

The Life and Times of Catherine of Braganza

Infanta of Portugal and Queen of Great Britain and Ireland

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Introduction

The ups and downs of the Anglo-Portuguese relationship since the signing of the Treaty of Windsor have been well documented in the pages of this publication over the years. In this context, the life of Catherine of Braganza stands out as a representative of both the positive aspects of this ancient friendship, and the tensions which sometimes threatened to end it.

The basic facts of Catherine's life are well established but not well known to the general reader, and sadly she lacks a contemporary biographer¹ of the quality of Antonia Frazer, whose biography of Charles II includes a good account of Catherine's life with the King. One of the reasons for this omission is the dearth of original letters from Catherine. She was not a prolific correspondent, and the surviving letters are mainly of an official nature. It is the treasure trove of official and unofficial documents that attracts the interest of the professional biographer. Despite this, I think that Catherine's story deserves the interest of all of those who cherish the friendship between our two countries. I intend to cover the period of her life up to the point where she returned to Portugal in 1692. Paulo Marquez' article *Catherine of Braganza; A Widow* covers the rest of her life, and I will refer you to it at the end.

Origins and early life

Catherine was born on 25 November 1638 in Vila Viçosa. She was the first surviving daughter of João, 8th Duke of Braganza and his wife Luisa de Gusmão. The Braganzas were the most important noble family in Portugal (João was descended from Afonso the illegitimate son of João I, the founder of the Aviz Dynasty) and had strong claims to the throne in a country which increasingly saw itself as an unwilling colony of Spain under its King Philip IV (Felipe III in Portugal). Catherine's mother Luisa was Spanish, from the Guzman family who had supplied the commander of the Spanish Armada. Despite this, she was profoundly loyal to her husband and to Portugal. The simplified family tree of this generation of Braganzas is shown below:



¹ The standard biography in English remains *Catherine of Braganza, Infanta of Portugal and Queen-Consort of England* by Liliias Campbell Davidson 1908.

By the date of Catherine's birth, Portugal had been governed by Spain for 52 years. The Portuguese had become increasingly discontented with Spanish rule, particularly when Philip IV of Spain began the process of completely integrating Portugal into Spain. A group of nobles began to plan a revolution against the Spanish occupiers. They decided to offer the throne to Duke João of Braganza.

A rather nice (but probably apocryphal) story is told about the circumstances of this offer. The messenger from the conspirators arrived on 25 November 1640 as the family were celebrating Catherine's 2nd birthday. When the offer was made, the Duke hesitated. He had already been summoned to Madrid by Philip IV, and he feared for the consequences to his family. His wife placed the infant Catherine in his arms and, when the child had kissed him, said: "How can you find it in your heart to refuse to confer on this child the rank of a king's daughter?"

João hesitated no longer, and the envoy left for Lisbon to convey the good news.

On 1 December a pistol shot marked the beginning of the Revolution, and on 3 December 1640 João entered Lisbon to the acclaim of the population. He was crowned later as King João IV of Portugal.

Lisbon

Catherine was now an Infanta (Princess) of Portugal. Decisions about her upbringing and education fell increasingly to her mother, and she decided to deliberately seclude her from the world of the court and of the city.

It is likely that Catherine was educated in the Convent of Alcântara which was just inside the Alcântara gate in Lisbon. She grew up a devout Catholic, a faith which she retained throughout her life.

Conflict with Spain

João was now fully engaged with the battle to preserve Portugal's independence – he spent the majority of his time at the head of his army on the frontier. His task was aided by the fact that Catalonia had rebelled against Spain at the same time, and that France declared war on Spain and signed a treaty with Portugal in 1641. By 1644 the first phase of the war ended with the victory of Montijo which established Portuguese control over the national territory.

Marriage proposals

Having secured Portugal's frontiers for the moment, Royal attention turned to arranging a politically advantageous marriage for Catherine.

Approaches were made to France (Louis XIV), Austria (John of Austria) and England (the Prince of Wales, later Charles II). All rejected the proposal. Charles I was sympathetic to Portugal, but Catherine's Catholicism presented a problem.

Later, Charles' defeat by Cromwell closed off further contact between England & Portugal for the moment.

In 1656, Joao died. He was succeeded by his son Afonso, but Joao's widow acted as Regent due to Afonso's age and mental state.

