

The marriage of Dom Miguel I to Princess Adelaide

By Malcolm Howe, GCMW

On the night of the British national census of 1851, taken on the 30th of March, Dom Miguel is recorded as living in exile with António Ribeiro Saraiva (1800-90), his penniless agent, in London, at 21 Nottingham Street, Marylebone, together with the Visconde de Queluz. He was styled by the enumerator *De jure King of Portugal* i.e. the rightful King of Portugal. The three Portuguese were listed, without any servants, as a separate household after the English family of eight and their house servant. Hence it is likely they were staying in the basement of the house, which would have had its own entrance from the street above. The Visconde de Queluz¹ had accompanied Dom Miguel during his first exile in Vienna in 1824, and returned with him to Portugal in 1828, when he was appointed doctor to the Royal Household. He was probably instrumental in arranging the marriage of Dom Miguel, although there does not appear to be any account of this on record. During the summer of 1851, Dom Miguel, together with Prince Albert and the Prince's brother, the reigning Duke of Saxe-Coburg, visited the Great Exhibition which had been previously opened by Queen Victoria on the 1st of May.

The Marquês de Abrantes² then arrived in London to accompany Dom Miguel to Germany, then aged forty-eight, to marry. The ex-King's bride was the twenty year old orphan,

¹ António Bartolomeu Pires (1795-1860) received the title of Baron in 1828 and was elevated to Viscount in 1829. The title of Queluz is related to the name of the Royal Palace outside Lisbon where Dom Miguel had resided when King – the Versailles of Portugal. He was granted a coat of arms in 1828, with the first quarter displaying the arms of the Infante Dom Miguel as an augmentation of honour. He was derisively nicknamed the barber (*o barbeiro*), as he used to have a barber's shop in the Campo de Sant'Ana in Lisbon, where he displayed on the curtain the royal mantle of Dom Miguel, with his coat of arms as the Infante. He had graduated in medicine from the University of Coimbra, and in 1817 was appointed the surgeon-adjutant of the Royal Guard of Police in Lisbon. He then joined the forces of Dom Miguel in 1823. The practice of surgery in those times stemmed from barbers' skills, and the familiar sign of the red and white barber's pole originated from a display of a white bandage wrapped round a stick painted blood-red. To this day, surgeons in England are styled Mr, rather than Doctor, as the profession originated in the Company of Barber-Surgeons. The Visconde de Queluz followed Dom Miguel to Rome during his second exile in 1834, and then went to live in Germany. In 1854 he married Princess Malvina, the second daughter of George Wilhem Ludwig, Prince von Löwenstein-Wertheim-Fredenberg and Princess Charlotte Sophie Henrieta Luisa, who was previously married to Frederick, Count of Isemburg, but they had divorced in 1830, and she died in 1864. In 1860, Dom Miguel elevated his title to Count with Grandeeship.

² Dom José Maria da Piedade de Lancastre (Silveira Castelo Branco de Almeida Sá e Meneses, (1819-70)) succeeded his brother Dom Pedro José the 5th Marquês, who died in 1847. His quinta at Benfica was then purchased by the Infanta Dona Isabel Maria (1801-76), who was the fourth daughter of King Dom João VI. She was Regent from 1826-28, and a strong supporter of her brother Dom Miguel. He succeeded the Count of Barbacena, who died in 1854, as Dom Miguel's Surrogate-Lieutenant in Portugal. The 6th Marquês had one son, Dom João de Lancastre e Távora (1864-1917). Also with Abrantes were João Maria de Figueiredo de Lacerda Castello Branco (1796-1858), the 2nd Baron de Beduido, Fidalgo Cavaleiro of the Royal Household, Major in the Cavalry in 1823, and Field Adjutant of Dom Miguel when he was Commander-in-Chief, and also José de Sequeira, who was the Minister of Finance (*Fazenda*) in the *Legitimist* Cabinet.

Her Serene Highness, Princess Adelheid zu Löwenstein-Wertheim-Rosenberg (1831-1909), whose ancestor, Maximilian Karl Albrecht zu³ Löwenstein-Wertheim-Rochefort (1656-1718), had been created a Prince of the Holy Roman Empire by the Emperor Joseph in 1711, with the rank of *Reichsfürst*, and the status of *Hochgeboren* - High Born and *Durchlaucht* - his Serene Highness. In 1712, the Emperor Charles VI extended the use of these titles to the family's cadets. Her grand-father Karl, the 5th Prince, whose wife, Countess Sophie von Windische-Graetz had pre-deceased him in 1848, died in 1849, when her younger brother Karl (1834-1921) succeeded as the 6th Prince, at the age of fifteen. Their father, Constantine, had died in 1838, following the death of their mother, Agnes, the daughter of Karl, Prince of Hohenlohe-Langenberg, a Protestant, in 1835. Both she and her brother had been brought up by their grandparents and her family called her *Ade*, which is the diminutive of her first name *Adelheid* in German.

