



The Marchioness of Chaves beyond rebellion: Gendered Perspectives on Power during the Portuguese Constitutional Monarchy Transition

La marquesa de Chaves más allá de la rebelión: Perspectivas de género sobre el poder durante la transición a la monarquía constitucional portuguesa

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BRIEF BIOGRAPHY

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ABSTRACT

This article analyses the figure of the Marchioness of Chaves, Francisca Xavier da Silva Teles (1795-1845). She featured in both the Portuguese and the international press and was referred to by various authors during her lifetime. A dark legend has since been built up around her due to her leading role, considered exceptional, in the absolutist military uprisings against the 1826 Constitutional Charter in the north of Portugal. However, her biographical journey reaches far beyond those actions. We correspondingly analyse her attempts to assert herself politically, economically, socially, and symbolically, in the service of the different households to which she belonged: her father's, her first husband's and, finally, her maternal grandfather's, which she inherited. Adopting a gender history perspective, we reflect on the maintenance of traditional strategies for preserving and adding to these aristocratic houses at such an exceptional time as the transition from an absolute monarchy to a constitutional monarchy in Portugal, thus contributing to the still incipient knowledge on this social group in this period.

KEYWORDS

Marchioness of Chaves; Aristocracy; Gender History; Constitutional Monarchy Transition.

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RESUMEN

Este artículo pretende analizar la figura de la marquesa de Chaves, Francisca Xavier da Silva Teles (1795-1845). Durante su vida, fue mencionada por diversos autores y en la prensa portuguesa e internacional. Desde entonces, se ha construido en torno a ella una leyenda negra, por su protagonismo, considerado excepcional, en los levantamientos militares absolutistas contra la Carta Constitucional de 1826 en el norte de Portugal. Sin embargo, su trayectoria biográfica va mucho más allá de estas acciones. Analizaremos sus intentos de afirmación política, económica, social y simbólica al servicio de las diferentes casas a las que perteneció: la de su padre, la de su primer marido y, finalmente, la de su abuelo materno, que heredó. Desde una perspectiva de historia de género, reflexionaremos sobre el mantenimiento de las estrategias tradicionales de preservación y acrecentamiento de estas casas aristocráticas en un momento excepcional como fue la transición de la monarquía absoluta a la monarquía constitucional en Portugal, contribuyendo al conocimiento aún incipiente de este grupo social durante este período.

PALABRAS-CLAVE

Marquesa de Chaves; Aristocracia; Historia de Género; Transición a la Monarquía Constitucional.

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1. INTRODUCTION. 2. THE DAUGHTER OF THE MARQUESS OF ALEGRETE. 3. THE WIFE OF THE MARQUESS OF CHAVES. 4. THE HEIRESS OF THE ANGEJA HOUSEHOLD. 5. CONCLUSION. 6. BIBLIOGRAPHICAL REFERENCES.

1. INTRODUCTION

In 1896, the Chamber of Peers was debating a proposal for reforming this institution. In one session, the 3rd Count of Bertiandos alluded to the Marchioness of Chaves, recounting an episode that had occurred with the aristocrat when replying to a judge: “S[enho]r Juíz, eu o que peço é que não olhe para as minhas orelhas, mas sim para a justiça da minha causa”². She was referring to the ears of donkeys, the nickname given to Miguel's supporters by liberals.

Who was the Marchioness of Chaves? The first bibliographical references appeared during her lifetime, through two priests: the Englishman William Kinsey³, who visited Portugal in 1827 and accused her of being a thief; and the Portuguese José de Oliveira Berardo, who described her as “o panorama da fealdade”⁴. The constitutionalist politician Barreto Feio described her as horrible and cruel and alluding to her inability to take a lover⁵. The dark legend created around the Marchioness's physical appearance and her political alignment with the absolutist faction intensified following the establishing of the constitutional monarchy in Portugal and after her death with several participants. The writer Camilo Castelo Branco called her “mulher mais feia das cinco partes do mundo” and labelled “Jeanne D'Arc” by Queen Carlota Joaquina⁶. Faustino da Fonseca named her the amazon of the Miguelists⁷ - interestingly, a term used during the French Revolution and the Spanish Liberal Triennium to adjectivize women who sympathised with liberalism and took an active part, di-

² “Your Honour, I would ask you to look not at my ears but rather to the justice of my cause,” *Diário da Câmara dos Pares do Reino*, 29/02/1896, p. 173.

³ KINSEY, William, *Portugal Illustrated in a series of Letters*, London, Treuttel, Würtz and Ritcher, 1828, pp. 314-315.

⁴ “The panorama of ugliness.” BERARDO, José, *Revista histórica de Portugal desde a morte de D. João VI até o falecimento do Imperador Dom Pedro*, Coimbra, Imp. De Trovão e Comp., 1840, p. 40. Most later writers attribute this epithet to Kinsey. MARTINS, Oliveira, *Portugal Contemporâneo*, Lisbon, Livraria António Maria Pereira, 1895, p. 26.

⁵ FEIO, José Barreto, *Dom Miguel, ses aventures scandaleuses, ses crimes et son usurpation*, Paris, Ménard Libraire, 1833, p. 113.

⁶ “The ugliest woman in all the five corners of the world.” CASTELO-BRANCO, Camilo, *Scenas da Foz*, Porto, Cruz Coutinho, 1860, p. 71, 92.

⁷ FONSECA, Faustino, *El Rei D. Miguel: chronica popular do absolutismo*, Lisbon, Guimarães & C^a, 1905, p. 264.

rectly or indirectly, in political events⁸. Alberto Pimentel titled her “Joana d’Arc dos Miguelistas” and “Marte de saias”⁹. The Marchioness’s physical appearance is disparaged while emphasizing her manly and extravagant traits, particularly in relation to her actions in late 1826, when she led an uprising, rallying the population and acclaiming King Miguel in northern Portuguese villages¹⁰. Eduardo de Noronha wrote the historical novel *A marquesa de Chaves* that featured her husband as its main character¹¹. More recent historiography has paid little attention and either merely reproducing that already written¹², reemphasizing her role in the counter-revolution¹³ or analysing her only known portrait¹⁴.

Furthermore, a deeper study of the biography of the Marchioness of Chaves within the context of the Portuguese aristocracy at the end of the Modern Age and the beginning of the constitutional monarchy will also return a better understanding of the role of this social group, especially across a troubled period such as the 1820 liberal revolution and the subsequent civil war, within the context of its European counterparts. Revolutionary and counter-revolutionary ideologies have already been studied from a transnational or imperial perspective¹⁵ while not focusing on the reconfiguration in the elites traditionally supporting the monarchical regime. Indeed, one of Pedro’s first measures following his conquest of Lisbon in 1833 was to dismiss all supporters of absolutism from public office and offices in the Royal Household and restore them to those in favour of the constitutional charter¹⁶. Therefore, it becomes understandable that, in the first half of the 19th century, the victorious group became more politically, socially, and economically significant.

In the context of the titular nobility, this remained a restricted group: of the 143 titleholders in 1828, 87 supported Miguel while only 33 endorsed Pedro¹⁷. In addition to these, other defenders of King Pedro saw their services rewarded with titles: while there were 127 titular houses in 1831, that number had risen to 302 by 1855. However, this significant increase had already begun in as early as 1792¹⁸ and a large proportion of the new post-civil war titleholders came from hereditary noble families and neither from bourgeois nor commoner families, as historiography has otherwise posited¹⁹. While there are extensive studies on the Por-

⁸ FUENTES, Juan Francisco, GARÍ, Pilar, *Amazonas de la libertad. Mujeres liberales contra Fernando VII*, Madrid, Marcial Pons Historia, 2014, p. 19.

⁹ PIMENTEL, Alberto, *Sangue Azul (estudos históricos)*, Lisbon, Parceria António Maria Pereira, 1898, pp. 105-307.

¹⁰ BOOK, Edward, *The book of battles, or, daring deeds by land and sea*, London, Houlston & Wright, 1867, p. 475; LAFFIN, John, *Women in battle*, London, New York, Abelard-Schuman, 1967, p. 45.

¹¹ NORONHA, Eduardo de, *A marquesa de Chaves*, Porto, Livraria Civilização, 1922.

¹² FARIA, Américo, *Portuguesas na História*, Lisbon, Editorial Organizações, 1965, pp. 215-224.

¹³ CARDOSO, António Monteiro, “Esteriótipos sobre o comportamento político da população rural transmontana nas lutas liberais”, *Futuro dos territórios rurais numa Europa alargada*, Vol. 4, Bragança, Escola Superior Agrária de Bragança, 2003, p. 3. *Id.*, *A revolução liberal em Trás-os-Montes (1820-1834). O povo e as elites*, Doctoral Degree Thesis, ISCTE, 2005.

¹⁴ SOUSA, Gonçalo Vasconcelos e, “Jóias, retratos e a iconografia das elites portuguesas de oitocentos”, *Varia, Revista do IHA*, N.5 (2008), p. 262.

¹⁵ DIAZ, Delphine, “S’exiler pour des idées dans l’Europe du XIXe siècle”, in Catherine Courtet, Mireille Besson, Françoise Lavocat & Alain Viala (ed.), *Traversées des mondes Rencontres Recherche et Création du Festival d’Avignon*, s.l., CNRS Éditions, 2020, pp. 233-249; ISABELLA, Maurizio, *Southern Europe in the age of revolutions*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 2023. PAQUETTE, Gabriel, *Imperial Portugal in the Age of Atlantic Revolutions, the Luzo-Brazilian World, c. 1770-1850*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2013.

¹⁶ URBANO, Pedro, “Entre Donas e Damas: a família feminina na formação da Casa da Rainha D. Maria II”, in Isabel Drumond Braga, Paulo Drumond Braga (eds.), *Rainhas, Princesas e Infantas: Quotidiano, ritos e cerimónias na Península Ibérica (séculos XVI–XX)*, Lisbon, Temas e Debates, 2022, p. 255.

¹⁷ LOUSADA, Maria Alexandre, “D. Pedro ou D. Miguel? As opções políticas da nobreza titular portuguesa”, *Penélope, Fazer e desfazer História*, 4, 11/1989, p. 95. The remaining 23 either remained neutral or it is not possible to infer which side they supported.

¹⁸ In 1792, there were 50 titular houses, in 1807, 68 and in 1820, 101.

¹⁹ VASCONCELOS, Francisco, *A nobreza do século XIX em Portugal*, Porto, CEGHUF-UMP, 2003, pp. 138, 143.

tuguese liberal revolution²⁰, those on the reign of King Miguel²¹ and the implications of these political transformations within the aristocratic elites remain rare²².

In this sense, the unique case of the Marchioness of Chaves emerges as an indispensable object of study for the Portuguese aristocracy of this period. On the one hand, she was a member of the losing faction and, on the other hand, because she was a woman and thereby enabling consideration of her actions from a gender perspective.

Historiography has conveyed how, despite the exclusion of women both from the public sphere and from political participation, the 19th century saw different forms of active participation in the *res publica*. Studies on women elites in the Queen's household portray how this space and its agents continued to retain political and symbolic importance even during the constitutional monarchy²³. Another type of political activism also stems from the petitions to state authorities or their participation in philanthropic, educational, reformist or religious organisations. This also extends to engagement with rebellious movements through exercising unconventional forms of citizenship²⁴. Women participating in war was neither exclusive to the 19th century nor to the Iberian Peninsula but was instrumentalised in this period as a means of political propaganda and mobilisation whether for the protection of their families and properties or in defence of the monarchy and religion²⁵. In the case of absolutist women, they were portrayed as ignorant, fervent Catholics, subject to the influence of the Church and members of the lower classes. Although they were involved in conflicts, the logistical tasks and transmitting information²⁶, they did not actively participate in the armed struggle by taking up arms²⁷.

For these reasons, it is important to understand just what practices and strategies of political, social, economic, and symbolic affirmation the Marchioness of Chaves developed to maintain or increase her prestige and that of her household, especially in this period of political transition when she played an active role.

