Succeeding the Jesuits: The Congregation of the Mission and the Colégio da Purificação in Evora

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The eighteenth-century is generally regarded as a time of wilting prestige for Catholic religious institutes, above all the Society of Jesus. In 1773, the universal dissolution of the Society, once one of the most visible and powerful religious bodies in the Catholic church, came at the end of European-wide repressive attacks starting in the 1750s. In 1758, the Jesuits were accused of widespread abuses and scandalous conduct in Portugal and its colonies. José I deported them from the Americas and then formally expelled them from his realm in 1759. The infamous bankruptcy of Antoine Lavalette, a French Jesuit in Martinique, prepared the ground for the enemies of the Jesuits to destroy their order in France and French overseas territories in 1762. By 1764 Louis XV had yielded to the will of his parlements and extinguished the order in the French dominions, and by the decade’s close the rulers of Spain, Naples, and Parma had similarly turned their fury against the followers of Saint Ignatius.1

The events that preceded these European suppressions of the Society are, of course, dramatic. Its deconstruction in the realms of eighteenth-century Europe is often related to the rise of the nation-state, the surge of enlightenment ideas, and the general decline of piety during this era. But the years that followed its disappearance are even more intriguing. Far from being the summit in Europe’s supposed slope toward greater dechristianization, the suppression in fact involved a process of re-weighting in favor of other models of priestliness. Rulers across Europe turned to other institutes to fill the gap left by the Jesuits. One institute still in fashion, and which benefited greatly from their extinction, was the Congregation of the Mission.

In the wake of the Society’s suppression, the Congregation took over a significant number of its former establishments across the world. This expropriation began in France, where the Congregation acceded to former Jesuit houses and seminaries in La Rochelle (1762), Rodez (1767), Luçon (1771), Cambrai (1772) and Albi (1774). In Italy, Lazarists entered former Jesuit colleges in Parma (1768), and Turin (1776). Among other establishments on the Italian peninsula they received the former Jesuit house in Bologna (1774), and the Congregation’s internal seminary in Rome was transferred to a former Jesuit property, the Jesuit noviciate abutting Sant’Andrea al Quirinale. In most of these jurisdictions, the Lazarists took only a fraction of the Jesuits former edifices, but in some places the harvest was richer. In the Palatinate the prince elector invited them to install Mission houses in all former Jesuit institutions — including the prestigious Jesuit college in Heidelberg. These European gifts were crowned by even more in the East. In the 1780s, upon royal order French Lazarists occupied seven former Jesuit establishments in the Levant. In 1784, former Jesuit goods in China, including the imperial mission at Peking, also were handed to the sons of Monsieur Vincent.2 The focus of this article, though, will be the former Jesuit college at Evora in Portugal, granted to the Lazarists in 1779.


Few contemporary observers could have predicted this large-scale substitution of Jesuits by disciples of Vincent de Paul. Even a cursory glance at prevailing historical representations confirms how widely each group was set apart. The Jesuits were seen as quintessential *hommes de pouvoir*, whose dominance of royal confessionals across Europe fuelled widespread stereotypes of them as powerful and dangerous politicians.3 Diderot’s *Encyclopédie* accused the Society of “acting as though it were destined to command the universe,” snarling that its members were “the most abject fomenters of despotism in the state.”4 At the time of the suppression, hatred of the Jesuits’ alleged power unleashed the most extravagant claims against them. In the wake of their expulsion from the Portuguese colonies in Brazil, a colonial official there so resented the Jesuits’ former positions of power that he called them the “common enemies of the human race.”5 The Lazarists, on the other hand, rarely attracted this kind of opprobrium in Europe or elsewhere, primarily because they were stereotypically regarded as being simple-minded, and thus inoffensive, rural Parsons. As a rule, the Lazarists avoided the sort of self-publication typified in the famous Jesuit *relations*, and their humility probably fed images of them as men of inferior talents and intellect. For example, while Saint-Simon recognized some Lazarists as holy in his court memoirs, he repeatedly cast them as “ignorant.”6 Likewise, during the Napoleonic era an official of the French department of the marine praised their “happy mediocrity,” but insisted that there was “nothing brilliant” about them.7

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These caricatures had their roots in more concrete distinctions between both institutes. In a general sense, the Congregation and the Society shared similar goals. They were both missionary institutes created out of the Catholic Reform’s agenda of renewal, even if they chose differing means of executing it. Canonically approved in 1540, the Society of Jesus was founded by Ignatius of Loyola and several companions with the core objective “to help souls” through their myriad ministries. Vincent de Paul founded the Congregation in 1625 at a time when the French church was in ailing condition, characterized — according to one observer — by “a lack of virtue and discipline in the clergy” and a “people, especially [those] of the countryside, [who] were not instructed, nor assisted… in [their] spiritual needs.” The Congregation was thus founded to devote itself “entirely and exclusively to the salvation of the poor common people.”

