# SAINT PATRICK'S SCHOOL of LISBON

by M. Gonçalves da Costa

Its full name was "School of the Holy Catholic Faith of the Irish Students' invocation of St. Patrick", and its foundation duer to the Jesuit philosopher Pedro da Fonseca, helped by Father João Howling (Olingo). It would work as "a seminar to which Irish youngsters could come to learn virtue and their letters with which to return to their homeland and teach their fellow countrymen, confirming them in the faith that they so laudably follow". To guarantee financial support, a board of noblemen was instituted, chaired by D. Garcia de Melo, who for this reason received the title of "Protector". The formal inauguration took place on Pentecost Sunday, 1592, and of this act we have considerable information due to the letters of the Lisbon Irishmen to their countrymen in São Tiago de Compostela. The students themselves collected the donations monthly from the patrons and attended classes at Colégio de Santo Antão, where, due to difficulties of language, they were initially taught by the Irishmen Thomas Vittus (White), envoy from the seminar of Salamanca and rector, Cornélio da Rocha, spiritual advisor, and Diogo Everardo (James Everard), who finished his degree at Coimbra University and presided over philosophical arguments.

In 1608 the institution passed to the hands of Portuguese Jesuit priests and with these the students stopped living off charity, thanks to the "ordinárias" (fixed interest rates) instituted by the crown and to the donators of freehold as was notably the case of the Ximenes family. As the "Senhora da Glória" housing, where they initially lived, did not satisfy the needs of the foundation, the Jesuits bought, on the 21st of May 1611, from the Carmelite Fathers, some buildings in the Costa do Castelo region next to the São Crispim hermitage, for the expensive sum of 2 contos and 400 thousand reis, for which they had to thank, yet again, the wealthy merchant António Fernandes Ximenes. Until 1624, all the rectors were of Irish nationality, as well as the minister, a post occupied throughout these years by Father Pedro Ignácio (Nash) who had attended the school as a boy. It was during his administ-

ration that the second contract was signed, on the 27th of January 1616, with António F. Ximenes, about the money "he gave for the repairs of the seminary and the ornaments and vessels necessary for the church and divine worship, without for this reason demanding any repayment or obligation on our part".

In his visit to the country, in 1610, Father João Alves stipulated that all clergy living in São Francisco were subject to the allowing house of São Roque and the rector should resort to it in all cases judged to be of importance in the absence of the Provincial, namely when it came to admiting or expelling students. For such a purpose he would meet the counsellors and administrators resident in Lisbon weekly.

The substitution of Irish for Portuguese in the running of the School, decreed by a General order from the Court of Madrid, gave rise to the first student demands, accompanied by grave disorders, to which Father Cornélio da Rocha was not foreign. The unconformists alleged that this change would prejudice the new students from Ireland who did not understand Portuguese; to which their superior replied that there were plenty of Irish priests still left, as were the cases of Fathers Nash, Rocha, the Spiritual guide Netterville and the study prefect Cornélio de São Patrício. Calm soon reigned, the disturbances having been caused mainly not by patriotism but by the imperative class struggle, as happens today.

During many years, the Portuguese Jesuits demanded the return to Lisbon of Father João Baptista Dugin, who had taught Philosophy at the School and was seen as the perfect person to resolve the present crises, due to his zealous and religious spirit and general common sense.

During the year 1625, the prior wrote at least three letters to the head of the Irish Mission, requesting his loan in exchange for Father Cornélio de S. Patrício, due to the fact that the student unrest was "non plane sedatas esse". Ireland replied that they could not abdicate of his service but suggested the name of Father Malachias Fitzwalters, a proposition which Rome rejected.

In Lisbon — in the words of the main superior — a "vir aliquis egregius et cordatus qui no sulum cum i uventute agere porsit, sed cui etiam, si opus tuerit, seminairi tota gubervation possit comuniti, cui



officio Patres Lusitani magis, i odeum putant Patreum lianem Baptistam" was needed.

The effort persisted in 1628, the year in which the same superior said in a letter of July 17th that the request for Father Dugin was not for their own interests but for "Hiber nicae nationis utilitate". To no avail.

In any case, Father Cornélio da Rocha's situation became unbearable and Lisbon imposed his dismissal. In fact, he was compelled to return to his homeland in 1625 "permissu, imo, et issu" of Rome.

Until the suppresion of the "Companhia de Jesus" in 1759 only one other Irishman, father E. Kelly presided over S. Patrício and there is no account of further major unrests.

To Álvaro Tavares succeeded Father Manuel Vieira (1626-1629), helped by his Portuguese proctor Diogo Luís, followed by Nuno da Cunha (1634-1636) João Martins (substituted after a year by Diogo Pereira), Francisco Amaral (1638 — March 1641) Baltasar Teles (1641-1645) and Manuel Mascarenhas (1646-1649), who accumulated this task with his previous Moral Theology teaching. Later we find in the rectors office Miguel Tinoco (1659-1660), Pedro Peixoto (1660-1664), João de Sousa (1665-1668), João Gomes (1669-1671) and Domingos Lousada (1671-1678).

