

IDENTITY AND EMOTIONS IN THE LONG EIGHTEENTH CENTURY: REPRESENTING ONESELF AND OTHERS IN THE DIARY OF THE MARCHIONESS OF FRONTEIRA

IDENTIDAD Y EMOCIONES EN EL LARGO SIGLO XVIII: LA REPRESENTACIÓN DE UNO MISMO Y DE LOS DEMÁS EN EL DIARIO DE LA MARQUESA DE FRONTEIRA

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Abstract

This paper analyses the recently published diary of the Marchioness of Fronteira, written between 1826 and 1842, from the point of view of the history of emotions. There are few diaries written by women in Portugal, especially in the troubled period of political instability, resulting from the Portuguese liberal revolution of 1820 and the consequent civil war, which led to the emigration of a significant number of the constitutional regime's supporters. As it is primarily a travel diary, detailing encounters with other cultures and social realities, this provides a privileged source for understanding the emotions of its author, from her sociable interactions with people of both genders, and different social and geographic backgrounds. Analysis of these emotions and the author's reactions enables study of her identity and self-perception, her emotional performativity, gender relations and her ties with an interconnected Europe.

Keywords

Marchioness of Fronteira; Diary; Emotions; Self; Others

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Resumen

Este artículo analiza el diario de la marquesa de Fronteira, recientemente publicado y escrito entre 1826 y 1842, desde el punto de vista de la historia de las emociones. Son escasos los diarios escritos por mujeres en Portugal, especialmente en el agitado período de inestabilidad política, resultante de la revolución liberal portuguesa de 1820 y de la consiguiente guerra civil, que provocó la emigración de un importante número de partidarios del régimen constitucional. Al tratarse principalmente de un diario de viaje, el encuentro con otras culturas y realidades sociales es una fuente privilegiada para comprender las emociones de su autora, a partir de su sociabilidad con personas de ambos sexos, y de diferentes orígenes sociales y geográficos. El análisis de estas emociones y de las reacciones de la autora permite estudiar su identidad y autopercepción, su performatividad emocional, las relaciones de género y sus vínculos con una Europa conectada.

Palabras clave

Marquesa de Fronteira; Diario; Emociones; Identidad; Otros

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0. INTRODUCTION

From a literary point of view, diaries, memoirs, and correspondence fit into the category of autobiographical texts. Historiography, however, tends to call them ego-documents in keeping with their interest as historical sources². In Portugal, 19th century autobiographical production, although not comparable to that of other European countries, such as Britain or France, was still rich and varied. However, the most representative works only underwent publication in the 20th century and diaries written by women are scarce and still rarer³.

The known Portuguese copies written by 19th century women were either published in the 21st century or remain unpublished in family archives. This might account for the scarcity of known copies of diaries of this sort given that many family archives, both private and public, have not yet been subject to study. The exceptions are those written by Maria Leonor Munró dos Anjos (1872-1940)⁴, Eugénia de Mello Breyner da Câmara (1852-1944)⁵, Maria Constança da Câmara, Marchioness of Fronteira (1801-1860)⁶ and Mariana das Dores de Melo (1856-1952)⁷.

Although all these authors belonged to the Portuguese elite, their social origins were distinct. Maria Leonor is the daughter of a capitalist and Eugenia of an aristocrat, marrying an aristocratic second-born son. Only Maria Constança and Mariana marry titleholders. Other distinctions can also be made. All accounts are written by adult women, apart from Maria Leonor, who wrote hers as a teenager. Most were written from the last quarter of the 19th century onwards – except for Maria Constança, who wrote between 1826 and 1842. In fact, there is another feature distinguishing this diary from others. Alongside its chronological precocity, much of this diary was written while travelling. These two particularities make it a singular case in the Portuguese context and unusual even when compared to the European context. In fact, although female-authored travel literature is more abundant in countries such as France or Britain in the period between the second half of the 18th century and the first half of the 19th century, there are formal differences: some take the form of letters (Lady Montagu, Mariana Starke, Marianne Baillie), others memories (Maria Riddell, Élisabeth-Louise Vigée-Le Brun, and Laura Junot) and as well as guidebooks (Mariana Starke). Unlike the diaries of Maria Constança da Câmara, most were published while the authors were still alive and, in the case of the memoirs and guidebooks, written after the events narrated therein. Furthermore, some of these diaries, such as those of Lady Montagu or Maria Riddell, reflect on extra-European experiences.

In travel writing, the most significant dimension is the inner journey, that is, the emotional voyage as this demonstrates the individual gaze of the travellers and their subjectivity⁸. *Who I am* is also defined by *where I am*. In this sense, the space where I

2. Roszak (2013): 27-42.

3. Ventura, 2009: 31-40.

4. Antunes, 2007.

5. Câmara, Andrade, 2021.

6. Câmara, Urbano, 2022.

7. Urbano, 2021: 13-25.

8. Birkett, Wheeler, 1998: VII- X.

insert myself conditions my identity, which for that same reason becomes subjective⁹. Thus, travel literature reflects the self and the identity of the authors' voices – their own respective truths¹⁰. 'Self', as an object, constitutes a social construction and arises from social experience. Furthermore, human beings pursue an ideal social self that seeks external approval: the desire to belong and be accepted by others¹¹. Relationships between the self and the other allow for the construction of identity. In turn, identity becomes defined by the set of meanings one holds about oneself, but this also embodies a process that implies not only identifying oneself but also being recognized by others. This is a relational and social dynamic in which social representations enable the definition of identities¹².

Diaries not only reveal the emotions of their authors but also their own reactions to each of those emotions¹³. Through this relationship built between its author and the others that emotional reactions also arise, are named, and internalised in the act of writing¹⁴. In this sense, we consider that there is a duplicity arising from the relationships established with other people. In themselves, these relationships allow for the construction of individual identities. However, they also arouse emotions in the self that help define the respective identity. Thus, it becomes important to ascertain the emotions that others provoke in the authorial voice and how these get recorded in writing. In recent years, the debate around the history of emotions has become rather prolix with diverse and sometimes opposing ideas. The main difference lies essentially in the origins of these emotions, whether they are cognitive and universal or non-cognitive and culturally constructed¹⁵.