Portugal was still at war with Spain, and in 1659 she suffered a further blow when the French signed the Treaty of the Pyrenees in which France and Spain made peace with each other, and France withdrew her recognition of Portugal's independence. Queen Luiza, Catherine's mother and now regent, had always favoured an English marriage for her. With France no longer an ally, she made new approaches to the restored monarchy in London in 1660.

A magnificent dowry was offered:

- Two million Crusados, or about £360,000 (then, but approx. £50,000,000 today)
- The possession of Tangier on the Mediterranean coast
- The possession of Bombay on the coast of India
- Access to trade with Brazil and the East Indies.

Charles II's chief minister Clarendon was a strong supporter of the marriage, largely because of the dowry.

In return, Portugal was looking to England for diplomatic and military support against Spain.

Negotiations were protracted, but after a year, agreement was reached and the Earl of Sandwich was sent to Lisbon in April 1662 in the "Royal Charles" (ex "Naseby") to collect the Princess.

There was a problem when the only half the dowry was delivered to the dockside, and that this was in the form of sugar, spices and rare woods – hence the nursery rhyme phrase "Sugar and spice and all things nice, that's what little girls are made of." Luisa had had to spend the dowry money on the maintenance of the army.

The Earl decided to proceed on the understanding that the remainder would be paid in cash in instalments. In fact, it never was, but this was not uncommon in Royal marriages in the 17th Century.

Catherine embarked in the "Royal Charles" on the Tagus and set sail for England. The Fleet arrived in Portsmouth on 13 May 1662, and Catherine landed at

the Sally Port the following day. Having had a difficult voyage, Catherine's first request was for a cup of tea. She was told that tea was not readily available in England, and she was offered a glass of ale instead. She declined this offer – ale for breakfast was then as now not a welcome palliative for seasickness!

Catherine's reception in England

Catherine was 23 years of age when she arrived in England. She had had a very sheltered upbringing, and when she arrived she was accompanied by a "suite of over a hundred people that she brought to England (who) sounded more like the cast of a grandiose opera than something suitable to the informal English way of life: it included numerous confessors, a deaf duena, a Jewish perfumer and a barber. Her ladies-in-waiting in particular – 'six frights', wrote the wicked Comte de Grammont – aroused English national prejudice, in their vast skirts, known as farthingales, or Gardas Infantas, because no man could get near them"² (When this entourage travelled from Portsmouth to Hampton Court by road, large carts had to be hired because the Gardas Infantas were too wide to fit into a carriage). Although she was anxious to wear English dress, she had been persuaded to wear a Garda Infanta by James, Duke of York, who had initially welcomed her.

All this may have led to the suggestion that Charles remarked that his wife resembled a bat when they first met on 20 May. This is probably not true, since we know that the King was very complimentary in his comments when he wrote to Clarendon after their first meeting:

"Her face is not so exact as to be called a beauty, though her eyes are excellent good, and nothing in her face that in the least degree can shock one. On the contrary, she hath as much agreeableness in her looks as I ever saw, and if I have any skill in physiognomy, which I think I have, she must be as good a woman as ever was born. Her conversation, as much as I can perceive, is very good; for she has wit enough and a most agreeable voice. You will wonder to see how well we are acquainted already; in a word, I think myself very happy, for I am confident our two humours will agree very well together."

Charles and Catherine were married in two ceremonies the next day (21 May 1662). The first ceremony was a private Catholic one, followed by a public Anglican wedding in the Great Room of the Governor of Portsmouth.

It was unfortunate that the voyage had so upset Catherine's menstrual cycle that the marriage could not be consummated that night. Typically, Charles was understanding about this, writing to his sister Minette that ³"the fortune that follows

² Antonia Frazer, Charles II

³ Letter from Charles to Minette 23 May 1662

our family is fallen upon me, car Monsieur le Cardinal m'a fermé la porte au nez⁴, and although I am not so furious as Monsieur was but I am content to let those pass over before I go to bed with my wife, yet I hope I shall entertain her at least better the first night than he did you.”⁵ All the evidence is that Charles was a skilful and considerate lover, and that the physical relationship between Charles and Catherine became close and intimate, and that Catherine quickly fell in love with him

The first weeks of married life

After their wedding, the Royal couple travelled to Hampton Court for a Honeymoon. Catherine now adopted English fashions which were much less stiff and formal than she had been used to in Portugal. The King was attentive, teaching her English, taking her for rides, and boating on the canal in Gondolas given to Charles by the Venetian Senate in 1661. There was, however, a large cloud on the horizon – there were other women in Charles’ life, and one in particular was about to present Catherine with a serious challenge.

