

Examining the Probability of Catherine of Braganza Popularizing Tea-Drinking in King Charles II's Court

Many countries around the world are often stereotyped based on an aspect of their cultural identity, often caricatured by foreigners. Arguably, Great Britain's largest cultural distinction is how much British people love to drink tea; the Brits' love of tea-drinking is unchallenged and unquestionable - it is a part of their everyday life. However, the one thing people never seem to question is how it all got started; who started the tea-drinking craze? The most common answer to who contributed to the rise of tea popularity in British history is Catherine of Braganza, the Portuguese queen consort to King Charles II. However, rarely is it defined how scholars *know* Catherine of Braganza started the popularization of tea-drinking. No one can provide a specific fact, answer, or source to back up the claim. This research paper focuses on the question: is there reason to believe there is a fault in the historiography of Catherine of Braganza's influence and ability to popularize tea drinking in Great Britain? The available evidence implies that there is questionable doubt on the historiography of Catherine of Braganza introducing and popularizing tea-drinking in Great Britain.

The storied tale of Catherine of Braganza introducing tea to Great Britain often claims she arrived in England to marry Charles II and brought tea from Portugal with her. Her change of scenery in England did not change her tea-drinking habit; she is credited with popularizing tea-drinking due to her influence as a queen on her royal court. However, Portuguese and English relations did not simply start with Catherine's marriage to the English King; her childhood also had a direct correlation to Portuguese and English relations.

Catherine was born to João the Duke of Braganza and Luísa Maria Francisca de Gusmão on St. Catherine's Day, November 25, 1638.¹ After a lot of pressure from his wife and a supposed kiss on the cheek from baby Catherine, João was convinced to lead a rebellion against the Spanish occupation of Portugal in 1640, since he was an admired leader and direct descendant from the old royal bloodline.² By 1644, the Duke of Braganza became King João IV, which made Catherine the Princess of Portugal. After ridding Portugal of the Spaniards, neither the Pope nor any Catholic nation recognized Portugal as an independent state. The only nation that respected or recognized Portugal as a kingdom was England. King Charles I of England supported and allied with King João IV of Portugal. It was from this friendship that King João boldly suggested betrothal between Catherine and the Prince of Wales. However, King Charles I

¹ Lillas Campbell Davidson, *Catherine of Bragança, Infanta of Portugal and Queen-consort of England*, (London, Murray, 1908), 1.

² Thomas Carte, *The History of Portugal, from the foundation of that kingdom to ... 1667, with letters of Sir R. Southwell ... to the Duke of Ormond; giving a particular account of the deposing Alfonso and placing Don Pedro on the throne.*, (London, 1740)

was wary and did not immediately agree, but Catherine's mother was set on the idea. Queen Luísa destined Catherine to become Queen of England and made it her life's work to prepare her daughter for it.³

With Luísa's expectation that Catherine would one day become Queen of England, Catherine was sent to a convent; here, she was educated in hymn-singing, embroidery, and prayer.⁴ Queen Luísa strongly believed that she educated her daughter on how to be a good wife and a devout Catholic. Luísa also believed that living for faith and satisfying a husband would ensure Catherine's favor with the public as queen, regardless of political and tactical knowledge, charm, courtly intrigue, and knowledge of the English language. While Queen Luísa pre-destined Catherine to be the Queen of England, her "fatal folly" was the lack of English training. Some claim that Queen Luísa's "fatal folly of her [daughter's] training was to be the ruin of her daughter's life."⁵ Catherine's education will be further examined in this research paper seeing as the education one receives impacts everything later in life. Catherine grew up narrow-minded, isolated, and protected inside the castle walls after the early death of her older brother who was heir to the Portuguese throne. She was forced by her family to stay inside the castle walls until she boarded a ship to England to fulfill her mother's dream. This upbringing, though well intended, created a future queen of England who was ignorant in court-etiquette.⁶

Just as Catherine of Braganza grew up in a time of revolution in Portugal, King Charles II grew up in a revolutionary time in England. Charles was forced to sneak out of England to his mother's native France during the English Civil War between Parliamentarians and Royalists. This move forced Charles II to become a young man under the ever-watching eyes of courts across the European continent. Instead of preparing to succeed his father as King of England, Charles II suffered in exile knowing his father was decapitated and that his beloved country was ruled by the Lord Protector of the English Commonwealth Oliver Cromwell, then succeeded by son Richard Cromwell. It is not hard to believe that when Charles II was invited back to England to become king, he had been heavily influenced by the French fashions of his cousin King Louis XIV and now he wanted to be the king who had it all – mistresses, money, and power. A king who believed in the divine right of kings, but lacked the required funds, Charles needed to marry well, or at least marry a bride with a large dowry. He had to settle for what he could afford: Catherine of Braganza.