Methodologically, in addition to analysing a varied set of documents from a variety of archives, including institutional documents and the periodical press, we thought it appropriate to apply the concept of Household. This concept became a basic concept for the Portuguese aristocracy throughout the Modern Age and was still in force at the end of the constitutional monarchy²⁸, merging family with lineage and surname and perceived as a coherent set of symbolic and material belongings, which all those who were either born into or depended on the Household were obliged to reproduce and increase²⁹. Furthermore, this concept is also relevant to the internal organisation of this text because, as we shall see, throughout her life the Marchioness belonged to several households: the one she was born into; the one she married into - and to which married women belonged; and, finally, her maternal grandfather's household, which she inherited after becoming a widow.

²⁰ CITEM (org.), *A construção da(s) liberdade(s)*, Porto, CITCEM, 2021; CARDOSO, José Luís, *A Revolução Liberal de 1820*, [S.l.], Clube do Coleccionador dos Correios, 2019; MOREIRA, Vital, DOMINGUES, José, *Da Revolução à Constituição, 1820-1822*, Porto, Porto Editora, 2020; LOPES, José Manuel, *1820, revolução liberal do Porto*, Porto, Câmara Municipal do Porto, 2020; ARAÚJO, Ana Cristina, *Resistência patriótica e revolução liberal 1808-1820*, Coimbra, Imprensa da Universidade de Coimbra, 2022; PEREIRA, Miriam Halpern, ARAÚJO, Ana Cristina, ALVES, Daniel, ALVES, Jorge Fernandes, CARDOSO, José Luís, LOUSADA, Maria Alexandre, CASTRO, Zília Osório de, *A Revolução de 1820. Leituras e Impactos*, Lisbon, ICS, 2022; PEREIRA, Miriam Halpern, ARAÚJO, Ana Cristina, *Gomes Freire e as vésperas da Revolução de 1820*, Lisbon, BNP, 2018.

²¹ MÓNICA, Maria Teresa, *Errâncias miguelistas 1834-43*, Lisbon, Cosmos, 1997; LOUSADA, Maria Alexandre, FERREIRA, Maria de Fátima Sá e Melo, *D. Miguel*, [Lisbon], Círculo de Leitores, 2006; PROTÁSIO, Daniel, *Pensamento histórico e acção política do 2º Visconde de Santarém (1809-1855)*, [s.l.], Daniel Protásio, 2016; VEIGA, Francisca, *A restauração da Companhia de Jesus em Portugal 1828-1834: o breve regresso no reinado de D. Miguel*. Doctoral degree thesis in History, FLUL, 2019.

²² LOUSADA, "D. Pedro...", *op. cit.*; VASCONCELOS, *op. cit.*; URBANO, Pedro, *A Casa Palmela*, Lisbon, Livros Horizonte, 2008; MENDOÇA, Filipe Folque de, *O Duque de Loulé: crónica de um percurso político (1804-1875)*, Brussels, Orfeu, 2017.

²³ SAN NARCISO MARTÍN, David, "Políticas desde las cámaras de Palacio. Las Camareras Mayores en la España Liberal (1808-1868)", *Aportes: Revista de historia contemporánea*, 96 (2018), pp. 9-31; URBANO, "Entre Donas...", *op. cit.*, pp. 251-282.

²⁴ PEYROU, Florencia, "Women, Politics, and Politicisation in Spain (1808-1874)", in Diego Palacios Cerezales, Oriol Luján (ed.), *Popular Agency and Politicisation in Nineteenth-Century Europe Beyond the Vote*, London, Palgrave-Macmillan, 2022, pp. 79-80.

²⁵ ROMEO MATEO, Maria Cruz, "Españolas en la guerra de 1808: heroínas recordadas", in Mercedes Yusta Rodrigo, Ignacio Peiró Martín (ed.), *Heterodoxas, guerrilleras y ciudadanas: Resistencias femeninas en la España moderna y contemporánea*, Zaragoza, Diputación Provincial de Zaragoza, Institución "Fernando el Católico", 2015, pp. 74-75.

²⁶ PARÍS, Álvaro, "Royalist Women in the Marketplace: Work, Gender and Popular Counter-Revolution in Southern Europe (1814-1830)", in Diego Palacios Cerezales, Oriol Luján (ed.), *Popular Agency and Politicisation in Nineteenth Century Europe Beyond the Vote*, London, Palgrave-Macmillan, 2022, pp. 58-62.

²⁷ CARIDAD SALVADOR, Antonio, "Las mujeres durante la primera guerra carlista (1833-1840)", *Memoria y civilización: anuario de historia*, 14 (2011), p. 196.

²⁸ MACHUQUEIRO, Pedro, *"Nos bastidores da Corte": o rei e casa real na crise da monarquia 1889-1908*, Doctoral Degree Thesis, UNL, 2014, p. 173.

²⁹ MONTEIRO, Nuno, *O Crepúsculo dos Grandes. A Casa e o património da aristocracia em Portugal (1750-1832)*, Lisbon, Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda, 2003, pp. 83-101.

2. THE DAUGHTER OF THE MARQUESS OF ALEGRETE

Francisca Xavier Teles da Silva was the only daughter of the 5th Marquess of Alegrete Luís Teles da Silva Caminha e Meneses (1775-1828) and his first wife, Francisca Maria do Carmo de Noronha (1773-1799). She was born on 2 December 1795, in the Veloso palace, where her paternal family lived³⁰. She was baptised on 8 December in the parish church of Santa Engrácia by her great-uncle, Estevão Teles da Silva, the Principal of the Patriarchal Church of Lisbon. Her godparents were those traditionally chosen from high social groups³¹: the paternal grandfather and the maternal grandmother³². Most of their ancestors' titles were awarded at the beginning of the Braganza dynasty, although with earlier roots³³. At the beginning of the 19th century, the maternal family had even received the distinction of *Parente d'El Rei*³⁴. These characteristics therefore align with those of the senior court aristocracy in Portugal.

Little is known about Francisca's childhood, apart from the fact that she was orphaned, losing her mother a few days after her 4th birthday³⁵. Her father, who had taken part in the Rossilhão campaign and attained the rank of field marshal³⁶, accompanied the royal family to Brazil. On his arrival in Rio de Janeiro, on 1 October 1808, he married his deceased wife's first cousin, Margarida de Almeida Portugal (1791-1843), daughter of the 3rd Marquess of Lavradio³⁷. In 1811, he was appointed captain-general of São Paulo³⁸. Between 1814 and 1818, he served as governor and captain general of the captaincy of Rio Grande do Sul³⁹. He was appointed Groom of the Bedchamber, probably after the accession of King João VI to the throne and became a member of the royal council⁴⁰.

In 1814, the Marquess summoned his daughter to the court in Rio de Janeiro to enter the service of Queen Maria I⁴¹. Performing offices in the Queen's household was the only way women could offer services to the house they belonged to⁴². This represented a natural trajectory for Francisca. The selection criteria for these positions were the tradition of service and loyalty attributed to certain families⁴³ and some of her ancestors had already held office in the Royal Household⁴⁴. She took part in this sovereign's funeral procession, holding a candle after the asperges ceremony⁴⁵. With a salary of 1,000\$000 réis per year, inherent to the category of lady-in-waiting, she was paid by the Treasury of the Royal Household until the end of June 1816, when Carlota Joaquina took over the administration of the Queens Household, and the salary was paid by the Royal Treasury of the Court of Rio de Janeiro, withdrawing bills against the Treasury of the Kingdom of

³⁰ The palace, located in Rua da Cruz a Santa Apolónia, was rented after 1783 by the 3rd Marquess of Penalva, the maternal grandfather of Francisca. MATOS, José Sarmento, PAULO, Jorge Ferreira, *Caminho do Oriente, Guia Histórico*, vol. I, Lisboa, Livros Horizonte, 1999, pp. 75-76.

³¹ LOPES, Maria Antónia, "As grandes datas da existência: momentos privados e rituais públicos", in Irene Vaquinhas (coord.), *História da Vida Privada em Portugal. A Época Contemporânea*, Círculo de Leitores, p. 158.

³² Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo (ANTT hereafter), Paróquia de Santa Engrácia, Baptismos, liv. B14, cx. 10, fols. 29v-30.

³³ PINTO, Albano da Silveira, *Resenha das famílias titulares e grandes de Portugal*, Lisbon, Empresa Editora de Francisco Arthur da Silva, 1883, vol. I, p. 25, 176; vol II, p. 240.

³⁴ *Id, Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 112.

³⁵ ANTT, Paróquia de Santa Engrácia, Óbitos, liv. O7, cx. 65, fol. 135v.

³⁶ *Gazeta do Rio de Janeiro*, 9/07/1817, p. 3.

³⁷ PINTO, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 25.

³⁸ *Gazeta do Rio de Janeiro*, 10/06/1812, p. 3. NORONHA, *op. cit.*, p. 247.

³⁹ *Gazeta do Rio de Janeiro*, 27/07/1814, p. 6. SILVA, Riograndino da Costa, *Notas à margem da história do Rio Grande do Sul*, Porto Alegre, Globo, 1968, p. 216.

⁴⁰ *Almanach do Rio de Janeiro para o ano de 1816*, Rio de Janeiro, Imprensa Régia, 1816, p. 40.

⁴¹ NORONHA, *Resenha das famílias...*, *op. cit.*, p. 246.

⁴² MONTEIRO, *O Crepúsculo...*, *op. cit.*, p. 533.

⁴³ LOURENÇO, Maria Paula, *Casa, corte e património das rainhas de Portugal (1640-1754): poderes, instituições e relações sociais*, Tese de Doutoramento, UL, 1999. CARDIM, Pedro, *O poder dos afectos: ordem amorosa e dinâmica política no Portugal do Antigo Regime*, Doctoral Degree Thesis, UNL, 2000.

⁴⁴ TORRES, João Castelo-Branco, *Resenha das famílias titulares do Reino de Portugal...*, Lisbon, Imprensa Nacional, 1838, pp. 20, 156.

⁴⁵ *Gazeta do Rio de Janeiro*, 27/03/1816, p. 1. SANTOS, Luís Gonçalves, *Memórias para servir a História do Reino do Brazil, (...)*, t. II, Lisbon, Imprensa Régia, 1825, p. 49. *O Investigador português em Inglaterra ou Jornal Literário, político, etc.*, n. 1, vol. XVI, 07/1816, p. 94.

Portugal⁴⁶. In fact, Francisca is not mentioned in the Queen's Household pay slips between 1816 and 1824⁴⁷, even though she is listed as a lady-in-waiting in official publications⁴⁸.

In 1817, when the Household of the Princes of Brazil was founded, Francisca entered the service of Leopoldina of Austria⁴⁹. Although her father returned to Portugal with King João VI⁵⁰, Francisca was to remain in Brazil for some time before later returning with her maternal uncle, the 6th Marquess of Angeja, who was one of Pedro's Bedchamber Grooms⁵¹.

3. THE WIFE OF THE MARQUESS OF CHAVES

On her return to Portugal, she married Manuel da Silveira Pinto da Fonseca Teixeira (1784-1830), the 2nd Count of Amarante and recently the 1st Marquess of Chaves. He came from a wealthy family of winegrowers, who owned estates in Honras de Nogueira and São Cipriano and the Espírito Santo manor in the village of Canelas⁵². The eldest son of Francisco da Silveira Pinto da Fonseca Teixeira, the 1st Count of Amarante and Maria Emília Teixeira de Magalhães e Lacerda, he had two other siblings⁵³. Francisco was a military officer who played an important role in the Peninsular War, which earned him his title in 1811 coupled with strong influence throughout the province of Trás-os-Montes⁵⁴. He and his son were the only members of the Silveira clan not to join the 1820 revolution, remaining faithful to absolutism⁵⁵. Manuel had been educated at the Royal College of Nobles and took up a military career, also taking part in the Peninsular War. These services were rewarded with his promotion to brigadier⁵⁶ and the granting of a 2nd life for his father's title in 1819⁵⁷. In that year, he was appointed military governor of Valença before being promoted to field marshal in the following year⁵⁸. In 1822, he was awarded the Commandery of Santa Marinha da Carregosa in the Order of Christ⁵⁹. In February 1823, he led the absolutist military uprising in Vila Real, which was finally put down the following month in Amarante and forcing him to take refuge in Spain⁶⁰, after being stripped of his titles and honours⁶¹. In May, he joined the rebel troops quartered in Vila Franca de Xira, alongside Infante Miguel and other regiments opposed to the 1822 constitution⁶². João VI promised a new and more moderate constitutional text in an attempt at reconciliation. The courts were dissolved, a new government was formed made up of absolutists and conservative liberals, civil and political rights were restored to Carlota Joaquina, and Miguel was appointed commander-in-chief of the army. Furthermore, political exiles were allowed to return, and Manuel da Silveira arrived in Lisbon to great celebration⁶³ and with his titles and honours reinstated⁶⁴. King João VI promoted him to lieutenant-general and awarded him the title of Marquess of Chaves in three lives on 3 July⁶⁵, and the Grand Cross of the Tower and Sword, in addition to an income of 2,400\$000 réis in Crown properties over three lifetimes⁶⁶, which was in addition to the 322\$858 réis earned annually from the title of marquess⁶⁷.