Two different upbringings.

Catherine was 23 years old at the time of her marriage. She was undoubtedly a virgin, and she had been deliberately kept in seclusion from Court life in Lisbon. Nevertheless, there is evidence that her mother, Queen Luisa, had prepared her for the wedding with Charles by letting her know about his history with women before he came to the throne. Catherine was not, therefore, ignorant or naive about him, but she assumed that, having sown his wild oats, he would honour his wedding vows to her. Unfortunately, she was mistaken.

Charles was 32 years old. His formative years had been spent during and after the English Civil War, largely separated from his parents – Charles I was imprisoned in 1645 and executed in 1649, while his Queen, Henrietta Maria, had fled to France. Lacking parental guidance, and in the manner of the age, he had had several liaisons with young women by his late teens, and by the time of the Restoration he had fathered four illegitimate children by three women. In this, he was no different to other young men of his time – Louis XIV had twice as many children out of wedlock as Charles.

Charles made no secret of his liaisons – “the ‘Merry Monarch’ was charismatic, charming and swarthily attractive – he was also, of course, the King! He was

⁴ “.because the Cardinal closed the door in my face”, a euphemism for the prevention of sexual intercourse during menstruation.

⁵ This is a reference to the fact that Minette had had a similar experience on the night of her wedding to Louis XIV’s brother the Duke of Orleans (known as “Monsieur” in France). Monsieur was less than patient about the situation.

surrounded by temptation and took no great effort to resist it. As Samuel Pepys noted, ‘A man with an erection is in no need of advice’⁶.

He saw no reason to change his behaviour after his marriage, as we shall see.

The Bedchamber Crisis.

For some years, one woman, Barbara Castlemaine⁷, had been his principal mistress, and she was determined to retain her place as “*Maitresse en titre*” to Charles. During the wedding and honeymoon, Barbara was sulking in London because of Charles’ absence in Portsmouth. She was heavily pregnant, and in June gave birth to a boy, who was quickly acknowledged as the King’s child. As soon as she had recovered, she persuaded Charles to put her forward as a Lady of the Bedchamber to Catherine. Catherine saw the name on the list, and quickly struck it off – Castlemaine was one of the names of Charles’ mistresses her mother had mentioned to her. The King persisted, and Barbara was presented to Catherine who did not hear her name at first. When she did find out, she collapsed on the floor in floods of tears, and would not accept the appointment,

The King was adamant that Barbara must be appointed. He sent Clarendon to Catherine to reason with her. At first, Catherine insisted that she could not accept her, and, amidst torrents of tears, she threatened to return to Portugal. Eventually, she recognised that she could not compete with Barbara in terms of hysteria and threats – Catherine’s strength lay in her sheer goodness of character, and she accepted the situation as the “best of a bad job”.

In August 1662, The King and Queen sailed down the Thames from Hampton Court to Whitehall in the largest water-borne procession until the recent Diamond Jubilee of Elizabeth II. Once in Whitehall, they took up the routine of the Court, with Catherine accepting Barbara’s presence as well as she could.

The first years of Catherine’s marriage.

It is clear that, after the Bedroom Crisis, Catherine made a determined effort to join in with the life of the court. She began to learn English with the teasing help of the King, who taught her English swearwords without telling her what they meant, and then listening with amusement to her innocently repeating them.

⁶ Antonia Frazer, Charles II

⁷ Barbara Palmer (nee Villiers) became Countess of Castlemaine, and then Duchess of Cleveland, but she is generally known as Barbara Castlemaine.

She adopted English costume, and enjoyed the fashion for dressing in men's clothes, particularly breeches which showed off her pretty legs, when "off-duty". She enjoyed masques and plays at court. She made a considerable contribution to the encouragement of English composers at the Royal Chapels in Somerset House and St James. She also introduced Portuguese and Italian music to the court, including Opera. She was an enthusiastic and talented dancer, and thoroughly enjoyed the balls and other entertainments at Whitehall.

Although she continued to prefer Portuguese over English food (but who wouldn't!), she took a leading role in introducing afternoon tea to England.