As missionaries, Jesuits and Lazarists engaged in activities typical of apostolic laborers in the early modern period: preaching, saying Mass, and confessing. However, beyond these general pastoral activities, both institutes imposed vows emblematic of each group. To the traditional vows of chastity, poverty, and obedience, the Society bound its members to a fourth vow of service of the pope; the Congregation imposed a vow of stability, enrolling its members in apostolic works in rural areas. These vows made for differing aspirations at the heart of both bodies. The Society’s close relationship with, and

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11 Vincent de Paul championed the vows’ role in the life of the Congregation and, after some disputes, they were finally approved in 1653. See Luigi Mezzadri and José Maria Román, The Vincentians, A General History of the Congregation of the Mission, trans. Robert Cummings (New York: 2009), 38-40.
availability to, the Roman pontiff prepared the way for its rapid development as a global order. By the end of the sixteenth century it had already developed manifold activities in Europe, the Middle East, America, and Northern Africa, counting 10,000 Jesuits in thirty-two provinces. In contrast, the Congregation’s original limitation to serving the poor in ‘humbler’ locations meant it remained small and generally unrecognized for a long time. In 1708, Lazarists still only numbered approximately 1,200 missionaries in nine provinces, mostly in Europe. In the eighteenth century, practical and organizational differences between Jesuits and Lazarists remained appreciable. While the Encylopédie could call the Society “rich, numerous, and powerful” in 1765, for its part the Congregation had grown in influence but remained structurally small-scale. In 1789, its membership hovered just above 800 men in eleven provinces.

Many former Jesuit institutions handed over to the Lazarists from the 1770s onwards were educational establishments. However, while both sets of missionaries became heavily invested in education, they earned markedly different reputations. The Society of Jesus rapidly developed an extraordinary network of colleges — largely for the education of young men in what would be considered modern-day high schools — across Europe and the world. In France, for example, the Jesuits operated thirteen colleges in 1575, having opened one every year on average since their legal recognition in 1562. Jesuit colleges similarly dotted Portugal and its empire from the sixteenth century: they could be found in cities and towns from Porto to Bahía, Funchal to Olinda, the Azores to Rio de Janeiro. In contrast, the weight of the Congregation of the Mission lay not in operating colleges for young men, but in managing diocesan seminaries. A trend begun in Vincent de Paul’s lifetime gradually made the Congregation a European leader in the provision of ecclesiastical education; by the French Revolution, two-thirds of French diocesan seminaries were in its hands. Like many of the differences separating each institute, these vocational dissimilarities were due in part to essential points of distinction between Jesuits and Lazarists. Jesuit control of colleges historically went hand-in-hand with their cultivation of elites in urban areas. For their part, Lazarist involvement in seminaries was traditionally linked to their central objective of evangelizing the rural poor, a goal closely correlated to providing good priests for them.

12 AM, 73:683-684. The Congregation only arrived in America in the nineteenth century.
13 Ibid., 65:6.
18 In a 1650 letter to the bishop of Périgueux, Vincent was bold enough to claim that the “service we render to the ecclesiastical” state was “merely accessory” to the Lazarists’ missionary work, see CCD, 4:48.
Given these stark variances, the transfer of a significant number of Jesuit properties to the Congregation raises a host of questions. The first category of questions relates to the key area of patronage. The differing weight of each body, their connections to agents of power, and therefore their visibility and independent resources, matter enormously in assessing the Congregation’s fitness (and perceived fitness) as a replacement. What pedigree did each institute enjoy in the regions and realms where Lazarists replaced Jesuits? In particular, did the Lazarists nourish close relationships with the same monarchies that targeted the Jesuits for expulsion? What were their relations with other established authorities, like the Pope and diocesan bishops? The second group of questions is procedural in nature, focusing on the tooth-and-nail of replacement. Is there evidence of a ‘smooth handover’ and what were the Jesuits’ reactions? What were the legal terms of the handovers? What goods, buildings, monies, and lands were transferred? What happened to the Jesuits’ artistic patrimony? These last lines of enquiry will ultimately establish if the transfer of Jesuit properties enriched successors. A final set of questions will address the aftermath of replacement. Did the Lazarists engage in the same activities as the former occupants?

A new research project, begun in 2014 under the Vincentian Studies Institute and now continuing with the Irish Research Council, seeks to provide answers to these questions. Entitled *Succeeding the Jesuits: piety, politics, culture and the Congregation of the Mission*, this broad venture ultimately seeks to understand if the extinction of one of the greatest Catholic orders left an unfillable hole in Europe and beyond. However, the project’s first hurdle lies in a massively uneven historiography. The Society of Jesus — its foundation, expansion, and decline — continues to attract historical research matching its weight. In contrast, work on Catholic institutes who represented a challenge to its dominance is surprisingly limited. Of much relevance to this project is the fact that studies on the Congregation have been largely inhibited by greater historical interest in Vincent de Paul. Consequently, the only source of information on the Congregation in Europe before 1789 is a small pool of internal histories often compiled by professed Lazarists. In general, these works share two major flaws: they are confined to that part of the Congregation’s history which is coterminous with Vincent’s lifetime or the immediate aftermath, and they remain poorly

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lit by context. There is therefore no substantial study on the Congregation’s activities in Europe in the eighteenth century, a startling fact given its growing stature and influence throughout several kingdoms.

The time is ripe for a substantial comparative study of an emerging ecclesiastical challenger to the pre- and post-suppression Jesuits. Ample attention is given to political debates, financial scandals, and prickly theological questions in the century leading to their disgrace in European territories, but the redistribution of the Society’s power among religious competitors during the suppression is a thoroughly neglected subject. The bicentennial of the Society’s restoration in 2014 has reignited interest in the expulsion and restoration period, yet little work has been done in these areas. One reason for this is that the dissolution process dispersed relevant Jesuit documents across myriad national, state, and local archives. Documents relating to the mechanics of handovers in specific dominions and cities have therefore not been adequately plundered. Historians can therefore often lean on no more than general surveys of the Jesuit aftermath, many of which only deal with the subject of successors obliquely.

This case study on the Colégio da Purificação in Evora, Portugal, is the first in a limited but representative sample of former Jesuit establishments that passed to the Lazarists.