The noble *zu Löwenstein* family dates back to the days of the Elector, Count Palatine Friedrich I, the Victorious (1425–1476) of the House of Wittelsbach. His legitimized children from his secret morganatic marriage in 1471 with Klara, known as Dettin, the daughter of Erhard Tott, a member of the City Council of Ausburg, were not able to inherit the Wittelsbach properties, so they formed a separate noble house. Ludwig I (1463-1524) was granted the County of Löwenstein, near Hilbronn, Württemberg, in 1488, and in 1494 he was created a Count (*Reichsgraf*) of the Holy Roman Empire. He also received the Lordship of Scharfeneck in the Palatinate of the Rhine. Count Ludwig III (1536-1611) acquired in c1600 the Lordship of Wertheim, near Mosbach, Baden, and the County of Rochefort, part of the vast *Der Mark* territory, which is now in the province of Namur, Belgium, through his marriage to Ann, the heiress of Ludwig, the Count of Wertheim and the Counts of Stolberg. After his death, the family was split into two main lines: the Protestant Löwenstein-Wertheim- Virneburg line, founded by the eldest son of Ludwig III, who married the Virneburg heiress (in 1812, Freudenberg was substituted for Virneburg, and this line resided at Kreuzwertheim) and the Catholic Löwenstein-Wertheim- Rochefort line, founded by the fourth son of Ludwig III. In 1803 the name changed from the House zu Löwenstein-Wertheim-Rochefort to Löwenstein-Wertheim-Rosenberg (purchased in 1730), and this line has resided in the castle at Kleinheubach ever since 1721. Their property in the Old Reich covered seventeen square miles, with sixty thousand inhabitants, and they also had extensive estates in Bohemia.

As a consequence of the invasion by the French, and the dissolution of the Holy Roman Empire in 1806 by Napoleon, the Löwensteins were mediatised, along with some 300 states, which were reduced to thirty, and they were deprived of their sovereign powers. Their territories were divided into the newly established Confederation of the Rhine, between the Kingdom of Bavaria, the Kingdom of Württemberg, the Grand Duchy of Frankfurt, the Grand

³ German noble families used either or both the prefixes *von* (meaning “of”) or *zu* (meaning “at”), and the two were sometimes combined into *von und zu* (meaning “of and at”). In general, the *von* form indicates the family's place of origin, while the *zu* form indicates the family's continued possession of the estate from which the surname is taken. Therefore *von und zu* indicates a family which is both named after, and continues to own, their original feudal holding or residence. Nowadays these terms seem to be used somewhat arbitrarily. However the Löwensteins were all styled *zu* in the authoritative *Almanach de Gotha*.

Duchy of Wurtzburg, and the Grand Duchy of Hesse Darmstadt. These were later reduced to four, in the wake of the 1815 Congress of Vienna i.e.: Bavaria, with Franconia annexed; Württemberg; Hesse- Darmstadt, and; the Grand Duchy of Baden.

The announcement of the betrothal with Dom Miguel was greeted with great joy and was celebrated in Portugal by those who had remained faithful to their former King. Notwithstanding the difference of twenty-eight years in their ages, it was considered to be a most suitable match, although both parties had lost their sovereign powers. A lithograph of the beautiful German Princess was sold out in Lisbon by midday on the first day of issue. Her arms, comprising nine quarters, were engraved adjacent to the Royal Arms of Portugal, surmounted by the Portuguese crown. The quarters represented nine territorial alliances. It was Dominik Marquard (1690-1735), the 2nd Prince zu Löwenstein-Wertheim-Rochefort 1718-35, who acquired the castle of Kleinheubach, which had belonged to the Counts of Erbach. He built the present magnificent palace between 1721 and 1732, which was designed by famous architects and sculptors with later neo-classical additions. The present owner is the head of the family, Prince Alois Konstantin, the 9th Fürst zu Löwenstein-Wertheim- Rosenberg, married to Princess Anastasia of Prussia, the great-granddaughter of the last German Emperor.