Due to their singularity, both in the Portuguese and the European contexts, Maria Constança's diaries are a rich source for analysis within the history of emotions framework. As the only known diary written by an aristocratic Portuguese woman in the first half of the 19th century, which relates her travels throughout the Europe of this period, this study fills a historiographic gap concerning Portuguese autobiographical production by women, especially within the context of travel literature, as well as concerning the history of emotions. In this sense, this article sets out to study the identity and self-perceptions of its author, her emotions and emotional performativity, gender relations and her link to a connected Europe by analysing her diary. Furthermore, these journeys take on another particularity as they are themselves motivated by the political exile that the Marchioness and her family experienced in a very particular context – that of the Portuguese liberal revolution, which is itself part of a wider conjuncture of exiles arising from the Age of Revolutions. This therefore

9. Dixon, Durrheim, (2000): 27-44.

10. Lejeune, 1975.

11. Spencer, Fein, Lomora, (2001): 41-65.

12. Andreouli, (2010): 14.1-14.13.

13. Boddice, 2018: 80. Davinson, Jalava, Morosini, el. al. (2018): 226–238. Matt, (2013): 41-53. Pernau (2015): 634-667. Stearns, Stearns (1985): 813-836; 2013: 17-40.

14. Scheer (2012): 193-220.

15. As it is impossible to mention all the contributors to this intense and fruitful debate, we here leave reference to the scholars who sought to systematise and organise the various theoretical currents: Tausiet, Amelang, (2009). Wierzbicka, (2010). Boddice, (2017, 2018, 2020). Rosenwein, Cristiani, (2018). Stearns, (2020). García de Orellán, (2020). Barclay, (2021).

also returns a better understanding of Portuguese emigration during this period, placing it in the broader context of the European revolutions, especially those in the south, which have hitherto received little historiographic study¹⁶. Furthermore, it is important to correspondingly emphasise that more than the experience of travel motivated by work or leisure, travel provoked by exile becomes still more significant regarding representations of oneself and others: the isolation both favours reflection on one's own identity and produces the reconfiguration of sociability networks¹⁷.

1. METHODOLOGY

Through analysis of diaries, we are able to understand and characterize this construction of the self from the contacts with others that are reported throughout the narrative. In this sense, it is important for us to observe the different emotional reactions that direct contact with different actors provokes in the author. To this end, we need to clarify some initial questions of relevance to our analytical methodology.

Firstly, we apply the term emotion as a meta-concept¹⁸ despite it neither being a common concept in the author's time nor actually used by her. In fact, Maria Constança did not use the word «emotion» or any word with a morphologically common root but with different prefixes or suffixes, such as «emotive» or «emotional». However, this term is established by historiography and widely applied by researchers in this field and in other sciences focusing on this theme. Secondly, in consensus with other scholars, we perceive emotions as predominantly stemming from cognitive processes, containing a strongly social component that derives from customs, usages, and other practices. These are, of course, dependent on the various realities, whether in chronological, geographical, or social terms. Therefore, emotions are not only the result of interpersonal relationships but also intrinsic to perceptions and judgements¹⁹. However, despite this cognitive component to emotions, we would also note that these also result from individual strategies²⁰ and although such agency is socially conditioned from the outset, it is far from fully constrained²¹. In other words, there is room for individuality, often destabilising the prevailing social norms and conventions. Thirdly (and this reflects in the document under analysis), how to select the emotions described throughout the almost three hundred printed pages making up this diary? There are often mentions of boredom arising from social encounters²² as well as the anger felt after receiving some political news²³, which extended the author's exile;

16. Isabella, 2023: 1.

17. Aprile, (2000): 89-100.

18. Plamper, 2017: 13.

19. Bolufer, 2014: 9-10.

20. Lamaison, Bourdieu (1986): 110-120.

21. Butler, 1997: 15.

22. Câmara, Urbano, 2022: 126.

23. Câmara, Urbano, 2022: 73.

her husband's sadness²⁴; her joyful excitement at some of the balls²⁵ and the deep pleasure from receiving letters²⁶.

In addition to the problem arising from the anachronism of some vocabulary and/or concepts²⁷, not all of them refer to the author's own emotional state. Her own emotions are those that interest us the most because they allow us to establish the identity of the self with greater acuity. Hence, we here prioritise the emotions deriving from contact with others, choosing different indicators: social groups, geographic origins, and genders. Besides constituting the most significant throughout the discourse, they also reflect the categories of analysis applied by the historiography of emotions²⁸. In order not to incur any anachronism, we prefer to consider the pleasure or displeasure expressed towards these situations given that, according to Stearns, feelings are «affective experiences as of pleasure or displeasure»²⁹. Whenever necessary, we will use the main dictionary of the author's time to better characterise the emotions referred to. Published in 1789, the *Diccionario da lingua portugueza composto pelo padre D. Rafael Bluteau, reformado, e acrescentado por Antonio de Moraes Silva natural do Rio de Janeiro* pioneered modern Portuguese dictionaries and accounts for the earliest modern systematisation of the language.

However, before starting out, it is important to firstly fully define the importance of this diary and the context in which it was produced while presenting its author and the actual diary.

2. THE DIARY AND ITS AUTHOR

Autobiographical productions, whether in the writing of correspondence or diaries, became possible due to the rise in literacy among the Portuguese elites of the 19th century, then becoming a trait of distinction, cultural capital and symbolic power in the sense attributed by Bourdieu³⁰. In this period, the rise of European Romanticism, which valued the individual, lyricism, emotions, and subjectivity, further validated intimate writing. As mentioned earlier, the diary of Maria Constança da Câmara, the seventh Marchioness of Fronteira is one of the rare known Portuguese examples. Maria was born in 1801 and she was the seventh of nine children. Her father was the landlord of Ilhas Desertas, Regalados and Casa da Taipa, Mayor of Torres Vedras and a descendent of João Gonçalves Zarco (1390-1471). Her mother was the granddaughter of the Counts of Arcos and Marquesses of Marialva. This meant that, while not belonging to the current court aristocracy, Maria and her parents descended from the ancient nobility of the kingdom of Portugal. Social ascension and her entry into the court aristocracy took place through her marriage, in 1821, to the then Marquis

