



VIANA [DA SILVA CARVALHO], António José (Lisboa, 1858-Lisboa, 1931)

António Viana was born on 15 March 1858 in Lisbon in Rua do Patrocínio, nº 78 (nº 94 a hundred years later) and died in the same city on 28 April 1931, shortly after turning seventy-three.

The historian and director of the Torre do Tombo, António Baião (1878-1961), author of his academic eulogy, said he was born in "a golden cradle and [of] good stock" (António Baião, *Discurso acerca do centenário...*, 1958, p. 3), which is borne out by the historical facts.

He was the son of Comendador João António Viana, a nobleman of the Royal Household, and Camila Adelaide da Silva Carvalho, and the grandson on his mother's side of the famous José da Silva Carvalho (1782-1856), minister, State Councillor, and vice-president of the Chamber of Peers; he was also the great-nephew on his father's side of Joaquim Leocádio da Costa, a Miguelist commercial broker, and the nephew on his mother's side of the 1st Viscount Silva Carvalho (1829-1880), State Councillor and peer of the realm (by succession), who was also his godfather (*Grande Enciclopédia Portuguesa e Brasileira*, vol. XXVIII, s.d., p. 885 and António Viana, *José da Silva Carvalho e o seu Tempo*, vol. I, 1891, p. 417, n. 1).

He was the father-in-law of António Carneiro Pacheco (1887-1957), diplomat, minister of the *Estado Novo* and (re)founder, in 1936, of the Portuguese Academy of History (António Baião, "Duas Palavras", in António Viana, *Apontamentos para a história diplomática contemporânea por...*, vol. III, p. VII and Luís de Reis Torgal, "A História em tempo de Ditadura", in *A História da História em Portugal (Séculos XIX e XX)*, p. 251, caption).

As a result of his background and family and social ties, Viana can be said to be an interesting example of someone who was very close to both the sources and to political and academic figures of the 19th and 20th centuries from the time of the 1828-34 Civil War to the (re)founding of the Academy of History in 1936.

Although no information is available about Viana's secondary school education, preparatory to his entering the Faculty of Law at the University of Coimbra, it is known that António de Oliveira Pacheco (father of Carneiro Pacheco) and José de Alpoim, "a restless tribune, almost Jacobin", were his fellow students. He passed the course *nemine discrepante*, that is to say, with unanimous approval, finishing with a final classification of Good (and a grade of 12/20) in 1879 at the age of 21 (António Baião, *Discurso acerca do centenário...*, 1958, pp. 4-6).

Details of what he did between 1879 and 1891 when he published his first historical work (at the age of

32) are not known. It is likely though that Viana dedicated a good part of these twelve years to studying the archives of Silva Carvalho and Joaquim Leocádio da Costa (Idem, *Idem*, p. 9 and Visconde de Santarém, *Correspondência...*, vol. V, 1918, pp. 124 e ss.).

This would explain how he managed to publish a monumental work in three volumes, *José da Silva Carvalho e o seu Tempo* (José da Silva Carvalho and his Time), starting in 1891. This was so important on a documental level that Joaquim Pedro de Oliveira Martins (1845-94), in the third edition of *Portugal Contemporâneo* (Contemporary Portugal) (1894), quotes passages from Viana's study (Joaquim Pedro de Oliveira Martins, *Portugal Contemporâneo*, vol. I, 1981 (1ª ed. 1881), Livro III, pp. 197-199, 214, 238, 264-65, 267-69 e 348, n. 1).

This collection earned him nomination to become a corresponding member of the Royal Academy of Sciences, and he was admitted following a written recommendation dated 13 July 1892 from Oliveira Martins himself, Inácio Francisco Silveira da Mota and Jaime Constantino de Freitas Moniz – all of whom were illustrious names of historiographical production at the time – and an election held on 9 December later that year (António Baião, *Discurso acerca do centenário...*, *Op. cit.*, pp. 10-11).