³ John Heneage Jesse, *Memoirs of the Court of England during the reign of the Stuarts*, (London, 1857), 2.

⁴ Davidson, *Catherine of Bragança*, 16.

⁵ Ibid, 16 & 63

⁶ Jesse, *Memoirs of the Court of England*, 1.

Catherine of Braganza and Charles II married on May 21, 1662.⁷ This research paper will closely inspect the celebrations and ceremonies of her marriage, the reactions of the court and the public, documented observations of habits, and how she was treated by Charles II under varying circumstances, all of which provide insight into her ability to influence society. Most of this evidence and historiography has been neglected by many scholars; even Stuart England history expert Dr. Michael Young admitted this neglect.⁸ Therefore, many sources are secondary accounts.

Catherine of Braganza's arrival in England was highly anticipated by both the people of England and King Charles II's court. For the Portuguese, the union between England and Portugal was cause for a seven-day celebration, despite the financial state of poverty of Lisbon and its court.⁹ Catherine's proposed dowry included: £500,000, the African colony of Tangier in the Mediterranean, the Indian colony of Bombay, and permission for English ships to trade directly with Portugal's South American colony Brazil. While this may not suggest monetary struggle, it is important to note that Tangier and Bombay were considered a burden to Portugal due to their inability to fight off the attacking Dutch and Spanish. In addition, the Earl of Sandwich later learned that the promised £500,000 was presented in goods like sugar, spices, and fabric, instead of actual silver or gold. In a book dedicated to Catherine later in her life by Manuel de Faria, translated into English by Captain John Stevens, Portuguese struggle was inevitable due to its Golden Age of success: "Hence it is that those who are to overcome, though they lose the Field do not lose the Glory."¹⁰ Portugal was so successful and had conquered so much that other nations, namely Spain and Holland, tried to overtake Portugal and its colonies due to the intense competition it had created. Conquerors became conquered, but the Portuguese went down in history as having had a glorious golden age. With its new English ally, and freedom from its troubled colonies, there is no denying the benefits Portugal gained from its matrimony to England.

Despite the lack of first-hand documentation of Catherine's thoughts and experiences, it is easy to empathize with the situation into which she was thrown as a result of her marriage. Her convent education and protective family did not even allow Catherine an opportunity to explore her beautiful home city of Lisbon. Instead, a few short days after the Earl of Sandwich's arrival, she began her voyage to England. She did not speak a word of English and had never

⁷ Agnes Strickland, *Lives of the Queens of England, from the Norman Conquest [to the Death of Queen Anne]; with Anecdotes of Their Courts*, vol. VIII (London, 1840), 301.

⁸ In an email correspondence seeking help in information on Catherine of Braganza, Professor Michael Young confirmed "that precious little work has been done on Catherine." –November 11th 2019

⁹ Lorraine Madway, *Rites of Deliverance and Disenchantment: The Marriage Celebrations for Charles II and Catherine of Braganza, 1661-1662* (London, 2012), 83.

¹⁰ Manuel de Faria y Sousa translated by Captain John Stevens *The Portugues Asia: or the history of the Discovery and Conquest of India By the Portugues (vol. 1) Written in Spanish* (London, 1694), 1.

journeyed beyond her mother's watchful eye. The Earl of Sandwich escorted Catherine to England because she had refused to marry without her husband present and was returning from securing the final installment of the dowry, Tangier and Bombay transitioned into England's possession.¹¹ Common tales that declare Catherine introduced tea to Great Britain rely on her circumstances as a reason for drinking tea; tales claim tea-drinking soothed her and reminded her of home. In addition, many claim that the importance of Bombay as a tea producing colony for England is also connected to her influence, but people fail to note that this fact does not pertain to the contemporary time of Catherine of Braganza.