HSH Princess Adelaide zu Löwenstein-Wertheim-Rosenberg, with her German coat of arms of nine quarters, adjacent to the Royal Arms of Portugal.



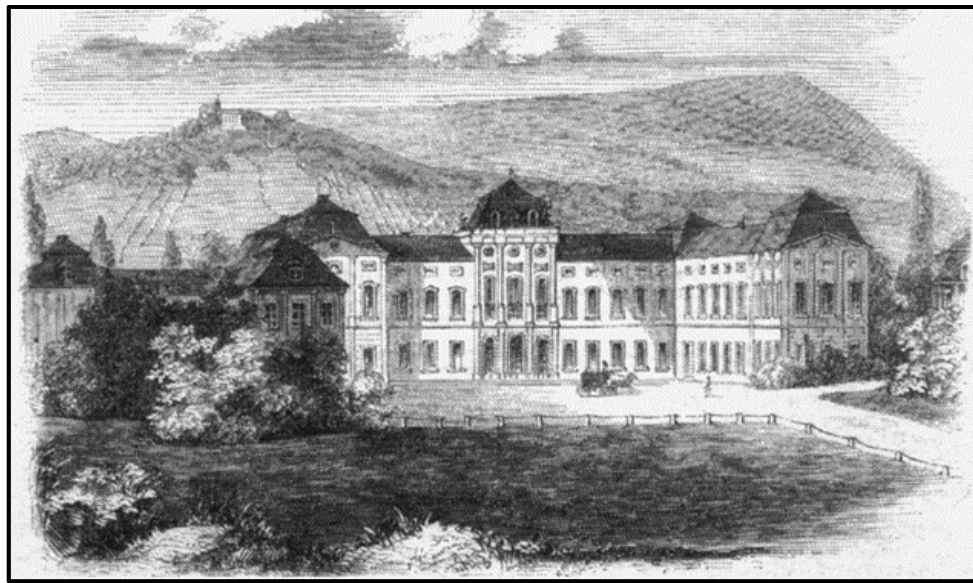
The Royal Wedding, on the 24th of September, 1851, at Kleinheubach, Germany.

On 24th September 1851, Dom Miguel and Princess Adelheid were married in the chapel of the palace at Kleinheubach⁴, and from then onwards her name changed to its Portuguese version: *Adelaide*. They lived in the palace with her brother, which was a far cry from a sharing a cellar in Marylebone. Although Prince Karl placed the whole of the castle at their disposition, they only occupied one wing. The Royal Family lived on the upper floor, where there were also rooms for their Portuguese entourage, including the Count of Bobadella⁵,

⁴ The following Portuguese were present at the wedding: the 6th Marquês de Abrantes; The Visconde de Queluz; the Count of Avintes, José Corrêa de Sá Velesco da Camara e Benevides (1830- ?) and his wife, whose title belonged to the Marquês de Lavradio, and was used by him as he was the son-in-law of the 5th Marquês. He was the son of the 6th Visconde de Asseca, and married Dona Eugenia de Almeida in 1849, the only surviving daughter of the 5th Marques of Abrantes; António Albuquerque de Amaral Cardoso; Luiz Candido Tavares Osorio, Colonel *Voluntários Realistas* of Fundão in 1828, and Colonel of the 1st Caçadores 1833, who fought for Dom Miguel and who strongly opposed the capitulation of Évora-Monte, and; João Pacheco Pereira.

⁵ The Count of Bobadella (1804-86), the former Minister of State and Adjutant-General of Dom Miguel's army, Dom Nuno Manuel de Meneses e Noronha, the second son of the 4th Marquês de Tancos (1775-1830), who was appointed Colonel of the 2nd Battalion of the *Voluntários Realistas*, who married Dona Joana Isabel (1804-30) in

and a chaplain and a secretary, Frei José da Sacra Família⁶. On the first floor below there were reception rooms, and the ground floor was comprised of the kitchen and servants' quarters. Housed in relative splendour, the Royal Couple nevertheless lacked income, due to the loss of revenue from their former estates. Although they lived in restricted circumstances, no Portuguese who asked for financial assistance was ever refused. When Adelaide despaired of meeting the family expenses and remonstrated with her husband, he only regretted that he did not have more to give. In fact, they were maintained by regular contributions raised in Portugal by the former King's faithful supporters, but, in 1850, the dictatorial prime minister of Portugal, Cabral, prevented sending the £40 each month from Lisbon to the exiled King, then residing in London.