⁴⁶ ANTT, Casa das Rainhas, liv. 122, fol. 5.

⁴⁷ ANTT, Casa das Rainhas, livs. 309 a 412.

⁴⁸ *Almanach do Rio*, op. cit., p. 37; *Almanach do Rio de Janeiro para o ano de 1817*, Rio de Janeiro, Imprensa Régia, 1817, p. 57.

⁴⁹ MORAIS, J. A. Melo, *Chronica Geral do Brazil*, t. II, Rio de Janeiro, B. L. Garnier, 1886, pp. 180-181.

⁵⁰ LENCASTRE, António Mascarenhas da Silva e, *Portugal-Dicionário Histórico, Corográfico, Heráldico, Biográfico, Bibliográfico, Numismático e Artístico*, vol. IV, Lisbon, João Romano Torres-Editor, 1904-1915, pp. 89-90.

⁵¹ MORAIS, op. cit., p. 181. Noronha claims that she returned with her father. NORONHA, op. cit., p. 388.

⁵² CARDOSO, *A revolução liberal...*, op. cit., p. 3.

⁵³ Miguel (1783-1800) and Mariana (1784-?), who married her father's first cousin, the 1st viscount of Várzea de Abrunhais, Bernardo da Silva Pinto da Fonseca (1780-1830). TORRES, op. cit., pp. 72-73.

⁵⁴ CARDOSO, *A revolução liberal...*, op. cit., p. 3.

⁵⁵ *Id.*, *Ibid.*, p. 144.

⁵⁶ ZUQUETE, *Nobreza de Portugal e Brasil*, vol. 2, Lisboa, Editorial Enciclopédica, 1960, p. 528.

⁵⁷ ANTT, Registo Geral de Mercês, D. João VI, liv. 16, fol. 85v-86.

⁵⁸ ZUQUETE, op. cit., vol. 2, p. 528.

⁵⁹ ANTT, Registo Geral de Mercês, D. João VI, liv. 16, fol. 155v.

⁶⁰ CARDOSO, *A revolução liberal...*, op. cit., p. 338-394.

⁶¹ *Suplemento ao Diário do Governo*, 6/03/1823, [p. 1].

⁶² CARDOSO, *A revolução liberal...*, op. cit., p. 394.

⁶³ ZUQUETE, op. cit., vol. 2, p. 528.

⁶⁴ *Suplemento Diário do Governo*, 14/06/1823, [p. 1].

⁶⁵ ANTT, Registo Geral de Mercês, D. João VI, liv. 18, fols. 84v-85.

⁶⁶ ZUQUETE, op. cit., vol. 2, p. 528.

⁶⁷ ANTT, Registo Geral de Mercês, D. João VI, liv. 19, fol. 45v.

It was as the Marquess of Chaves that he requested royal permission to marry Francisca, which was granted on 11 July 1823⁶⁸. Alberto Pimentel justifies this alliance by the similarity in social ranks, alluding only to the fact that the court was no stranger to nuptial negotiations⁶⁹. Eduardo de Noronha, on the other hand, argues that this alliance was forged by Queen Carlota⁷⁰, into whose service Francisca passed following her arrival in Portugal⁷¹. Indeed, the role of Portuguese queens did include encouraging suitable marriages for their servants⁷². These weddings also provided a way for newer houses to boost their symbolic capital by marrying into old houses with grandeur⁷³ as was the case here.

The ceremony took place in the Marquesses of Alegrete's palace oratory⁷⁴. The groomsmen were relatives of the groom: his maternal uncle, the Viscount of Peso da Régua, Gaspar Teixeira de Magalhães e Lacerda and his nephew Francisco da Silveira Pinto da Fonseca⁷⁵, both military men and supporters of absolutist ideals⁷⁶. Other absolutist military figures were among the guests⁷⁷.

The couple settled in Lisbon in a palace belonging to the Marquess of Belas and located close to that of the Marchioness's paternal family⁷⁸. A few months later, on 20 October, Francisca was distinguished by King João VI "em remuneração dos seus serv[ic]os obrados com m[u]lta distinção, e zelo, como Dama Camarista da Seren[iss]ima S[e]n[h]ora Princesa R[e]a", Leopoldina, with a pension of 500\$000 réis per year, through her life and that of her husband's heir⁷⁹. The marquesses began their married life comfortably. Their estates had been augmented by income from royal bounties, given as remuneration for their services, and they both enjoyed royal favour.

The absolutist convictions of the Marquess were shared with a wide network of family members⁸⁰. Francisca's political alignment before her marriage is unknown⁸¹. Her father died before the civil war but there is evidence, he was a constitutionalist⁸². Her maternal uncle, the Marquess d'Angeja, who died in 1827, had fought against the rebellious absolutist troops after the granting of the constitutional charter. However, her brother, the 4th Marquess of Penalva, was an absolutist⁸³. It is after Francisca's marriage that there was the exchange of correspondence between her and the Portuguese infantas, Maria Teresa and Maria Francisca upholders of absolutism in both Portugal and Spain, and with whom the Silveira clan was in close correspondence⁸⁴. Correspondence served to found and sustain networks of sociability, power, patronage, and influence, maintaining group cohesion and affirming common values and ideologies, circulating ideas, and advice, or services⁸⁵. It should be noted that this epistolary strategy with political objectives had been applied

⁶⁸ ANTT, Ministério do Reino, mc. 872, proc. 33.

⁶⁹ PIMENTEL, *op. cit.*, p. 170, 172.

⁷⁰ NORONHA, *op. cit.*, p. 402.

⁷¹ PIMENTEL, *op. cit.*, p. 172.

⁷² SILVA, Manuela Santos, "The Portuguese Household of an English Queen: Sources, Purposes, Social Meaning (1387-1415), in Theresa Earenfight (ed.), *Royal and Elite households in medieval and Early Modern Europe. More than just a Castle*, Leiden-Boston, Brill, 2018, p. 275.

⁷³ MONTEIRO, *O crepúsculo*, *op. cit.*, p. 433.

⁷⁴ According to Almeida, Francisca wore a dress in blue and red, the same colours as the legitimist troops. ALMEIDA, Francisco José de, *Apontamentos da vida d'um homem obscuro escriptos por elle mesmo*, Lisbon, Typ. de João Carlos d'Ascensão, 1880, p. 117. However, there are older indications that the use of these colours in clothing dates back further. *Montreal Gazette*, 30/04/1827, p. 2; BOOK, *op. cit.*, p. 475.

⁷⁵ ANTT, Paróquia de Santa Engrácia, Casamentos, liv. C12, cx 46, fol. 41v.

⁷⁶ Gaspar had joined the revolution of 1820 but, in 1823, he took part in the revolt organised by his nephew and in the Vila-Francada. CARDOSO, *A revolução liberal*, *op. cit.*, p. 143. Francisco married the natural daughter of the Marquess of Chaves in 1838. TORRES, *op. cit.*, pp. 257.

⁷⁷ ALMEIDA, *op. cit.*, p. 117.

⁷⁸ ARAÚJO, Norberto de, *Peregrinações em Lisboa*, liv. XI, Lisbon, Parceria A. M. Pereira, 1938, p. 28; CASTILHO, Júlio de, *A Ribeira de Lisboa*, vol. 1, Lisbon, Câmara Municipal, 1948, p. 155; MATOS, PAULO, *op. cit.*, p. 105.

⁷⁹ "in reward for the services provided with such great distinction and zeal as Lady-in-waiting to Her Royal Highness, Princess", ANTT, Registo Geral de Mercês, D. João VI, liv. 17, fol. 186-186v; liv. 41, fol. 4-4v.

⁸⁰ FRONTEIRA, 7^o marquês, ANDRADA, Ernesto de Campos de, *Memórias do marquês de Fronteira e d'Alorna*, t. II, Coimbra, Imprensa da Universidade, 1926, p. 143.

⁸¹ Eduardo Noronha believes Francisca was already an adherent of absolutist ideas, but which only came more apparent after her marriage. NORONHA, *op. cit.*, p. 409.

⁸² PIMENTEL, *op. cit.*, p. 1898: 212.

⁸³ LOUSADA, "D. Pedro...", *op. cit.*, pp. 112-113.

⁸⁴ PIMENTEL, *op. cit.*, p. 173.

⁸⁵ CASTILLO GÓMEZ, António, "Del Tratado a la práctica: La escritura epistolar en los siglos XVI y XVII", in Carlos Sáenz Sanchez, António Castillo Gómez (dir.), *La correspondencia en la Historia. Modelos y prácticas de la escritura epistolar. Actas del VI congreso internacional de Historia de la cultura Escrita*, vol. 1, Madrid, Calambur, 2001, pp. 100-101; BORELLO, Benedetta, "Family Networking

by Queen Carlota Joaquina and was replicated by her daughters, especially Maria Teresa, within the framework of Spanish absolutism⁸⁶. Intimacy with the infantas was enabled by her position as lady-in-waiting to the Queen, which she took up in Brazil and providing a direct and privileged means of access to the members of the royal family and during which she was able to deepen the bonds of friendship, trust, and loyalty⁸⁷. In fact, in performing these positions, the actions of women reached beyond the functions of service and representation to provide networks of information and influence of use to the functions and actions of their husbands⁸⁸. Working in the Queen's household was regarded as a way of gaining informal power and enjoying symbolic capital through direct access to the Queen and, consequently, to the spheres of political power⁸⁹.

In January 1824, the Marchioness wrote to Infanta Maria Teresa, sending a memorial of her husband to be delivered to Ferdinand VII. The Infanta replied on 1 February 1824, saying that, “até hoje ainda não me deu resposta, porém, ele, e tu, podem contar comigo na certa q[ue] não me pouparei a diligência alguma p[ar]a o conseguir, pois estimo infinito ter esta ocasião de mostrar ao marquês a m[in]ha gratidão, pelos relevantes serviços q[ue] tem feito a meu augusto Pai”⁹⁰. The Marquess of Chaves made recourse to his wife's network of female contacts at the Spanish court to enter into contact with the king, during the absolutist regime, after the liberal triennium of 1820-1823. These activities did not go unnoticed by the Portuguese authorities. This letter was copied by Lourenço António de Araújo⁹¹, then 2nd Sub-Inspector General of the Post Office of the Kingdom of Portugal and responsible for the Private Royal Service, a secret office for opening correspondence⁹². A copy was then sent to the Head of War Affairs, the Count of Suberra⁹³.

While the King of Spain paid no attention to the Marquess' memorial, on 15 February the French King Louis XVIII awarded him the Grand Cross of the Royal Military Order of Saint Louis⁹⁴, established in 1693 to reward military merit. News of this award reached Portugal on 2 March⁹⁵ and on the 23rd of the same month, King João VI appointed him as a Counsellor of War on a pension of 1,600\$000 réis⁹⁶.

Despite their national and international public recognition, the couple experienced a great personal loss: on 23 August 1825, the Marchioness gave birth to a baby boy but who died in childbirth⁹⁷. It was a double grief: the death of a son and the inability to beget heirs, a fundamental duty to their household⁹⁸. They left for their palace in Vila Real, where they arrived on 21 October 1825 and were enthusiastically received by the population, with triumphal arches, fireworks, and mass cheers of salutation⁹⁹.