The celebration of Catherine's marriage to Charles II by the Portuguese is undeniable, but the English celebration of the royal wedding has varying tonal responses according to accessible records. Royal marriages of the seventeenth century were not typically public celebrations. However, as a king struggling with popularity and as a newly restored monarch, it would have been in King Charles' best interest to publicize the wedding and encourage celebration.¹² Some accounts declare that their union was the first royal marriage marketed for public consumption, in spite of all of the privacy.¹³ Others recount immediate celebrations upon Catherine's landing: "On the news of the queen's landing all the bells in London rang, and bonfires were kindled for joy of her arrival."¹⁴ However, there are also accounts comparing how past kings spent more money and celebration time on the weddings of their daughters than Charles did on Catherine. With the varying historiography on this key event of marriage, future historiography after marriage becomes even more questionable, including Catherine's influence popularizing tea-drinking.

Looking deeper into the English marriage celebrations, one can consider the common people, King Charles II himself, and his court. It is without doubt that the English Crown was impoverished. Charles II grew up in exile, and his father's reign ended in tragedy; Charles II did not have a source of income to sustain his desired lifestyle or the way he wanted to rule.¹⁵ Most of his selection of Catherine to be his bride pointed to the handsome dowry the Portuguese were offering. Despite many years in exile, Charles wanted to be treated like the absolute king he was born to be, heavily influenced by his cousin Louis XIV. One of the things that held him

¹¹ Madway, *Rites of Deliverance and Disenchantment*, 86.

¹² Madway, *Rites of Deliverance and Disenchantment*, 89.

¹³ *Ibid*, 95

¹⁴ Strickland, *Lives of the Queens of England* vol. VIII, 301.

¹⁵ By the time of Charles II's rule "Parliament had learned from the extravagant personalities of Charles I and his father James I, and they significantly limited the amount of money that they voted their new monarch. [...]oting Charles less money was the simple fact that it would guarantee that Parliament met more often. If the king dissolved Parliament whenever he wished, then they would only stay dissolved for as long as he could fund his affairs, after which he would need them to approve giving him more money. Parliament was called in every year but two between 1660 and 1681." Nathan C. Hackney, "The Political Consequences of King Charles II's Catholic Sympathies in Restoration England." *Tenor of Our Times* vol. VI, (Harding University, 2017), 58–65.

back from this absolute monarchy was lack of funds; therefore he selected the largest offered dowry. The public and historians cite this union as a selection based on a money-hungry English king. Even Charles' marriage announcement to Parliament was dry and left something to be desired, further proving his true priority.¹⁶ One can interpret the king's dispassionate message about his impending marriage as permission for the court and public to also be disinterested. If supposed disinterest is not enough, Parliament was unhappy and protested the engagement because Catherine was a Catholic; it even tried to convince Charles to select a German or other Protestant princess instead.

To further the argument of disinterest and discontent resulting from Catherine's marriage to Charles II, one can refer to how she was welcomed into England. Although there are accounts citing "all the bells in London rang, and bonfires were kindled for joy of her arrival,"¹⁷ Catherine was actually met by the Duke of York, Charles' younger brother, on the Isle of Wight.¹⁸ Charles was more concerned with finishing up work and passing legislation with Parliament to adjourn meeting until the winter months, allowing more time for him to focus on his new wife and married life. Five days after her arrival, Charles finally left London to meet Catherine, riding through the night with little rest to make the trip in two days' time.¹⁹

Catherine of Braganza had become briefly ill on her third day in England and was still recovering by the time Charles II arrived, so their first meeting was in her bedchamber. Communicating in their shared tongue of Spanish, Charles II is known to have left his bride-to-be completely enamored with her and her wit.²⁰ On May 21, 1662, Catherine and Charles II were married, first in a secret Catholic ceremony and, unbeknownst to the non-Portuguese court,²¹ publicly in a second Protestant ceremony. Charles II, as the head of the Church of England, undermined his authority by marrying Catherine in a secret Catholic ceremony.²² However, it was the only thing Catherine had asked for in her marriage (to be married in the Catholic faith by a Catholic priest)²³ and was of no bother to Charles who was secretly a Catholic. Charles being Catholic is no grand surprise considering his mother was a French-

¹⁶ Davidson, *Catherine of Bragança*, 57.