24. Câmara, Urbano, 2022: 96.

25. Câmara, Urbano, 2022: 191.

26. Câmara, Urbano, 2022: 225.

27. Starobinski, (1966): 83. Boddice, 2017: 10-15.

28. Stearns, Stearns (1985): 813-836. Frevert, 2014: 24.

29. Stearns, Stearns (1985): 813-836.

30. Bourdieu, 1979.

of Fronteira. José Trazimundo Mascarenhas Barreto (1802-1881). In addition to other titles, he inherited through his father, José was also the grandson of the Marchioness of Alorna – the well-known writer Alcipe, whose title he would inherit. His life path was significant. He was a military officer, deputy, peer, Lisbon Civil Governor, President of the Council of Ministers, and Lord Chamberlain to Queen Stephanie (1837-1859). Furthermore, his memoirs were published after his death. This marriage bequeathed only a single daughter, heir to her father's titles.

The Portuguese liberal revolution of 1820 and the conflict in Portuguese political life twice dictated the couple's estrangement from the country following the Marquis aligning himself with the Constitutionalist side. The first period of exile was between 1823 and 1826, and the second from 1828 onwards, when the Absolutist Prince Miguel ascended to the throne, until the civil war ended in 1833. It was on her return from her first exile that Maria, then twenty-five years of age and already a mother, began her autobiographical production. Between 1826 and 1842, in over four volumes of diaries, the Marchioness of Fronteira recorded her daily life, though with various interruptions, totalling around six hundred entries. It is mainly a travelogue, taking in several kingdoms and countries across Europe, including Great Britain, France, Switzerland, Germany, Austria, and Italy. Having come into contact with new and different realities, she was a well-placed spectator of political, social, and cultural events in the Europe of this time, particularly the political revolutions brought about by the ideals of the Enlightenment. This diary unveils what Margot Irvine highlights as typical of women's travel diaries: the picturesque, social exploitation, observation of other women, and everyday life, in a natural and free style of writing³¹. Although the writing of this diary began at the same time as the first Portuguese Romantic literary works, by authors such as Almeida Garrett and Alexandre Herculano, its author was, nevertheless, still an heiress of the cultural and mental mindset of the 18th century as she would have received her education prior to this Portuguese cultural movement. In fact, although there are no sources demonstrating any formal education, in keeping with her social origins, we may deduce she received home tuition as would be the norm for Portuguese aristocratic women of this period. In this diary, we also encounter some traces of an incipient nationalism. However, this characteristic derives essentially from the context of the Portuguese civil war and the consequent exile suffered by the author. Indeed, this exile is no isolated case. After Miguel's accession to the throne in 1828, more than 13,700 people sympathetic to liberalism departed from Portugal³². This was a period of significant European emigration resulting from the various political revolutions in France, Italy, Spain, and Greece, which led to large numbers of individuals moving within Europe, including aristocrats, landowners, and members of the military forces³³. Despite essentially belonging to the Portuguese elites, they were a heterogeneous group, composed of people from various political backgrounds³⁴.

31. Irvine, 2008: 17-18.

32. Isabella, 2023: 217.

33. Diaz, (2020): 240.

34. Paquette, 2013: 292.

This diary is a paradigmatic case insofar as its author falls within a significant set of differentiated categories and that naturally nuance her own respective social insertion. In fact, the question of intersectionality is particularly useful to our analysis, thus, the overlapping or intersecting political and /or social identities and related systems of privilege or discrimination³⁵. Although she may have belonged to the aristocracy, and as such came from a privileged background, Maria Constança was also a woman. This meant that she was not only expected to be submissive to a man³⁶, in this case her husband, but also that her emotions depended on previously established codes³⁷. Other categories may also be added, particularly her geographic origins and her status as a political emigrant. These different identities should therefore be considered in this analysis, specifically in the relationships maintained with others.

3. RELATIONSHIPS WITH OTHERS

Despite being exiled, the Marquesses of Fronteira maintained their usual way of life as members of the court aristocracy. Although expressing some concerns about their expenses³⁸, they continued with their walks in gardens, visited museums and palaces, frequented spas, and beaches for therapeutic bathing, attended opera and ballet shows, and spent lively evenings at the homes of the other aristocrats with whom they maintained sociable relations (dining, dancing at balls or simply playing cards, singing, and playing opera arias and returning the visits received). The Marquesses of Fronteira were even received by the ruling dynasty of Tuscany, a privilege granted to them according to their social standing. The Marchioness describes the members of the ducal family: highlighting their friendliness, the serious air, and distinction of its various members³⁹. These were the qualities expected of a ruling family and impressed the Marchioness of Fronteira, although the physical deformity of the Grand Duke's sister, who was hunchbacked, was also stressed:

entrámos para a sala onde estavam o Grã-duque, a Duquesa; ela mandou-me sentar, ele ficou sempre em pé, a Duquesa é o mais agradável que é possível, ele também apesar que tem um ar muito sério; depois fomos ao quarto da Grã-duquesa Viúva, que se parece muito com a irmã e é tão agradável como ela; nenhuma se pode chamar bonita mas tem daquelas fisionomias que muitas vezes ainda agradam mais do que muitas belezas de lá passámos ao quarto da Irmã do Grã-Duque que não é nada bonita e corcunda mas também é muito amável coitada.⁴⁰

35. Crenshaw, 2022.

36. Pascua Sanchez, 2019: 143.

37. Ruiz Sastre, 2019: 255.

38. Câmara, Urbano, 2022: 36-37, 118, 227.

39. Câmara, Urbano, 2022: 108.

40. «We entered the room where the Grand Duke was, the Duchess ordered me to sit down, he always stood up. The Duchess is as pleasant as possible, he too, despite having a very serious air; then we went to the room of the Grand Duchess Dowager, who looks a lot like her sister and is as pleasant as she is. None can be called beautiful, but they have those faces that are often more pleasing than many beauties. From there we went to the room of the Grand Duke's sister, who is not at all pretty and hunchbacked, but also very kind, poor woman».