It should be noted that Viana's concern with restoring documental glory to the historical memory of Chartist liberalism is not unconnected to the political proposal of *monarchic socialism*, which appeared as a response to the growing deterioration and erosion of the political institutions of the time (António Viana, *José da Silva Carvalho e o seu Tempo*, vol. II, 1894, "Advertência", pp. I-VII).

During the reign of D. Carlos (1889-1908), Viana may well have been drawn to intellectual and political circles close to, or related to, the elite group *Os Vencidos da Vida* [Those Defeated by Life] and to Caesarist solutions as defended by Oliveira Martins and João Franco (1855-1929). We know he was a member of, or at least participated in, the *Partido Regenerador Liberal* [Liberal Regeneration Party] towards which Henrique da Gama Barros (1833-1925) was also drawn, and António Baião, second curator of the Torre do Tombo from 1902 on, recalls seeing them together at the national archive. What is more, the letters Franco himself wrote to Viana from exile in 1908, later transcribed by Baião, are quite confessional, almost fraternal (Idem, *Idem*, pp. 15-20; see, about Gama Barros, José Maria Amado Mendes, "Desenvolvimento e estruturação da historiografia portuguesa", in *História da História em Portugal (Séculos XIX e XX)*, 1996, p. 186).

It was within this brew of academic and ideological culture that Viana came to occupy important posts in the administration of the Associação da Agricultura Portuguesa e das Cozinhas Económicas [Association of Portuguese Agriculture and Economic Kitchens], in the supervision of the Companhia das Lezírias [Lezírias Company], and as secretary of the Sociedade das Casas de Asilo da Infância Desvalida [Society of Shelters for Unprotected Children] for 24 years (indeed up until his death in 1931). This in fact proves that he had not become disillusioned "completely with the progress of public affairs" either during the Monarchy or the First Republic or the Military Dictatorship (António Baião, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 13-14).

António Viana seems to have made the public, political and historiographical redemption of his

grandfather, Silva Carvalho, one of the aims of his work as a commentator (more than as a historian). Like so many other graduates trained in Law during the second half of the 19th century, Viana eagerly ventured forth into the history and documental investigation of a field that was as yet not fully explored: liberal politics of the first and second Chartist movements (1823-26 and 1834-36).

Born in 1858, he might have possibly come across the first, relatively recent attempts to establish a balanced review of the facts, figures and sources of these troubled periods: Luz Soriano (1846 and 1849), Liberato (1855), the *Despachos e Correspondência de Palmela* (Orders and Correspondence of Palmela) (1851, 1854 and 1869). To these were added in the following years the *Correspondência Oficial do conde da Carreira* (Official Correspondence of the Count of Carreira) (published in 1871 and 1874), *História de Portugal* (History of Portugal) (1879) and Oliveira Martins' *Portugal Contemporâneo* (1881). Document collections such as those of Borges de Castro and Júdice Biker (from 1856 on) and that of the future Baron of São Clemente (started in 1883) contributed in their turn to a documental abundance that could be deemed considerable.

Just like Gonçalo Mendes Ramires, the main character in Eça de Queirós' *A Ilustre Casa de Ramires* (The Illustrious House of Ramires) (1900), Viana might have believed that family honour was at stake. Showing an open-mindedness still uncommon in Portugal today, he unlocked the family archive for public scrutiny, revealing a huge number of letters, memoirs and documents written by and to Silva Carvalho. But not only: he also dedicated a large part of the trilogy *José da Silva Carvalho e o seu Tempo* to correspondence and official papers of D. Miguel's government, taking the intelligent and enlightened view of history that without such dual sources, coming as they did from both sides of the barrier that divided Portugal during the 1832-34 Civil War, it would be impossible to arrive at an integrated and balanced overview.

Viana did not actually achieve this – but this was not in fact his objective at all. In this work he assumed the role of editor, the organizer of the publication, rather than that of interpreter, narrator or historian. Providing a certain continuity to liberal historiography (especially that of Luz Soriano), Viana excelled at interweaving the documents he published with annotations and long narrative and argumentative digressions to safeguard the historical memory of moderate Chartist liberalism.

