sometimes less than a woman'. Flattering and derogatory at the same time, given the *gendered prejudices* of the patriarchal society of the time which relegated women to a position of inferiority, passivity and submission and allowed them the roles of wives and mothers, these words reveal a notable feature of the myth of Elizabeth. In effect, contrasting with other female Elizabethan aristocrats (such as Lady Jane Grey) who also appeared in journals and magazines and whose sex-related weakness turned them into ill-fated victims of Tudor politics, the Portuguese reading public was led to see in the story of Elizabeth the example of a woman of great political acumen, determination, bravery and leadership qualities, that is, a strong woman and sovereign because she was endowed with skills, qualities and virtues socially constructed as 'male'. Significantly, this article is illustrated with an image, possibly after a face-pattern by Isaac Oliver (c. 1560-1617), dating towards the end of the sixteenth century (Oliver portrayed the Queen at the age of 60). This portrait shows Elizabeth with a number of the traditional symbols of royalty (sceptre and orb, sumptuously dressed, bejewelled) and with an imperial bearing:¹⁴



Izabel, rainha de Inglaterra.

¹⁴ On the portraits of Elizabeth, see Strong 2003.

Exceptional in her ability to behave at the same time as a man and as a woman, King and Queen, such dual gender—‘a political hermaphrodite, not only a queen, but a king as well’ (Haigh 25) —, albeit finding legitimacy in the myth of the Providential monarch who was able to lead England to maritime and commercial greatness, bestowed on the image of the Tudor monarch a transgressive and ‘monstrous’ dimension: in the 1840s, the periodical *Universo Pittoresco* wrote that ‘a rainha se elevou por seu caracter até onde poucos homens ousariam elevar-se; e tambem como mulher desceu até onde a maior parte das mulheres se envergonhariam de descer.’ (“Izabel, rainha d’ Inglaterra”, 1844: 378) [‘the Queen raised herself, by her character, to heights few men would dare attempt; and, also, as a woman she sank to depths to which most women would be ashamed to fall.’] In their introduction to the volume of essays *The Myth of Elizabeth* (2003), Susan Doran e Thomas S. Freeman state that ‘Female rule was unattractive to early moderns as it represented a reversal of the natural (i.e. patriarchal) social and political order’ (Doran and Freeman 9) and that, as a result, Elizabeth, in affirming herself in a man’s world and playing traditionally male roles, found herself interpreted ‘as unnaturally ‘masculine’ and insufficiently ‘feminine’ (Doran and Freeman 13), a view which was conveyed centuries later, already during the Romantic period, as proved by the corpus of texts gathered.¹⁵

Interestingly, visual and verbal representations of the Queen can provide a sharp contrast, as shown in one of the articles I studied: ‘Biografia d’ Elisabeth, Rainha d’ Inglaterra’, published in *Museu Pittoresco*. In this 1840 article, prominence is given to the supposition that dissimulation, inflexibility and cruelty were the strong character traits of the triumphant Protestant Queen and highlight is given to her equally ‘male’ martial qualities, quoting what she is reported as saying in her address to the troops at Tilbury (1588), before the imminent Spanish invasion: ‘Conheço que apenas tenho o fraco braço d’uma mulher, mas anima-me a alma d’um Rei, e o que ainda mais é, d’um Rei de Inglaterra.’ (13) [‘I know I have only the frail arm of a woman, but I am imbued with the soul of a King, and, what is more, that of a King of England.’] I would draw attention to the difference

¹⁵ Susan Doran relates this androgyny with the speech at Tilbury as follows: ‘With the body of a weak and feeble woman but the heart and stomach of a king, as she put it, Elizabeth could embody both the nation (traditionally gendered female) and the crown (whose authority was conventionally likened to that of a husband over a wife)’ (Doran 257).

between the Portuguese version of these words (which may be explained by the source used by *Museu Pittoresco* and not by any deliberate manipulation by the anonymous collaborator of the Portuguese periodical) and the English original — ‘I know I have the body but of a weak and feeble woman, but I have the heart and stomach of a king and of a king of England too’ (Elizabeth I 326) —, which implies a diminishing of the affirmation of the ‘male essence’ contained in this speech in which Elizabeth identifies herself with her realm. In the same way, the illustration used in the article erases any suggestion of ‘manly skills.’ In it we see a Romantically idealised portrait in which the Queen’s beautiful and kind countenance and her sumptuous costume convey a femininity in keeping with the ideal of women prevailing in the nineteenth century:



ELIZABETH,
Rainha d'Inglaterra.

