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SANTARÉM, 2º Viscount of (Manuel Francisco de Barros e Sousa da Mesquita de Macedo de Leitão e Carvalhosa) (18/11/1791 - 17/1/1856)

The 2nd Viscount of Santarém was born in Rua da Paz in Lisbon on November 18th 1791 and died in Paris in rue Blanche on January 17th 1856 at the age of sixty-four. He received the title on February 6th 1818 on the occasion of the coronation of D. João VI.

He was the son of the 1st Viscount of Santarém, João Diogo de Barros Leitão e Carvalhosa (1757-1818) and of Mariana Rita Xavier Porcille O'Kelly Ribeiro Rangel (1773-94), a lady of Irish and Italian descent. Many of his paternal ancestors had served the Portuguese Crown since the Middle Ages performing a range of household, military, judicial and diplomatic duties. Among his maternal ancestors were an 18th century Irish governor of Chaves, a Judge Conservator for the Dutch nation [a judge serving the interests of Dutch subjects in Portugal] and an Appeals Judge at the Royal Court of Appeal.

His father, the 1st Viscount of Santarém, played an unofficial but key role in Portuguese political-administrative life between 1807 and 1818 (the year of his death): he was at that time a “true Secretary-General of the Royal House”, in the words of José Sarmiento de Matos (in *Uma Casa na Lapa [A House in Lapa]*, p. 182). He was subjected to pressure from Massena (1804) and received death threats from Junot (1808); he suffered the same illness which afflicted the Regent D. João at the time of the *Conspiração dos Fidalgos* [Noblemen's Conspiracy] (1806), and throughout the years the governors of the kingdom and General Beresford himself sought his advice, the latter at the time of the Gomes Freire de Andrade conspiracy in 1817.

Manuel Francisco de Barros' childhood and youth greatly benefitted from the cultured and erudite atmosphere of his father's house where the family library dated back to the 16th century. He shared the house with his uncle, D. António Roberto de Barros Leitão e Carvalhosa (1763-1829), trained in Canon Law at the University of Coimbra (1788), Archbishop of Adrianópolis (1811), and a nominal peer of the realm although not a permanent member of the Upper House (1826).

His formal education was limited to attending and completing his preparatory studies at the Colégio dos Nobres, directed at that time by Ricardo Raimundo Nogueira (1746-1827). It is possible that the young student wished to attend further courses in Philosophy or Natural Sciences in Coimbra or in some European capital such as Vienna and Saint Petersburg, but the imminence of the first French invasion led him to accompany the Prince Regent when he departed for Brazil.



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Santarém's personal journey was marked by three different but complementary intellectual and cultural universes: the world of royal domestic life; the world of manuscripts and printed documents of the Crown; and the world of the Secretary of Foreign Affairs.

The importance of the royal family's intimate and domestic world in the years 1790 to 1830 in relation to national politics, culture and diplomacy should not, in my opinion, be minimised. Admired by D. João VI, figures such as the first Viscounts of Santarém, Vila Nova da Rainha and Rio Seco (the latter being the Brazilian Marquis of Jundiaí), had considerable strategic influence with the sovereign which went well beyond what mere personal friendship between prince and servant could explain. This influence was imbibed by the historian through his father and Viscount Vila Nova da Rainha, his uncle by marriage.

However, little or nothing is known about the twenty-month period during which the future 2nd Viscount of Santarém held the position of Keeper of the Wardrobe to the prince, D. Pedro, later Emperor of Brazil, King and Regent of Portugal. We only know that in June 1809 he had to leave his duties as a result of having contracted smallpox, an illness that was usually fatal at that time. This enabled him to devote himself in the years that followed to studying and organising his personal notes as well as copies and summaries of documents relating to the traditional Portuguese court and to the diplomatic relations Portugal had with the other powers (beginning with those established with Spain).

It must be remembered that this is a time when the political-military interference of the Portuguese Crown in the province of Cisplatina (future Uruguay) and French Guyana served to counterbalance the Spanish refusal to return Olivença and the successive waves of French invasions. Furthermore, in Rio de Janeiro D. João was appointed Regent without a meeting of the *cortes* being held since D. Maria I was deemed unfit to govern. In Madrid, Joseph Bonaparte reigned while Charles IV, Ferdinand VII and the rest of the male line of succession were held prisoner. Dona Carlota Joaquina sought to prove her personal right to the Crown, which she tried to do at the *Cortes of Cadiz* (1812).