Robert Nevil ran the financial sector until 1662, in that year he was succeeded by Richard Carew and later by Agostinho Geraldine, António Arnaut and Miguel Nunes.

The Rectors who followed had already held high office in the running of the interior provinces. These were Banto Pereira (1675-1677) Luis Nogueira (1678-1680), helped by the Theology Student Matias White, Minister and Manuel Cabral, proctor; Francisco Caldeiro (1680-1682) Manuel Soares (1682-1686), António Vieira Senior (1686-1690), with the Englishman Jorge Gelarte as Minister; Afonso de Mexia (1690-1691), Francisco Tavares (1692-1695), João de Faria (1695-1698), and Manuel dos Reis (1698-1702), helped by the student Alexandre Veveres. Until the expulsion of the Jesuits there were 19 more rectors: Manuel Martins, João Franco, Manuel Gomes, Agostinho da Cunha, José de Almeida, António Carneiro (1725-1728), Francisco de Figueiredo (vice-

principal) (1729-1742), António Pessoa (1742-1745), Luis Alberto (1745-1748) Manuel da Silva (1748-1753), Francisco Ribeiro (1753-1757) and Nuno da Cunha.

With a true democratic spirit the clergy ate at the collegians (students) table and took part in their entertainments, etc.

Their Minister played an important role, for he dealt directly with the students, ordering their punishments, explaining misunderstandings, presiding over scholarly disputes and watching over moral behaviour and diligence to study.

The prohibition of writing home without permission aimed at not only preventing waste of time but also so that the mail "did not lack the truthfulness that we enjoy in this seminar". Holy vows were administered in the third year of Theology, the school paying the subscription fees and candles.

Each mass income was destined to pay for the acquisition of the breviary. In view of avoiding a loss in the Irish apostolic work, Prior Noyelle, in 1676, declared that the rector of St. Patrick's could not dismiss students who wanted to continue in Portugal to take another university course. In the case of the death of any professor, his payment due would be in the form of daily masses.

The wardrobe consisted of robes, "voltas" (beads), two pairs of shoes and enough socks to be able to wash their feet every time they returned to the seminary. Togas, hats and birettas were bought at the students own expenses; ink, paper and oil for the lamps were provided by the Seminary.

The tailor and shoemaker who did the mending lived in the house and were told to punish severely the most uncaring.

The food was abundant and healthy, so much so that in 1634 the rector dared the upstart Tomé Pinheiro da Veiga to find out from the students how they were being treated. Naturally, occasional deficiencies occurred, which gave way to some discontentment and complaints.

In fact, we notice that in 1737 there was reported a definite lack of charity towards the sick and not a lot of decency in the dress code.



The timetable was the same for all.

However, in his visit of 1743, Father Inácio da Silveira suggested that in winter the students could get up half an hour later, but with the recommendation that this should be denied some days, so as to note the exceptional and not institutional character of this rule.

In what concerns schooling, the students attended Grammar, Human Sciences and Philosophy in S. Antão School, and were given practical lessons in St. Patrick's by the minister, who also watched over each student's progress, breaking gently to parents the fact of some students' inadequacies, hoping, by this, to save the parents' money and uphold the general level of the school.

In the year 1620, 30 people lived in the school, 13 of which were priests; in June 1624 the Collegians amounted to 21, of which 7 were clergy; in 1638; 3 returned to Ireland, one was transferred to Sevilla, two became professors and 6 more were requested from the Irish Mission; in the decade of 1680 the collegians amounted to 13 and the paying students to 3.

In the 18th Century the ratio leaned towards the latter, in the following proportions; 12:15 in 1720, 13:23 in 1749 and in the last decade 8 collegians to 19 paying students.

In the end of 17th Century a revolt exploded against the house's government, explained in part by the influence of professors who defended the intermission of secular power in ecclesiastic institutions.

The head of this movement was Dionisio Charti, astute, agitator, opportunist, enemy of law and order and basically gifted with all the skills that made him a born leader in the eyes of those who wished to impose their demands with no regard for order. He had been in the school or 5 years showing little application to study, and more than once severe punishments were ordered, to which he complied to cynically, with no wish to amend himself. Seeing he was incorrigible the provincial Father Sebastião de Magalhães expelled him in 1692. He then pretended to be sorry and promised to turn over a new leaf and his superiors, more by charity than by reason allowed him to stay on.

He then started his sabotage through rumours, aided by an influen-

tial person in court, who "por respeito não se nomeia".

Taking strength from this support and using a fake register of house rents given by this protector, in which the sums were doubled, Charti wrote many petitions to the courts, demanding that they investigate the school, alleging it was owned by the collegians. Helped by his manipulated fellow-students he managed to steal 18,600 reis, take some books from the rector's office and rip out pages in others which stated the true accounts of the semesters. On December 13th 1694, while the clerics were celebrating mass, his gang gained entry, by a false key, to the Proctors rooms with the aim of stealing the accounts, that by mere chance, had just been removed. Hearing steps in the corridor, they hastily fled, so as not to be discovered.