Schloss Löwenstein, Kleinheubach in 1851

They were blessed with one son and six daughters, all born over earth brought from Viana in Portugal, and christened with Holy Water from the church of São Miguel at Guimarães, where the first King of Portugal, Afonso Henriques, had received the sacrament of baptism in 1109. Their first child, the Infanta Dona Maria das Neves, was born in the Castle of Kleinheubach on the 5th of August, 1852. On the 19th September, 1853, Dom Miguel's only son and heir was also born at Kleinheubach and later baptized, naturally, with the name Miguel. He was baptised by the Bishop of Guarda, and taken to the font in the castle's chapel by the Marquês of Lavradio⁷. Their third child, the Infanta Maria Teresa, was also born at

1829, the eldest daughter of the 3rd Count of Bobadella, Gomes Freire de Andrade e Cunha (1774-1831), who did not have any sons. The title of Count of Bobadella was created in 1758 for Gomes Freire de Andrade (1685-1763), a soldier and politician who served in Brazil.

⁶ Brother José da Silva Tavares (1788-1858) entered the Augustinian Order in 1805, having matriculated at Coimbra University, where he held a distinguished academic portfolio. He was exiled to France in 1834, and went to England in 1853 as a missionary, where he died at Brentwood, Essex.

⁷ Dom António de Almeida (1794-1874), 5th Marquês de Lavradio, an ensign in the Infantry at thirteen, who went with his family to Brazil 1807, and was Field Adjutant of Dom Miguel in 1823, and the King's minister plenipotentiary in Rome in 1834. He stayed faithful to Dom Miguel, whilst his brother, Dom Francisco de Almeida (1797-1870), the Count of Lavradio, who embraced the Liberal cause, was Dona Maria II's tutor in Paris, and also

Kleinheubach, in 1855. The titular Queen of Portugal, a deeply religious woman, who never saw her earthly realm, recorded for posterity a poignant picture of her husband's unfailing affection for his native land⁸. The local poor and afflicted still spoke of his generosity twenty years after his death. In spite of all the slander aimed at him, and all that he had suffered from the actions of his brother, she never heard Miguel say one harsh or bitter word against Pedro⁹ during the fifteen years of their married life together.



Dom Miguel I and Queen Adelaide, c. 1855

The former King arranged commemorative masses for the souls of his relations who had died in Portugal. Souvenirs from Portugal that were given to him by those who had been driven out destitute, and were regarded as precious, even be it a humble stone or a leaf from a tree. Anything consumable, such as fruit, cheese, or olive oil, was carefully saved for a special meal, when Miguel would extol the produce of his country. He would only wear clothes made

a diplomat. The Marquês published several books, including accounts of Secret Societies and the Holy Inquisition, and he contributed to the *Legitimist* journal *A Nação*, as well as Catholic newspapers. His great-grandson, Dom José Maria do Espírito Santo de Almeida (1874-1945), the 6th Marquês de Lavradio, was the Chamberlain and Private Secretary of Dom Manuel II, and accompanied the King to exile in England.

⁸ Her niece, Sister Ignez, wrote a biography, which was translated into Portuguese and published in 1936: *Princesa e Monja (A Viuva de El-Rei Dom Miguel)*, which was translated by the Conde d'Alvellos.

⁹ The same is said of Pedro regarding Miguel, but this does not accord with the wording of the inscription on João VI's first tomb, which was not repeated when their father's remains were moved to the Royal Pantheon in St. Vincent's, Lisbon, i.e. "one of thy sons slew thee, the other will avenge thee" (Hum filho Te assinou: o outro filho Te vingará).

from Portuguese cloth, and went threadbare, rather than use other more readily available garments. He frequently spoke of the beauty of Portugal and the great qualities of the Portuguese. When he read passages of Portuguese history to his family, tears would appear in his eyes, and he would conclude invariably with: “*How great were the deeds of the Portuguese! Now everything has fallen, and now it is the slave of foreigners*”. His love for his native land was his true passion, and he often said: “*If I knew that I should never return there, I would die from sorrow*”.¹⁰

Dom Miguel and his family then moved from Kleinheubach to live in Bronnbach, where his last four daughters were born. This Cistercian monastery, founded in 1151, is situated in Wertheim, but it had been secularized in 1803, and its estates and income awarded to the Princes zu Löwenstein-Wertheim-Rosenberg in part compensation for the loss of territories on the left bank of the Rhine that had been seized by France. The carriage panels of the former King proudly displayed the Royal Arms of Portugal, and thus everyone knew who he was as he travelled throughout Bavaria.