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20 In addition to Mezzadri and Román’s General History, see Stafford Poole, C.M., A History of the Congregation of the Mission (n.p, 1973); José Herrera, Historia de la Congregación de la Misión (Madrid: 1949).


Based on newly-discovered primary materials, it will address the key themes of patronage, procedure, and the aftermath of replacing the Jesuits. In order to understand these themes, a brief sketch of both the Society’s and the Congregation’s history in Portugal is necessary. This history confirms the equally important role of patrons in promoting and empowering each institute, as well as the dramatic consequences of the Jesuits’ loss of favor with its sponsors and eventually the entire regime. With the gift of one of Portugal’s great and prestigious colleges, the Lazarists subsequently benefited from the Jesuits’ downfall, but the reasons for their nomination to the Colégio, and the form of the handover, have not been fully explored. In the final analysis, we should consider if the Lazarists’ succession filled the educational and missionary gaps left by the Society of Jesus in Evora.

*The Society of Jesus in Portugal*

The Colégio da Purificação, an institution long a jewel of the Jesuit province of Portugal, was founded in the golden era of the Jesuits’ development. They had been in Portugal since June 1540, when Francis Xavier and Simão Rodrigues arrived there to establish the first mission. The early history of the province, and the decades that followed the new Jesuit foundation, immediately demonstrated how adept the Society would become at weaving close ties with established powers. Even before they arrived in Portugal, King John III appeared to be enamored of them, urging his ambassador in Rome to encourage as many of their institute to come and settle in his kingdom. Once established, they were soon called for an audience with the monarch, a portent of close future relations not simply with the royal family, but with other grandees. Among their fresh admirers included the two *infantes*, especially Dom Henrique, the future Cardinal-King, as well as the archbishop of Braga, Bartolomeu dos Martires.23

The new province grew exponentially with the assistance of high patrons and aristocrats, who both helped the Jesuits acquire properties and then frequented their churches as parishioners. The first deal, struck in January 1542, involved an exchange of properties gifted by the king in return for a monastery in Lisbon. The building was subsequently known as *Santo Antão*, and functioned as the Society’s first Portuguese college. Yet the expansion of their activities in and around the capital soon demanded other bases. In the 1550s, João III offered the Society five properties, including the large compound of São Roque, located just outside the city enclosure, to serve as a noviciate. In 1579, construction of a new site in Lisbon, a much larger facility called *Santo Antão o novo*, was also begun. The activities of the missionaries soon radiated outwards: the foundation stone of their college in Coimbra, the future College of Jesus, was laid in April 1547, followed by their gaining control of João III’s Royal College in the same city in 1555.24

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Plans to establish the Jesuits in Evora, a city in Portugal’s south central Alentejo region, began in 1542, when João III sent his confessor to choose a site for a prospective college. This initial effort was brought to fruition in 1551 by Cardinal Henrique, who ordered construction of an edifice to serve as an education center for his clergy. The Jesuits’ participation in this project was advanced by circumstances, as missionaries from the Society were also operating in the Evora diocese in 1551. Cardinal Henrique had sought, and was granted, missionary teams to evangelize his vast diocese, and Jesuit missionaries soon visited most major towns in the area. Seemingly impressed with their work among the population, in June of that year Henrique interviewed two Jesuits regarding his desire to establish a Jesuit college, and on 5 October 1551 a larger delegation arrived in the city. After a pilgrimage on foot from Coimbra, Simão Rodrigues and nine companions opened the College of the Holy Spirit, approved as a university by Pope Paul IV in 1558.25

The establishment later transferred to the Lazarists in Evora, the Colégio da Nossa Senhora da Purificação, was conceived as a constituent college of the fledgling Jesuit university. Following on the success of colleges established by Henrique in Braga, Lisbon, and elsewhere, in February 1576 the Holy See, with the bull *Altitudo Divinae Providentiae*, authorized the cardinal to found one or more similar institutions that would be entrusted to the Society of Jesus exclusively. Initially designed as one of a quartet of colleges, the Colégio da Purificação was the only actually built. The first stone of the institute was laid by Henrique on 27 June 1577, and the development had the distinction of being the last building project sponsored by the cardinal before his proclamation as king of Portugal in August 1578.26 In statutes adopted for the college and signed by the new monarch on 29 July 1579, Henrique explained that his plans for a network of colleges in Evora and throughout Portugal owed to the “great evils that follow from ignorance, lack of sound

doctrine and good example from the ministers of the Church.”27 To combat these ills he had endowed the original university of the Holy Spirit for “those who might wish to study and learn good habits, together with the humanities, for the good and salvation” of souls. 28

The foundation of the new Colégio da Purificação was tied to these original objectives, being founded “for the conservation of the University” and for the study and housing of its students. 29 As for its operators, the king appointed the Jesuits “for the experience that I have of [their] zeal and virtue…” 30

The impressive new college, with its “two majestic cloisters,” was originally designed to accommodate fifty students, although the number was later reduced to twenty five. 31 These were, in the main, high-level ecclesiastical students from Portugal and elsewhere, usually on a pathway to doctorates in theology. Over the years their alma mater developed a reputation for producing excellent alumni. An eighteenth-century chronicler observed that the college was “the best that there is in Portugal,” training “great men of letters and doctors” who served both in dioceses and the Inquisition. Besides generations of parish clergy several prominent ecclesiastics began their careers in the college’s cloisters, including Bartolomeu do Quental, founder of the Portuguese Oratory, Frei Domingos Barata, professor at the University of Coimbra and bishop of Portalegre, and D. João do

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28 “…fundei o Collegio do Spiritu Sancto e Universidade da Companhia de Jesu, na dita cidade, cabeca do ditto arcebispado, pera que nella estudassem e aprendassem, juntamente com as letras, bons costumes os que quizecem estudar pera bem e salvacao de suas almas.” Ibid.