Coincidentally, the rector was absent on a pilgrimage, and the minister, Agostinho Quaresma, due to the importance of this breach left immediately to report this occurence to the board in S. Roque.

As soon as he left Charti ran the school bell and leading all the students, advanced to the gatehouse. As the brother gatekeeper refused to open the door even under threat of a knife, the group retreated, hurling threats and insults.

Later that afternoon, the returned principal Father Francisco Tavares, decided to get to the bottom of it, calling one by one all the students. These however refused to swear to or to sign for fear of Charti, who exerted a lot of power. The priest disguised his anger, but started immediately to form a plan aiming at the imprisonment of Charti in the local jail.

Knowing however his power and arrogance due to the support of highly placed people the rector concluded that the ecclesiastic judge would not suffice so he obtained a royal decree demanding that the Conde de Val de Rios, (Law Officer), send him a Bailiff or the local Mayor.

Charti did not suspect and so was disagreeably surprised when, on the 23rd of the same month, on returning from a walk, he was apprehended by the minister of justice at the door. He fought, cursed, yelled his head off and only with the help of two slaves could he be bound and sent off to the "Aljube", which was "the general Vicar's" jail.



D. António Jorge de Melo (his supporter) then made a public outcry, demanding, in his role as benefactor of St. Patrick's that Charti be released. The Priests replied that the only demand he could make "was to be buried in the church". He then went straight to the general vicar, from whom he obtained a release order, released the boy himself and quietly returned him to this class. He then went to the gatehouse to explain his intervention, blaming the general. In the face of the principal's protests Melo promised to pick him up the next day, which he did not fulfil, sending a letter as an apology.

As António Ximenes'heir, he claimed to have several documents and that he would force the priests to take Charti back, even if it cost him his whole estate. His wife, flattered by the attention that Charti gave her, supported her husband, but only in so many words, for neither gave him a penny. Melo even demanded an account be made of the "donation" (capela) founded by his uncle. Father Tavares resorted to the chairman of the college, Dr. João Lopes Castanho and through him gave Melo a royal decree forbidding any interference by benefactors in the running of the school.

In the meantime, the rebel remained at the college boasting that he had made the superiors treat the students like real clergy, so sure was he of his power. But he was mistaken. On January 28th, and due to an under-secretarial decree, the judge Gualter de Andrade came to assist the principal in the expulsion process. Charti was imprisoned within the school, watched night and day, while frightening the neighbourhood with his loud bellows, "like a bull".

After sentencing, Charti appointed a defendant who was reputed to have 2 thousand ducats to spend on the appeal. Appeals and counter-appeals followed until finally Father Tavares received a notification of the judge, Luis Matoso Soares, ordering him to readmit Charti in the seminar.

The Jesuit appealed his exemption privilege, and the Magistrate apologised.

Another dangerous adversary was Under-Secretary of State Mendes Foios, considered a supporter of Charti, and who was called to intervene but submitted to the obvious justice and common-sense.

On the 23rd of February, Gualter de Andrade reappeared, and in his presence the minister read the sentence which decreed expulsion. Nobody really believed that this was the last act of the drama, because this was a time when influences and counter-influences were rampant.

The defendant appealed to the King, and, even though it was made after the correct period, the appeal was accepted by the judge so as to please the Under-Secretary of State. Consequently, the next day a note of the Núncio arrived demanding the charges. Insatead of sending these the principal defended that the intervention of the Papal representative was illegal, because the school, being secular, was under royal protection. Although the document is incomplete we know that the student was expelled and forced to return all that he had taken.

Not even a decade had passed from such a lamentable incident when a new episode rocked the calm student life in St. Patrick's. We record it here summarily; Collegian Edmund Higgins, without knowledge of his superiors, sent a boy to fetch the letters from the mail, because he expected — or so he said — one of great importance. On the boy's return the brother gate-keeper took possession of this mail and took it, along with Higgins, to the vice-principal.

On the way, the proctor, Father José Cardoso, demanded the letters, alleging the vice-rector was asleep. he then turned to Higgins and asked who had given permission to collect the mail. Higgins replied that he had done it as a favour, and that this wasn't the first time. "This can't be" continued the priest "what you want is to steal from us. If this continues I will be forced to tell the Prior". And he refused to give Higgins a letter addressed to him, telling him to wait for the arrival of the rector, who had gone to Setúbal.

To this the collegian retorted he too would tell the Prior about the chains and padlocks with which the students were punished and how Cardoso had blemished. two neighbourhood girls. Other harsh words were exchanged until the Jesuit entered his room and closed the door, not without before saying that "the boys come to us pleading for us to admit them to the college, as they are poor and needy, but when inside they became insolent and rude to the Priests, so leave, for God's sake"!