Edmund Waller, the "Cavalier Poet", wrote a birthday tribute to Catherine in 1680 which praises her for this achievement:

*Venus her myrtle, Phoebus has her bays;
Tea both excels, which she vouchsafes to praise.
The best of Queens, and best of herbs, we owe
To that bold nation, which the way did show
To the fair region where the sun doth rise,
Whose rich productions we so justly prize.
The Muse's friend, tea does our fancy aid,
Repress those vapors which the head invade,
And keep the palace of the soul serene,
Fit on her birthday to salute the Queen.*

She also introduced marmalade (or more properly mermelada) and tangerines (imported of course from Tangiers). Fine porcelain, which was used in royal circles in Portugal, was somewhat lacking in England and she corrected this at Court. She also encouraged the use of the fork at the dinner table – the English still used only a knife in many cases.

She found English food bland, and so she imported spices from Portugal to improve the taste.

Antonia Frazer details her slightly surprising sporting interests: "(She) also came to enjoy such typically English preoccupations as fishing and picnics. For all her slight frame, she was not unathletic, particularly for one who had been nurtured in such a claustrophobic fashion. Catherine's skill at archery was noted; she was sufficiently interested in the whole sport to become patroness of the Honourable Fraternity of Bowmen. In 1676 its marshall was awarded a heavy silver badge

engraved 'Reginae Catharinae Sagittarii' (the Queen was born under the sign of Sagittarius the Archer)⁸.

Lastly, she played cards (Bassett) with enthusiasm and skill, and accumulated a substantial sum in winnings!

The lack of an heir

Despite her accommodation with the realities of being wife to Charles II, one important aim of the marriage eluded her – the birth of an heir. Unfortunately, in the 17th Century there were few reliable descriptions of medical conditions. As far as pregnancy is concerned, Catherine is thought to have been pregnant either three or four times between 1663 and 1669. In 1663, observers merely recorded that she had been taken ill suddenly in the autumn. The illness was very serious, including a rash, and a very fast pulse. The Queen was delirious for some time, and “raved of pregnancy and childbirth. To the King, who hardly left her bedside, Catharine confided that she had been delivered of a ‘very ugly’ boy.

‘No, it’s a pretty boy,’ Charles answered gently.

‘If it be like you, it is a fine boy indeed,’ whispered the Queen.

There followed further rambling remarks on the same subject: at one time the Queen thought she had three children, including a girl who did look like the King. ‘How do the children?’ she enquired anxiously.”⁹

Some modern medical opinion takes the view that she had been in the early stages of pregnancy and had miscarried. In this view, she then contracted Puerperal fever (often caused by unhygienic conditions during childbirth or miscarriage), and that this in turn caused peritonitis leading to damage to the womb. At this distance of time, it is impossible to be certain. In any case when further pregnancies occurred in 1667, 1668 and 1669, all ended in miscarriage.

After 1669, the King gave up all hope of Catherine ever conceiving an heir. He remained on good terms with her, however, and regularly spent time in her company even if he had earlier visited one of his mistresses.

More mistresses!

During the 1660s, Charles continued his relationship with Barbara Castlemaine, finally ending the affair in 1670. There was a brief interlude in 1666 and 1667 when Charles fell in love with a young girl called Frances Stuart (no relation to the Royal

⁸Antonia Frazer, Charles II

⁹Antonia Frazer, Charles II

family) who had been sent to the Court to be a Lady in waiting to Catherine. Frances managed to resist Charles' advances, and in 1667 she eloped with the Duke of Richmond. Charles was not pleased, but Catherine liked and approved of Frances who became a friend. Frances was the model for Britannia on British coins.

Both Charles and Catherine enjoyed the theatre, and it was almost inevitable that he would pursue relationships with some of the actresses who were allowed to play female parts after the Restoration. The most famous, and long lasting, of these theatrical relationships was with Nell Gwyn, who met Charles in 1668 and remained a fixture at Court for the rest of his life.

In 1670 yet another pretty young woman arrived from France as a gift from Louis XIV. Her name was Louise de K roualle. She was to be another of Catherine's Ladies in waiting.

She allowed Charles to seduce her in 1671, and later became his principal mistress through the rest of the 1670s. She was undoubtedly acting as a French agent. The King created her Duchess of Portsmouth.

Nell Gwyn called her 'Squintabella'; the King called her 'Fubbs' (chubby), and named a yacht 'Fubbs' after her.