Another article, published slightly later in 1844, in *Universo Pittoresco* ('Izabel, rainha d' Inglaterra'), bears another engraving (French in origin, signed C. Legrand) which also constitutes a reconfiguration of Elizabeth shaped through a nineteenth century lens:



The representation of Elizabeth in the periodical press under consideration thus mirrored the different mythical images, controversial and conflicting, which gradually came into being, crystallising and perpetuating over time and which the Queen herself helped construct.¹⁶ Following tradition, she is presented as a wise, astute, warrior queen, an architect of England's

¹⁶ On the role of the visual arts in the construction of Elizabeth's mythical image during her reign see Strong 1999.

greatness who possessed 'manly' skills as a ruler, but she is also described as a jealous, ruthless, cold and calculating woman, thus 'unfeminine', a despotic sovereign whose reputation was forever tarnished by the execution of Mary, Queen of Scots. History and legend mesh, the sectarian views of admirers and enemies polarise opinions, admiration and revulsion come into tension, ideas on the fragility of women are unchanged; they are expected to remain chaste, modest and obedient.

It is precisely the singularity of the life and personality of Elizabeth I, a Queen regarded as the champion of Protestantism and associated with the origins of the British empire, which explains Romantic Portugal's fascination with the daughter of Henry VIII, another English monarch who also caught the special interest of writers in Portuguese journals and magazines. In about the 1840s, a second Romantic, or ultra-Romantic, generation, no longer revolutionary but conservative and adept at formal, worldly literature in line with the dominant values, gave itself over to excessive sentimentality, to the facile solutions of melodrama, to lachrymose scenes, to an insistence on nocturnal settings and funereal themes, to unrequited love and intense emotions, treated conventionally and expressed in affected, declamatory style, full of common-places. Thus the violent passions, political and religious intrigue, bloody episodes and the tragic fate of illustrious figures made of the Tudor period a fertile ground for exploration at a time characterised by such a taste for the melodramatic and sensationalist.¹⁷ On the other hand, that same time witnessed great curiosity in factual and fictional representations from history. As Rosemary Mitchell writes in *Picturing the Past: English History in Text and Image 1830-1870*:

The nineteenth century has commonly been perceived as the period in which a truly historical consciousness first developed. A sense of loss and discontinuity with the past fed a historical

¹⁷ It should be noted that the first Romantic generation (whose mentors were Almeida Garrett and Alexandre Herculano) believed that interest in historical themes could contribute decisively toward the preservation of the national heritage, its values and traditions, thus endowing Portuguese literature with the authenticity and originality it had lost when it slavishly imitated foreign models, above all the French. I here refer to the cult of the historical novel and drama, so prevalent in Portuguese Romanticism, and the fashion for things medieval, which also affected poetry. However, the values associated with such a vision of literature as a pedagogic tool and a pathway leading to renewal and cultural reform would, in time, deteriorate, as the ideals leading up to the Liberal revolution were undermined.

curiosity unprecedented in the history of the Western world. (...) Most historiographers and cultural historians believe this new historical culture to be rooted in the contemporary cultural movement known as Romanticism. (Mitchell 2)