This did not prevent him though from intervening and polemicizing about his understanding of José Liberato Freire de Carvalho and the Count of Carreira. In fact the view that António Viana gives us of the (hypothetical) enmity and political disputes between Silva Carvalho and Liberato, on one side, and Carreira, on the other, has to do with a much vaster and more extensive subject: that of the interrelationship between the different forces within Portuguese liberalism between 1820 and 1834.

As is widely known, this depends greatly – even today – on what the eminent Oliveira Martins has told us in *Portugal Contemporâneo*. Indeed the criticisms that he was a Miguelist that were directed at him, according to what Martins himself relates in the *Explicações* (Explanations) to the second edition of the work dated November 1883, seem to be covertly reproduced by Viana in the first volume of *Silva Carvalho e o seu Tempo* published in 1891 (Joaquim Pedro de Oliveira Martins, *Portugal Contemporâneo*, *Op. Cit.*, vol. I, pp.

15 e 21 and António Viana, José da Silva Carvalho e o seu Tempo, vol. I, p. 17, n. 2).

What is curious is that the criticisms directed by Viana at Liberato and Carreira could appear to have an explanation, especially given that there was a certain moment when a political turning-point occurred among the liberal exiles in the years 1830 to 1834. This is primarily true of those criticisms that define the factions of Saldanha and Palmela/Carvalho, with the resultant controversies in the press, at the Duke of Braganza's court and in the Masonic alignments.

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This being so, the criticisms made by Liberato and Carreira were aimed much more at Palmela, Saldanha, Mendizábal and Rodrigo da Fonseca than at Silva Carvalho. In fact, the few references that both Liberato and Carreira make to Silva Carvalho always seem to be respectful and friendly, if not openly eulogistic (António Viana, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 110-111, 123 e 372-74 (and n. 1 p. 372) and *Memórias da vida de José Liberato Freire de Carvalho*, edition of 1855, pp. 334, 341, 343 e 375 and edition of 1982, pp. 194, 198, 199 e 216). This is not surprising as Carvalho had been the financial brain (after Mouzinho da Silveira) and the orchestrator of D. Pedro's liberal strategy that had won in Évora-Monte but which was later defeated on 9 September 1836.

In effect, this is but one more historiographical controversy that still remains to be resolved, although it was partly taken up again by João Carlos Alvim in 1982 when he re-edited – at an opportune moment! – Liberato's *Memórias* (Memories), providing them with a problematizing and enlightening introduction (see, on this, *Memórias da vida de José Liberato Freire de Carvalho*, 1982, pp. XIX, n. 13 e XX, n. 15).

From this and other polemical disputes, it can be concluded that the reliability of the sources made available by Liberato (in this and other works), Palmela, Carreira and Viana is not invalidated – rather, they complement each other, they complete each other. And without a comparative study of their ideas and ideological, political and cultural paths, everything will seem – will continue to seem – like a simple settling of old scores between contrasting and contradictory political memoirs.

The second part of Viana's work comprises a tetralogy, thereby succeeding the trilogy dedicated to Silva Carvalho. The series of books with the generic title *Apontamentos para a História Diplomática* (Notes for Diplomatic History), including the respective *Introdução* (Introduction), took almost six decades to be published. Three volumes were printed between 1901 and 1922 during the author's lifetime; the fourth was published only in 1958, at the time of the centenary of his birth (and spurred on by António Baião). They cover the periods from 1789 to 1815 (the *Introdução...*) and from 1820 to 1828 (the remaining volumes). As is well known, it was during these eight years that Silva Carvalho and many other liberal figures went through successive periods of greatness and downfall, of brilliance and obscurity.

In these four books, Viana's work, like that of so many other historians of Portuguese-Brazilian diplomacy and politics from 1808 to 1834, was that of a re-organizer of the sources published in the 19th century but with the caveat that he himself had contributed to this first historiographical moment, although somewhat late in the day.