29 “…pera conservacao da Universidade importava muito fazer hum collegio pera teologos alem do Spiritu Sancto, determine instituir e fundar junto delle o Collegio da Purificação de Nossa Senhora…” Ibid., 21.

30 “Pella experiencia que tenho do zello e virtude dos padres da Companhia de Jesu…” Ibid., 21.

Casal, bishop of Macau. The college also became a favorite of eighteenth-century nobility, many of whom, such as the count of Unhão and the count of Avintes, sent sons destined for the church to study there.\textsuperscript{32} According to the entry catalogue, between its founding and extinction, 626 students passed through the gates.\textsuperscript{33}

Some considerations warrant attention from this early history of the Colégio da Purificação. The first is the great popularity of the Jesuits, both in Portugal, and in the Alentejo region, before their suppression in 1759. For over two hundred years Evora was well-cultivated Jesuit territory, and they had become highly influential personalities in the town. The Jesuit rector of the university was a pre-eminent figure, combining this office with the rectorship of two other colleges, including the Colégio da Purificação, the administration of the Royal University Hospital, and a canonry in the cathedral.\textsuperscript{34} Compared with the Congregation of the Mission, whose members only commenced activity in the region in 1777, the Society was of much older vintage. Of course, both locally and on a national level, the Jesuits’ position hinged on the close patronage and admiration of royalty and grandees. From the founding of the Portuguese province to the eighteenth century, the support of kings and cardinals had sustained the Jesuits’ vast operation, which included the Evora compound and nineteen other colleges. However, as we shall see, support for the institute drained steadily away in the decades prior to suppression. As favor diminished for them it flowed in other directions.

\textit{Jesuit Vicissitudes and Lazarist Victories}

The eighteenth century was not easy on the Society of Jesus, which found itself battered on all sides in several European kingdoms. The Jansenist controversy, which had erupted in France in the previous century and soon became a prickly question for the universal church, pitted powerful groups against the Jesuits. \textit{Parlements}, ministers of state, and great numbers of learned lawyers attacked them as “perverse, destructive of all principles of religion, and even of honesty.”\textsuperscript{35} As one Portuguese historian has pointedly summarized, the Jesuits’ militant pursuit of those who opposed the anti-Jansenist bulls, especially \textit{Unigenitus} in 1713, sparked “enormous effervescence and growing animosity, which, far from calming with time, kept growing.”\textsuperscript{36} The European media went into overdrive to attack the Jesuits — mobilizing newsprint, engravings, and pamphlets to carry anti-Jesuit

\begin{footnotes}{
\footnote{32}{Mendeiros, \textit{O Seminario de Parocos}, 70.}
\footnote{33}{Jesus da Costa, \textit{Estatutos}, 15.}
\footnote{34}{Franco, \textit{Evora Ilustrada}, 238.}
\footnote{35}{Quoted in Paul Hazard, \textit{European Thought in the Eighteenth Century from Montesquieu to Lessing}, trans. by J. Lewis May (Cleveland and New York: 1963), 167.}
\footnote{36}{“…enorme efervescência e crescente animosidade, que, longe de se acalmarem com o tempo, foram irradiando cada vez mais.” See, Ferrão, \textit{O Marquês de Pombal}, 7. See also, Dale Van Kley, \textit{The Jansenists and the Expulsion of the Jesuits from France}, 1757-1765 (New Haven and London: 1975).}
venom. However, fuel for the anti-Jesuit build-up came from other quarters too. Even if the French *philosophes* did not explicitly take sides during the suppression, ironic works as such d’Alembert’s *Sur la destruction des jésuites en France* viewed the Jesuits’ ruin as the final hurdle in advancing Europe’s lay Enlightenment. Outside France, government campaigns in major European cities such as Vienna, Milan, and Turin challenged the Jesuit stranglehold on universities and schools, and derided the old-fashioned classical syllabi. These movements in turn reflected new political strategies, such as Josephism, that sought to severely restrict the Society’s influence with Europe’s rulers.

The Jesuits’ nadir began in Portugal and its foreign dominions. Agitation first erupted in the South American colonies where heightened scrutiny of the size of their properties and endowments soon led to their indictment for “scandalous trading.” Infamous works such as the state-supported propaganda piece the *Relação abreviada*, accused them of a litany of crimes, including robbing and defrauding the native population, as well as flouting church and state law. Then in 1757, the Jesuits’ were abruptly expelled from court, ending their roles as kingly confessors. But it was the Tavora affair that ultimately sealed their fate. On the evening of 3 September 1758, an attack on King José I’s life at Quinta do Meio, near Belém outside Lisbon, triggered the final decline of the Society. On 12 January 1759, the alleged instigators, which included members of the prominent Tavora family, the duke of Aveiro, and the count of Atouguia, were convicted of the crime of regicide and sentenced to horrific deaths. More importantly, the judgement also labelled the Jesuits as “culprits of this execrable crime.” In February, the prime minister Sebastião de Carvalho e Melo, the redoubtable Marquês de Pombal (1699-1782), ordered Jesuit property confiscated and inflicted harsh penalties on members of the Society. Many were sent to prison for lengthy periods. On 3 September 1759 the Crown finalized the complete expulsion of the Society.