Because Higgins, instead of leaving stayed at the door yelling



threats, the brother larderkeeper Inácio Fernandes came to help, begging him to leave, but received as an answer that he could not order anyone about, and, seeing he was being pushed outside, punched the Brother squarely in the eye. The Brother leapt at him and soon both were rolling on the floor, punching and kicking. The proctor came out and separated the fight, but as the Brother was leaving the apprentice threw a bunch of keys, striking his head. The offended man ran for the kitchen and returned with a knife, stabbing Higgins in the back. To the Collegians' cries of "Aqui d'el rei" a group of students appeared, headed by Jorge de S. Lourenço, who seeing the blood, cried "where are the killers?" and kicking the proctors door shouted "where is this priest?" The uncertainty over the wounded man's condition suspended the fight. The doctor was called, but he concluded that it was a mere scratch without consequences. meanwhile the agressor was lead to S. Antão where he was held in a room, while the Provincial gathered the witnesses.

Father Manuel Martins was appointed Inquisitor and José de Vasconcelos scribe from S. Roque. From the statements they came to the conclusion that the cause of the incident was the angered state of brother Fernandes and the bad nature of Higgins, who was discourteous, rude and presumptive. Other students were also rude and indominable and treated the Priests with a lack of courtesy. The situation returned to normal, with the profound apologies of Jorge de São Lourenço, who blamed his "natural imputus" and even that of Higgins.

**Economic troubles and the closing of the Lisbon College**

The Irish college saw itself involved in a long and contentious fight with the crown about the so called "temporalidades" or laws that prohibited the acquisition of property by the church, and which were during the XVIIth Century intransigently defended by the Jesuit and "cristão-novo" Tomé Pinheiro da Veiga. The issue reached such a scope and the intromissions of this jurist such a vehemence that, in July 1623, the representative of the Holy See asked the Pope to revoke, by a Papal bull, all "these devilish laws" that were provoking the ruin of the ecclesiastic jurisdiction.

In relation to St. Patrick's college, in 1624, the problem had the following proportions:

If the Jesuits had the right to govern the institution in their own manner, it showed that it was a religious institution, and so under the scope of the Law that prohibited their owning of property. In fact, they boasted such an exclusive right, but, on the other hand, so as to escape the consequences of the Law, they declared the college Secular, two unconcilliatory positions, so difficult to maintain, that the skilful crown proctor rapidly learnt to pounce on these contradictions.

However, the priests could always protect themselves by saying that the payment of interest was irregular and the donations had large upkeeping fees. The "obligation masses" had to be celebrated outside, with extra expenses because the collegians only took their vows in the fourth year and the priest did not say "paid-for" masses.

The "ordinárias" (fixed interest paid by the crown) was so reduced that it gave less than 2 thousands reis per year. As to D. Cecília, she was still alive, and under 40, so still liable to have heirs. Even if not, it should be remembered that from her donation one had to deduct fifteen hundred reis for a payment of moneys promised by Almada, the revenue of 15 thousand reis of interest, from 1624 to her death, as well as several donations to nieces, all together valued at 3,470 reis of interest. This sum was subtracted from the 6 thousand cruzados in rent that the two mediocre farms gave, for one produced on average 4 casks of wine and the other eight, which due to interest were not worth over 3,500 cruzados. This left only a credit of 975 that was not even enough for a daily mass. The king and his catholic ministers surely would not want the repossession of the seminary's goods by ordinary people, for these goods served only to keep souls at peace and sustain the poor exiled Irishmen. So much so that the King had given permission and even ordered D. Pedro Coutinho to found a seminary for the English that were not under his protection or care.

The dispute continued long after 1630, when Pinheiro da Veiga, determined to press forward his ideas, tried to prove that the passage of the school to be the ownership of the Jesuits had been illegal. In fact — he argued — the royal decree that had authorised the transfer was null and void due to not having passed through the chancellery and by the fact that the intervenient judges were all members of the fraternity, without any official position. And even though the Company Priests had "much zelousness", religion, letters, and helped the spread of the catholic faith this did not impede the fact that decrees without



official chancellery approval were fake. For the same motive, Paul V's Papal Bull had no value whatsoever. As was to be expected, the Jesuits, strong in arguments, did not stand down. The apostolic lector in a letter to Rome, revealed the name of the brain who commanded, in the rear-guard, the counter attack to the Royal supporters of the government.

In May of 1635, in announcing that the dispute over eclesiastic property had calmed down, he notes the influence of the writings of two jurists of the company: Father Diogo Areda, who focused the legal aspects of the cause and another, whose name is omitted, and who handled the historical aspects.

It became clear that the Law regulating ownership of property was in the interest of many seculars who lusted after the church's property. Bartolomeu de Araújo seems to fit in this category as, in February 1631 he "denounced" the college, claiming the donation of 100 thousand reis instituted by Fernandes de Almada, as well as the remainder due with the death of his wife D. Cecília de Lega, taking responsability for the charges from these legacies.

It is obvious that the priests opposed this claim, and the case dragged on in the Paço court, until the "juntas das Capelas" intervened and the papers were held up for four years.

In the impugnation to the claims of Araújo, the Jesuit jurists argued that if the claimant had been a servant of Gabriel Pereira de Castro, brother of the donations (capelas) judge Luis Pereira de Castro, "the claim is, in all effects, void".