¹⁷ *Ibid*, 301.

¹⁸ Jesse, *Memoirs of the Court of England*, vol. 3.

¹⁹ Strickland, *Lives of the Queens of England* vol. VIII, 301.

²⁰ Davidson, *Catherine of Bragança*, 97.

²¹ The secret Catholic ceremony was attended by the Portuguese Ambassador who was also Catherine's godfather, three Portuguese nobles and two or three of Catherine's ladies in waiting, along with the Catholic priest, bride and groom. This was done on behalf of Catherine and reported back to her mother so that she would know the marriage happened properly in the Catholic faith before anything else. No one in the English court knew about the first wedding and it was not until King Charles II's death that even his most loyal followers discovered he was secretly a Catholic.

²² Madway, *Rites of Deliverance and Disenchantment*, 91.

²³ Jesse, *Memoirs of the Court of England* vol. 3, 29.

Catholic and he spent most of his upbringing after exile in the French-Catholic court, although it did lay out an interesting dynamic between him, the people, and the Church of England.

Catherine and Charles were married (again) in the Church of England. In that ceremony, to which Catherine stayed silent, nodded her head and simply signed documents because she did not speak or understand English. At the public ceremony she had worn a rose colored dress with blue ribbons all over; once the ceremony was over the ribbons were then cut off and fought over by people who were at the ceremony as a souvenir.²⁴ These ribbons were predecessors to what modern weddings consider wedding favors. The wedding of King Charles II and his Queen Consort Catherine of Braganza is perhaps the first example of the general public wanting to know everything about the royal wedding and showing an overall interest in royals getting married. Granted, this was the restoration of the crown and monarchy. In Restoration England, after years of oppressive reign under the Commonwealth,²⁵ anything and everything the royals were doing was of interest. While court and King Charles may have originally been of no particular opinion or level of excitement, the common people found much joy and excitement in royal affairs. Across the country, people, especially English traders, thought this marriage was “the most beneficiallest trade that ever our nation was engaged in.”²⁶ Engraver and artist Dirk Stoop even did a “valuable series of seven plates representing Catherine’s journey to England [which] are of the highest help and importance in giving an exact picture of the times and events.”²⁷ The series of plates depicts crowds trying to get even a glimpse of the royal couple, along the river Thames, and hosting celebrations along the way from Portsmouth to Hampton Court Palace.²⁸

There was indeed lavish water pageantry on Thames to welcome Charles II and Portuguese Queen Catherine of Braganza to Whitehall for all the public to see.²⁹ Confirmation of the spectacle is written in John Evelyn’s diary, one of the two great contemporary social historian writers of Restoration England. On the 23rd of August 1662, Evelyn writes,

“I was spectator of the most magnificent triumph that ever floated on the Thames, considering the innumerable boats and vessels, dressed and adorned with all imaginable pomp, but, above all, the thrones, arches, pageants, and other representations, stately barges of the Lord Mayor and Companies wit[h] various inventions, music and peals of

²⁴ Jesse, *Memoirs of the Court of England*, vol. 3, 7.

²⁵ Oppressive nature of the Commonwealth era when England was a republic are seen in historical events like Oliver Cromwell implementing strict Puritan rule and banning Christmas celebrations.

²⁶ Davidson, *Catherine of Bragança*, 59.

²⁷ *Ibid*, 7.

²⁸ Stoop, Dirck. [A Set of Seven Large Plates by D. S. of the Visit of Edward Montagu Earl of Sandwich to Lisbon as English Ambassador to Escort Catharine of Braganza, Afterwards Queen Consort of Charles II., to England, and of Her Voyage and Arrival in England for Her Marriage.]. 1662.