Another corollary of this excerpt is that maintaining this privileged status and the symbolic power associated was not, therefore, dependent on the place where they were located. This issue has already been well studied in relation to blood ties between transnational families and extended to groups that are not family members but share the same social status⁴¹. The maintenance of an aristocratic lifestyle and the preservation of sociability networks with members of the European aristocracy should be understood as a feature of a «cosmopolitan community» regardless of geographic and ideological boundaries⁴². In fact, the habits and lifestyle of the European aristocracy remained the same despite the distance, in what Anderson called a ‘curious solidarity of a trans-state character’⁴³. Maria was probably not aware of belonging to an imagined community, such as the aristocracy⁴⁴. Nevertheless, she was indeed aware of who belonged to this group and who did not. When the Marchioness of Fronteira was in Wiesbaden, she described the high society before concluding there were no aristocracy present but simply members of the high bourgeoisie, the «gentlemen of industry»⁴⁵. In the usage of this wording, one also perceives some disdain towards the emerging bourgeoisie. The same occurs with her observations of the lower classes. The most significant example in this speech happens not when she is abroad but sometime after her return to Portugal in 1839, when visiting Costa da Caparica, a community on the south bank of the Tagus River⁴⁶. In addition to the surprise described, resulting from her perceiving the existence of a population in an almost savage state so close to the capital of the kingdom of Portugal, there is the reference to an almost absence of civilisation. Indeed, this description naturally resonates on the one hand with the myth of the noble savage and on the other with the idea conveyed by Jean-Jacques Rousseau as to how civilisation corrupts the human being. Although it remains unclear whether Maria is pleased as to this circumstance, it is significant that these ideas are so present in her observation and in her written elaboration. In fact, even though there is no direct value judgement, the use of the expression «little more civilised than savages» refers to the distinction between civility and barbarism, notions conveyed by literature, the civil press, and sentimental novels, transmitted and defined as criteria of social distinction among individuals⁴⁷. However, one cannot claim this amounted to any expression of the need usually felt by elites to educate the most disadvantaged social groups, as found in other examples of nineteenth-century travel literature⁴⁸.

However, it also seems clear that the identification – and appreciation – of the social group to which the author belongs – the aristocracy – closely relates to the concept of an emotional community as proposed by Rosenwein. According to this

41. Johnson, Sabeen, Teuscher Trivellato: 2011.

42. Wang, (2012): 37-59.

43. Anderson, 2013: 213.

44. Anderson, 2013: 33.

45. Câmara, Urbano, 2022: 198.

46. Câmara, Urbano, 2022: 279.

47. Bolufer, 2019: 18, 330.

48. Losada Friend, 2019: 315.

author, specific groups share emotional norms and values and the same interests, whether social, cultural political or economic⁴⁹. The valuation attributed to the kindness of the ducal family and the resulting feeling of pity toward the physical handicap of one of its members reflect this civilisational process – and perhaps also a Catholic religiosity – that the local Portuguese populations lacked. What is understood here is that the Marchioness of Fronteira feels closer to this same community – the aristocracy, despite differing from her in nationality, than to other social groups in her own country. Nevertheless, the social group to which she belongs does not represent the only emotional community to which she belongs. What will her geographical origin tell us?

When Maria wrote her diary, the concept of nationhood had not yet been formed, nor was it ever used by her, but the post-*Ancien Régime* revolutions and the fall of Atlantic empires certainly favoured the construction of nation states⁵⁰. Furthermore, she was sensitive to the geographical origins of the people she met. In fact, observation of members of her own social group produces some criticism in keeping with consideration of the geographical origin and more accentuated in relation to the non-European aristocracy. In the court of Tuscany, the former Dey of Algeria and his entourage were living in exile. At one of the court functions, Maria would meet them before going on to make some negative comments on their behaviour. European travel literature then commonly reflected on the social rules, implicit or explicit, that regulate sociability, making constant comparisons with non-European inhabitants, classing peoples on the fringes of Europe as only partially civilised and, as such, deemed inferior. In fact, the European elites did share homogeneous codes of conduct, based on Christian culture, to which the classical and Christian traditions had both contributed, as well as the dissemination of conduct writings ever since the Renaissance⁵¹. It is her vision of herself as Christian and European, inserted in a colonial culture, which prompts her criticism of the inappropriate etiquette of her peers⁵².

Her observations of the European aristocracy also produce certain criticisms allowing for the construction of perceptions of pleasant or unpleasant emotions. Regarding the English, she tends to make positive comments, praising their good taste, polite manners, and elegance. She praises the care taken in preserving their properties⁵³; and seems disillusioned to meet English women with physical features she ranks as only ordinary⁵⁴. Although she does not state this categorically, she seems to consider the features of English women as unusual. She also displays a preconceived image of what old English women are like and applies this image to portray them even if without specifying just how they resemble: «Depois fomos à Viscondessa de Tagouhy⁵⁵, que é como todas as velhas inglesas; trabalha muito em talagarça, e faz

49. Rosenwein (2002): 821-845.

50. Simal, (2014): 23-48.

51. Bolufer, 2019: 331-339.

52. Câmara, Urbano, 2022: 148-149.

53. Câmara, Urbano, 2022: 76.

54. Câmara, Urbano, 2022: 5.

55. Betty Bezerra (1753-1835), Baroness of Itaguaí by marriage. Daughter of Joseph Sill and his wife Betty, she married the Portuguese João Paulo Bezerra (1856-1817).

cousas muito bonitas».⁵⁶ Simultaneously, she considers these old English women are constantly looking for foreigners to invite them to their parties, which the Marquis classifies as very boring⁵⁷. Another negative comment targets English habits and hobbies, as well as their preferred marital relationships, concerning a former opera singer who married an Englishman:

uma Senhora que está aqui (...), ouvi dizer que é uma francesa que cantou no teatro e depois casou com um inglês; depois de verem brigar os galos e jogar os murros, logo depois do que os ingleses gostam mais é de casar com uma mulher de teatro»⁵⁸.