On the other hand, as the Irishwoman D. Cecília was still alive, the donation was still in trust, so the claim was "captatoria mortis alterius" and punishable severely under the Law.

There was also the fact of another claimant and the Law prohibited "judgement on two claims". Finally the Law permitted claims only on profane goods, which was not applicable in this case because the donation comprised of provincial estates and monasteries that had existed for time immemorial and were thus ecclesiastic.

In the beginning of the XVIIth Century St. Patrick's entered in a

dispute with the Hospital over lands, the latter gaining favourable sentencing in court. The Jesuits appealed, claiming lack of jurisdiction on the part of the secular judges and the verdict was overturned by all votes except one.

The Hospital did not give up, and their lawyer claimed the college had to be judged by a secular court due to being secular themselves, statement that the opposition could not of course deny for fear of being included in the property law. However, the skilful fencers of the company managed to beat down these arguments and get their own way.

The economic question occupies the main part of the documents that we have. In an organisation that did not produce any material product, the defence of its estate was vital to its survival. In its present state, the families of the students did not have to, and in fact never did, contribute to the expenses of the seminary. On abandoning the house compulsively by order of the Marquês de Pombal the Jesuits could assert "Nullus Hybernus hucusque verl obulum contulit". The "ordinárias" paid to the college did not accompany the rise in the cost of living, and all the religious donations were taxed with charges that often took most of the revenue. For this reason the number of students (collegae) decreased and the Portuguese paying students (convictores) increased. But let us turn to the language of numbers.

Until 1606 the students lived off the following offerings: 500 reis from the Count of Vila Nova, 400 from the Condèssa da Calheta, 100 from the comendador de Santos, 200 from D. Maria e D. Joana de Milão, 200 from the Correio-Mor, 100 from Gomes de Mata, 100 from Meio-Cônego Álvaro Dia, 50 from José Leitão, 24 from the Archbishop, 20 thousand reis from the Duque de Aveiro, as much from the Duque de Bragança and 260 thousand reis from Nobles on the board.

This revenue was judged sufficient for the upkeep of 12 collegians when in reality there were 24 in 1592. After, through Portuguese Jesuit diligence the institution gained its own funds and the 1629 balance shows a small credit, transformed in deficit in the next two years when the total income amounted to 1750 cruzados per year. The debts to the seminary amounted to 360 thousand reis in 1624 and 700 in 1627. In September 1631, a permit of 80 thousand reis was levied on the Farm contracts. In 1635 the "ordinárias" were worth 620 thousand reis, but only about half this interest was collected. From the other revenues



there maintained a sum of 191 thousand reis, spent on daily masses and Theology lessons. Of the 260 thousand reis of charity 20 thousand reis were left, not even worth the expense of collecting. In 1628 the number of students was 15, and the budget deficit was covered by the rents of the Aurora and Charneca farms, the latter situated in Varatojo, and by the income from the masses, which rose from 50 to 100 roman escudos.

By request of the benefactors of Lisbon and Salamanca colleges the Pope allowed fishing on Holy days as long as the money from the catch reverted to the institute. This law, however had lost its validity in 1634.

By this time, the debts amounted to 1,430,000 reis, and with the rise of the cost of living the upkeep of one person in Lisbon cost the following: professors or students, 40 thousand reis per year, servants 25, washers, doctor and barber 30. In 1636 St. Patrick's was home to 10 students 5 clerics and 2 boys; the duties included 3 daily masses, 30 annual masses and the maintenance of the Theology professor; the revenue amounted to 732,450 reis and the expenses 869,282 reis not including the 25 casks of wine that were for sale. So the real balance amounted to 1,400 cruzados, plus 50 of an olive grove, at that moment frozen due to disputes over that land. Debt amounted to 1,000 cruzados.

The Aurora farm, of vines and pines had been bought from Gregorio Lopes for 1,700 cruzados and offered by António Ximenes so the students could have a place to stay out of Lisbon. The vines and olive groves of Charneca were a donation of D. Cecília de Lega. The college also made use of the "Carreira dos Cavalos", some land in the Alentejo, windmills in Alferim, the "Breijos de Seixola" and a small Arneiro in Sesimbra, all due to the generosity of the benefactors. We know, that in 1663 they filled 27 casks of wine, eight of which from the Aurora farm. Price of each cask, 14,751 reis.

The students rose to 12 in 1640. The budget had a small credit in 1647, the debt to the Irish merchants made in 1636 still outstanding. In 1649 the number of students rose to 14 and decreased to 12 ten years later when the number of clerics were eight and the judge had ordered the debt to the Irish merchants repaid, in 1654. The small credit balance held, except from 1648 to 1651. From 1646 to 1650, the produc-

tion of wine varied from 20 to 30 casks, half of which was consumed in the college and farms. The average grain harvest was two and a half measures and the olive oil, in its good years, gave 40 kegs. The wine decreased to 25 casks in 1651 and to 12 the next year, while the oilve oil level maintained at 9 kegs, and none in 1653, due to it not being harvest year.