Charles also had relationships with:

- Moll Davis
- Winifred Wells
- Jane Roberts
- Mrs Knight
- Mary Killigrew
- Elizabeth Countess of Kildare.

'Then there were the nocturnal visitors introduced up the Privy Stairs by William Chiffinch, the King's confidential servant, and Page, Keeper of the Privy Closet. Their numbers, like their identities, remain unknown to history.'¹⁰

Catherine accepted that this was an inevitable part of Charles' character. She liked Nell Gwyn, and she became fond of the son she had by the King, to the extent that she supported him financially after the King and later Nell had died. She also made friends with the Duke of Monmouth, Charles' son by an earlier relationship.

When Charles' mother Henrietta Maria died in 1674, Catherine came into the possession of Somerset House on the Thames in London. She now moved between Somerset House and Whitehall to avoid the ever-present Duchess of Portsmouth.

¹⁰ Antonia Frazer, Charles II

The Whigs and the Popish Plot

From the moment of Catherine's arrival in England, there were people who objected to her very visible Catholic faith. As the 1660s came to an end, the queen's inability to produce an heir added more weight to the opposition, since this left the King's brother, James, Duke of York, a practising Catholic, as the heir.

Politics in England was turning against the King. The Parliament elected in 1661, known as the 'Cavalier' Parliament, had initially been almost fanatically loyal to Charles – in many ways, more royalist than the King. Over the years, a combination of disillusionment with Government policy and changes in membership through deaths and resignations began to alter the balance of opinion.

For the first time in England, political parties began to form. Those who supported the King were loosely called the 'Court' party, while the opposition were described as the 'Country' party. The main issues were twofold:

- Limits to the power of the King. The Country party were fiercely opposed to the idea that England should become an absolute monarchy like France. They wanted a constitutional monarchy in which the Crown was constrained by an effective Parliament.
- An antipathy to all forms of Christian religion other than Anglicanism. This included the various Protestant sects that had formed after the restoration, members of which were now referred to as 'nonconformists', but particularly the Catholic Church.

By the late 1670s, leadership of the opposition to Charles had crystallised around the diminutive figure of Anthony Ashley Cooper, Earl of Shaftesbury. Shaftesbury had been a prominent supporter of Cromwell during the Civil War, but had changed sides towards the end of the Commonwealth and supported the restoration of the monarchy. Charles appointed him as a member of the group of ministers called the CABAL, but dismissed him in 1673. Dryden described Shaftesbury as: 'Restless, unfixed in principles and place, in power unpleas'd, impatient of disgrace.....for close designs and crooked counsels fit'.

In 1678, Shaftesbury tried to persuade Charles to declare that he had secretly married the mother of the Duke of Monmouth while he was in exile. This would have meant that Monmouth, a Protestant, would have become the legitimate heir. The King refused to consider the proposal.

Into the febrile atmosphere of English politics at this stage, there entered the figure of Titus Oates, a criminally mendacious character who invented the idea of a plot by Catholics to kill the King in order to place James on the throne. Shaftesbury leapt on this unlikely 'Popish Plot', and used it to discredit James and also

Catherine. Oates had accused Sir George Wakeman, Catherine's physician, of plotting to poison the King, and for a time it seemed that the accusations would include the Queen herself. A Satire on 'Affairs of State' demanded:

Would you send Kate to Portugall

Great James to be a Cardinall....?

This is your Time.

Would you send confessors to tell

Powis, Stafford and Arundell,¹¹

they must prepare their souls for hell?

This is your Time.

Despite the fact that the plot was a complete fabrication, a total of twenty-four 'plotters' were sent to the gallows. Fortunately, Wakeman was acquitted.

Throughout the affair of the 'Popish Plot', Charles would have no criticism directed at Catherine. He said that 'considering his faultiness to her in other matters, it would be a terrible thing to abandon her now'. Catherine was aware of his support, and wrote to her brother Pedro, the King of Portugal, praising '.....the care which he takes to defend my innocence and truth. Every day he shows more clearly his purpose and goodwill towards me, and thus baffles the hate of my enemies.... I cannot cease telling you what I owe to his benevolence, of which each day he gives better proofs, either from generosity or compassion.'¹²

In the aftermath of the plot in 1679, Shaftesbury introduced a Bill in Parliament to exclude James from the succession to the throne. Charles now dissolved the 'Cavalier' Parliament, and called a new election. This is said to be the first election which was held under a party system, with Shrewsbury and his supporters being called 'Whigs' after Scottish Covenanters, and the supporters of the government being called 'Tories' after Irish cattle rustlers.