Purpose and Form of Epistolary Conversation between Aristocratic Siblings (Siena 17th Century)”, in Regina Schulte, Xenia Von Tippelskirch (dir.), *Reading, Interpreting and Historicizing: Letters as Historical Sources*, Italy, European University Institute Badia Fiesolana, 2004, pp. 111, 117; ESCRIBANO PÁEZ, José Miguel, “Amigo y Querido Legasa’ Escribir cartas y mantener redes entre la corte y la aldea en el Siglo XVIII”, in Antonio Castillo Gómez, Verónica Sierra Blas (dir.) *Cartas, Lettres, Lettere, Discursos, prácticas y representaciones epistolares, (siglos XIV-XX)*, Alcalá, Universidad de Alcalá, 2014, pp. 235, 240-241; IMÍZCOZ BEUNZA, José María, ARROYO RUIZ, Lara, “Redes sociales y correspondencia epistolar. Del análisis cualitativo de las relaciones personales a la reconstrucción de redes egocentradas”, *REDES-Revista hispana para el análisis de redes sociales*, 21 (2011), pp. 101-102.

⁸⁶ VICENT, Andrés María, “La América española entre Carlotistas y Carlistas: notas sobre la dimensión territorial de las resistencias de corte dinástico a la disolución de la monarquía católica”, *Ariadna Histórica. Lenguajes, conceptos, metáforas*, 11 (2022), pp. 125-126.

⁸⁷ Maria Teresa remained in Rio de Janeiro until the return of the royal family to Portugal in 1821 and on 9 July the Portuguese courts fixed her endowment. *Diário do Governo*, 23/07/1821, p. 109. Francisca de Assis came to this city on 2 July 1816, to marry Infante Carlos Isidro of Spain. *Gazeta do Rio de Janeiro*, 10/07/1816, p. 2.

⁸⁸ OLIVÁN SANTALIESTRA, Laura, “Por una historia diplomática de las mujeres en la Edad Moderna”, in Henar Gallego Franco, María del Carmen García Herrero (eds.), *Autoridad, poder e influencia. Mujeres que hacen historia*, Barcelona, Icaria, 2017, pp. 61-77; BORGOGNONI, Ezequiel, “Marie Gigault de Bellefonds, ambassadress of Frances. Gender, Power, and Diplomacy at the court of Charles II of Spain. 1679-1681”, *Librosdelacorte.es*, 20, (2020) pp. 7–30.

⁸⁹ SAN NARCISO MARTÍN, “Políticas...”, *op. cit.*, pp. 9. MORAL RONCAL, Antonio Manuel, “La Camarería Mayor en la corte de Fernando VII: Un espacio nobiliario de poder informal y capital simbólico”, *Hispania*, vol. LXXX, 264 (enero-abril 2020), pp. 139-140.

⁹⁰ “up until today, he has yet to give me an answer, nevertheless, he, and yourself, may count on me in the certainty that I shall not spare any diligence to achieve this as I hold infinite esteem for having this occasion to show to the marchioness my gratitude for the most relevant services you have made to my august Father.” PIMENTEL, *op. cit.*, pp. 174-175.

⁹¹ FERREIRA, Godofredo, *Dos Correios-mores do reino aos Administradores-gerais dos correios e Telégrafos. Ligeiros subsídios biográficos*, Lisbon, Tipografia Severo Freitas e Freitas filho, 1963, p. 135-141.

⁹² This service had closed following the 1820 revolution but began operating again from 1823 until 1824. FERREIRA, *op. cit.*, p. 136.

⁹³ Arquivo Histórico Militar, DIV/1/18/089/04.

⁹⁴ <https://www.saint-louis.info/bdd/>, (last consultation 10/12/2023).

⁹⁵ *Gazeta de Lisboa*, 2/03/1824, p. 1.

⁹⁶ ZUQUETE, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 528; PIMENTEL, *op. cit.*, p. 164.

⁹⁷ ANTT, Paróquia de Santa Engrácia, Óbitos, liv. 09, cx. 66, fol. 147v.

⁹⁸ MONTEIRO, *O crepúsculo*, *op. cit.*, p. 144.

⁹⁹ ANTT, Intendência Geral da Polícia, maço 355, 541.

In March 1826, João VI died, opening the way for a constitutional regime. Infante Miguel had been in exile since 1824, following the failure of the Abrilada coup, with Pedro acceding to the Portuguese throne, before granting the Constitutional Charter and abdicating in favour of his daughter Maria. This political situation greatly displeased the absolutists and there were uprisings and widespread military desertions, especially in Trás-os-Montes¹⁰⁰. The central regime viewed the marquesses' stay in the region with some concern and Regent Isabel Maria ordered the Marquess to come to Lisbon to serve on the council of war, an order he then ignored¹⁰¹. The Marchioness decided to intercede for her husband through her family connections. She wrote unsuccessfully to her stepmother's brother, the Count of Lavradio, Francisco de Almeida Portugal, then Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, as well as to the Minister of War, João Carlos de Saldanha, the future Duke of Terceira, and to the Minister of Ecclesiastical Affairs and Justice, José António Guerreiro, requesting that the order for the Marquess to return to Lisbon should not take effect¹⁰².

At the beginning of October 1826, Infanta Maria Teresa encouraged the Marquess to install a Provisional Government in the name of King Miguel, with Queen Carlota as regent¹⁰³. A few days later, with suspicions that a coup was afoot, Judge Manuel Maria Coutinho de Albergaria Freire visited the Marchioness and ordered her not to let her husband leave, to which she reportedly replied "que ele não podia nem tinha tenção de sair de Vila Real"¹⁰⁴. Furthermore, at the beginning of the following day, the Marquess appeared before the military unit, accompanied by a small number of people¹⁰⁵, who were acclaiming King Miguel¹⁰⁶. However, this action was not to have the desired effect and the military unit remained loyal to the Constitutional Charter. The Marquess fled and took refuge in the residence of the Bishop of Lugo¹⁰⁷. The Judge issued an arrest warrant and seized his properties¹⁰⁸. He had watch kept over the Marchioness, who remained in Vila Real, left with only two maids¹⁰⁹ and in the company of her husband's aunt, the Viscountess of Canelas, Maria Amália Pamplona Barreto de Miranda. They were viewed suspiciously by the Constitutionalist press because, although it remained unknown whether they were politically involved, they were certainly venerated in rural areas. That the Marchioness distributed alms to the poor could cause the population to come out in her defence. For this reason, the press called on the government to order their removal to Lisbon, arguing this to be prudent and for these ladies to remain where their husbands had committed crimes as unseemly¹¹⁰. On 21 October, the regent ordered the Marchioness to return to court¹¹¹, which she disobeyed¹¹². As well as strategically requesting the judge for a delay to provide time to comply¹¹³, she gathered sympathy and support for her cause in nearby villages and from some authorities, bribing the Vila Pouca de Aguiar soldiers who had joined the Marquess's army¹¹⁴, probably through pecuniary bribes paid via an intermediary¹¹⁵. She also provided shelter to some supporters of the absolutist cause, who spread pamphlets with proclamations in her husband's name in the city of Vila Real¹¹⁶. A warrant for the judge's arrest at his home led to the detaining nine individuals while others managed to escape¹¹⁷.

¹⁰⁰ CARDOSO, *A revolução liberal*, op. cit., p. 458-466.

¹⁰¹ *Id.*, *ibid.*, p. 467. *O Imparcial*, 26/09/1826, p. 85-86.

¹⁰² PORTUGAL, D. Francisco de Almeida, ANDRADA, Ernesto Campos de (coord.), *Memórias do Conde de Lavradio D. Francisco de Almeida Portugal*, vol. I, Coimbra, Imprensa da Universidade, 1932, pp. 160-161.

¹⁰³ *Mastigoforo*, 1829, 2/10/1826, p. 31-32.

¹⁰⁴ "that he could not. And nor did he have any intention of, leaving Vila Real" *Borboleta*, 10/10/1826, p. 318.

¹⁰⁵ *Borboleta*, 10/10/1826, p. 318. Pimentel puts the number at 500 countrymen and a few soldiers. PIMENTEL, op. cit., p. 182.

¹⁰⁶ *Gazeta de Lisboa*, 10/10/1826, p. 974

¹⁰⁷ VALENTE, Vasco Pulido, "Os levantamentos «miguelistas» contra a Carta Constitucional (1826-1827)", *Análise Social*, vol. XXX, 133, (1995) 4º, p. 634.

¹⁰⁸ *O Imparcial*, 14/10/1826, p. 108.

¹⁰⁹ Transcription of "Nova História da celebre fugida da Excellentíssima Senhora Marqueza de Chaves do palácio de Villa Real para os povos causada pelos constitucionais. Escripita por um soldado miliciano da dita Vila, nº 51". PIMENTEL, op. cit., p. 192.

¹¹⁰ *O Imparcial*, 17/10/1826, p. 113

¹¹¹ NORONHA, op. cit., pp. 437-438.

¹¹² *O Imparcial*, 24/10/1826, p. 123.

¹¹³ *O Imparcial*, 2/11/1826, p. 134.

¹¹⁴ PIMENTEL, op. cit., p. 212. The news of this rebellion is published in *Gazeta de Lisboa*, 28/10/1826, p. 1093, without any reference to the Marchioness. Pimentel justifies this omission by referring to the Marquess of Alegrete, his father, who was a constitutionalist. Oliveira Martins also attributes this uprising to the Marchioness. MARTINS, op. cit., p. 25.

¹¹⁵ SANTOS, Clemente José dos, *Documentos para História das Cortes Geraes da Nação Portuguesa*, vol. 2, Lisboa, Imprensa Nacional, 1884, p. 690.

¹¹⁶ The newspaper does not report the name of the Marchioness but does state that a man had come to the town at night and entered the house of "...". *O Imparcial*, 9/11/1826, p. 147.

¹¹⁷ *O Imparcial*, 30/11/1826, p. 184.

Aided by a militia soldier and António de Almeida Magalhães, the Marchioness fled her residence accompanied by a maid on 24 November¹¹⁸. From Vila Real, she travelled south, passing through the villages of Abambres, Fonteita, Guiães and Galafura, hosted by former servants or legitimists. On the way, she ordered the militia colonel of Vila Real, by means of an order of the day, as if she were a military entity, to acclaim Miguel as the absolute king of Portugal, on the threat of his dismissal. She attached a personal note, attributing him with responsibility for any actions that might result from his disobedience as the Royalist Army would soon be entering the town to punish him. She also ordered the release of political prisoners and rebels. The press emphasised the Marchioness's exaggeration of the strength of the absolutist army as a means of intimidating the colonel¹¹⁹.

These various actions carried out by the Marchioness cannot be understood as totally improper. Historiography has detailed how the representative activities carried out by the wives of Crown officials favoured their reputation and that of the couple, affirming both their own aristocratic identity and that of their household. This was fostered by the prevailing notion of the couple as a unit that merged the identity and interests of the spouses¹²⁰. As the Marchioness of Chaves was the wife of a military man, she was also expected to behave valiantly, thus, in a brave and intrepid manner, just as the Marquess of Fronteira said of his own wife at the same time¹²¹. Another earlier example had occurred in Portugal, namely Isabel de Roxas e Lemos, the wife of General Pamplona, who she accompanied on various military expeditions during the Napoleonic Wars¹²². In addition, reading the biographical repertoires of models of women's virtue was part of the education of aristocratic women¹²³, including by Damião de Frois Perim¹²⁴, successor to a long tradition of similar literature¹²⁵, and which also included women who had distinguished themselves in warfare. However, these actions do seem to differ from those most usually carried out by legitimist women in Spain, starting with the practice of the Princess of Beira, who allied Marian devotion and the practice of embroidery by women to the legitimist cause¹²⁶.

In Galafura, the delegation, joined by other royalist personalities, took up arms and returned to Guiães. The level of popular support was significant: more than two thousand people, including women, entered Vila Real on 28 November. The participation of women in popular uprisings was commonplace under the *Ancien Régime*¹²⁷. In fact, women played an active part in popular uprisings, sieges and even war. Apart from the natural need for self-defence, participation in these events was seen as part of their duty to the community to which they belonged. In part, they were in safer positions as they were treated with greater tolerance than men when it came to taking responsibility for their actions. In addition, they were also used to seduce or shame men and incite them to engage in warlike actions. However, their actions differed in terms of their social status. Whilst the above was the case with popular groups, the involvement of elite women differed and was limited to behind-the-scenes intervention: providing monetary support for the war effort, promoting recruitment, and caring for the sick and wounded¹²⁸.