It is within this political-diplomatic context, which lasted until the death of the Count of Linares in 1812, that Santarém developed his real passion for diplomacy, for history and for sources. Giving such neo-classical value to historical documents and monuments could be seen in Portugal in the few decades following the Pombaline reform of education (1772) and the foundation of the Lisbon Academy of Sciences (1779). However, the exile of Abbot Correia da Serra (1795) and the invasion commanded by Junot (1807) meant an end to the process of collecting and compiling inventories of the archives dispersed throughout the kingdom and, in a clear backward step, even led to the relocation of archives and Lisbon libraries to Rio de Janeiro. In Brazil the organisation of the Crown Manuscripts, that is, all the documents that had come from the Necessidades Library, which contained a wealth of information (much of it secret), became the focus of increased attention by the Regent, Linhares and Luís Joaquim dos Santos Marrocos, the librarian in charge of the operation. In addition, the doors of the Rio de Janeiro Public Library and its collection of printed works from the Ajuda Library were opened in 1814.

Using this wealth of sources and studies as his basis, the future Viscount of Santarém was able to not only substantiate his works on the diplomatic and *parliamentary* history of Portugal (a term later used by



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William Walton) but also to demonstrate he had the intellectual ability to enter the diplomatic career. However, to do this, he had to wait for António de Araújo de Azevedo (Count of Barca) to join the Portuguese Foreign Office once more, since it was thanks to this patron of culture and the arts, this patron of academics and diplomats, that the Viscount of Santarém would serve this institution unofficially and informally throughout a diplomatic and historiographical path that was as tortuous as it was dependent on circumstances.

Thus, from 1814 until his death in 1856, the Viscount's link to the history of Portugal chiefly came through Foreign Affairs. When he started in 1814, there was no structured historical archive in this State Secretariat. Nor were there departments responsible for protocol or for documental support for the negotiations of territorial limits. Santarém filled some of these gaps in a somewhat piecemeal fashion in the years 1814 and 1817 to 1819.

In addition to this, thanks to the influence of two Secretaries of State, the Count of Barca and the Marquis of Aguiar (1814-1817), and to his own marriage into the family of the Count of Ponte (1816), the future historian had access to documents held in the offices of noble houses and statesmen's archives – access which was essential in order to gather a collection of documents and historical interpretations of national politics and diplomacy. Given the absence of any formal training beyond self-taught knowledge and the private education given to the nobility, rulers and diplomats, scholars and those aspiring to public office were able to partake of this collection. Within it, the glory of the Crown and the blue-blooded political aristocracy were very much in evidence, but in a balanced and critical fashion without, however, the Viscount renouncing the diplomatic and chronological rigour of Frei Manuel do Cenáculo (1724-1814) and João Pedro Ribeiro (1758-1839), two of his chief intellectual influences.

For various reasons, his diplomatic appointment to the Vienna Congress, Stockholm, Paris, Washington or Berlin never materialised – only to Copenhagen, but even then he was not officially accredited to the Kingdom of Denmark. The years 1814 to 1823 are thus marked by a relative effacement of the diplomat and the diplomatist given the interests of the State Secretariat he unofficially served.

Public, cultural and political recognition only came when he was appointed first as interim (1824) and then as the official *guarda-mor* or Head Keeper of the Torre do Tombo archives (1827), and especially in the reign of D. Pedro IV (1826-1828) with his appointment as a Minister of the Realm and Minister of Foreign Affairs. It was only then that all the hard work and studying he had undertaken informally over almost twenty years bore fruit and gave him national and international status.

In 1827-1828 two works appeared that are essential to an understanding of his thought: *Memórias para a História, e Teoria das Cortes Gerais...* (Memoirs on History, and the Theory of the General Courts...) and *Quadro Elementar das relações políticas e diplomáticas* (Basic Framework of political and diplomatic relations).