In 1858, a Jesuit Mission arrived at Bronnbach for ten days, with an Italian priest, who gave two conferences each day in one of the salons, addressing the King and his Portuguese servants. Dom Miguel had lived in Italy in exile from 1834 to 1846 and it was during Dom Miguel’s reign that the Jesuits had been allowed back into Portugal in 1831¹¹, and he was considered their great supporter. Three sermons were delivered every day in German, in the church, which were all attended by Dom Miguel. His wife remonstrated that as he was not fluent in German, that it was impossible for him to translate many phrases. His response was: “*Is it not written on my forehead that I understand German badly, but everyone knows that I am in Bronnbach, and if they do not see me in church, then they will believe that I have not credited the mission with sufficient importance, which follows that it would be a bad example. For that reason, it is necessary that I shall participate in the German sermons*”. They dined at midday before the first sermon began at 2pm in the church, which was packed with villagers. The heat was suffocating, and Dom Miguel struggled not to fall asleep, as he was not always following the thread of the religious dissertations. Heroically, he did not miss a single sermon during the ten days.

¹⁰ “*Se eu soubesse que nunca mais lá voltaria, morria de desgosto*”.

¹¹ The Jesuits had been expelled from Portugal in 1759 on the orders of the Marquês de Pombal, and their possessions were expropriated. Following the implementation of the Republic on the 5th of October, 1910, the Jesuits were arrested the next day, imprisoned, and expelled again from Portugal.



Bronnbach, c. 1858: the Royal family with their four eldest children.

Princess Adelaide's younger brother, Prince Karl, married Princess Adelheid von Ysenburg-Büdingen (1841–61) in 1859. After the death of his childless first wife, Karl then married Princess Sophie (1837-99), daughter of Prince Aloys II of Liechtenstein¹² (1796-1858) in 1863. They had eight children¹³. After the death of his second wife, he became a member of the Dominican Order as Fr. Raymundus Maria, in 1907, and he lived in the monastery of Venlo in the Netherlands. He was ordained as a Catholic priest in 1908, and the same year he gave up his title of Prince, and was succeeded by his son.

The exiled King returned to London in 1862. Always a superb horseman and keen hunter, he died in a hunting lodge in the Bavarian forest, at Carlsruhe near Bronnbach, on the 14th of November 1866, after a day's chase, in the company of his brother-in-law. During December 1866, memorial services were held throughout Portugal in some of the grandest churches, attended by his faithful followers. His devotion and the dedication manifested in all his actions made Dom Miguel a legend during his lifetime, which ensured the endearing

¹² Liechtenstein is an unusual State, which adopted the name of its rulers. It consists of two adjacent fiefs of the Holy Roman Empire, both bordering Switzerland, which were successively purchased by the wealthy Austrian Prince, Johan Adam von Liechtenstein, whose title is related to a castle near Vienna - Schellenberg in 1699, and Vaduz in 1712. His successor, Prince Anton Florin was recognized as the Sovereign of the hereditary Principality of Liechtenstein in 1719 by the Emperor Charles VI, to whom he had been tutor. Aloys II was the first Prince to visit his country in 1842.

¹³ Including: Princess Agnes (1866 -1954; Sister Ignez, who wrote a biography of her aunt Adelaide which was translated into Portuguese and published in 1936; Princess Maria Teresa (1870 -1935), who married her cousin Dom Miguel (II) de Braganza, the only son of Dom Miguel I, as his second wife; Aloys, the 7th Prince zu Löwenstein-Wertheim-Rosenberg (1871-1952), who married Countess Josephine Kinsky of Wchinitz and Tettau.

support of his followers, and the survival of the cult of his cause. Dom Miguel passed into posterity as “*The most Portuguese King of Portugal*”.¹⁴

A delegation¹⁵ of His late Majesty’s faithful followers came from Portugal to Bronnbach to pay their formal condolences to his widow and children. They were received in the great drawing-room of the palace of Bronnbach. Queen Adelaide, with her majestic bearing, wore black from head to foot, came into the room on the arm of her thirteen year old son, Dom Miguel (II), and was followed by her three eldest daughters. Turning her gaze slowly to each member of the Portuguese delegation, she then thanked them in a moving address.¹⁶ Dom Miguel was buried in the Franciscan Monastery of Engelberg at Grosssheubach, Miltenberg, which was founded in c1300, originally for the Capuchin Friars Minor. The Engelberg, the hill on which the Monastery stands, which is 250 meters above sea level, can be reached by climbing the 612 so-called *Engelstaffeln* (“*Angel’s Steps*”).