The Marchioness symbolically rode into town on a donkey and wore a headscarf in harmony with the popular dimension¹²⁹. Both the soldiers stationed there, and the judge tried to flee to Oporto¹³⁰ but were

¹¹⁸ *O Imparcial*, 30/11/1826, p. 184.

¹¹⁹ *O Imparcial*, 2/12/1826, p. 190.

¹²⁰ FERRIER-VIAUD, Pauline, *Épouses de ministres. Une histoire sociale du pouvoir féminin*, s.l., Champ Vallon, 2002, pp. 39, 47, 265.

¹²¹ CÂMARA, Maria Constança, URBANO, Pedro (ed.), *Diários*, Lisbon, Editorial Caleidoscópio, 2022, p. 92.

¹²² ARAÚJO, *Resistência*, op. cit., pp. 170-171.

¹²³ URBANO, Pedro, "Educating a Constitutionalist Queen: networks in conflict around Leonor da Câmara", in María Martos, *Redes y escritoras ibéricas en la esfera cultural de la primera Edad Moderna*, Madrid, Iberoamericana, 2021, p. 131.

¹²⁴ PERIM, Damião Frois, *Theatro Heroico, abecedário histórico, e catálogo das mulheres ilustres em armas, letras, acções heroicas, e artes liberaes*, Lisbon, Oficina da musica de Theotonio Antunes Lima, 1736-1640.

¹²⁵ AVELINO, Carla, "Portugal Ilustrado pelo sexo feminino de Diogo Manuel Aires de Azevedo (Lisboa, 1734), Tradição do Género", *Polissema, Revista de Letras do ISCAP*, nº 10 (2010), p. 85.

¹²⁶ VICENT, Andrés María, "El estandarte de la Virgen de los Dolores y la princesa de Beira en la crisis del Atlántico ibérico: una devoción y una bandera para os carlistas", *Cahiers de civilisation espagnole contemporaine: (de 1808 au temps présent)*, 30, (2023), s.p..

¹²⁷ OLIVEIRA, Luísa Tiago, "A Maria da Fonte e a Patuleia. Alguns problemas", *Ler História*, 16 (1989), p. 160; OLIVEIRA, Aurélio, "Maria da Fonte no contexto das revoltas e motins populares em Portugal", in Câmara Municipal de Póvoa de Lanhoso (coord.), *História da Coragem feita com o Coração. Actas do Congresso Maria da Fonte – 150 anos*, Póvoa de Lanhoso, Câmara Municipal, 1996, p. 53.

¹²⁸ ESDAILE, Charles J., *Women in the Peninsular War*, Oklahoma, University of Oklahoma Press: Norman, 2014, pp. 101-109.

¹²⁹ *O Imparcial*, 7/12/1826, p. 200.

¹³⁰ PIMENTEL, op. cit., pp. 195-197.

caught by surprise in an armed confrontation that led to injuries¹³¹, and were eventually arrested. Amid cheers for King Miguel and general popular enthusiasm, the Marchioness, after changing out of her working-class clothes and into gala costume at her residence¹³², went to the town hall and exercised political power: she acclaimed King Miguel, appointed a new judge and ombudsman, and ordered those accompanying her to stay in their barracks. The press called her “feia” but emphasised her “funções majestáticas”¹³³.

From there, accompanied by the Vila Real militia, the Marchioness headed to Campos and Lama d’Arcos. On the way, she encouraged the insurrectionists: “Ó filhos, soframos tudo com valor, estes são os passos da honra, mais vale sofrer e morrer em defesa da pátria e do rei, que viver na escravidão debaixo dos pesados grilhões, que tanto nos consomem”¹³⁴. This speech, whose veracity we cannot infer, shares many similarities with that attributed to Luísa de Gusmão, when questioned by her husband about accepting the crown of Portugal on the eve of restoration in 1640¹³⁵. Although the Marchioness’s speech emphasised service to the nation and the king, this similarity is very evident. In the case of the Duchess, this was followed by the characterisation of her “animo tam varonil” as also in the case of the Marchioness with her female gender emphasised as she faced the Judge: “ela questionava com tanta presença e expressões tão adequadas, que parecia incrível por ser do sexo”¹³⁶.

Her destination was Chaves, where she arrived accompanied by the rebels, who included women¹³⁷. She was greeted enthusiastically and formed a new local government. The taking of this town by royalist troops was deemed essential for the eventual triumph of their operations¹³⁸.

Her husband went to meet her, along with a cavalry guard, before they returned to Vila Real, where they then remained for a few days. During this period, the Marchioness sent a letter to the Bishop of Valladolid, thanking him for his support for the absolutist cause, which was declared publicly at the University of Valladolid, triggering a great wave of popular enthusiasm¹³⁹. Not only did she re-establish her network of influence with authorities favourable to legitimist ideas, but she also gained a voice in the public arena, albeit mediated by a male voice.

Shortly afterwards they left Vila Real for the Beira region¹⁴⁰. The episode of the theft of silver objects and a woven gold quilt reported by Kinsey may have taken place on this occasion. Whether true or not, it also depicts her riding a mule, wearing a military sash around her waist and her hat adorned with a red scarf¹⁴¹, the colour used by the absolutist faction¹⁴². It should be noted that during the liberal struggles, women added accessories to their clothes to display their support for the constitutional cause, thereby symbolically strengthening their political activism¹⁴³.

The official press only reported the insurrection in Vila Real at the beginning of December and attributed it to the Marchioness¹⁴⁴. This success did not last long. The Constitutional Government intervened by sending troops to the rebellious province. The Marquess’ troops, accompanied by his wife¹⁴⁵, who “prenait un grand intérêt au succès de cette entreprise”¹⁴⁶, were defeated by the Constitutionalists in Amarante. Renewed attempts at offensives took place unsuccessfully on 9 and 17 January. Rumours appeared in the press that the Marchioness intended to go to Madrid¹⁴⁷, probably seeking the support of the Infanta Maria Teresa, attentive

¹³¹ SOUSA, Fernando, ALVES, Natália Marinho Ferreira (coord.), *A Santa Casa da Misericórdia de Vila Real, História e património*, Porto, CEPESE, 2011, pp. 175-176.

¹³² NORONHA, op. cit., p. 451.

¹³³ “Ugly” or “majestic functioning”. *O Imparcial*, 7/12/1826, p. 200.

¹³⁴ “Oh, my sons, we suffer everything for values. These are the steps of honour, it’s better to suffer and die in defence of our nation and king than live in the slavery of the heavy shackles that bind us so tightly.” PIMENTEL, op. cit., p. 1898: 200.

¹³⁵ ERICEIRA, 3º Conde da, *História de Portugal Restaurado*, t. I, Lisbon, Officina de João Galvão, 1679, pp. 92-93.

¹³⁶ “she questioned with such presence and such appropriate expressions that it seemed incredible for one of her sex.” PIMENTEL, op. cit., p. 1898: 191.

¹³⁷ FERNANDEZ MARTIN, Luis, *El general Don Francisco de Longa y la intervención española en Portugal (1826-1827)*, Vizcaya, Junta de Cultura, 1954, p. 114.

¹³⁸ FERNANDEZ MARTIN, op. cit., p. 114.

¹³⁹ *La Quotidienne*, 20/12/1826, p. 1. *Star*, (London) 23/12/1826, p. 2.

¹⁴⁰ PIMENTEL, op. cit., pp. 200-202.

¹⁴¹ KINSEY, op. cit., pp. 314-315 and noticed in *Westmeath Journal*, 31/07/1828, p. 3.

¹⁴² CARDOSO, *A revolução liberal*, op. cit., p. 207.

¹⁴³ FUENTES, GARÍ, op. cit., p. 115.

¹⁴⁴ *Gazeta de Lisboa*, 5/12/1826, p. 1269; *Idem*, 12/12/1826, p. 1311.

¹⁴⁵ *Diário Balear*, 18/02/1827, p. 2; *Journal du commerce*, 26/02/1827, p. 1.

¹⁴⁶ ARTAUD DE MONTOR, Alexis-François (dir.), *Encyclopédie des gens du monde*, t. 5, II parte, Paris, Treuttel et Würtz, 1835, p. 619.

¹⁴⁷ *Gaceta del Supremo Gobierno de la Federación Mexicana*, 25/04/1827, p. 3.

to the couple's last victories¹⁴⁸, which were not long lasting¹⁴⁹. A final offensive, also unsuccessful, took place on 21 February. They narrowly avoided being taken prisoner¹⁵⁰ before fleeing to Spain on 7 March 1827 where the expulsion of the Marquess to France, as leader of the rebellion, was ordered¹⁵¹. The sources are contradictory as to what happened. A letter from Spanish General Francisco de Longa states that the Marchioness and Viscountess of Canelas were arrested by order of Marshal Juan Antonio Monet in La Hinojosa¹⁵². The international press, highlighting her bold, enthusiastic, and intrepid character¹⁵³ reported that she had arrived alone in Alcanizes, with two servants and her confessor, and there were rumours she was making her way to Sepúlveda¹⁵⁴. By the end of the following month, she was already back in the company of her husband, travelling from Tolosa to Hernani¹⁵⁵. However, it was then reported that the couple had settled in a rented house in San Pedro de Irubi, near Baiona¹⁵⁶, where they arrived on 5 May¹⁵⁷. This report was possibly false. A letter from the Viscount of Canelas to General de Longa, dated 7 May, states that the Viscount was continuing his journey of exile to France, which had not been granted, at the insistence of the British government, either to him or to the Marquis¹⁵⁸. In this same letter he refers to the Marquess's state of madness, which he had suffered since 1823¹⁵⁹ and fury, shared as much or more by the Marchioness¹⁶⁰.

The correspondence between the Marchioness and Maria Teresa continued¹⁶¹. The latter lamented the setbacks suffered by the rebellious royalists, congratulating the Marchioness for playing a “grande parte neste heroísmo, fazendo-se credora a que o seu nome seja posto no *Catálogo das heroínas Portuguesas*”. The infanta referred to the already mentioned work by Damião de Frois Perim. The compliment, accompanied by the warm farewell formula “tua amiga verdadeira” demonstrates the infanta's conviction in the Marchioness, especially as she was determined to govern Portugal if Miguel was unable to¹⁶². She reported that Fernando VII's financial and military assistance to the cause was censured by European diplomacy, although Austria and France continued to be favourable. However, in April, Fernando VII seemed far less willing to support the Portuguese absolutist cause according to a later letter assuring her that “eu tudo [farei] quanto me for possível a favor do marquês e da marquesa, que tão injustamente são perseguidos”¹⁶³.

During these military confrontations, the marquesses received good news: they had been granted the legitimization of the Marquess's natural daughter, on February 4, 1827¹⁶⁴, requested some time previously, also by Francisca, demonstrating her connivance and willingness in this act within a legislative context in which surviving spouses were not considered mandatory heirs¹⁶⁵. The uncertain future of the Marquess at this time, without legitimate children, justified this action, as well as ensuring financial and moral support for his daughter¹⁶⁶, Maria da Soledade Pinto da Fonseca, daughter of a widowed and noble woman and a student at the Visitação Convent in Lisbon. This allowed her to inherit the paternal house, specifically all its assets, and

¹⁴⁸ PIMENTEL, *op. cit.*, p. 224.

¹⁴⁹ *American & Commercial Daily Advertiser*, 16/03/1827, p. 2.

¹⁵⁰ FRONTEIRA, ANDRADA, *Memórias...*, *op. cit.*, t. II, p. 147.

¹⁵¹ CARDOSO, *A revolução liberal*, *op. cit.*, p. 483-487. FERNÁNDEZ MARTÍN, *op. cit.*, 196.

¹⁵² FERNÁNDEZ MARTÍN, *op. cit.*, p. 196.

¹⁵³ *The Mercury*, 03/04/1827, p. 22; *Montreal Gazette*, 30/04/1827, p. 2.

¹⁵⁴ *Journal du commerce*, 23/03/1827, p. 1; *El Sol*, 25/06/1827, p. 3061.

¹⁵⁵ FERNÁNDEZ MARTÍN, *op. cit.*, p. 196

¹⁵⁶ *Gazeta de Lisboa*, 6/06/1827, p. 835.

¹⁵⁷ *Sun* (London), 15/05/1827, p. 3.