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37 For an impressive collection of pro- and anti-Jesuit writings from this period see, Carlos Sommervogel, et al., eds., *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus*, 12 vols. (Toulouse: 1911-1930).
39 Josephism has been widely studied, the classic being Eduard J. Winter’s *Der Josefinismus und seine Geschichte, Beiträge zur Geistesgeschichte Österreichs*, 1740-1848 (Brünn: 1943).
41 *Relação abreviada da republica, que os religiosos jesuitas das provincias de portugal, e hespanha, estabelecerão nos dominios ultramarinos das duas monarquias, e da guerra, que nelles tem movido, e sustentado contra os exercitos hespanhues e portuguezes; formada pelos registos das secretarias dos dous respectivos principaes commissarios, e plenipotenciarios; e outros documentos authenticos* (Lisbon: 1757).
from the realm, but attacks on the order did not abate. In a much-publicized case the government prosecuted the famous Jesuit missionary Gabriel Malagrida for heresy, and he was burned at the stake by order of the Inquisition in January 1761.44

The Crown’s wrath soon spilled onto the Jesuit community of Evora. On 8 February 1759, two sections of cavalry surrounded the university, its colleges, and the gardens. Inside were imprisoned all the Jesuits from colleges in the Alentejo and Algarve region, numbering some 70 priests. By order of the Crown these men were forbidden from communicating with the outside world. According to one historical account, a “huge crowd of people rushed to the college throwing up cries and laments” over the fate of the town’s most important religious congregation. The Jesuit community suffered arrest for seven months, until 10 September, when its members were transported in carriages to prisons in the Azeitão and Lisbon.45 From there, they were deported to the Papal States, joined by scores of others expelled from Portugal, Brazil, and India. Of the approximately 1,698 Jesuits in the Portuguese province, over one thousand found refuge in the pontifical domains.46

This history is dismal, but it was not shared by all religious institutes in the eighteenth century. Indeed, if historians can speak of a narrative of decadence captured in the Jesuit fall, there are parallel narratives of success and unflagging popularity enjoyed by other groups of Catholic missionaries. In particular, the Lazarists enjoyed a remarkably different trajectory in Europe, at least until the French Revolution in 1789. Beginning in the 1660s, the appointments they gained as parish priests at some of Louis XIV’s major residences,

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44 Sentença De Condenação Do Padre Jesuíta Gabriel Malagrida, Pelo Tribunal Da Inquisição, Com O Acordão Do Tribunal Da Casa Da Suplicação Datado De 20 De Setembro De 1761 (Lisbon, n.d.).
46 Chadwick, The Popes and European Revolution, 350.
including the châteaux of Fontainebleau and Versailles, signaled the steady rise of the erstwhile ‘priests of the countryside’ as serious competitors to established clerical interests, especially the Jesuits, in France. The Sun-King’s confidence in the heirs of Vincent de Paul, who were early on identified as less wily alternatives to the more political Society of Jesus, was soon repeated across European courts. In Rome, in 1697, the pope gifted the lucrative abbey of Saints John and Paul to the Congregation. In a further show of confidence, in 1704 the grand-duke of Florence established the Lazarists in the city to replace another group of clergy out of his ‘great esteem’ for them. The Congregation’s popularity in the eternal city continued apace, and in 1705 it received the directorship of the pontifical Academy of Noble Ecclesiastics, a special seminary for the training of papal ambassadors.

The Lazarists’ rise to prominence in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries prepared the way for great successes in specific European territories in the decades immediately prior to the Jesuit collapse. In Portugal, these accomplishments were in plain view, even if the Congregation’s beginnings in the kingdom were irregular. In 1712, a Lazarist based in Rome, José Gomez da Costa, obtained permission from the Holy See to travel to Portugal to set up the Congregation. However, when the king approved the Congregation’s establishment in 1714 he forbade any connection between the venture and Saint-Lazare in France. He insisted on an autonomous Portuguese community, “immediately subject to His Holiness, without dependence on any other superior.” This stipulation caused serious concern among the Congregation’s central leadership. While his public letters deftly hid the conflict, their superior general’s private correspondence lamented this attempt to divide the Congregation, calling the results “true dismemberments of a well-united body.” Although this injection of nationalist sentiment into the Congregation’s organization troubled the general, it nevertheless also signaled the close interest of the Portuguese monarchy in the new Lazarist establishment.

Over the next decade, reports from Saint-Lazare drew attention to the favors showered on the new arrivals by the sovereign. In 1719, the superior general boasted that the Lisbon house “was well-desired by the king, who has honored it with his presence at the divine offices.” In 1724 he wrote that the king treated the establishment with “great bounty and a truly paternal affection.” This continued when the relationship between the Portuguese Lazarists and the Congregation at large was regularized in 1737. In the early 1740s the Lazarists benefited from the largesse of João V, who gifted lands and properties to the missionaries. In 1742, the king generously endowed the Congregation with additional royal

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48 Ibid., 1:238, 241.
50 “bien voulue du roi, qui l’a honorée de sa présence aux divins offices…” See, RC, 1:317; “…qui la traite avec une grande bonté et une affection vraiment paternelle.” Ibid., 332.
funds, and also assigned the income from two major benefices in the diocese of Porto.\footnote{Guimarães, 
Apontamentos para a historia da provincia Portuguesa da Congregação da Missão, 9 vols. (Lisbon: 1959), 1:193-194.} Further demonstrations of the monarch’s abundance came in 1743 when the superior general reported that the king “ha[d] newly bought a vast allotment in order to build lodgements more proportionate to the object of his foundation.”\footnote{“...il a nouvellement acheté un vaste emplacement pour pouvoir bâtir des logements plus proportionnés à l’objet de sa fondation.” See, RC, 1:501.}