This quote is interesting as, although there appears to be a prejudice against actresses, the criticism seems to focus more decidedly on those deciding to marry them. However, it is when Maria talks about the way in which English people take special objects with them when they travel, displaying them in their homes and hotel rooms, that she unequivocally expresses her opinion and preferences in praising this practice, identifying with it, saying that she would like to do the same but lacked the '*patience*' to do so when traveling⁵⁹. It is interesting to note that this «*paciência*» – *patience*, held several different meanings according to the main dictionary of the time, specifically «*sofrimento*» – *suffering*; «*tolerância da dor*» – *painful tolerance*; «*trabalhos*» – *labours*; and «*aflições*» – *afflictions*⁶⁰. Despite some desire to mimic this habit which, in her view, was English, this would cause her a certain discomfort when undertaken on a journey. The description of the English people she knows reflects some sympathy even when, in this last example, pointing out the pretentiousness of her interlocutor. This sympathy is highlighted in contrast to her meetings with French citizens. Her impressions of French women are quite negative as she perceives them as quite ignorant. However, this prejudice results from personal situations she experienced that made her feel angry. One such example arose because a particular French woman did not know the location of Portugal. Another occurred when a woman criticized Maria for her eating habits, particularly dining at table d'hôte, leading the Marchioness to write down in her diary that she had wished to reply that she had always had a cook in her house⁶¹. There is, therefore, a restraint in what is said and anger management. However, in certain situations, related to reputation, money, or property, as was the case, it would be socially acceptable – and even desirable – to express displeasure⁶².

56. «Then we visited the Viscountess of Tagouhy, who is like all old English women; she works with gauze and does very beautiful things». Câmara, Urbano, 2022: 17.

57. Câmara, Urbano, 2022: 112.

58. «A Lady who is here (...), I heard she is a Frenchwoman who sang in the theatre and then married an Englishman; after rooster fights and playing cards, what Englishmen like the most is to marry a theatre woman». Câmara, Urbano, 2022: 79.

59. Câmara, Urbano, 2022: 60-61.

60. Bluteau, Silva, 1789: 144.

61. Câmara, Urbano, 2022: 58.

62. Pollock, (2004): 567-590.

The emotional reaction to these encounters is quite evident, especially in the vocabulary deployed, especially the «forte zanga» – strong anger, leaving no doubt as to the displeasure provoked. According to Bluteau’s dictionary, «zanga» is defined as «inimizade» – enmity; «antipatia» – dislike; «mau agoiro» – ill omen; and «aversão» – aversion. In contrast, the verb «zangar» – to anger means «causar infelicidade» – to cause misfortune; «fazer que vá mal» – to make it go wrong; or «causar enfado» – to cause annoyance⁶³. The application of the noun form acquires still greater intensity as it is accompanied by the adjective «forte» – strong. Moreover, the usage of this word is also significant because, at least in the English language correspondence of the early modern period, this was unusual⁶⁴. One might think this diary would only be self-destined or that the manifestation of anger in autobiographical writings would no longer hold the negative connotation of the earlier period. In fact, this also arose in keeping with how anger was then a gendered emotion: women were deemed more easily angered as they were supposedly weaker⁶⁵.

Regarding Switzerland and its population, Maria states it is not a country that provides her with good memories because: «é país desgraçado faz tristeza porque não se olha para lado nenhum que se não vê uma mulher com um *goître* e outra pateta»⁶⁶. This passage is quite significant for two reasons. The first is the use of the noun «tristeza» – sadness, caused by this unfortunate country. The second is because there is a symbiosis between the human landscape itself and the emotional state of the Marchioness. This case visibly renders how spaces become associated with certain feelings⁶⁷. Nowadays, this example would be understood as a reflection of a certain empathy, but we would propose this reflects a trace of religious piety, just as in the perception of the physical disability of the Grand Duke’s sister. About the Italians, she makes no openly depreciative remarks. However, she is somewhat surprised on meeting a young Italian man with good manners for the first time, and thinking he must be an Englishman⁶⁸. This surprise is demonstrative of the preconceived ideas she held, especially regarding the civilizational politeness of the English which would contrast sharply with that of the Italians. Moreover, despite a common cultural matrix, of classical and Christian traditions and common rules of civility, there is a differentiation between the various nationalities that are subject to the attentions of the Marchioness. In fact, civility enables the construction of differentiated national identities⁶⁹ to which the subjectivity and prejudices of the observer then contribute.

Gender issues are another factor for analysing when evaluating the emotional state of Maria Constança. The differences in education, occupation and sociability

63. Bluteau, Silva, 1789: 539.

64. Pollock, (2004): 567-590.

65. Pollock, (2004): 567-590.

66. «It’s an unfortunate country and it makes us sad because everywhere we look, we notice a woman with goiter or a goofy person». Câmara, Urbano, 2022: 68.

67. Pernau (2015): 634-667.

68. Câmara, Urbano, 2022: 108.

69. Bolufer, 2019: 329.

did not go unnoticed by her, generating a significant impact on her diary writing and her emotional state. Although she did not deem Italians to be very polite, she praised the Italian habit of all women having their own *chevalier servant*. This observation results from her feeling that her husband does not always accompany her properly. Therefore, the observation of Italian habits produces broader reflections on her own condition⁷⁰.

Her marital relationship is the subject of some comment and expressions of feeling in the diary which, in certain passages, take on a confessional tone, revealing her husband's personality, such as his mood swings, which are understandable as matters of personal intimacy, appropriate to the marital relationship, as the following example conveys:

tenho hoje estado de muito mau humor e com razão: o Marquês tudo que acontece de mau diz sempre que a culpa é minha ele já andava há dois [dias] morrendo por me dizer que a mala se tinha perdido, porque eu lhe tinha aconselhado de a mandar pela diligência, hoje então desabafou e ralhou à sua vontade, apesar de o ter ouvido muitas vezes ralhar, ainda não estou acostumada faz-me sempre a mesma impressão e muitas vezes não posso deixar de chorar, apesar de fazer todo o possível de me mostrar indiferente.⁷¹