The first work was the result of his participation in a committee composed of members of the Academy of Sciences set up in 1821 to gather together all the documentation relating to the traditional *cortes* at the request of the *cortes ordinárias do Vintismo* (ordinary courts of the Vintismo). This committee – of which



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João Pedro Ribeiro, Abbot Correia da Serra and Joaquim José da Costa de Macedo, all aligned to the current regime, were also part – was disbanded after publishing just one single work relating to the nobility faction in the 1697 *cortes*. The only person who published a similar study was the Viscount of Santarém, using material collected in 1824 when he was a member of another board in charge of preparing the meeting of the ‘Three Estates’ (as promised by D. João VI following the *Abrilada* or April Revolt).

The rules for the opening of the meeting and for the swearing in of D. Miguel as king in 1828 were taken from Santarém’s *Memórias para a História, e Teoria das Cortes Gerais...*. The legal and constitutional principles of the 1143 (pseudo) *cortes* of Lamego, invoked at the time to declare the Brazilian branch of the Braganza family foreign and to consider the decision of the ‘Three Estates’ as essential, were decisive so that the mere acclamation of the prince as the royal successor would not succeed as a political, institutional and diplomatic solution.

The same way of looking at national history and politics – the *Portuguese freedom inherited from the Lusitanian peoples – is embodied in another of Santarém’s texts published anonymously in 1832, Manifesto de Sua Majestade Fidelíssima...* (Manifesto of His Most Worthy Majesty), in response to D. Maria II’s manifesto written by the Marquis of Palmela and José António Guerreiro. The whole of the Viscount’s strategy for diplomatic recognition of D. Miguel’s rights to the throne during the five years when he was Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (between 1828 and 1833) was based on this re-enactment of the traditional *cortes* by the descendants of the elites and by those elected by the common people. This collective, which met in Lisbon in June and July 1828, was seen as the legitimate representative of its forebears, following a tradition that went back to the dawn of time, to the first collective decisions of the Lusitanian chiefs, Apimano, Sertório and Viriato.

As for the *Quadro Elementar das relações políticas e diplomáticas...*, this too is based on a mythical view and relationship, one that becomes almost sacred, when dealing with treaties and conventions between peoples and states. Santarém reminds us that in Classical Greece “the peoples solemnised the celebration of their treaties with the most brilliant and pomp-filled festivities” and that in Ancient Rome too they “engraved their treaties on columns” (in *Quadro Elementar...*, vol. I, 1842, pp. XVI-XVII). As documents, the Viscount viewed treaties as fundamental pieces to not only analyse the history of humanity and human civilisation, but also to analyse the Portuguese identity. He wrote that “treaties and other acts with other nations are the fundamentals of all [internal] political and civil laws” (in *Índice Geral Cronológico Sistemático...*, n.d., f. LVIII, not numbered). He also wrote that within Portugal’s foreign relations “are rightly enclosed her history, her Public Law and her titles to being an independent nation” (in *Corpo Diplomático, contendo todos os tratados...*, vol. I, Paris, 1846, p. VII).

In fact, there is a whole language common to Santarém’s works referring to convention-related Portuguese Public Law, be it internal (the *Memórias para a História...* and the *Manifesto...*), or external (the twelve volumes of the *Quadro Elementar...* and the *Corpo Diplomático...*). For this historian, these two types of convention-related Public Law, pre-constitutional and traditional, were both based on the *cortes* and treaties – on the conventions signed between traditionally assembled social bodies, the basis for a



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sovereign's legitimacy, and on the conventions signed between states represented by diplomatic agents accredited according to a specific European norm.

It is from this dual legality, internal and external, politico-institutional and diplomatic, that the Viscount's triumphalist, nationalist, anti-decadentist and ethno-historicist discourse must be understood. In periods of national crisis and civil war, like those Portugal experienced from the French Invasions up to the Regeneration, the Viscount of Santarém claims – like so many other Portuguese historians – that the splendour of national, military, diplomatic and geographical feats are a form of ideological and identity cement capable of covering over the gaps and cracks that the weapons used by the different factions, the tribunals and historical ignorance were causing to appear in the walls of the Portuguese edifice.

One of his most decisive contributions was his ability to look at the historical document as the fundament for a type of discourse that is both scientific and symbolic, traditionalist yet capable of pacifying internal differences; to look at Portuguese institutions as transformative bearers of the love for *freedom* and independence that was inherited from the peoples who had occupied the land since at least the 6th century BC.