¹⁵⁸ FERNÁNDEZ MARTÍN, *op. cit.*, p. 197.

¹⁵⁹ *Id.*, *ibid.*, p. 114.

¹⁶⁰ *Id.*, *ibid.*, p. 197.

¹⁶¹ “great role in this heroism, making us believe that your name shall be placed in the Catalogue of Portuguese Heroines.” PIMENTEL, *op. cit.*, p. 228.

¹⁶² “your true friend”. *Id.*, *ibid.*, pp. 235-238.

¹⁶³ “[shall do] everything that is my power in favour of the Marquess and Marchioness, who are so unjustly being persecuted.”. *Id.*, *ibid.*, pp. 239-241.

¹⁶⁴ ANTT, Chancelaria de D. Pedro IV, liv. 11, fol. 24-25. This document was published in the *Revista Brasil-Portugal*, 1/11/1909, p. 302-303 and in NORONHA, *op. cit.*, pp. 531-534.

¹⁶⁵ DURÃES, Margarida, “Filhos e enteados: práticas sucessórias e hereditárias no mundo rural (Braga, séculos XVIII-XIX)”, *Cadernos do Noroeste. Série História*, 15:1 (2001), p. 216.

¹⁶⁶ PEREIRA, Ana Luiza de Castro, “[...] por ter muito amor e afeição ao seu filho deseja que ele tenha bens em que melhor possa passar a vida” o viver da ilegitimidade, na cidade de Braga, no século XVIII”, in AAVV, *IV Congresso Histórico de Guimarães - Do Absolutismo ao Liberalismo*, Guimarães, Câmara Municipal, 2009, p. 537.

to succeed in its entails, inheritances, and rights, unless there were legitimate heirs. However, it should also be noted that the decree would only be issued during the reign of King Miguel¹⁶⁷.

Their arrival in Lisbon on 22 February 1828, presaged a more favourable period for the marquesses. At the end of June, the monarch authorized the return of absolutist emigrants into the kingdom and the restitution of their properties, rights, and careers¹⁶⁸. On 4 September, the king appointed the Marquess as Commandry of Santa Maria de Loures, in the Order of Christ¹⁶⁹. The rewards were not as lavish as those of 1824¹⁷⁰. This probably stemmed from King Miguel distrusting the most radical absolutist faction, which was defended by his mother and that the Marquis of Chaves also supported unconditionally¹⁷¹. Nevertheless, it was not a minor grace: this commandry earned an annual income of 1,000\$000 réis in 1830, a greater amount than that of the other held by the Marquess, worth 888\$888 réis¹⁷². He also began participating in court ceremonies¹⁷³. In turn, the queen nominated Francisca as a lady of the Royal Order of Santa Isabel on 4 November¹⁷⁴, an exclusively women honorific order the queen had established as a means of expanding her network of influence.

In Lisbon, the Marchioness dedicated herself to the administration of her estate and the settling her finances, requesting a certificate for the amount owed, and never paid, for the *tença* granted in 1823, paid through the Almoarifado dos Vinhos. Up until and including 1825, this amounted to 1,124\$657 réis and, thereafter, the pension still went unrecorded by the institution. She then requested, instead of the *tença*, the attribution of the entailed chapel of Santa Bárbara, in Braga Cathedral, rented on behalf of the Royal Treasury for 461\$000, also for two lives. This request must have been turned down as, in March 1829, she petitioned the king for the Commandry of São Pedro de Folgoso or Santo Estevão de Oldrões, both in the Order of Christ. These commandries generated a significant proportion of the aristocracy's income¹⁷⁵ and obtained directly or through rents, which were auctioned¹⁷⁶. The nobility generally preferred to rent the tithing charge rather than directly administering them¹⁷⁷. This allowed for greater income stability and payment in cash even if some gross value was lost as rents were normally lower than the total amount of tithes charged. Another advantage was the fact that the lease was free of any charges for their owners, both in terms of taxes and the hiring of employees responsible for collecting tithes. Therefore, given the delay in payments, the Marchioness clearly intended to remain independent of the Royal Treasury and guarantee her income through the direct collection of tithes or the rental of the commandry. This request would have already been made verbally, with King Miguel agreeing. However, a royal decree issued the previous month awarded her a pension rather than the expected commandry. Francisca argued that commandries did not exceed the value of the pension nor were they intended to pay public debt. Furthermore, she had already announced the royal grace to her relatives and “aos que haviam presenciado os sentimentos da sua fidelidade a Vossa Majestade e do seu zelo na defesa da Sagrada causa do Altar e do trono”. Finally, her petitioning went beyond “no seu próprio e particular interesse, mas em que se veja verificada a Real Palavra e a inabalável firmeza do Imortal Rei que a despachou por quem os portugueses suspiravam e por quem a suplicante suspirou por modo bem claro e nada equívoco”¹⁷⁸. Hence, this thus served to reaffirm her loyalty to King Miguel and the legitimist cause and reminding him of the services already provided. Despite this setback, in the following years the Marchioness continued to support the absolutist cause, making donations to the absolutist army¹⁷⁹.

¹⁶⁷ ANTT, Chancelaria de D. Pedro IV, liv. 11, fol. 24-25.

¹⁶⁸ *Gazeta de Lisboa*, 25/06/1828, p. 833.

¹⁶⁹ ANTT, Registo Geral de Mercês, D. Pedro IV, liv. 1, fol. 332-332v. Published in *Gazeta de Lisboa*, 2/10/1828, p. 1225.

¹⁷⁰ ARTAUD DE MONTOR, op. cit., p. 619; *Perthshire Courier*, 4/09/1828, p. 2.

¹⁷¹ SOUSA, Fernando de, “O Marquês de Chaves e as guerras liberais (1820-1830)”, *Aquae Flaviae*, 26 (Dezembro 2001), p. 44.

¹⁷² Arquivo Histórico do Tribunal de Contas (AHTC hereafter), Livro 4º do rendimento da décima extraordinária das comendas providas aplicado à amortização da dívida pública. 1830-1831, ER 5401, fol. 9.

¹⁷³ *Gazeta de Lisboa*, 1/10/1828, p. 1224.

¹⁷⁴ ANTT, Ministério do Reino, liv. 926, fol. 6.

¹⁷⁵ MONTEIRO, Nuno, “Os rendimentos da aristocracia portuguesa na crise do Antigo Regime”, *Análise Social*, vol. XXVI, 111 (1991), 2º, p. 375.

¹⁷⁶ ALVES, Daniel, *Os Dizimos no Final do Antigo Regime: Aspectos Económicos e Sociais (Minho, 1820-1834)*, Lisboa, Universidade Católica Portuguesa, Centro de Estudos de História Religiosa, 2012, p. 113.

¹⁷⁷ *Id.*, *ibid.*, p. 109.

¹⁷⁸ “to those who have witnessed the feeling of loyalty to Your Majesty and his zeal in the defence of the Sacred cause of the Altar and the throne”. “in her own personal and particular interest, but in that which demonstrates the verification of the Royal Word and the unshakable firmness of the Immortal King Rei who issued this for whom the Portuguese do breathe and for whom the petitioner did so clearly and unequivocally strive.” ANTT, Ministério do Reino, mc. 875, proc. 16.

¹⁷⁹ *Gazeta de Lisboa*, 30/01/1832, p. 120; *ibid.*, 26/03/1833, pp. 389-390.

There are indications that estate of marquesses generated financial liquidity. In July 1829, Francisca acquired a property of houses and a yard in S. Bartolomeu da Charneca, near Lisbon¹⁸⁰ and, at the end of the year, she established a sub-emphyteusis contract for a vineyard in the same parish, for 2\$000 réis per year, and with royal confirmation of this contract granted in the following year¹⁸¹. Furthermore, she was a regular customer of the dressmaker to Infanta Maria de Assunção¹⁸².

The mental alienation experience by the Marquess worsened his physical health¹⁸³, and he passed away on 7 March 1830, in their house on Calçada dos Caetanos¹⁸⁴, resentful of the enmity with Infante Miguel¹⁸⁵ as proven by his refusal to accede to Francisca's request for the commandry. His natural daughter became the heir of his entails and the universal heir of her grandfather, the Count of Amarante¹⁸⁶. As still a minor, the administration of the house of the Marquess of Chaves and her guardianship passed, at least as from March 22, 1832, to the Viscounts of Canelas¹⁸⁷, her great uncles¹⁸⁸. However, the Marchioness of Chaves had rented the two commanderies belonging to her husband, which in the respective contracts are referred to as "hers". The property in Santa Maria de Loures was rented to João Inácio Henriques for 700\$000 per year in January 1831¹⁸⁹. In turn, the one in Santa Marinha da Carregosa was rented to João Ferreira Troca for 600\$00 réis per year¹⁹⁰ in May 1832, taking effect in January free of all charges¹⁹¹. During the reign of King Miguel, the duration of tithe rent contracts was reduced to one year as usually occurred in periods of political instability¹⁹². Contrary to this trend, the Marchioness preferred 3-year contracts, even though this implied a potential loss of value in rental auction bids, common in politically turbulent years¹⁹³. Nevertheless, this ensured a certain profitability to Francisca even if potentially at a lower level. Furthermore, the post-mortem inventory process¹⁹⁴ of her late husband, which would make the Marquess's natural daughter his universal heir, was still ongoing, and which would allow her to benefit from this income for longer. However, contrary to the Marchioness' expectations, the constitutional government, on July 30, 1832, made the commandries of military orders merely honorary even if also attributing the right to compensation¹⁹⁵. This legislation did not take immediate effect as, on November 12, 1833, Pedro IV's government ordered the seizure of assets and income relating to the commandry of Santa Maria de Loures due to the political stance of the Marchioness of Chaves, with its tenants or administrators thereby required to declare the values and duration of their contracts¹⁹⁶.

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 17/06/1829, p. 592; *Ibid.*, 03/07/1829, p. 644.

¹⁸¹ ANTT, Desembargo do Paço, Repartição da Corte, Estremadura, e Ilhas, mç. 343.

¹⁸² PIMENTEL, *op. cit.*, p. 248.

¹⁸³ ARTAUD DE MONTOR, *op. cit.*, p. 619-620.

¹⁸⁴ ANTT, Registos Paroquiais, Mercês, Livro de Registo de óbitos, liv. O5, cx. 34, fol. 97.

¹⁸⁵ *O procurador dos Povos*, 23/03/1833, p. 11.

¹⁸⁶ ANTT, Casa da Várzea de Abrunhais e Castelo Melhor, cx. 21, mç. 13, doc. 1.

¹⁸⁷ António da Silveira Pinto da Fonseca and Maria Amália Pamplona Barreto de Miranda. The viscount was the brother of the Count of Amarante, having participated in the peninsular war. He was president of the Provisional Board of the Supreme Government of the Kingdom, although he later joined the Miguelist cause.

¹⁸⁸ ANTT, Casa da Várzea de Abrunhais e Castelo Melhor, cx. 21, mç. 13, doc. 1.

¹⁸⁹ AHTC, Registo das escrituras de arrendamento de Comendas [1826-1832], TP 192, fol. 27. ANTT, 15º Cartório Notarial de Lisboa, of. A, cx. 136, liv. 876, fol. 42v-43.

¹⁹⁰ João Ferreira Troca was a businessman, who made a fortune by buying, selling, and renting horses and cattle and by renting contracts and tithes, guaranteeing profits with subleases. A supporter of the Miguelist cause, he took advantage of this proximity to increase his business with King Miguel's supporters. ALVES, Daniel, "A Guerra Peninsular e o mundo dos negócios: o caso de João Ferreira Troca", in Maria Leonor Machado de Sousa (ed.), *Guerra Peninsular: Perspectivas Multidisciplinares. Actas do Congresso Internacional e Interdisciplinar Evocativo da Guerra Peninsular*, Lisboa, Caleidoscópio, 2008, p. 606.

¹⁹¹ AHTC, Registo das escrituras de arrendamento de Comendas [1826-1832]. TP 192, fol. 27. ANTT, 15º Cartório Notarial de Lisboa, of. A, cx. 136, liv. 881, fol. 47.

¹⁹² ALVES, *Os Dizimos*, *op. cit.*, 110.

¹⁹³ *Id.*, *ibid.*, 119.