The excerpt is quite interesting as it brings together a few emotional states described by the author such as «mau humor» – bad mood or «faz-me (...) impressão» – it shocks me. In addition, it directly refers to a physiological reaction resulting from the emotional state, specifically crying. However, the closing clause is even more significant: the reference to the attempt to remain indifferent. Despite the emotions she felt, and even showing them by actually crying, Maria tried to disguise the emotions she experienced at the moment of their demonstration. One might wonder why she behaved in this way. Did she do this because of pride, by not wanting to declare herself defeated? Or, on the contrary, did she do it humbly not wanting to annoy her husband further? Or simply because the rules of civility advised against emotional expression in front of others, especially when exacerbated? The control – and conditioning of feelings – by emotional management has already been studied by Hochschild, who proved how certain socio-professional groups are trained not only to demonstrate certain behaviours according to particular emotional rules but also to feel them as such. In this case, there is an alignment between what is felt internally and its behavioural exteriorisation⁷². Nevertheless, there is only the unsuccessful attempt to control the exteriorisation of unpleasant emotions. Furthermore, this demonstrates the awareness of the difference between what one may feel and what one should externalise, and that the latter should

70. Câmara, Urbano, 2022: 147.

71. «Today, I have been in a very bad mood and with good reason: the Marquis tells me that everything bad that happens to him is my fault. For two days, he wanted to tell me that the suitcase was lost. I advised him to send it by stagecoach. Today, he expressed his feelings and scolded me. Although it's not the first time, I still haven't gotten used to it. I was very affected, and I cried despite trying to remain indifferent». Câmara, Urbano, 2022: 45.

72. Hochschild, 2012.

be governed by social norms. This seems to demonstrate the complexification of emotions. Emotions are more than internal or physiological manifestations; they include their own consciousness and the attempt to dissimulate themselves. Apart from all this, this emotional suffering, which Reddy defined as an inevitable and acute form of conflict of interest during disputes, whenever there is resistance or withdrawal on the part of the sufferer does not end the feeling of distress itself⁷³.

Some of the comments Maria makes about her husband's behaviour directly relate to gender issues, specifically the behavioural and social differences between men and women in society at that time, duly framed by distinguished rules of civility⁷⁴. As in the example above, referring to the chevalier servant, her husband's absence during balls affects her as social conventions maintain she is unable to carry out certain activities alone and leading her to wonder why husbands are not kinder.⁷⁵

Interestingly, she does not criticize the social conventions but rather the behaviour of her husband who she expected to accompany her. In other words, Maria does not conceive of transgressing the prevailing social conventions expected of a lady of her social status but rather wished that her husband, as a man and an aristocrat, obeyed those same rules expected of him. In another diary entry, her complaint about male behaviour becomes generalized and not focusing exclusively on her husband. On one occasion, in London and in the company of her close friend the Countess of Vila Flor⁷⁶, Maria accuses men of selfishness because their husbands made them wait in a carriage for more than an hour⁷⁷. However, it should be noted this male behaviour partly reflects 18th century European thinking, in particular the moral and social criticism of gallantry offered by men to women as this only stemmed from a power relationship lacking in any reciprocity⁷⁸.

These gender issues are also evident in this diary. Not only do men who transgress social roles become the focus of attention but also women. On one occasion, Maria describes a woman as dressed like a man for having fought during the war. Although unusual, it was not entirely uncommon. In fact, other women like her were also awarded the Legion of Honour⁷⁹. While there is no value judgment or any associated emotion in reporting this situation, that the Marchioness of Fronteira decided to write about this meeting reflects its significance in her point of view⁸⁰. In contrast, value judgments and derogatory emotions are expressed on another occasion involving an Englishwoman with whom her husband was talking. What initially appears as an argument motivated by the jealousy of the Marchioness of Fronteira turned out to be an event perceived as socially unpleasant. This was because the English lady had embarked on a political discussion and due to her eventually

73. Reddy, 2004: 122-124.

74. Bolufer, 2019: 20.

75. Câmara, Urbano, 2022: 42.

76. D. Maria Ana Luísa Filomena de Mendonça (1808-1866), later Duchess of Terceira and Mistress of the Robes to the Queens of Portugal Stephanie of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen and Maria Pia of Savoy.

77. Câmara, Urbano, 2022: 24.

78. Bolufer, 2019: 92.

79. Martín, (2006): 31-48.

80. Câmara, Urbano, 2022: 187-188.

belonging to the English women's social and educational movement called the Blue Stockings Society, led by Elizabeth Montagu⁸¹. This situation becomes even more absurd because, throughout her diary writings, Maria Constança discourses on the political situation in her own country, especially the Portuguese civil war and its implications⁸², but also international political events, for example the conflict between Russia and the Ottoman Empire⁸³, as well as the July 1830 revolutions in France⁸⁴ and then that of Warsaw in the same year⁸⁵ and the death sentence applied to the Italian revolutionary *Ciro Menotti*⁸⁶. The stark difference lies in how her political opinions were expressed in the privacy of her writing, unlike the English woman who was making her comments in public and in the presence of the opposite sex. This seems to represent the reason for her displeasure and critique of the English woman.

Thus far, the examples described have demonstrated how contact with the other – whether different due to social status, nationality, or gender roles – provoked different types of reactions in the spirit of this diary's author. They open up a glimpse into her personality, what captivates and disinterests her, through the attention paid to each situation described as well as the respective feelings, opinions, and judgments that she writes down. Furthermore, there is another situation particularly worthy of mention – the disagreement she had with Marchioness Sampierre⁸⁷. This lady belonged to the same gender and the same social group as the Marchioness of Fronteira. She differs only in nationality, but this fact is not mentioned. The absence of reference to this fact leads us to suppose that Maria would have perceived her as one of her peers and, accordingly, this disagreement would seem to be the result of human relationships. The reason for the discord is not conveyed to us with Maria also left in the dark. The aforementioned aristocrat suddenly stops talking to her, generating some incomprehension and even incredulity in Maria⁸⁸.