From a Portuguese, moreover Roman Catholic perspective, the profusion of textual representations of Elizabeth, by the contours it acquired, must also be read in the context of the anti-British discourse which permeated the nineteenth-century Portuguese periodical press. By telling of events from her reign which were viewed as brutal and cruel and episodes deemed unedifying, a door was opened, more or less directly, into Victorian Britain. Although looked to as a civilisation which was in many respects admirable for the great material progress it had achieved, the Queen of the Seas was also often accused of being over-bearing and arrogant because of its rampant capitalism, its colonialism and expansionism which clashed with the interests of weaker nations, notably the oppressed ally, Portugal. Thus, a parallel discourse was at work, denouncing the contradictions of Victorian society, bringing to the fore not just its great accomplishments but also its ills (hunger, alcoholism, prostitution, crime) and attacking traits of its identity, notably its religion and history, both viewed as teeming with aggressors and executioners, acts of perfidy and lack of moral scruple. Divulging certain dark aspects of the Elizabethan era and of Elizabeth's personality, such as her vanity (a feature of her portrayal which was much explored in the nineteenth century, as attested by a number of 'historical anecdotes' to be found in the Portuguese periodical press of the time and which drains royal majesty from the Queen¹⁸), thus also served the purpose of stressing the negative image of contemporary Britain as a nation of oppressors and arrogants.

The writing of history is a literary construction, and representing through words, with their power of defining and classifying, perpetuated in the periodical press of Portuguese Romanticism the traditional, ambivalent image of Elizabeth I, made up of light and shadow.

¹⁸ See, for example, the following articles 'A lizonja bem paga' (1840), 'Decreto d'huma rainha presumida' (1842) and 'Ordenança de huma rainha vaidosa' (1842), listed in Primary Sources.

PRIMARY SOURCES

Corpus gathered, by chronological order:

- “Anecdota de Isabel Rainha de Inglaterra”. *Correio das Modas* (1807): 32.
- “Continuação do Tractado sobre a Igualdade dos Sexos. Parafo [sic] IV”. *Periodico das Damas*, nº 5 (5 Setembro 1823): 165-169.
- “O pobre que falla latim”. *O Recreio*, Tomo I, nº 3 (Março de 1835): 63.
- “Ultimos momentos de Lord Graham”. *O Correio das Damas*, Tomo II, nº 19 (1 Outubro 1837): 147-150.
- “Maria Stuard”. *Archivo Popular*, Vol. I, nº 31 (28 Outubro 1837): 241-242 [illustrated].
- “Carta de Maria Stuart rainha de Escocia, a Elizabeth rainha de Inglaterra”. *O Passatempo*, Vol. I, nº 12 (31 Dezembro 1837): 143.
- “Trabalho e paciencia mal applicados”. *O Panorama*, Vol. II, nº 37 (13 Janeiro 1838): 15.
- “Condições com que a Rainha Izabel de Inglaterra, socorrêo a D. Antonio Prior do Crato para subir ao throno Portuguez”. *O Recreativo*, nº 21 (21 Junho 1838): 162-163.
- “Uma Heroica Mulher”. *O Beija-Flor*, 1º Vol., nº 2 (22 Agosto 1838): 12-13.
- “[Cor do cabelo de Isabel I]”. *Archivo Portuguez*, nº 6 (15 Setembro 1838): 48.
- “Anecdota”. *O Beija-Flor*, 1º Vol., nº 7 (26 Setembro 1838): 56.
- “O projecto de regicidio malogrado”. *O Mosaico*, Vol. I, nº 22 (1839): 175.
- “Vestidos da rainha Isabel”. *O Recreio*, Vol. V, nº 7 (Julho 1839): 140.
- “Origem e data do uso de alguns objectos”. *Universo Pittoresco*, Vol. I (1839-1840): 203.
- “Anna Boleyn, ou Bolena”. *O Panorama*, Vol. III, nº 89 (12 Janeiro 1839): 14.
- “Morte da Rainha D. Izabel”. *O Mosaico*, Vol. I, nº 10 (8 Abril 1839): n. pag. [illustrated].
- “Scenas d’Historia. Historia d’ Inglaterra. Ultimos momentos de Lord Graham”. *O Mosaico*, Vol. I, nº 10 (8 Abril 1839): 73-75 [illustrated].
- “Biografia d’ Elisabeth, Rainha d’ Inglaterra”. *Museu Pittoresco*, Vol. I, nº 2 (1840): 12-13 [illustrated].
- “A lizonja bem paga”. *O Historiador*, nº 6 (11 Abril 1840): 47-48.
- “A Vingança. Origem do scisma anglicano”. *O Historiador*, nº 15 (13 Junho 1840): 116-118.
- “Grande armada hespanhola chamada INVENCIVEL”. *Archivo Popular*, Vol. IV, nº 36 (5 Setembro 1840): 284; nº 37 (12 Setembro 1840): 294-295.
- “Pequenas maravilhas da arte”. *O Ramalhete*, 2ª série, Vol. IV, nº 162 (18 Março 1841): 82.
- “O Annel do Conde d’Essex”. *O Recreio*, nº 5 (Maio de 1841): 93.
- “A Visão”. *O Correio das Damas*, Tomo IV, nº 18 (25 Junho 1841): 138-142.
- Cambiasso, Francisco Antonio de Sousa. “Biografia de Maria, Rainha d’ Escocia”. *Museu Pittoresco*, Vol. I, nº 15 (1842): 120.
- “Decreto d’huma rainha presumida”. *Bibliotheca Familiar, e Recreativa*, Segunda Série, Vol. I, nº 5 (1842): 62.