¹⁹⁴ We were unable to identify the *post-mortem* inventory of the Marquess of Chaves in ANTT.

¹⁹⁵ *Crónica Constitucional do Porto*, 4/08/1832, p. 76.

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 18/11/1833, p. 551. The news was also publicised abroad, *Journal du commerce*, 2/12/1833, p. 1; *The Funds*, 3/12/1833, p. 2. This would have corresponded to the 1000\$000 réis in income from unidentified commandries that the Marchioness should have received, and which was included in the list of commandries received by the accomplices of the uprising. ANTT, Viscondes de Vila Nova de Cerveira, cx. 29, n.º 5, fol. 3.

4. THE HEIRESS OF THE ANGEJA HOUSEHOLD

A few days after liberal troops seized Lisbon, on 24 July 1833, the first cousin of the Marchioness of Chaves, Maria do Carmo de Noronha, the Marchioness of Angeja, died single and without heirs. The succession of this house passed to her paternal collaterals. On this date, there were only two aunts alive: Luísa and Rita de Noronha, the Marchioness of Alvito by marriage. However, there was still a niece of these ladies – the Marchioness of Chaves, daughter of their older sister, Francisca de Noronha. For this reason, Francisca became the heir to the entails of Angeja and Vila Verde, representing her mother¹⁹⁷, although she never requested usage of the title¹⁹⁸.

Becoming a holder of aristocratic heritage in her own right and already a widow, she was therefore responsible for the management and administration of the aristocratic estate¹⁹⁹. However, this inheritance forced her to deal with an already known situation: the lack of direct heirs. This underlies the reason for Francisca's marriage to João Manuel de Vilhena Saldanha Oliveira (1800-1872)²⁰⁰. A graduate in law from the University of Coimbra in 1824 and the Bedchamber Groom to Infanta Isabel, appointed on 25 January 1851²⁰¹, he was the second-born son of the 1st Count of Alpedrinha, José de Saldanha de Oliveira e Daun to the Lady of Pancas, Maria Leonor Manoel de Vilhena²⁰². It should be noted that, until 1818, the House of Pancas owned a palace in Santa Apolónia, next to that of the Marquesses of Penalva and the residence of the Marquesses of Chaves²⁰³, which may reflect the closeness of these families.

The wedding took place on August 20, 1834, officiated by the Principal of the Patriarchal Church, António Armando Saldanha da Câmara, in the chapel of the Angeja Palace, on Rua da Junqueira, where the bride then resided. The godparents were the then Marquess of Saldanha, João Carlos de Saldanha Oliveira e Daun, paternal uncle of the groom and Cristóvão Manuel de Vilhena Saldanha e Daun, eldest brother of the groom²⁰⁴. We should note how this marriage led to the legitimist Marchioness of Chaves joining one of the most important liberal families, that of the Marquess of Saldanha, who played an important role in the civil war. The participation of the relatives of the bride and groom, and especially those of the bride, demonstrates how even in this marriage, individual interests were subject to the family interests of both households²⁰⁵. The wedding certificate does not contain the bride's name, which was added to the margin, appearing as Francisca Xavier Teles da Silva de Sousa Camões Moniz e Albuquerque²⁰⁶. These last surnames belonged to the House of Angeja and, therefore, being the legal heir to this house was not enough in itself but rather also required demonstrating by adopting that house's surnames.

This was also how she signed the prenuptial contract. This references the royal license obtained for the marriage and the conditions established, specifically an allowance of 50\$000 réis paid by Francisca to the groom following the consummation of their marriage through to her death, with the widower subsequently receiving 1000\$000 réis annually, whether the marriage produced children and ceasing should there be any second marriage. The bride stipulated that all the assets she owned or would come to own, whether allodial or entailed, remained her property in the case of separation, whether there were children. Only assets acquired through marriage would be communicable. All the marital jewels that she either owned or would come to own were equally free from conjugal liability and allowing her to distribute them freely in her will. The witnesses on the bride's side were her half-brother, the Marquess of Penalva; two paternal uncles, João

¹⁹⁷ TORRES, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

¹⁹⁸ PINTO, *op. cit.*, vol. I, 106.

¹⁹⁹ FRANGANILLO ÁLVAREZ, Alejandra, “Yo como madre tengo este oficio...”: La comunicación epistolar de la VIII condesa-duquesa de Benavente como virreina de Nápoles”, *Studia Aurea: Revista de Literatura Española y Teoría Literaria del Renacimiento y Siglo de Oro*, 16 (2022), pp. 115-133.

²⁰⁰ ANTT, Paróquia de São Jorge de Arroios, Baptismos, liv. B3, cx. 2, fol. 57v; ANTT, Paróquia de São Jorge de Arroios, Óbitos, liv. O5, cx. 23, fol. 55-55v.

²⁰¹ *Almanach de Portugal para o Ano de 1855*, Lisbon, Imprensa Nacional, 1854, p. 211; *Almanach de Portugal para o ano de 1856*, Lisbon, Imprensa Nacional, 1856, p. 135.

²⁰² Arquivo da Universidade de Coimbra, Índice de Alunos da Universidade de Coimbra, Letra O, Oliveira, João Manuel de Oliveira Saldanha. PINTO, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 61-62.

²⁰³ MATOS, PAULO, *op. cit.*, pp. 95-98.

²⁰⁴ ANTT, Paróquia de Santa Maria de Belém, Casamentos, liv. C1, cx. 18, fol. 4v.

²⁰⁵ GUTIÉRREZ DE ARMAS, Judit, “Trayectorias disidentes. Soltería laica y agencia femenina en las élites de Canarias (siglos XVIII-XIX)”, *XXV Coloquio de Historia Canario-Americana*, 25 (2022), p. 4.

²⁰⁶ Braamcamp Freire declares that upon inheriting her cousin's house, the Marchioness of Chaves became known as Francisca Xavier Teles da Silva de Noronha Camões Albuquerque Moniz e Sousa. FREIRE, Anselmo Braamcamp, *Brasões da Sala de Sintra*, vol. II, Coimbra, Imprensa da Universidade, 1927, pp. 118-119.

Gomes da Silva Teles, Manuel Teles da Silva and João da Silva Pessanha, married to a cousin of her mother. On the groom's side, his brother, Sancho Manuel de Vilhena Saldanha, his brother-in-law Diogo Correia de Sá and his uncle by affinity, Miguel Pais do Amaral testified. In addition, the groom's parents and his brother Cristóvão Manuel de Vilhena also signed²⁰⁷.

This marriage followed the trend of marriages among the Portuguese titular nobility from the late 18th century onwards that sought to preserve the autonomous identity of the titular houses, and therefore choosing for this purpose a second-born without any estate. This contrasted with practices ongoing in the prior period, which sought to expand the patrimony and economic assets, or the then ongoing practices in Castile²⁰⁸. The prenuptial contract complied with the law of 17 August 1771, which allowed aristocratic heiresses to freely endow themselves with their estates²⁰⁹. In turn, the granting of an allowance to the groom was common in prenuptial contracts as from the end of the 18th century, and with similar levels of value²¹⁰ to correspond to the usual allowances attributed to brides who are not heiresses. The amount of the annuity payable in the event of the groom's death differs from the usual amounts although still within the range of the known maximum and minimum levels²¹¹.

According to Portuguese court practices, widows who married again had to ask for permission to continue enjoying the honours and titles of their first husband²¹². It remains unknown whether Francisca was ever granted permission, and, in any case, she continued to use the title of Marchioness of Chaves throughout the rest of her life.

The provisions for the eventual separation of the couple in the antenuptial contract was premonitory. The marriage was not consummated and, shortly after, the newlywed left their shared house. The hypothesis of non-consummation was raised as an "organic injury" on behalf of the groom or his repugnance towards the alleged ugliness of the bride²¹³. Surreptitiously, suspicions were cast on the groom's sexual orientation, alluding to his sweetened and foppish nature²¹⁴. João tried unsuccessfully to file for divorce while Francisca attempted to legally terminate the allowance promised to her husband in the prenuptial contract. Her legal arguments stemmed from the principle that abandoning the home meant rejecting the obligation for maintenance in addition to the non-compliance with marital duties. João won the court case in the first instance before Francisca appealed to the Lisbon Court of Appeal. The decision of this court, dated 3 December 1838, declared the donation of the allowance null and void as it exceeded the amounts stipulated by law, which would require royal authorization that would not have been requested. Her husband appealed to the Supreme Court of Justice on 26 January 1839. The Marchioness then attempted an act of conciliation. By giving up her husband's legal action, she committed to the annulment of both the marriage on the grounds of "pela incapacidade física do exm^o Sr. D. João para ser casado" and the prenuptial contract. However, her proposal was not accepted by the other party. Despite that, a decision from the Supreme Court on 15 November 1839 turned down the review of the Court of Appeal's ruling and decided in favour of the Marchioness²¹⁵.

In addition to trying to secure successors for the Angeja Household, she proceeded to maintain the state while seeking out means of eventually expanding it. Thus, one of her first actions is to ascertain just which entails belonged to the Angeja estate and requesting that the judicial authorities ratify one of these, the Alcabideche estate, as entailed, and not allodial²¹⁶. Then, and following authorisation by her husband, she took legal action against her grandfather's remaining heirs, demanding a new division of the inheritance²¹⁷. At stake were the Alcabideche estate and the 20\$000 réis annual rent from the Corroios estate, unduly considered allodial properties²¹⁸. As they were wrongly identified as allodial, they harmed the Angeja Household and the Marchioness herself as she had inherited them as allodial properties when they already belonged to her

²⁰⁷ ANTT, 7^o Cartório Notarial de Lisboa, Of. B, liv. 262, cx. 56, 6/27/12/5, fols. 5-6.

²⁰⁸ MONTEIRO, *O Crepúsculo...*, *op. cit.*, p. 128.

²⁰⁹ *Collecção das leis, decretos, e alvarás, que compreende o feliz reinado de El rei Fidelissimo D. José o I Nosso Senhor, desde o ano de 1761 até o de 1768*, t. II, Lisbon, António Rodrigues Galhardo, 1801, pp. 25-28.

²¹⁰ MONTEIRO, *O Crepúsculo*, *op. cit.*, p. 122.

²¹¹ URBANO, *A Casa*, *op. cit.*, p. 78.

²¹² PINTO, *op. cit.*, vol. I, 111.

²¹³ PIMENTEL, *op. cit.*, p. 291.

²¹⁴ *Id*, *ibid.*, pp. 288-289.

²¹⁵ "due to the physical incapacity of Mr. João to be married." *Id*, *ibid.*, pp. 292-300

²¹⁶ ANTT, Tribunal Judicial da Comarca de Lisboa, 6^a vara 1^a sec., 112534, fol. 1.

²¹⁷ ANTT, Tribunal Judicial da Comarca de Lisboa, 4^a vara 2^a sec., 45114, fol. 23-26v.

²¹⁸ Both were mentioned by Nuno Monteiro as belonging to the Angeja House in 1811, with the estate administered directly and the rents being leased. MONTEIRO, "Os rendimentos...", *op. cit.*, p. 377.

as entailed assets. She also unsuccessfully claimed that the Junqueira Palace was an entailed property²¹⁹. Despite winning this lawsuit in the first and second courts, the case would be taken to the Supreme Court and would drag on until after her death²²⁰. The legal action also had repercussions on the 1840 sale of the Angeja Palace in Lumiar to the Marquesses of Faial for 25,000\$000 réis. The agreement stipulated the payment of 900\$000 réis to the Marchioness of Chaves be deducted from her share when the deed of sale and consequent final payment took place²²¹. After winning the court case regarding the Corroios and Alcabideche assets in the first instance, Francisca requested that the Marquesses of Faial not pay her grandfather's heirs as they had no way of compensating her for the equivalent of those entailed properties²²².

Another measure taken by the Marchioness as administrator of the House of Angeja was to launch legal action against its debtors to urge them to pay off their debts, such as the action taken in November 1834 against one of the heirs to the tenant of the Camões entailed estate, who owed 1035\$000 réis and some stipends. They were to reach an agreement in the with the Marchioness receiving 300\$000 réis and nine letters of credit, each worth 43\$340 réis in metal coinage to total 390\$060 réis²²³.