In the accounts presented by Edmundo Kelly to the auditor/judge in 1654, there appears a balance of 119,363 reis with wine at 13 casks and olive oil at 30 kegs. In that year the college took on the charge of another daily mass and another theology class, as stipulated in Jerónimo Ximenes de Aragão's Will. The farms made 700 and 900 roman escudos, while the upkeep cost 500 and 600. From 1656 to 1663 the minimum wine harvest was 17 casks, and maximum 31. The best olive oil harvest was 50 kegs in 1662, the wine costing at this time 14,375 reis, but had already an overdrawn deficit of 764,375 reis.

As D. Cecília died childless, the Irish people of St. Patricks's were contemplated with the 33,347 reis of Interest that were stipulated on her husband's Will and originating from the farm previously rented by the college for 40 thousand reis per year.

The king determined, in a decree of November 30th 1663, that this interest would be levied on his farm from the 1st January, of the following year. In the same year, another interest rate of 50 thousand reis, on the 400 that Vasco da Gama received by order of D. Manuel, was registered in the chancellery.

In the next decade, the economic balance is maintained, rents amount to two thousand escudos "quamvis aegre solvantur" and increase to 3 thousand in 1678. The payment was limited to more or less facilities in the commercial transactions.

In 1690 the "royal ministers" owed the seminary more than 1,300 cruzados. In 1672 there were 13 students and 2 paying collegians, the former falling to 11 in 1693, when the number of annual masses was increased by twenty by request of Ormizonda de Morais. Another demand was the conclusion of the chapel of São João within two years. In this emergency they benefited from the fortunate assistance of the archbishop of Porto, D. João de Sousa.



In the XIXth Century, new interest rates were added: 15 thousand reis in 1712, which, by the death of D. Isabel da Silveira had passed to her husband, Jerónimo Fernandes da Silva in 1690; 50 in 1735, in the "almoxarifado" of Portalegre, and 16 in 1758 in the Casa da Moeda. During the 1740's the rents varied between 2,500 and 3 thousand cruzados, 6 daily obligatory masses and 100 annuals. In the following years the debts increased. Then the idea to reconvert the seminary into a simple pension reappeared, defended by many. In fact this was practically happening due to the rise in paying collegians and fall in students. In January 1743 the auditor Inácio da Silveira found no less than 24 students living in such cramped conditions that he ordered their reduction to 22.

Remember that precisely at this time, some youths arriving from Ireland started to be taken in by the Oratory Congregation of Oporto, and the political situation of the island had much changed since the initial conditions that had forced the creation of the missions.

For admission to the college, candidates had to bring from Ireland references guaranteeing their honesty, intellect and other qualities, and later also the birth and christening certificates. As to youths fleeing from heretics, the Portuguese Provincial had power to admit them, after harsh examination.

Through the diligence of the Archbishop of Dublin the Holy See authorised, on February 20th 1623, all the students to take their vows without estate and outside Canonic terms. They could then receive the holy vows because the mission "non servato interstitio sive dimissionibus cum solis litteris Rectoris eiusdem et eorum moribus idoneitas", just the same as had been granted to the school of Salamanca.

The school church, dedicated to Our Lady of the Remédios was much frequented by the English community, nobles and soldiers, due to the proximity of the castle. The ordained students, more expert in the Portuguese language, helped in giving confession, for there were always many penitents. For example Gregorio Scheret was allowed to hear confessions on the 20th of December 1633 "for he knows enough Portuguese".

In the subjects taught at St. Patrick's various professors stood out, such as Cornelio de S. Patricio, elected philosophy prefect and president

of theological debates, just after being ordained, in 1625. He would return in 1640, after passing through the cathedrals of Évora and the Açores. Nearly all the rectors taught simultaneously as Theology teachers, as well as Father Francisco White, of whom the Jesuit catalogues praise his good spirit, prudence and aptitude for letters and government. On the 9th and 10th of June, the conclusions of Theology were defended, chaired by Edmund Ednes. They asked the complicated problem: "Utrum praedestinatio electorum ad gloriam facta fuerit post praevia ipsorum merita ut absoluta futura?"

In 1665 the erudite Bento Pereira was admitted to run the first class and from 1678 Domingos de Paiva, formerly "primarius et facile princeps" at Coimbra, came to teach Philosophy. Later he transferred to the Controversies class in which he remained until his death on the 4th of February 1682. Afonso da Silveira followed him, and remained there, at least until 1690.

After the last exams ended, the finalists had to arrange transport to Ireland before the feast of St. Ignatius (31st of July), travelling normally disguised as merchants, with a cape and sword, for the eventuality of a meeting with heretics. They took however "apparell" to conduct mass. In a note of the Papel Núncio in Lisbon to Cardinal Paulucci, of May 29th 1705 one discovers that a ship is just getting ready to set off for Ireland, with a very learned Doiminican, who was going to take over Cork's Convent and 5 secular clerics, who taught at S. Pedro's college.