In 1879, Queen Adelaide wrote from Bronnbach to the Count of Redinha, the great-grandson of Pombal, to say that she could now sustain herself without the necessity of the generous subsidies that she had previously received from friends in Portugal, and she asked him to express her appreciation of their generosity. With all her children now married, Adelaide then realised her lifelong ambition, and in 1895 she entered the French Benedictine Convent of Saint Cecilia at Solesmes, Sarthe, as novice Sister Adelaide de Braganza, and she took vows in 1897, becoming Mother Adelaide.

The Convent was transferred to Ryde, on the Isle of Wight in 1901, when religious institutions were banned in France. There she was visited by Edward VII and Queen Alexandra, who were curious to meet the titular Queen of Portugal, who had become a nun. Mother Adelaide de Braganza sent condolences to Queen Amélia when she learned of the Regicide in 1908 and the bereaved Queen addressed Mother Adelaide as “*My dear Aunt*”. A year later, in September 1909, Mother Adelaide’s son, Dom Miguel (II), her daughter, the Infanta Dona Algundes, and her grandchildren, Prince Miguel, Prince Francisco José, and Duchess Sophie in Bavaria, the daughter of the Infanta Dona Maria José, and her niece, Princess Maria Therese, the second wife of Dom Miguel (II), visited her in the convent, shortly before she died on the 16th of December 1909, on their way to Scotland for the wedding of Prince Miguel to the American heiress Anita Stewart.

¹⁴ “*O Rei mais Português de Portugal*”.

¹⁵ The 6th Marquess of Abrantes; the 3rd Count of Almada; the 3rd Count of São Martinho; the 6th Count of Redinha; José Correia de Sá; Dom Luís Carvajal, and; António Coutinho de Seabra.

¹⁶ *O Occidental*, no 766 Vol XXIII, 10th of April, 1900; *D. Miguel e o seu tempo*, by Manuel Galvão, 1943, pages XXXVII and XXXVIII; *The Braganza Story*, by Malcolm Howe, 1999, Appendix 7, page 195, translated by Colin O’Halloran.



Sister Adelaide de Braganza became a nun in 1895, becoming Mother Adelaide in 1897.

In 1967, the mortal remains of Dom Miguel and Queen Adelaide were re-buried in the pantheon of the Royal House of Braganza, in the church of St. Vincent in Lisbon, in the presence of their descendants, including their granddaughter Zita (1892-1989), the last Empress of Austria and the Queen of Hungary. Magnificent satin palls embroidered with silk thread covered the coffins, displaying both of their coats of arms, which still survive to this day.

Dom Miguel's youngest grandchild, the Infanta Maria Adelaide, named after her grandmother, died in Portugal aged 100 in 2012. Only three generations spanned a total of 210 years from the birth of Dom Miguel in 1802, whereas normally three generations encompass merely a century. The descendants of the King Dom Miguel I and his Queen, Adelaide, include today the reigning sovereigns of Belgium and Luxembourg: His Majesty King Philip I of The Belgians and His Royal Highness the Grand Duke Henry of Luxembourg.



The 1967 satin funeral pall of Queen Adelaide, with the Royal Arms of Portugal on the left and the Queen's shield, representing the nine German territorial quarters.

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Malcolm Howe, GCMW, Trinity College Cambridge, 1959, formerly the Junior Treasurer and Secretary of Cambridge University Heraldic & Genealogical Society, published his account of the marriage of Dom Miguel I and of the armorial bearings of H.S.H. Princess Adelaide zu Löwenstein-Wertheim-Rosenberg (1831-1909), titular Queen Consort of Portugal, in the magazine "O Timbre" (The Crest) of the Lusitanian Academy of Heraldry in 2015. The magnificent armorial satin pall cloths displaying their coats of arms that covered the coffins of Dom Miguel and his wife Queen Adelaide when they were re-buried in the pantheon of the Royal House of Braganza in Lisbon were kept at Entroncamento, and they were especially transported to the Military Museum in Lisbon for the launch of the magazine in 2015. Copies of the magazine, illustrated in colour, are available on request from the Society's library.