The spike in Lazarist activities in the eighteenth century mirrored the Society of Jesus’ fecundity over two hundred years previously. The interest evinced by the monarchy soon found echoes in the episcopate, and bishops across the country demonstrated support for Vincent’s followers. In 1752 the archbishop of Braga, whom the superior general claimed nourished a “special esteem” for the Lazarists, granted them “a magnificent establishment” at Guimarães in his diocese, and in the same year the bishop of Miranda also requested Lazarist missionary teams.\footnote{Ibid., 1:562.} Although Lisbon’s terrible earthquake in 1755 left their house in the capital uninhabitable and forced the missionaries to shelter in tents in their garden, their missions in the country remained popular. In 1758 the general reported that, after an invitation by the bishop, the Lazarists had performed missions in Coimbra for nearly two years with “marvelous success.”\footnote{Ibid., 1:589, 682.}

The Congregation of the Mission was in steady ascent in Portugal at the same time the Jesuits declined, yet evidence pointing to a direct rivalry between members of the two organizations remains slender. However, one of the most significant events of the century, the Tavora affair, revealed the level of trust the monarchy had invested in the Lazarists at a time when its opinion of the Jesuits was lower than ever. A rare manuscript source for the Congregation’s development in the Portuguese empire, the Memorias chronologicas da caza da Congregação da Missão de Lisboa, describes how, two days before the execution of sentences against those charged with the attempted regicide, the Lazarist superior in Lisbon was “called to the Secretariat of State where he received the instruction… to send four priests to assist some of the culprits.” The account continued:

Early on Friday morning two carriages arrived to take four of our priests to the place in Belém where the wretched were being held. Sr Abren assisted the Marchioness of Tavora\footnote{Leonor Tomásia de Távora (1700-1759), third Marchioness of Távora, was among those implicated in the assassination attempt of the king.}, having as a companion Sr Coelho. Sr Ferreira accompanied Sr Carvalho,\footnote{The Lazarists mentioned here were Francisco de Abren e Oliveyra (1710-?), Atanasio-Domingo Coelho (1728-1796), and Manuel de Carvalho (1716-1776). The “Sr Ferreira” referred to is harder to identify: this was either João-Batista Ferreira (1732-1781), or Joaquim-José Ferreira (1728-1768).} who assisted the condemned man who was burned alive. At the end of the whole execution he gave a lesson to the people, as we
would do on any gallows where sentence of death was executed. Sr Carvalho did not preach off-the-cuff, because knowing a few days before that we would be invited for this ceremony, he was able to rehearse for the lesson….  

The nomination of the Lazarists to provide spiritual comfort for those involved in the affair, a scandal that had acutely tainted the Society of Jesus, was ready evidence of their rising stature. Their standing with the monarchy was once again confirmed when the sovereign ordered that the two eldest sons of the recently executed count of Atouguia be educated at the Congregation’s Lisbon house, where they remained for “many years” and were rehabilitated into society.  

It was only after the Tavora affair and the demise of the Jesuits in 1759 that the Congregation arrived in the see of Evora, where they were summoned by the cardinal archbishop, João Cosme da Cunha, in 1777. Da Cunha had previous experience with the Lazarists when he was bishop of Leira, and he had appreciated their missions enough to encourage a team of three priests and one brother to carry out missions in his new jurisdiction, specifically the towns of Landeira, Cabrela and Montemor-o-Novo. In January 1778, a great coup for the Lazarists came when the cardinal also permitted them to preach

57 “Na Quinta feira antecedente foi o nosso superior chamado a Secretaria de Estado onde recebeu a Instrução do que havia de fazer em ordem a mandar quatro Padres para assistir a alguns dos reos. Na sexta feira mx de madrugada vierao duas seges conduzir quatro sacerdotes nossos aolugar de Belem onde estavão os infelizes. Foi o Sr Abreu que assistio a Marquesa de Tavora tendo por companheiro o Sr Coelho: e o Sr Ferreira acompanhou ao Sr Carvalhou que assestio ao reo queimado vivo, e no fim de toda a execução fez huma practica ao povo, conforme costumavamos em qualquer patibulo, aonde se executava sentença de morete. Não pregou o Sr Carvalhou de repente por que previndo alguns dias antes que nos convidarião para esta empreza, procurou proverse para a pratica…” See, “Memorias Chronologicas Da Caza Da Congregação Da Missão De Lisboa: Em Que Se Referem Os Sucessos Notaveis, E Extraordinarios Que Nella Tem Havido Desde A Fundação Até Ao Presente/Escriptas Por Hum De Seus Sacerdotes, E Por Elle Offerecidas Aos Congregados Da Mesma Casa” (1759), fo. 196, BNP, Cod.12916.

58 Ibid., fos. 196-197.
days of mission in his cathedral. And, in November of that year, the missionaries preached exercises in other churches of the city.\textsuperscript{59} However, while this mission was an honor, a greater prize was soon in store: the Colégio da Nossa Senhora da Purificação.