Another way of monetising the house's patrimony was to rent out the properties, including those that were in ruins, such as that located in Lisbon's Beco da Silva, leased to the businessman Domingos José de Sousa Brito for 7\$200 réis a year for 15 years, free of any other charges on condition that the tenant carried out the necessary renovation works for an amount of no less than 300\$000 réis²²⁴. The Marchioness also rented a shop located in S. João da Praça, also in Lisbon, to the same tenant for six years for 10\$000 réis per year and again with the obligation to carry out rehabilitation works for 90\$000 or 100\$000 réis²²⁵. Furthermore, she rented the House's entails, such as that of the Camões property. In 1838, this was rented to Joaquim António de Sousa e Matos, for two years, for the sum of 1275\$000 réis alongside the usual stipend²²⁶. Acting with precaution, even before this contract ended, she had already established another contract, with Joaquim José Fernandes, albeit for a slightly lower amount, 1,200\$000 réis per year, in metals and the usual stipends²²⁷. As this period ended, in 1844, she again rented it for four years to yet another tenant, Joaquim Maria Camacho, and for a lower amount, 1,000\$000 réis in metal coinage or current silver and along with the corresponding stipends²²⁸. This contract underwent rectification two months later with the new version clearly stipulating that the tenant's enjoyment and usufruct of the manor should be understood within the scope of good tenancy and never detrimental to the interests of the administrator but rather serving her interests and purposes²²⁹. Within the same framework, in 1840, the Marchioness rented the entailed Nogueira Grande estate, located near Alcácer do Sal, to Francisco Joaquim de Faria for four years, for 300\$000 réis a year in metal coinage. This contract specifically obliged the tenant to cultivate the land and take good care of the property²³⁰. In 1839, she was also seeking tenants for another entail, that of Vila Verde and publishing an advert in the *Diário do Governo* to this end²³¹.

The Marchioness of Chaves was clearly striving to profit from the properties she administered, despite the consecutive loss of income produced by the lower price of successive rentals. The loss of financial liquidity also becomes visible in the relatively small amounts of alms given, for example, to the Asilo de Mendicidade, compared to the amounts donated by other aristocratic ladies²³². In addition, the Marchioness owed taxes to the public treasury²³³, a situation that had still not been regularised in 1842²³⁴.

On 30 July 1845, at her mother's cousin's home, the Countess of Peniche, the Marchioness of Chaves dictated her will to the notary because she was unable to write. In addition to her name, made up of the

²¹⁹ ANTT, Casa Palmela, cx. 88, fol. 203-213.

²²⁰ ANTT, Tribunal Judicial da Comarca de Lisboa, 4ª vara, 2ª sec., 45114, fol. 47-48.

²²¹ ANTT, Casa Palmela, cx. 88, fol. 267-297.

²²² ANTT, Tribunal Judicial da Comarca de Lisboa, 6ª vara, 3ª sec., proc. 0/1843, mç. 33, cx. 34, sala 3, corpo 42.

²²³ ANTT, Tribunal Judicial da Comarca de Lisboa, 5ª vara, 1ª sec., Proc. 0/1834, mç. 4, cx. 103, sala 3, corpo 62.

²²⁴ ANTT, 7º Cartório Notarial de Lisboa, Of. B, liv. 264, cx. 56, 6/27/12/5, fol. 81v-82.

²²⁵ ANTT, 7º Cartório Notarial de Lisboa, Of. B, liv. 267, cx. 57, 6/27/12/5, fol. 34v-35.

²²⁶ ANTT, 7º Cartório Notarial de Lisboa, Of. B, liv. 270, cx. 58, 6/27/12/5, fol. 90-91.

²²⁷ ANTT, 7º Cartório Notarial de Lisboa, Of. B, liv. 272, cx. 58, 6/27/12/5, fol. 4-5v.

²²⁸ ANTT, 7º Cartório Notarial de Lisboa, Of. B, liv. 278, cx. 59, 6/27/12/5, fol. 10-11v.

²²⁹ ANTT, 7º Cartório Notarial de Lisboa, Of. B, liv. 278, cx. 59, 6/27/12/5, fol. 28-29.

²³⁰ ANTT, 7º Cartório Notarial de Lisboa, Of. B, liv. 274, cx. 58, 6/27/12/5, fol. 9-10.

²³¹ *Diário do Governo*, 2 /12/1839, p. 1714.

²³² *Gazeta de Lisboa*, 12/08/1836, p. 942.

²³³ *Diário do Governo*, 4/08/1840, p. 942.

²³⁴ *Ibid.*, 18/04/1842, p. 367.

surnames of the house of Angeja, the identification of her parents and husband, she was identified by her title, honours and services performed: Marchioness of Chaves, Lady-in-waiting to the Queen and Lady of the Royal Order of Saint Isabel. This was followed by the commendation of her soul to God, as per the norm, imploring for forgiveness of her sins and eternal salvation. She ordered three thousand masses to be said within a period of one month. This was far more than was common at the time: in the 1820s, the average was 400 masses and in the 1830s 350 masses²³⁵. Furthermore, the Marchioness allocated 24\$000 réis to each parish priest to be distributed among the poor in Lisbon and its surrounding area, and 100\$000 réis to each of her godchildren²³⁶. She left her husband and the Countess of Peniche 2000\$000 réis each. To her half-siblings, the amount was smaller: 400\$000 réis apiece, not because they needed it but rather as a way of recognising their friendship. The same amount was left to Maria de Noronha, daughter of the Countess of Peniche. Two sisters, Joana Benvinda, and Belandina da Conceição Coelho da Mota, each received 19\$200 réis. To her servants, she bequeathed the equivalent to one year's salary. If her possessions failed to meet the legacies stipulated, the Marchioness instructed that the pious legacies be fulfilled with the remainder proportionally reduced. Should there be any funds left over after fulfilling the legacies, they were to be divided half for alms and the other half for masses. She appointed the Countess of Peniche as her executor, and she was to decide on her funeral. The Marchioness passed away on the following day at three o'clock in the afternoon, and the will was opened at a quarter past three that same day²³⁷. The House of Angeja then passed to the son of the Countess of Peniche, who, as the guardian, eventually began a long process of inventorying the house's properties and assessing their values²³⁸.

5. CONCLUSION

The praising of many characteristics in women with some kind of involvement in conflict is certainly nothing new. In the case of the Marchioness of Chaves, the construction of this identity by men who were, if not supporters, at the least sympathisers with the victorious regime emerging out of the 1828-1834 Portuguese civil war, explains the rather singular and highly derogatory description of this figure in the subsequent period. However, analysis of her biographical journey and the actions she carried out returns a different understanding of the Marchioness, specifically the alignment of her behaviours with the context of her time and the intersectionality of her gender and social status, in particular maintaining and, whenever possible, boosting the political, economic, social, and symbolic status of her household as would any aristocrat of her time.

Francisca followed the destiny common to the daughters of the senior Portuguese aristocracy by joining the Queen's Household in keeping with both the tradition of family service in palatine offices and the royal family's confidence and preference for these social circles. As well as gaining social prestige, the office of lady-in-waiting was accompanied by financial remuneration. Furthermore, this enabled to be physically proximate to various members of the royal family, especially the women, guaranteeing her wider networks of influence, which, as seen above, would be of use to her on future occasions.

Her service in the queen's household ceased when she married. Although the marriage alliance was made with a newly titled house, its financial prestige and royal favour may justify this choice. Furthermore, although it was a recent title, it belonged to a grandee of the kingdom. Although she failed in the traditional task of producing an heir, Francisca overcame this issue by legitimising her husband's natural daughter, ensuring her succession to the household she had joined through marriage. The alignment of her ideas and actions with those of her husband, in terms of joining the legitimist faction in the wake of the proclamation of the constitutional charter, demonstrates how Francisca's actions must be understood within the framework of the couple's unity. Within this scope, one of her strengths was her recourse to her correspondence networks reaching out to various interlocutors. Not only did she act as an intermediary between her husband and the King of Spain, through the Portuguese infantas married to members of that court but she also nurtured sympathy for the royalist cause among them. She also sought support from members of her maternal family, by

²³⁵ ARAÚJO, Ana Cristina, *A morte em Lisboa. Atitudes e representações. 1700-1830*, Lisbon, Editorial Notícias, 1997, p. 392.

²³⁶ The Countess of Peniche stated in the *Diário do Governo* that interested parties should contact her. *Diário do Governo*, 24/04/1846, fol. 458.

²³⁷ ANTT, Tribunal Judicial da Comarca de Lisboa, 4ª vara, 2ª, sec. 45114, fol. 3-9

²³⁸ ANTT, Tribunal Judicial da Comarca de Lisboa, 2ª vara, 2ª sec. 233646, fol. 1v; ANTT, Tribunal Judicial da Comarca de Lisboa, 3ª vara, 1ª sec. 175737, fol. 4-5. *Diário do Governo*, 24/05/1847, p. 484.

affinity, to obtain clemency from the institutional authorities for her husband. Intentionally or otherwise, she managed to gain visibility and sympathy in the public arena by getting her correspondence to the neighbouring kingdom read and publicised.

Her intervention in the absolutist uprisings in the north of Portugal also fits in with her husband's military career, who was committed to fighting against the constitutional regime. It is in this sense we should understand the actual uprisings she led, the writing of military orders addressed to the regime's military leaders as well as the dismissal of the authorities in the peripheral, local administration. However, it should also be noted that, in these actions, her gender very much stands out. She had already won popular support through distributing alms and when she led the revolts in Vila Real and Chaves, she did so wearing clothing worn by the working classes, specifically a headscarf and symbolically in the same colour as the absolutist faction. However, when it came to assembling the council and politically acclaiming King Miguel, she then chose to change her clothes to gala attire, demonstrating both her own aristocratic status and how garments played a political role. It should also be noted that the active participation of women in warfare is rare, especially among aristocratic elites, and, above all, within the absolutist faction.

Another constant concern was the financial liquidity of her household. She endeavoured to switch the royal graces granted to her for others of the same value, but which would enable the liquidity necessary to cope with delays in royal institution payments. To this end, on becoming heir to her mother's household, she proceeded with the usual procedures of the aristocracy, renting out the tax collection of the lands she administered through favourable contracts that freed her from obligations such as taxes or making improvements to the properties. In addition to the profitability of the estate, she resorted to the courts to obtain payment of outstanding leases relating to the entailed properties. She endeavoured, albeit unsuccessfully, to define the entailed assets of the Angeja House so that neither the household nor herself as its administrator and heir to her grandfather's allodial assets, would be financially disadvantaged. Finally, she adopts the surnames associated with the House of Angeja as a means of ensuring the right to its inheritance.

When she became heiress to a titular house, she tried, also unsuccessfully, to beget a direct heir for this household through a second marriage established, and again according to the customs of the time, to a second-born son, thus risking losing the right to the title by which she was known, that of the Marchioness of Chaves but which she continued to use until the end of her life and by which she continued to be known posthumously.

Finally, the testamentary bequests she made in her last will, that is, her agency, demonstrate her generosity. She left her husband, from whom she was separated, a significant sum of money as she did to the immediate family of her successor as administrator of the House of Angeja. As well as favouring her half-siblings and a few friends of her own, she also made sure to remember the other members of her household, namely the servants, alongside allocating alms to the parishes where she lived, and thus where she was known. Finally, whether out of extreme devotion or wanting to ensure the salvation of her soul, the excessive number of masses ordered at the time can be understood as both a devotional performance and economic ostentation.

Although she was perceived and described as a dissident, the Marchioness of Chaves followed the usual strategies for aristocratic women of her time. Her trajectory conveys how being a woman enabled her to provide services to various households – whether as a daughter, as a wife or as an heiress, probably only comparable to male second-born who married heiresses. This also portrayed the strategies her gender was able to develop within the context of raising the power and wealth of these same houses. Naturally, the context in which she found herself, specifically the absolutist revolts following the proclamation of the Constitutional Charter, which aggravated pre-existing dissent and led to a civil war, dictated many of the choices she made and provide insights into the events then ongoing in the Portuguese aristocracy of this period, especially those belonging to the absolutist faction and the role she played as a woman and an absolutist in these events. The failure of her enterprises mainly stemmed from the victory of a regime that the Marchioness had spent part of her life fighting against and that then built up a memory around her that depicted her unfavourably.

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