²⁹ Madway, *Rites of Deliverance and Disenchantment*, 79.

ordnance both from vessels and the shore, going to meet and conduct the new Queen from Hampton Court to Whitehall, at the first time of her coming to town.”³⁰

It is thus clear from the documentation still available that, although the court and Parliament were unhappy with Charles II marrying Catherine of Braganza, the people in the days and months succeeding Catherine’s arrival and marriage were more than willing to celebrate.

Conflicting historiography tends to paint different pictures on the overall behavior and reaction of the royals most notable in Catherine’s arrival and stubbornness, as well as her husband’s delay in meeting her—if they do include his delay, some do not disclose the proper reasoning which paints Charles II in an inattentive light. Some conflicting historiography is dismissed, especially when it comes to accounts made by Clarendon, the Spanish Ambassador. Clarendon’s claims of Catherine of Braganza’s stubbornness and rejection of English ladies-in-waiting were falsified; seeing that he wrote on Catherine’s marriage near the end of his life where perception was skewed by succeeding events and a general distaste for Portugal, almost everything he writes on Catherine can be discredited or should be considered with a careful eye.³¹ Some historians never mention Charles work causing the delayed arrival to his bride. Others do not mention his delay arriving to his bride at all. After looking through many sources, this research paper only draws quotes and citations from a handful because of the misconception or lack of information in others. “[A]t the first days of their married life, was the favourable impression made by Catherine of Braganza on the fickle heart of Charles”³² is the general consensus on how married life started for Catherine and Charles; “[Charles] was entirely taken with [Catherine] in those early days, and she attracted him so strongly that he was for ever with her.”³³ It is important to note the feelings and attachment to one another created in the early days of marriage because of the shift in affection and emotion that comes within the following weeks. It is the shift of emotion and Catherine’s true popularity at court that make her ability to popularize tea even more questionable. Before addressing other factors, people, and feelings, the core piece of evidence and its explanation from previous historians is crucial to this research paper and is continued in the celebrations of the royal couple.

Wedding celebrations from the public lined the journey of King Charles II and Queen Catherine of Braganza’s journey from Portsmouth to Hampton Court Palace. Arriving there on May 29th 1662, Charles’ birthday and anniversary of the monarch’s restoration to the throne, the evening was celebrated with bonfires and other tokens of popular rejoicing.³⁴ After

³⁰ John Evelyn, *The Diary of John Evelyn*, (London, 1818), 375.

³¹ Davidson, *Catherine of Bragança*, 90

³² Jesse, *Memoirs of the Court of England* vol. 3, 7.

³³ *Ibid*, 116.

³⁴ Strickland, *Lives of the Queen of England* vol. VIII, 309.

celebrating her wedding and husband a little more after a long travel day, Catherine retired to her bedchamber and Charles awaited his sister-in-law's arrival:

“The same evening, the duchess of York came from London in her barge, to offer her homage to her royal sister-in-law. When she landed, king Charles received her at the garden gate by the water-side, and leading her by hand, conducted her to the queen, who received her in her chamber. The duchess offered to kiss her hand, but the queen prevented her, by raising her in her arms and saluting her. The royal family then seated themselves near the queen's bed, and conversed with her. It is probable that they then partook of Catherine's favourite beverage, tea, which became a fashionable refreshment in England soon after her marriage with Charles II., though not exactly introduced by her. Yet, as Catherine of Braganza was certainly the first tea-drinking queen of England, she has had the credit of setting the fashion for the use of that temperate beverage, in an age when ladies, as well as gentlemen, at all times of day, heated or stupefied their brains with ale or wine, for the want of the more refined substitutes of tea, coffee, and chocolate.”³⁵

The historian and biographer behind this passage, Agnes Strickland, refers to Pepys' Diary in the footnotes and his writing of tea in 1660 as evidence that tea existed in England before Catherine arrived. Due to the association of tea-drinking and Catherine, the two over time have morphed together, while simultaneously never had true primary sources to establish that Catherine drank tea with her family on May 29, 1662, or that she popularized it in court.