\textit{The Lazarists at the Colégio da Purificação}

When the Society of Jesus was dissolved from the 1750s onwards, incalculable Jesuit patrimony was seized across Europe. Rectories, churches, schools, the powerful network of colleges and universities (and much of the contents of these properties), all flowed into the treasuries of royal power. However, the long-term fate of each former Jesuit institution depended on local circumstances. In France, six former diocesan seminaries guided by the Jesuits were passed to other religious institutes, including the Lazarists. The handovers in the Italian states were somewhat mixed. In Benevento, the Jesuit college was first transformed into a barracks for Neapolitan troops, then became a school managed by the Redemptorists. Approximately ten Jesuit houses in Italy were appropriated by bishops for diocesan seminaries; others were bought by prominent aristocrats, such as the Tivoli rectory which was sold to the duke of Braschi-Onesti.\textsuperscript{60} In Portugal, a decree established by the king in 1761 soon swept all Jesuit properties under his domain, targeting “all the [Jesuits’] temporal goods, consisting of movables (not immediately dedicated to Divine Worship), commodities of commerce, funds in land and houses, and rents of money,” and ordering that these “vacant goods be immediately incorporated into my treasury and royal house.”\textsuperscript{61}

The royal decree did not, however, guarantee the immediate future of the Colégio da Purificação, whose closure had a devastating effect on the townspeople and the region. In the words of one nineteenth-century commentator, the suppression of the university, with its constituent colleges, had been “comparable to Lisbon’s 1755 earthquake.”\textsuperscript{62} At the epicenter of this upheaval were the educational policies of Pombal’s government, which, while they attacked the Jesuits’ pedagogical methods for their “decadence” and “slavery to Aristotelianism,” ultimately failed to provide concrete and enduring plans for their replacement.\textsuperscript{63} Lacking professors and adequate teaching staff, the institutes of higher education in the town — which had previously rivalled other eminent educational centers in Coimbra and Salamanca — entirely disintegrated. Subsequent attempts to fill the void


\textsuperscript{60} Chadwick, \textit{The Popes and European Revolution}, 381-382.

\textsuperscript{61} “…todos os bens temporaes consistentes em moveis (Não dedicados imediatamente ao Culto Divino), em mercadorias de commercio, em fundos de terras, e casas, e em rendas de dinheiro… bens vacantes, sejão logo incorporados no Meu Fisco, e Camera real…” See, “Alvará determinando a aplicação dos bens dos Jesuítas, dado em 25 de Fevereiro de 1761,” BNP, RES 2486 (11) V.

\textsuperscript{62} Count Raczinski cited in Mendeiros, \textit{O Seminario de Parocos}, 79.

proved extremely difficult. After a failed venture by former students of the Colégio to substitute for their banished Jesuit masters and continue to provide classes, the scholars were locked in the building by order of the government, only to be promptly released. Lay professors appointed by the Crown then arrived to teach in the city, first holding classes in the abandoned Colégio da Purificação, and then in the cloister of the university from 1760. However, conflicts between these men and members of regular orders also entrusted with teaching created additional problems. Members of the Third Order of Franciscans, who had been granted control of the Colégio do Espírito Santo by the king in July 1776, rejected the authority of the royal professors, who were subsequently forbidden to teach in the university’s cloisters.⁶⁴

These wrangles unearthed the weakness of Pombaline pedagogical policies, which gave way to more forgiving measures under the reign of Maria I (1777-1816). Recognizing the continuing difficulties of ensuring higher education in the kingdom solely through secular professors, the queen invited various Congregations to assume control of former Jesuit institutions.⁶⁵ It was in this context that the Lazarists took up ownership of the dormant Colégio in 1779, albeit with the support of various local authorities. After reporting that the Évora foundation was occasioned by “our missions in this city in 1778,” the scribe of the Memorias chronologicas announced that four corporations of the city requested that the college be transferred to the Lazarists (namely the “chapter, the numerous clergy of the cathedral, the Senate with the nobility, and the town judge with his assistants”).⁶⁶ While

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⁶⁴ Mendeiros, O Seminário de Parocos, 76-80; Vaz, “O Ensino em Évora na segunda metade do século XVIII.”


the scribe noted the importance of these interventions, he attributed greater value to the opinion of João da Cunha, the archbishop of Evora, who “had full awareness of the fruit of the Congregation of the Mission, in the diocese of Leiria.” However, while past fruits may have played a part in the Lazarists’ permanent establishment, it was the penury of the present that was even more crucial. In her bull of donation (carta de doação) confirming the transfer of the college on 30 June 1779, Queen Maria lamented “the great lack that was acknowledged in the whole archdiocese of persons who embrace the vocation to serve the church in the administration of the sacraments.” This state of affairs was attributed to “not having a seminary, or house of instruction, in which all aspirants to ecclesiastical life might learn the solid doctrines and maxims of piety.” The sovereign accepted that “this need would be remedied if I deigned to permit the Congregation of the Mission of Saint Vincent de Paul to establish a residence” in the city.

Despite the lengthy period of turbulence that characterized the post-Jesuit era of the Colégio, once the Lazarists were confirmed as successors the process of taking possession of the edifice was swift, even if the affidavit recording the possession (now held in Lisbon’s Torre do Tombo archive) appears amusingly intricate. Two members of the Congregation, including the new superior, Christovão José de Castro, arrived in Evora on 25 August 1779. The same day, João José da Silva, the royal official charged with administering former Jesuit goods and lands in Evora, duly showed the queen’s June bull to de Castro and his companion. The group, including three other witnesses, then entered the college chapel, where de Castro proceeded to “put his hands on each one of the three altars... opened and closed the doors, [and] place[d] his hands on the walls.” The party continued in this vein, with de Castro opening the chests and cupboards of the sacristy, then passing to the cloisters, offices and dormitories, where he opened and closed all the doors and windows. The solemnities of possession even included descending to the college’s small yard where de Castro “broke tree branches and threw [some] soil into the air.”