Even though there were great changes, the great part of Irish students arrived safely. In 1617, the cost of the voyage amounted to 35 or 40 thousand reis. A letter of 1693 echoes the despair of one captured and imprisoned in Dublin jail but adds "speramus tamen ab illis vinculis breve eximentem nobilium cognatorum ope et industria".

For the travel expenses, the priests kept the costs of two masses per week and resorted to the King to beg financial support. In the XVIIIth Century, the school could already offer the "ordinary viatic" thanks to a field donated for this purpose in the Alentejo and rented for 16 thousand reis. Hence, each student received, at the start, 16 Italian escudos (about 4 thousand reis), biscuits and wine. The regal subsidy had to be requested in each case, due to it not being included in the annual "ordinária".



During about 170 years the Jesuits were involved in many disputes to maintain their role in the St. Patrick's college of Lisbon, and, defending here, attacking there, managed to emerge unscathed from the struggle. By their numbers, multiple activities, intellect, cultural scope and real influence at the highest level, both religious and politic, they were indeed a hard power to shake.

The man who would manage to defeat them had to have a giant's strength. And this man appeared: his name was the Marquês de Pombal. One of the many pamphlets spread everywhere to undermine the influence of the clergy described a supposed prophecy of the archbishop of Dublin, George Brown, and which advised humanity against the evils that would occur through the Companhia de Jesus. The three copies in Portuguese archives are titled: "Predizione di Monsignor Bronswell Arcevescovo di Dublino pronunciate da Lui in uno Suo Sermone tenuto nel 1558".

The royal decree ordering the confiscation of all Jesuit property was dated Ajuda, january 19th 1759 and on the 31st Pedro Gonçalves Cordeiro Ferreira ordered the judge Estevão Galego Vidal to proceed with the sequestration of all the possessions of the college of St. Patrick's, its farms and houses and to place guards at all locations to avoid the priests leaving before they returned to the main house.

The magistrate, accompanied by scribe Manuel Pereira do Vale, executed this order from the 5th to the 19th of February. From the minute "Auto do Inventário dos Bens" one notes that, in their possession was a crucified Christ made of Ivory and Ebony, executed in India, Images of Our Lady of Boa Fé with Child; S. Inácio, S. Francisco Xavier, São Francisco de Borja, São Luis Gonzaga, São João Baptista, São Patrício, S. Estanislau e S. Francisco de Assis, all deposited at the house of the book-keeper Francisco Gonçalves Marques in the Rua Nova dos Ferros.

In the belfry a single bronze bell served and in his cell the Rector kept two muskets, a coffee grinder and a poker, while the proctor possessed a telescope. On the walls of the library were various "divine panels" and a portrait of the founder. The titles of the 1,941 books were duly noted. In the dressing-rooms were found two purple student hats, and two Indian quilts while in the coop a cock lorded over 10

chickens.

From February 7th to March 15th the scribe Joaquim José de Avelar concluded the "Auto de Sequestro das Quintas" and the other following properties: Rossio da Aurora with the respective Hermitage, Caminho da Charneca, Ground Floor of the Travessa do Loureiro, Casal das Delgadeiras, Shops under the dormitories and other local houses, Casal da Porca in Sintra, Ground floor of the Casa da Travessa, or Beco dos Merses à Cutelaria, A Land under the Supervision of the Priests of Rilhafoles, Ground Floor of the houses in the Arco de Consolação and others in Santo António, Azedia, Alenquer, etc.

In the Inventory of revenues, organised by the treasurer of the Inconfidência court, one notes that, in that year, the following rents were collected: on wine, fishing, olive oil, fruit, dry port, tobacco and the butchery with a total of 460 thousand reis. 5 donations (capelas) which daily mass obligations were maintained with the interest of the money invested in the Almoxarifado of Castelo Branco, in the wine producing lands, in the customs office of the Almoxarifado of Portalegre, in the fishing industries and in the "Mesa dos Vinhos", in a total of 300,793 reis. The school also charged for masses and some "foros" of Mission and other priests, which, added to the afore mentioned sums, gave an annual income of about 1,100 roman escudos. To this quantity was added the 1,235 reis from the properties in Bairro Alto, Tarrafeiro in Coruche, Grades and Painel das Almas, in Charneca, Rossio de Amora, Arneiro of Aguncheira, in Sezimbra, the 98 thousand reis pension from the Santo André church at Souselo, Lamego, and the 16 thousand reis from the Patriarchy. The reconstruction of the seminary had cost 10 thousand cruzados, thanks to the wood having been offered by the king. The costs of repair in the other buildings were set at 5 thousand cruzados, which, added to the other expenses, left the college with a debt of 8,783,546 reis.

Meanwhile, the Papal Núncio had been making a frantic effort to guarantee the devolution of the sequestered property, but without much success. With the fall of Pombal, D. Maria I, by a decree of April 30th 1778 ordered the reopening of St. Patrick's college, entrusting its management to the "Mesa de Consciência e Ordens". Until February that year, 6,381,962 reis had entered the royal accounts, 4,385,687 reis the Inconfidência treasury and 4,096,868 reis the Administration chests. In



the same period the expenses with masses and other matters reached 3,880,653 reis. Thus, there remained a liquid balance of 10,983,658 reis.