After a long struggle, Charles fought off the threat of Exclusion, and also defeated a bill proposed by Shrewsbury to force him to divorce Catherine. By 1682, he was able to dismiss Parliament and rule alone with the help of a subsidy from Louis XIV.

Charles' last years

¹¹ These were Peers who faced execution in connection with the Popish Plot

¹² Antonia Frazer, Charles II

The years from 1682 to 1685 were happy ones for Catherine. She was reconciled with Louise de K roualle, Duchess of Portsmouth, sheltering her in Somerset House from anti-Catholic action.

Catherine was also helpful to the children of Charles' mistresses. By the end of his life they had given birth to an acknowledged twelve children (he may have sired fifteen overall), and several of them were directly helped by the Queen.

The King remained in good health for most of this period, but on 1 February 1685, Charles had what appeared to be a stroke while staying at Windsor (in fact, he seems to have been suffering from Kidney failure).

He lingered for six days, suffering the painful and useless medical treatment of the time. Lord Macaulay described Charles II on his deathbed as being 'tortured like an Indian at the stake.' When Catherine came to his bedside, she was so overcome with grief that she collapsed and had to be carried to her chamber. She sent a message asking him 'to forgive her unwilling absence, and to pardon her if she had ever offended him in life'. When he received the message, he exclaimed 'Alas! Poor woman,' said the King. 'She beg my pardon! I beg hers with all my heart.'

Catherine met with James and urged him to persuade the King to become a Catholic. James knelt by the King's bed and sought his permission to send for a Catholic priest. Charles replied "Yes, with all my heart", and James left to find an English-speaking priest. In Catherine's room he found Father Huddleston, the priest who had helped to shelter Charles after the battle of Worcester.¹³

Charles was received into the Catholic Church, and given the last rites before he died on 6th February 1685.

Catherine's remaining years in England

Catherine was devastated by Charles' death, and the resulting loneliness. For many weeks, she did not leave her darkened bedroom. She did her best to persuade both her brother Pedro and James, now King James II, that she should be allowed to go back to Portugal, but both refused. She had to remain in England for another 7 years.

James initiated policies aimed at the restoration of Catholicism in England. Catherine was careful to stay out of politics.

In July 1685, The Duke of Monmouth, who had been exiled to Holland by Charles, landed in the South West and launched a rebellion against James. He and his supporters were defeated at the battle of Sedgemoor, and he was captured and

¹³ Antonia Frazer, Charles II

taken to the Tower of London. Catherine interceded on his behalf with James, but to no avail: he was beheaded on Tower Green later in the year.

In June 1688, she was present at the birth of the King's first son, the future James III (the Old Pretender). Catherine was his godmother.

In November 1688, William of Orange, who had married James' eldest daughter Mary, landed in England and overthrew James, being offered the throne jointly with his wife in what became known as the 'Glorious Revolution'. Catherine was treated correctly but coldly by William and Mary, but she had to endure the pressure of the Whig politicians who wished to remove her from Somerset House.

Eventually, King Pedro indicated that she could return to Portugal, but William refused to provide the fleet of ships required to take her back. William partially relented in 1692, providing ships to take her and her retinue to Dieppe. She left London on March 30 1692, receiving a ceremonial departure including a salute from the guns of the Tower of London.

Conclusion

Catherine lived for another thirteen years in Portugal, dying on the last day of 1705 while she was acting as Regent of Portugal. This part of her life has been wonderfully described by our late Chairman, Dr Paulo Lowndes Marques, in his article *Catherine of Braganza: A Widow* in the 8th Annual Report of the British Historical Society of Portugal 1981. I can only refer you to that text which I could not hope to equal. I wholeheartedly agree with the sentiments about Catherine expressed by Dr Marques in the last lines of his article:

'When the Queen died, ten thousand masses were said for her soul. This virtuous, warm-hearted and generous lady needed little of this. And with her death, masses stopped being said for her husband, King Charles, who surely stood in greater need of them'.¹⁴

¹⁴ Paulo Marques, *Catherine of Braganza; A Widow* 8th Annual Report of the British Historical Society of Portugal 1981