In fact, the friendship that António Viana enjoyed with both Gama Barros (1833-1925) and António Baião

(1878-1961), the former twenty-five years his senior, the latter twenty years his junior, was like a chain of linked historiographical (rather than biological) generations that was very interesting to observe – symptomatic, perhaps, of some stages in the history of historiography in Portugal from the 1890s to the 1960s.

It must be pointed out too that Viana was a critical predecessor of Rocha Martins as a commentator of both liberal and Miguelist documents. And he was also a precursor of Ângelo Pereira, Oliveira Lima and António Ferrão as an interpreter of historical facts of Portuguese-Brazilian politics and diplomacy, all of vital importance in the preparation of later critical syntheses undertaken by such respected historians as Eduardo Brazão and Soares Martinez, on one hand, and by Graça and Sebastião Silva Dias and the editors of *História da História em Portugal (Séculos XIX e XX)* (The History of History in Portugal [19th and 20th Centuries]), on the other.

Finally, it should be noted that Viana published at least two works of poetry, *Flores de Outono* (Flowers of Autumn) and *Tobias*, the latter including two illustrations by Columbano and dated "Estoril, Autumn 1899".

Works by the author: José da Silva Carvalho e o seu Tempo. Compilação anotada por [...], Lisboa, Imprensa Nacional, 3 vols, 1891-1894; Tobias (Versão do conto bíblico, com duas ilustrações de Columbano), 1901, 47 pp.; Apontamentos para a história diplomática contemporânea por [...], 3 vols (1901, Livraria Ferin, 378 pp.; 1922, Tipografia do Anuário Comercial, 545 pp.; 1958, Gráfica Santelmo, 299 pp.), cobrindo o período de 1820 a 1828; Introdução aos apontamentos para a história diplomática contemporânea por [...], Lisboa, Livraria Ferin, 1907, 182 pp. (cobrindo o período de 1789 a 1815); Flores de Outono, [s.d.].

Works with references to the author: BAIÃO, António, Discurso acerca do centenário do nascimento do Dr. António José Viana da Silva Carvalho, proferido na Sessão Plenária de 13 de Março de 1958, Lisboa, 1958 (separata do Boletim da Academia das Ciências de Lisboa, vol. XXX, Março de 1958) e Idem, «Duas Palavras», in António Viana, Apontamentos para a história diplomática contemporânea por..., Lisboa, vol. III, 1958, Gráfica Santelmo, pp. VII-XI; MARTINEZ, Pedro Soares, História Diplomática de Portugal, Lisboa, Editorial Verbo, 1992 (2ª ed.), passim (vejam-se sobretudo as pp. 392-396 e a entrada, na p. 601, do índice remissivo de autores, com uma trintena de referências a Viana); MARTINS, Joaquim Pedro de Oliveira, Portugal Contemporâneo, vol. I, Lello & Irmão – Editores, 1981 (1ª ed., 1881), passim; Memórias da vida de José Liberato Freire de Carvalho, Lisboa, Tipografia de José Baptista Morando, 1855, 427 pp. (1ª ed.; 2ª ed., Assírio e Alvim, 1982, com introdução de João Carlos Alvim, 259 pp.), passim; MENDES, José Amado, «Desenvolvimento e estruturação da historiografia portuguesa», in Luís Reis Torgal, José Maria Amado Mendes e Fernando Catroga, História da História em Portugal (séculos XIX-XX), Lisboa, Círculo de Leitores, 1996, pp. 161-217 (sobretudo a p. 186); SANTARÉM, Visconde de, Correspondência do... coligida, coordenada e com anotações de Rocha Martins..., vol. V, Alfredo Lamas, Mota e C.ª, Editores, 1918, pp.



124 e ss.; TORGAL, Luís Reis, «A História em tempo de Ditadura», in *A História da História em Portugal* (Séculos XIX e XX), pp. 241-275; *Grande Enciclopédia Portuguesa e Brasileira*, vol. XXVIII, Lisboa/Rio de Janeiro, s.d., p. 885.

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