- “A Rainha Isabel d’Inglaterra e o seu bobo”. *O Recreio* (Março de 1842): 23.
- Marreca, A. de O.. “A batalha d’Alcacer-Quivir, e a Invencível Armada”. *O Panorama*, 2ª série, Vol. I, nº 39 (24 Setembro 1842): 306-308.
- “O Castello de Kenilworth”. *Archivo Popular*, Vol. VI, nº 39 (24 Setembro 1842): 308-310 [illustrated].
- “Izabel, rainha de Inglaterra”. *Archivo Popular*, Vol. VI, nº 48 (26 Novembro 1842): 381-382 [illustrated].
- “Ordenança de huma rainha vaidosa”. *Archivo Popular*, Vol. VI, nº 53 (31 Dezembro 1842): 423-424.
- “Izabel, rainha d’ Inglaterra”. *Universo Pittoresco*, Vol. III (1844): 378-381 [illustrated].
- “Bofetões históricos”. *Archivo Popular*, Vol. VII, nº 13 (1 Abril 1843): 101.
- “História de Inglaterra”. *O Ramalhete*, 3ª série, Vol. VI, nº 295 (26 Outubro 1843): 333-334; nº 296 (2 Novembro 1843): 341-343; nº 297 (9 Novembro 1843): 348-351.
- I have only noted the pages regarding Elizabeth, as this is a long article, published between January 1843 and June 1844.
- “Ultimos momentos de Izabel de Inglaterra”. *Archivo Popular*, Vol. VII, nº 32 (12 Agosto 1843): 254-255; nº 33 (19 Agosto 1843): 262.
- “Anecdota”. *Archivo Popular*, Vol. VII, nº 47 (25 Novembro 1843): 376.
- “Anecdota”. *O Jardim das Damas*, Vol. II, nº 6 (1 Novembro 1845): 96.
- “Isabel e o Bobo”. *O Jardim Litterario*, Vol. I, nº 16 (1847): 127.
- “Maria, Rainha de Escocia”. *O Jardim Litterario*, Vol. II, nº 11 (1848): 87.
- “Cartas da Rainha Isabel de Inglaterra”. *Revista Universal Lisbonense*, Tomo VII, nº 6 (13 Janeiro 1848): 69-70.
- “Isabel de Inglaterra”. *O Jardim Litterario*, Vol. VII, nº 14 (4 Abril 1851): 109 [illustrated].
- “[Ana Bolena]”. *O Interesse Publico*, nº 3016 (19 Maio 1851): 1.
- Mendonça, Lopes de. “Physiologia do spleen”. *A Revolução de Setembro*, nº 2750 (24 Maio 1851): 1-3.
- Dumas, A.. “Historia de Maria Stuart”. Trad. do francês por Maria Luiza. *O Correio das Damas*, Tomo IX, nº 12 (31 Dezembro 1851): 90-95; nº 13 (31 Janeiro 1852): 98-102; nº 14 (29 Fevereiro 1852): 105-110; nº 15 (31 Março 1852): 113-119; nº 16 (30 Abril 1852): 121-126; nº 17 (31 Maio 1852): 129-134; nº 18 (30 Junho 1852): 137-143; nº 19 (31 Julho 1852): 145-151; nº 20 (31 Agosto 1852): 153-159.
- “Isabel, Rainha de Inglaterra”. *O Jardim Litterario*, Vol. X, nº 5 (1854): 36-37 [illustrated].
- P.. “Derradeiras palavras de varios personagens notáveis”. *Archivo Pittoresco*, Tomo I, nº 33 (Fevereiro de 1858): 264.
- P., A. F. S.. “Rainha e Mulher”. *Archivo Pittoresco*, Tomo II, nº 41 (1859): 327-328.
- “Elizabeth d’Inglaterra”. *O Nacional*, nº 29 (7 Fevereiro 1860): 1.
- F., B.. “Uma mulher heróica”. *A Primavera*, nº 24 (23 Abril 1860): 1-2.
- Assis, R. J. F. d’. “Maria Stuart. Biographia”. *O Camões*, nº 3 (8 Novembro