Maria's feelings and means of dealing the situation evolve, passing from this state to one of disdain. Maria convinces herself that the disagreement does not actually affect her even when, in fact, she pays significant attention to the matter. It is so significant that she records the negative opinion of a Portuguese man about the cause of her concern as if seeking external validation of her own already formed opinion:

A Marquesa de Sampierre andou toda a noute pelos cantos parece-me que o Cardoso tem razão em dizer que ela é *une bête*, como ela quase que me não quer falar para a castigar fui eu ter com ela e obrigá-la a falar-me, mas agora nunca mais lhe torno a falar sem que ela me fale primeiro.⁸⁹

81. Câmara, Urbano, 2022: 150.

82. Câmara, Urbano, 2022: 49, 73, 81, 99, for example.

83. Câmara, Urbano, 2022: 49.

84. Câmara, Urbano, 2022: 81.

85. Câmara, Urbano, 2022: 180.

86. Câmara, Urbano, 2022: 155.

87. We believe this might be Anna De Gregorio y Márquez (1802-1886), married to Francesco Giovanni Sampieri (1790-1863), although Maria Constança mostly spells this name as Sampierre.

88. Câmara, Urbano, 2022: 147.

89. «The Marchioness of Sampierre was sitting around all night; it seems to me that Cardoso is right when

Another clue is the description of the situation occurring during a ball when Maria receives a better placed seat than her opponent. This small victory, as if some kind of contest, was possible thanks to the importance that both the society of her time and Maria herself attributed to social status and the rigid protocol of court society. Nevertheless, this feeling of victory did not prevent her from being emotionally shaken, although there was also an attempt to control and hide her tears just as we described above in another situation⁹⁰. The situation ends with a final confrontation regarding the farewell of Sampierre. Maria deploys irony, saying that she will miss her:

o Marquês (...) teve o gosto de encontrar a Sampierre que lhe disse que não se tinha podido despedir de mim, o (que decerto me que me faz grande pena) mas que fazia esta noute no baile. O que com efeito fez e disse-lhe creio com o riso na boca *je suis bien fâchée de votre départ. Voilà les femmes! qu'elles sont misérables être parce que toujours obligées de cacher ses sentiments, car je disais je suis bien fâchée et depuis longtemps que je ne me trouverais si heureuse*. Tenho tido medo de endoudecer, porque em estando de sangue-frio conheço ou me parece que não há nada do que me tem atormentado senão na minha imaginação.⁹¹

This quote attains significance for three distinct reasons. Firstly, it is the only time she explains her recourse to irony, given that irony and sarcasm are two of the stylistic devices recurrently applied throughout her writing. Secondly, she curses the fate of women, forced to socially hide their feelings. In fact, according to the rules of civility, women should be kind and courteous⁹². However, the disguising of emotions presupposes a false politeness, condemned by the conduct literature. In fact, according to this, true civility is not just an external or artificial formality, a pretence. It is a natural virtue that matches the inner – the emotional truth – with the outer⁹³. This question also relates directly to the concept of emotionology as theorized by Peter and Carol Stearns⁹⁴. According to this concept, emotions include both an individual's feelings and their expression, and the way society thinks about emotions and expresses them. In this case, there is a visible concern to hide her feelings, which reflects how society itself – and, above all, the etiquette of the privileged social milieu to which both ladies belonged – supersedes any personal disagreements, discouraging confrontations and favouring good manners and the suppression of any manifestation of feelings. Protocol, etiquette, and courtly civility

calling her *une bête*. She does not speak to me, and therefore, to punish her, I met her and forced her to speak to me but now I will never speak to her again without her speaking to me first». Câmara, Urbano, 2022: 148.

90. Câmara, Urbano, 2022: 148-149.

91. «The Marquis (...) found Sampierre who told him that she hadn't been able to say goodbye to me (which I certainly regret) but that she would do it tonight at the ball. She did it and I told her; I believe with a smile in my mouth: I am very sad to see you leaving. This is what women are! They are miserable beings because they are always being forced to hide their feelings because I said I am very sad, but I haven't found myself so happy for a long time. I've been afraid of going crazy because, when I'm calmer I know or at least it seems to me, that everything tormenting me exists only in my imagination». Câmara, Urbano, 2022: 150.

92. Bolufer, 2019: 209.

93. Bolufer, 2019: 121.

94. Stearns, (1985): 813-836.

thus continued to shape and reinforce the social norms and emotional manifestations of the individuals regulated by them.

Although the reason for the dislike and unease generated by this situation were not due to differences in social status or nationality, the issue of gender was nevertheless present. In fact, gender differences were something Maria herself was aware of. It is also symptomatic that the excerpt in which she complains about this gender difference and the relief caused by the departure of the other lady is written in French. This language, throughout the diary, is used only for anthroponyms, toponyms, idioms, proverbs, or short literary excerpts, copied or quoted. The justification for using it in this context might derive from concerns over secrecy or perhaps writing in French provided some emotional distance and she did not herself want to take on such emotions in her mother tongue. Finally, she reveals some relief that this situation was resolved, acknowledging the state of madness it had caused her while it lasted. It is, therefore, only after her emotions achieve peace of mind that Maria again admits to the emotional unbalance the situation had caused to her, with reference to madness, an extreme emotional state. This whole altercation echoes a previous episode that occurred with another lady, who thought that Maria was jealous of her. This is the only situation in the entire diary that mentions the word love, in particular self-love:

Madame de Falloux⁹⁵ fez-me muitas festas de dente cerrado como ela costuma, parece-me que já está desenganada que eu não tenho ciúmes d'ela, para isso me suceder era preciso ter muito pouco amor próprio, e se ter amor próprio é defeito, confesso que o tenho esse defeito.⁹⁶

Although self-love was considered a negative feeling by society at the time – and therefore, also by herself, Maria acknowledges this, at least in her intimate writing. Although there is no mention in the situation concerning the Marchioness of Sampierre, we can deduce that it was also present. Despite the whole situation making her desperate and seeking some external validation, it was this same self-love, conveniently grounded in etiquette and protocol, that enabled her to deal with it. On the one hand, by disguising her true feelings towards her interlocutor; on the other hand, by putting herself in a situation of social primacy by only approaching the other marchioness after the latter had spoken to her.

95. Loyde Philiberte de Fitte du Soucy (1784-1850), married to Guillaume Frédéric de Falloux du Coudray (1774-1850), infantry captain, landowner, mayor of Bourg d'Iré between 1808 and 1826, in the Maine-et-Loire department. He was appointed Count of Falloux by Charles X in 1830.