During a quarter of a century, the young Irish kept coming to the Lisbon seminary, and due to the lack of documentation on this period, one assumes it was run roughly in the same manner as with the Jesuits. The reductions in rent did not permit the sustenance of many, so some looked for other pedagogic centres, such as the Oratoriums of Oporto. This made the "Irish Missionaries", as they were called, think about admitting Portuguese pensionists to help sustain the collegians. With their benefactor, the Prince Regent's approval, they published the first advertisement in the Gazeta de Lisboa on December 4th 1804. In it they declared they were admitting all students from 8 to 11 years old and invited the parents or guardians to see the rector. The French invasions forced the school to close until 1811.

To guarantee continuity of schooling to pupils who could not leave the country during this period, two teachers gave private lessons in the Rua da Trindade. On the 28th of October 1811, the Gazeta announced the reopening of the school as before but with the added contributions of two more teachers.

Probably due to lack of enrolments, the school did not actually open, but on January 6th 1814 the Gazeta announced the start of classes on the 10th at the school of Calçada do Correio Velho, with new and skilful teachers, with only one old teacher left. No more than 30 students applied. These including pensionists, semi-pensionists and day-boys, with nearly no Irish naturals left. In 1820, the rector was Father João O'Dunn, followed by Father Jacinto Joyce and, in 1834, Father Murray with whom the Irish college would definitely close.

The idea of liberty, inspired by the French Revolution, made the Irish more united and the traditional English intolerance started to relax. The Gazeta de Lisboa in N.° 149 of 1825 criticised the English parliament as being ignorant for affirming that the Irish had two sovereigns "King and Pope", and that the Irish Catholics had more civil liberties than any protestants in catholic countries, and the paper continued by inciting the Irish to stand firm, for "ignorance and error can never stand up to justice and truth".

The same liberty allowed the farmers to exchange their products with the consequent valuation of the national economy and the rapid rise in exports, as the following figures show: In 1801 Ireland imported 4,621,000 pounds and exported 3,778,000; in 1825 they imported 8,596,000 and exported 9,102,000. The proportions of the different religions can be seen in the following statistics: about 6 million catholics, served by 3 thousand clerics; Episcopalians, 2,450 parishes with 4 archbishops, 18 bishops and about 700 rectors and vicars; Supporters, one million, few Baptists and the Presbyterians divided into the Ulster Presbyterian synod, Reformist synod and Orthodox Presbyterians.

Returning to St. Patrick's college, as soon as it stopped receiving Irish students it reverted, as stipulated in its foundation contract, to the possession of the Dominican Fathers of Corpo Santo. Meanwhile, Brother Raimundo dos Anjos Beirão of the Convento de Jesus in Lisbon, had planned, for a long time, the establishment, in Portugal, of the Franciscan nuns. The new proprietors gladly agreed and soon the "Capuchinhas Descalças", known as the "Sisters of Charity" were fully installed, having been sent from Galiza.

When these French Nuns were expelled in 1871 Brother Raimundo tried to substitute for them a Portuguese community and soon the apprenticeship classes for Hospital service nuns were in full swing. At one time the house held over 100 nuns, but, in 1879, because of an epidemic, they transferred to the ancient convent of Trinas. The building served, for a while, as a boys home until it was bought by the Sisters de São José de Cluny, who, in 1891, made it their main-house in Portugal. They came from Carnide with twelve students, but places were so sought after that soon they had to amplify the school. With time, the school became a first-class establishment, especially because of its teachers. In 1910 it counted 98 day-girls, of the best Lisbon families. Meanwhile, the free schooling donation of the Marquesa de Monfalim continued, since it had opened in March 1896, with 90 poor children. The supporters of the republican regime implanted in 1910, in their anti-religion zeal, confiscated the house and gave it to the Ministry of Justice, which installed there instead the Infant Tution programs and Feminine Shelter.

If you come down from the Castle to the Sé you can still find the large building of St. Patrick's, with the "pombalino" walls of bricks,



small stone and clay giving on to the "Escadinhas de São Crispim".

Made of washed stone, showing a certain air of nobility and stonework of the main door, of before the 1755 earthquake. In a wing there still exists the shelter for girls. Of the Children's Court all you have left is the sign next to the door.

Editor's Note — This article is an English translation from a chapter in a Portuguese book published in 1981 called "Fontes Inéditas Portuguesas para a História da Irlanda". The author is a secular priest and a Canon of the Lamego Cathedral.

In 1989 a plaque was placed on the building on the "Escadinhas de São Crispim". It states:

"Neste edifício esteve alojado o Colégio dos Irlandeses de São Patrício de 1611 a 1834."

"Is San Fhoirgneamh seo abhi colasiste eirennach naomh pádraig suite ó 1611 go 1834."

"In this building the Irish College of St. Patrick was housed during the years 1611 to 1834."

"Unveiled by the Ambassador of Ireland to Portugal 1989."