- 1860): 18-19; n° 4 (15 Novembro 1860): 26.
- Braga, F.. “O Espelho Magico do Doutor Dee”. *Arquivo Familiar*, n° 27 (27 Abril 1861): 212.
- [António G. P. Villar]. “A Igreja de Inglaterra. Seu schisma no tempo de Henrique Oitavo. Por Um Academico”. *Luiz de Camões*, Vol. II, n° 25 (1864): 194-195; n° 26, (1864): 202-203; n° 27 (1864): 209-210; n° 30 (1864): 233-234.
- I have only noted the pages regarding Mary I and Elizabeth I as this is a long article with publication beginning in n° 2 of this second volume. The author’s identity was garnered from the Porto journal *A Primavera* which in n° 45 (17 September 1860) began to publish this same article with the author’s name. As it was not possible to consult other issues of this periodical, I was unable to establish whether the article was published in its entirety, as was the case of *Luiz de Camões*.
- Queiroz, Lorena. “Boudoir”. *Boudoir*, n° 6 (18 Janeiro 1864): n. pag.
- Jordão, A. Salazar d’Eça. “Captiveiro e morte de Maria Stuart”. *Miscellanea Recreativa*, n° 55 (Dezembro 1865): 18-20.

WORKS CITED

- “Aos nossos leitores.” *O Panorama*, Vol. IV, n° 140 (4 Janeiro 1840): 2.
- Assis, R. J. F. d’. “Maria Stuart. Biographia”. *O Camões*, n° 3 (8 Novembro 1860): 18-19; n° 4 (15 Novembro 1860): 26.
- “Biografia d’ Elisabeth, Rainha d’ Inglaterra”. *Museu Pittoresco*, Vol. I, n° 2 (1840): 12-13.
- Cascão, Rui. “Em casa: o quotidiano familiar”. *História da Vida Privada em Portugal. A Época Contemporânea*. Coordenação de Irene Vaquinhas. Direcção de José Mattoso. Lisboa: Temas e Debates/Círculo de Leitores, 2011. 222-252.
- Castanheira, Maria Zulmira. “A Grã-Bretanha na Imprensa Periódica do Romantismo Português: Imagens Polimórficas”. Volume II. Lisboa: Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas da Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 2005.
- . ‘Do Trono ao Cadafalso — Anne Boleyn, Lady Jane Grey e Mary Stuart na imprensa periódica portuguesa do Romantismo.’ *Actas do I Congresso Internacional de Estudos Anglo-Portugueses*. (Lisboa, 6-8 de Maio de 2001). Lisboa: Centro de Estudos Anglo-Portugueses / Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas, 2001. 629-643.
- Doran, Susan, ed. *Elizabeth: The Exhibition at the National Maritime Museum*. Guest Curator David Starkey. London: Chatto and Windus in association with The National Maritime Museum, 2003.
- Doran, Susan and Thomas S. Freeman, eds. *The Myth of Elizabeth*. Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003.
- Elizabeth I. *Collected Works*. Edited by Leah S. Marcus, Janel Mueller,