96. «Madame de Falloux has paid me many compliments with clenched teeth as she usually does. It seems to me that she is no longer deluded that I am not jealous of her; for that to happen I would need to have very little self-love, and if having self-love is a defect, I confess that I have that defect». Câmara, Urbano, 2022: 42.

4. CONCLUSION

Diary writing constitutes a particularly privileged source for the study of emotions. In autobiographical writing, there is recurrent recourse to a tone of intimacy, which allows for the expression of the emotions experienced as well as their management. In this sense, they enable not only analysis of the emotions themselves but also the construction of a psychological portrait of their author. The diary of the Marchioness of Fronteira is no exception. It allows for analysis of her authorial voice; through the way she interacts with other individuals and the emotions expressed through these contacts. That this is a travel journal makes it an even more interesting source not only for the contact with other cultures but, and above all, for the inner journey it provides, providing the reader with clues about herself, and the way she saw – and felt – the world.

First, and foremost, she strongly identified with the social group to which she belonged. Even during her time as a political exile, Maria maintains her social status regardless of the kingdom she was in. By maintaining the habits and behaviours that characterize the European aristocracy, this reinforces the perspective that this group was the same everywhere regardless of their respective kingdoms.

This question helps to better understand the unprecedented emigrations brought about by the revolutions and counterrevolutions in post-Enlightenment Europe, which have so far received little research attention. Furthermore, this demonstrates the existence of transnational ties between the European aristocracy, regardless of their geographical origins, in an increasingly globalised world. In reality, these political exiles were responsible for constituting sociability networks within this social group.

This analysis also made it possible to assess the role of emotional expression in the understanding of otherness. In fact, there are some contrasts among the different nationalities she encounters and socially interacts with, emotionally expressed in terms of pleasure or displeasure – even if not always mentioned *ipsis verbis*. Her individual experience shades or reinforces the preconceived ideas she had of different nationalities. The accentuation of differences is greater in the case of non-Europeans, even when people of the same social status. It is significant that she affectionately praised the Tuscan ducal family as amiable, serious, though not especially beautiful; yet displayed displeasure towards the Algerian Dey and his entourage, whom she described as unmannered and badly behaved. Such statements derive from the notion of European superiority, resulting from a colonialist society, such as the European and especially the Portuguese case. However, this is not a singular characteristic as it emerges in other cases of travel literature and cannot be separated from the notion of civility that, especially from the Renaissance onwards, instilled norms and codes of behaviour that were socially and culturally assimilated and disseminated by the growing conduct literature. Interestingly, Maria Constança did not shy away from describing the inhabitants of a place close to the capital of her own kingdom as savages. Contrary to other cases, there is no concern displayed over civilising these people. This may be because this situation occurs in their own country of origin, further emphasising national differences, especially extra-European ones.

However, and despite a transnational aristocratic society, one of the moments when there is a change in emotional state, specifically the expression of anger, comes precisely from interaction with ladies of another nationality, in particular French. Although she expressed herself emotionally in the pages of her diary, without any kind of filter, her social behaviour on the occasion was guided by compliance with social norms and, thus, not openly expressing her displeasure.

Misbehaviour reflects the focus of her attention regarding gender roles. Maria makes no judgment about a woman dressed as a man but expresses her displeasure by strongly criticising women who openly talk about politics in the presence of men. Even when the differentiation of these roles directly affects her, we realize that her thinking does not advocate any transgression of women's roles in society. This demonstrates how patriarchal values of submission to men and the existence of sexually differentiated codes of conduct are inculcated into the way of being, thinking and feeling of the Marchioness of Fronteira. What she advocates is that men – and her husband in particular – should obey the established canon, behaving as expected. In fact, what emerges from the various situations analysed is the manifestation of a desire to maintain the gallantry criticised in literature since the previous century but which nevertheless guaranteed women some form of power by subjecting men to their will and the strong weight of court etiquette and protocol as a form of social and emotional regulation.

Naturally, Christian values also contribute to this view. Even in a period of mental and cultural transformation, resulting from political regime changes that guillotined kings, granted constitutions, and transformed subjects into citizens – the weight of these regulations, imbued in social habits and mentalities, remained quite noticeable, especially in aristocratic circles. Even so, there is an appreciation by the author of some emotional individualism, particularly when it comes to the reference to self-love. Although she stresses that this emotion can be a defect – or perhaps even a sin – she confesses to possessing it. There is, therefore, some notion of misconduct of the norms in force, whether moral or possibly religious. Maria only curses the fate of women when in dispute with another woman, especially regarding their need to hide their feelings. More than social or political invisibility, it was the impossibility of the outward expression of her individuality as an emotional being that bothered her and only through diary writing could she gain that expression. However, it should be noted that concealing their true feelings was contrary to what the rules of etiquette stipulated as accurate civility should be natural and not feigned.

Analysis of the diary of the Marchioness of Fronteira allows us to understand the complexity of her identity, for which different, sometimes conflicting, categories concur. Her social origin and her condition as an emigrant allowed her to establish privileged relations within her social group. Indeed, although there is a transnational aristocracy, its main characteristic is cosmopolitanism, which admits variations in political and cultural ideas, proper to each emerging nation while nevertheless duly framed in the classical tradition, Christianity and codes of conduct and civility. However, the expression of emotions in this diary shows how her different value judgements reflect the geographical origins of her interlocutors and are at the origin of different emotional reactions. Some of these emotions are more extreme – such

as anger – and more common in relation to previous periods. This may be due, rather than to some greater trivialisation of the expression of emotions considered negative, to the diary being, in principle, self-addressed. However, the expression of these emotions is only true when written in the pages of her diary as there is a clear discrepancy between what is confided there and her emotional performance in public. This question is also visible in gender relations and especially in conflictive relations with her husband, which generate emotional suffering. However, Maria Constança identifies herself with the rules and social conduct that she is entitled to as a woman, accepts and does not question them. Thus, we may conclude that Maria Constança's emotions were not only outwardly regulated by social conventions and codes of conduct but were also self-regulated. The discrepancy between the emotions confided in the diary and what is socially demonstrated illustrates the success of social conventions and her diary, alongside its emotions, the acceptable form of social and gender transgression.

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