Aforementioned, tea, coffee, and chocolate all arrived in England around the same time, with coffee introduced in the middle of the century when the first London coffee-house opened in 1652.³⁶ The first coffee-house in all of England actually opened in 1650 in Oxford,³⁷ but:

“The first reference of tea in London comes in September 1658 when an advertisement appeared in *Mercurius Politicus* for a ‘China drink, called by the Chineans Teha, by other nations Tay alias Tee’ [...] Pepys mentions in his diary for September 1660 how in the middle of his working day he ‘did send for a Cupp of Tee (a China drink) of which [he] never had drank before.’ This would appear to have been only a moderate success, for his next reference is seven years later, when he returns home to ‘find his wife making of Tea, a drink which Mr. Pelling the pothecary tells her is good for her cold and defluxions.’”³⁸

³⁵ Strickland, *Lives of the Queen of England* vol. VIII, 310

³⁶ Rose Bradley, *The English Housewife in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries*, (London, 1912), 161.

³⁷ Margaret Willes, *The Curious World of Samuel Pepys and John Evelyn*, (London, 2017), 190.

³⁸ Willes, *The Curious World*, 193.

With resources like newspaper advertisements and Pepys' Diary, a clearer image of tea's beginnings is established, especially in the clarification that Catherine did not introduce tea-drinking. Not only is there clarification in her not introducing tea, but another potential connection previous historians may have made in her drinking tea as a remedy to illnesses she faced like Mrs. Pepys, as was common practice at the time, and tea becoming more commonly used from there. The claim stands she popularized it, the combination of sources used in this research paper suggests that it was popularized over a span of forty years. Incontestable evidence provides that somewhere from the time of Queen Catherine of Braganza's marriage to Queen Anne's reign, tea became a daily ritual; special attribution is also given to Queen Mary II who³⁹ "was very fond of tea, and drank it regularly after her two o'clock dinner."⁴⁰ There is little evidence in the diaries of social historians or biographies on Catherine of Braganza that further suggest her passion for tea. The clearest confirmation of tea gaining popularity comes into the record before or after her rule:

"Thomas Garway, tobacconist and coffee-man, had been the first to sell tea at his house in Exchange Alley in 1657, and he charged from 16s. to 50s. the pound. He recommended it as a cure for all disorders, and it was no doubt from him, though he referred to as an 'apothecary' that Mrs. Pepys procured the cup of tea which was to vanquish her cold. By the beginning of the eighteenth century black tea was being sold at from 12s. to 30s. a pound, and green tea from 13s. [to] 26s."⁴¹

In 1657 tea was being used as a remedy very similar to the way some areas of Asia took their tea, but by the reign of Queen Anne in 1702 "...now it had become fashionable to drink a dish of tea after dinner, and it was still fetching a high price."⁴² It is the contribution of various Queens of England that tea became so popular; to attribute it all to Catherine of Braganza ignores succeeding Queens and the establishment of it as a beverage in London five years before her marriage. The Queens of England from 1662 through to the next half-century all made a contribution to popularizing tea drinking. At some point in time tea drinking gained traction and popularity, but there is no specific quotation, date or time that directly credits or discredits Catherine of Braganza as the reigning queen to make that impact.

Though there is no conclusive evidence that discredits Catherine's ability to popularize tea, there are actions King Charles II took that make her success more questionable. The difficulty comes in the form of King Charles II's favorite mistress, Lady Castlemaine. While finishing work in London, before leaving to meet Catherine for the first time, he dined with Lady

³⁹ Mary II's rule is commonly known as the joint reign of William and Mary. Mary ruled from 1689 to her death in 1694. William continued to reign until his death in 1702 and was succeeded by Mary's sister Anne

⁴⁰ Bradley, *The English housewife*, 185-186.

⁴¹ *Ibid*, 176.

⁴² *Ibid*, 176.