Only a few years after Évora-Monte, the Portuguese Foreign Affairs Ministry once again had need of the services of D. Miguel's former minister. The Casamance question (1836-39) was but the first of many related to territories in Africa and Asia, such as the case of Angra Pequena, Macau, Molembo, Ambriz and Cabinda or of the enclave of Nagar-Haveli. Being the target of a diplomatic dispute with France, the mouth of the River Casamance led several Secretaries of State and various Portuguese representatives in Paris and London to ask the Viscount to undertake some documentary investigation (geographical, historical, diplomatic and cartographic) and to write reports on these matters for institutional use. This triggered another line of investigation for Santarém, in effect one that was parallel to his work on diplomatic history, that resulted in such works as the *Memória sobre a prioridade dos descobrimentos portugueses na costa de África ocidental...* (Memoir on the priority of the Portuguese discoveries on the coast of West Africa) (1841), with a French version the following year; the *Memória sobre o estabelecimento dos portugueses em Macau na China* (Memoir on the establishment of the Portuguese in Macau in China) (1845) and the *Demonstração dos direitos que tem a coroa de Portugal sobre os territórios... de Molembo, Cabinda e Ambriz* (Demonstration of the rights that the Portuguese Crown holds over the territories... of Molembo, Cabinda and Ambriz) (1855).

Some of these works defending Portuguese territorial rights, based on the Portuguese priority of the African discoveries, forced him against his will to get involved in historiographical and cartographic disputes with some of the great names of the 19th century such as the Luso-Brazilian Varnhagen and the Frenchmen, Avezac and Jomard. These works also made him extend his publishing endeavours even further with the publication of his monumental three-volume work *Éssai sur l'histoire de la cosmographie et de la cartographie...* (Essay on the history of cosmography and of cartography...) and the various editions of his *Atlas...*, both designed to illustrate the decisive role played by the Portuguese in extending geographical knowledge of the planet. To these disputes with foreigners can also be added disagreements with his



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compatriots, Costa de Macedo and Alexandre Herculano, on the subject of the funding of his works by the Portuguese government, the reorganization of the Lisbon Academy of Sciences in 1851 and the supposed fallibility of the documents collected outside the kingdom.

These controversies served to divert his efforts even further away from his main objective - the project to build a collection of Portuguese diplomatic documents from the founding of the monarchy to the 19th century. In fact, this was a project that became official in 1824 and again in 1842 in the reigns of D. João VI and D. Maria II.

In spite of all this, Santarém still managed to *publish eleven volumes of the Quadro Elementar... by 1853. Those that were edited posthumously (seven between 1858 and 1876) by Rebelo da Silva and Mendes Leal, under the auspices of the Academy of Sciences, underwent a change in their purpose and suffered chronological amputation (from 1501 onwards) which moved them irretrievably away from the initial project. The same happened with Corpo Diplomático... (The Portuguese Diplomatic Corps...), a title used by the same institution for similar ends, which Herculano and his followers wished to include in the national historiography from the 1850s on: that is, documental exclusivism of Portugaliae Monumenta Historica up to the end of the 15th century and publication of sources to use in anti-Ultramontanism disputes (such as those of the Padroado do Oriente [Portuguese Patronage of the East], the 1857 Concordat and that of the Sisters of Charity).*

A veil of silence fell over Santarém's work after his death in 1856. Only as a result of the actions of his nephew, the 3rd Viscount (1878-1971), in the first third of the 20th century were his writings and correspondence organised and re-edited. The decisive intervention of the historian in the 19th century controversy over the priority of the Portuguese discoveries, glorified under the *Estado Novo* because of the Infante D. Henrique and the *Crónica da Guiné (Chronicle of Guinea)*, was critically defended by Joaquim Bensaúde and Armando Cortesão but, however, it was downplayed by Vitorino Magalhães Godinho in texts dating from 1943 and 1962. Only with the re-edition of the *Atlas* and certain selected works (with prefaces by Martim de Albuquerque) in 1989 and publication of works by Sérgio Campos Matos in 1998 that contextualised and problematised the issue, did the multidisciplinary and critical work of this historian, geographer and map historian, praised by such impartial contemporaries as Guizot, Humboldt and Navarrete, once again merit the attention of the academic community (on this subject, see Daniel Estudante Protásio, 2009, pp. 256-313).

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