- and Mary Beth Rose. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2000.
- Haigh, Christopher. *Elizabeth I*. Second edition. London and New York: Longman, 1998.
- “História de Inglaterra”. *O Ramalhete*, 3ª série, Vol. VI, nº 295 (26 Outubro 1843): 333-334; nº 296 (2 Novembro 1843): 341-343; nº 297 (9 Novembro 1843): 348-351.
- Homem, Rui Carvalho. “Introduction”. *Gloriana’s Rule: Literature, Religion and Power in the Age of Elizabeth*. Ed. Rui Carvalho Homem and Fátima Vieira. Porto: Editora da Universidade do Porto, 2006.7-24.
- “Introdução”. *O Panorama*, 2ª série, volume III, nº 106 (6 Janeiro 1844): 1.
- “Isabel de Inglaterra”. *O Jardim Litterario*, Vol. VII, nº 14 (4 Abril 1851): 109.
- “Izabel, rainha de Inglaterra”. *Archivo Popular*, Vol. VI, nº 48 (26 Novembro 1842): 381-382.
- “Izabel, rainha d’ Inglaterra”. *Universo Pittoresco*, Vol. III (1843-1844): 378-381.
- “Maria Tudor, a sanguinária”. *Archivo Popular*, Vol. VII, nº 44 (4 Novembro 1843): 350-351; nº 45 (11 Novembro 1843): 359-360.
- “Maria, Rainha de Escocia”. *O Jardim Litterario*, Vol. II, nº 11 (1848): 87.
- Mendonça, Lopes de. “Physiologia do spleen”. *A Revolução de Setembro*, nº 2750 (24 Maio 1851): 1-3.
- Mitchell, Rosemary. *Picturing the Past: English History in Text and Image 1830-1870*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000.
- P.. “Derradeiras palavras de varios personagens notáveis”. *Archivo Pittoresco*, Tomo I, nº 33 (Fevereiro 1858): 264.
- P., A. F. S.. “Rainha e Mulher”. *Archivo Pittoresco*, Tomo II, nº 41 (1859): 327-328.
- “Scenas d’Historia. Historia d’ Inglaterra. Ultimos momentos de Lord Graham”. *O Mosaico*, Vol. I, nº 10 (8 Abril 1839): 75.
- Serrão, Joel. *Temas de Cultura Portuguesa*. Lisboa: Livros Horizonte, 1983.
- Silva, Jorge Bastos da. “Das representações de Isabel I de Inglaterra na Ópera e no Cinema.” *Via Panorâmica 2*, II Série (2009): 23-58.
- Strong, Roy. *The Cult of Elizabeth. Elizabethan Portraiture and Pageantry*. London: Pimlico, 1999 [1977].
- . *Gloriana: The Portraits of Queen Elizabeth*. London: Pimlico, 2003.
- Tengarrinha, José. *Nova História da Imprensa Periódica Portuguesa das Origens a 1865*. Lisboa: Temas e Debates /Círculo de Leitores, 2013.
- Villar, António G. P.. “A Igreja de Inglaterra. Seu schisma no tempo de Henrique Oitavo. Por Um Academico”. *Luiz de Camões*, Vol. II, nº 25 (1864): 194-195; nº 26 (1864): 202-203; nº 27 (1864): 209-210; nº 30 (1864): 233-234.
- Walker, Julia M. ed. *Dissing Elizabeth: Negative Representations of Gloriana*. Durham: Duke University Press, 1998.