Castlemaine every night.⁴³ During this time she used her power and control over the king to assert her dominance over the soon-to-be-queen by asking to be made a member of Catherine's ladies in waiting and sought assurance that just because Charles was marrying did not mean that her time as a mistress was over. Unassuming he would so quickly become attached to Catherine, he agreed and went on his way to meet his Portuguese Queen. Fast-forwarding to after Catherine and Charles' arrival to Hampton Court Palace, it is a few evenings later that Lady Castlemaine requests to be presented to Catherine to which Charles makes no protest. Having just given birth to one of Charles' illegitimate sons Lady Castlemaine had begun to be presented to Catherine.⁴⁴ But with Catherine's language barrier she had accepted Castlemaine's presentation by her husband before one of her Portuguese ladies-in-waiting notified her of who was actually being presented. As any woman would do upon meeting their husband's favorite mistress, all of her sudden distress caused Catherine to have a nosebleed, followed by her fainting in front of the entire court.⁴⁵

Charles was furious and upset that Catherine had made a scene and in an attempt to keep his promise to Lady Castlemaine. He was worried for his manhood and did not want the world to think his life was governed by his wife. To assert his dominance he forcibly attempted to make Lady Castlemaine a part of Catherine's court, which ultimately altered his demeanour towards her: "[Catherine] was left out in all parties of amusement, and deserted [... by] her [English] attendants, who flocked round her fortunate rival."⁴⁶ Lady Castlemaine had been at English court longer than Catherine and had established a following of people who believed befriending Castlemaine would lead to delivered favors from the king.⁴⁷ Making no new progress in friendships at court, it is at this time that Catherine's influence is especially questionable; she did not speak English, people in court politics were outcasting their queen, aligning themselves with Castlemaine, even Charles II's demeanor to his wife was changing. Yet Catherine's strong will and Portuguese friendships remained as she was steadfast in denying Lady Castlemaine from her court.

The continuation in Catherine's denial infuriated Lady Castlemaine, who pushed King Charles II to upgrade her requested position from a lady-in-waiting to being a member of the bedchamber. Appalled and hurt by this new request, Catherine thought it was the best course of action to continue rejecting Charles' propositions. To show her distaste, Catherine even went so far as to say that she would rather go on a ship back to Portugal than allow Lady Castlemaine

⁴³ Davidson, *Catherine of Braagança*, 90

⁴⁴ Charles II had twelve illegitimate children

⁴⁵ *Ibid*, 125.

⁴⁶ Jesse, *Memoirs of the Court of England* vol. 3, 21.

⁴⁷ Davidson, *Catherine of Braagança*, 120.

into her court.⁴⁸ Catherine believed she had gotten her point across and would never realize this moment as her greatest downfall in the loss of Charles' affection, as he would eternally be hurt by even the idea of her leaving him.⁴⁹ Charles counter-acted by deciding to send all the members of Catherine's Portuguese court back to Lisbon with letters that ruined their social standings in Portugal.⁵⁰ Truly friendless in a foreign country, Catherine had no one. There was nothing left to do, but submit to allowing Lady Castlemaine to be a member of her bedchamber. Charles had "secretly respected her spirited opposition and womanly pride, [and] was annoyed at her undignified submission; and though he ever afterward's behaved towards her as a civil and obliging husband is bound to behave towards his wife; it was too evident that she had for ever forfeited his respect."⁵¹ A similar attitude and dismay was taken up by the court in disbelief that the queen would submit the well-known mistress to her closest circle. The court is the first on royal news, but also the first to follow royal trends, which leads back to the contentious plausibility of whether or not Charles II's court would even follow a trend set by a queen who had lost his respect.

Perhaps the most obvious fault of Catherine of Braganza was her lack of bearing an heir to the throne-the duty of a queen gone unfulfilled. "The greatest fault of Catherine of Braganza' says Sir Walter Scott, 'was her being educated a Catholic; her greatest misfortune bearing the King no children[...].' The fact that Catherine possessed graces neither of mind nor body [...] was the greatest misfortune of her life."⁵² Catherine, at the time of her arrival and celebration of her wedding was unknown and full of hope for the country, both by monetary means and in producing an heir, neither of which she brought to fruition. After a couple of years, the court and the public were expecting the celebration of an heir to the throne. This expectation gave her time in the beginning of her rule to be popular enough with the court and public to popularize tea drinking, but once no heir is produced a slow decline in popularity occurred. This brings into question if people would go against the grain and stop following the queen's tea-drinking example or if tea-drinking had become so popular at the time of her decline for not producing an heir that it was an irreversible trend. It appears that by 1665 tea had become wide-spread and popular enough for Sir Kenelm Digby to write a recipe for a tea caudle: "Sir Kenelm Digby [...] seems to have been more favorably disposed [to tea than Mr. Pepys]. Among his papers, which were published as a cookery book after his death in 1665, is a recipe for a tea caudle."⁵³ Three years after her marriage, people were writing tea-based recipes that were so thoroughly enjoyed that they were included in the attestment to their

⁴⁸ Davidson, *Catherine of Braçaça*, 121

⁴⁹ Ibid, 137.

⁵⁰ Ibid, 139.

⁵¹ Jesse, *Memoirs of the Court of England* vol. 3, 22.

⁵² Ibid, 14.

⁵³ Wiles, *The Curious World*, 193.

loving memory. This appears to be a great indicator of tea-drinking popularity early enough in her rule. If Catherine's overall popularity was on the decline, it was too late for tea-drinking to also fall; the two could not correlate. However, this is just as assumptious as preceding historians have been, for Sir Kenelm Digby could have been an outcast and strange in his time as an attempt to connect the dots is made.

Accompanying a decline in popularity for not bearing a child comes all of the criticisms and faults of Queen Catherine of Braganza as well, most notably her following the Catholic faith. Based on her lack in producing an heir, many people would start to target her Catholicism, seeing that Catholicism was already under violent attack in seventeenth century Protestant England. Near the end of King Charles II's rule, Protestants acted out and many did so violently. This was done as a means of preventing Catholicism from being revived in England, as many suspected the Royal Family wanted to do in 1680.⁵⁴ On her actual death bed in Lisbon in 1705 Catherine admitted to never trying to restore the "Popery in England; adding that she had never desired nor demanded any greater favour for those of her own religion than what was secured by the marriage articles."⁵⁵ In other words, all Catherine ever asked from England in relation to her Catholic faith was to be married by a Catholic priest. Seeing that by 1680 Protestants had grown violently opposed to Catholicism in England goes to show how opposed they may have been against their Roman Catholic Queen. While tea does become well established within the forty year span of Queen Catherine of Braganza's rule to Queen Anne's, it is hard to imagine it occurred or continued during this time unless the people had forgotten or ignored the fact that their Catholic Queen was the first tea-drinking one.⁵⁶

So much speculation and assumption can be made from the limited sources available. One could even look into why there are not more sources or why more people did not take to tea so quickly. The Monument of the Great Fire of 1666 in London serves as a reminder of the damage and destruction done to Charles and Catherine's contemporary London, perhaps destroying writings or diaries on tea's popularity. John Evelyn's diary entries bring a human perspective to what was truly going on during Charles II's rule. On July 15, 1665, Evelyn writes "There died of the plague in London this week 1,100; and in the week following above 2,000. Two houses were shut up in our parish."⁵⁷ Entries like these remind us that there was health concerns and dwindling population, perhaps making it more difficult to spread the popularity of tea or it was not a huge priority for writers at the time; the weight of 3,000 people dying in two weeks is more impactful than sharing the popularity of tea.

⁵⁴ James P. Malcolm, *Miscellaneous Anecdotes Illustrative of the Manners and History of Europe During the Reigns of Charles II., James II., Will. III. and Q. Anne.*, (London, 1811), 26-27.

⁵⁵ Jesse, *Memoirs of the Court of England* vol. 3, 29.

⁵⁶ Strickland, *Lives of the Queen of England* vol. VIII, 310.

⁵⁷ Evelyn, *Diary*, 403.

There is a paucity of period documentation related to the most significant aspects of Catherine's time as Queen of England, namely her wedding and ensuing celebrations—let alone evidence suggesting she was responsible for influencing the adoption of tea as a popular beverage in Great Britain. Indeed, writings suggest Queens Mary II and Anne appear to have been just as important in influencing tea's widespread popularity in British culture. Available evidence attempting to date how frequently teapots from Japan found on an English estate were used is again based on assumption. Historians are faced with a difficult task in attempting to preserve accurate accounts outlining the adoption of societal customs. When attempts are made to preserve an accurate historical record of events that is based on limited recorded evidence, conclusions and assumptions are made to "connect the dots." Ample evidence exists which would seem to question the validity of claims that Catherine is solely responsible for introducing and popularizing tea as a staple of British culture.

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