67 “Não obstante estas instâncias ou requerimentos, persuadome que muito mais valeu para o effeito dese nos conceder o Collegio pedido o Emmo Prelado Metropolitano D. João da Cunha que tinha plena noticia desde o Bispado de Leiria, do fruto da Congregação da Missão.” Ibid.

68 “…grande falta que se reconhecia em todo o Arcebispado de sogeitos que ajuntassem a vocação de servir a Igreja na Administração dos sacramentos… por não haver hum seminario, ou caza de instrucao, naqual aprendam todos os aspirantes à vida clerical as solidas doutrinas, e Maximas de piedade, e exemplo… Falta que seria remediavel se Eu me dignasse conceder à Congregação da Missão de São Vicente de Paulo ter residência na cidade de Evora.” See, “Carta De Doação Que A Rainha D. Maria I Fez Do Colégio Da Purificação,” fo. 31r, Arquivo Nacional do Torre do Tombo, PT/TT/AC/L0060. Hereinafter cited as ANTT.

69 “…entrando pelle capella ou Igreja pôr as maons em cada hum dos tres altares que constituem a mesma, abriu e fechou a porta, pôr as maons pellas paredes, solenidades pertencentes aos autoas possecorios, passando a Sacristia praticou os mesmos autoas abrindo e fechando os caixõens e almarios… passando aos dos claustros e mais officinas que andão no pavimento da portaria praticou o ditto Reverendo os mesmos autoos e ceremonias… e descendo aos baixos do ditto Colégio e a sua pequena cerca continuou a pôr as maons pella paredes, quebrou ramos de arvores o tirou terra ao ar…” See, “Auto de Posse que com procuração do Muito reverendo Padre superior e mais padres consultores da Sagrada Congregação da Missão, toma o Reverendo Padres Christovao José de Castro da mesma congregaçao do Edificio do Real Collegio da Purificação, em conformidade da Carta de Doação que do mesmo real Collegio fez a Raynha Nossa Senhora a Ditta Congregacao,” fos. 33r and 33v, ANTT, PT/TT/AC/L0060.
Although they inherited the college buildings and abutting land, just how enriching the take-over was for the new occupants is difficult to establish. Indeed, in some places where the Jesuits were expelled, they had had enough time to sell off kitchen implements, linen, and other movables before departure.\textsuperscript{70} While inventories are lacking for the Colégio da Purificação, recorded tallies for the neighboring Colégio do Espírito Santo give some clues to the kind of valuables that were left to the Jesuits’ successors. The list of ornaments included only those items strictly associated with divine worship: thirteen damask altar frontals, twelve damask bags, twelve stoles, four silk drapes and numerous other small pieces — mainly cloths, pelmets, and other minor church fittings.\textsuperscript{71} In conformity to the king’s decree, it is unlikely that anything but these properly sacred objects survived the Crown’s expropriation. Once the possession was complete, the Lazarists needed to secure permanent financing for their new establishment. Recognizing that the “College was given without any income” for its twelve resident Lazarists, on 10 September 1783 the queen endowed the community with 6,000 cruzados in annual rents. Two years later she permitted the Lazarists to accept gifts of property and other goods from pious benefactors.\textsuperscript{72}

After these practical details were arranged, the business of replacing the Jesuits could begin. Firstly, the documents nominating the Lazarists to the college put a premium on their capacity to restore the educational vacuum left by the Jesuits. Therefore, almost as soon as the successors took over, the college opened its doors again to support men training for the priesthood. In December 1779, the book of entrants for ecclesiastical exercises (covering the period from 1779 to 1823) recorded that one candidate entered to prepare for minor


\textsuperscript{71} “Relação de ornamentos do Collegio dos Jesuitas de Evora dos quaes não consa no Real Erario de applicação alguma até o dia dez de Julho de 1776.” See, Arquivo Distrital de Evora, Arm X, cod.1 n. 27. Hereinafter cited as ADE.

\textsuperscript{72} “Decrees of 10 September 1783 and of 28 July 1785,” fos. 35r-36r, ANTT, PT/TT/AC/L0060.
orders, two for the subdiaconate, and two for the diaconate. A steady stream of renewed activity followed. In May of 1780 the Lazarists received a group consisting of one man for tonsure, three for tonsure and minor orders, five candidates for the subdiaconate, three for the diaconate, two for the diaconate and presbyterate, and one ordinand for all sacred orders. The documents indicate that these men came from all over the diocese, including the parishes of Borbo, Estremôr, Pavia, Viana, Aviz, Evora, Monte Môr, Mourão, and Portel. By 1789, ten years after possession, the Lazarists’ were hosting sizeable groups of visiting clerics, with seventeen participants taking residence in the college for spiritual exercises during the São Mateus fêria in September 1789.

As well as insisting on ecclesiastical education, the foundation document also provided room to invest the establishment with the Congregation’s own unique pastoral emphases. Queen Maria’s first bull acknowledged that the Congregation was established so that its members “might go out to teach the ignorant people in the way of their honorable and pious Institute.” For his part, the archbishop of Evora envisaged that the community would “observ[e] inviolably the virtuous maxims and statutes that... its holy founder prescribed.” Of Vincent de Paul’s maxims, missions to ordinary people were paramount, and the Lazarists new establishment heartily complied with them. Records from the Evora district archives reveal diverse missionary activities. As early as August 1779, two Lazarists embarked on missions in the diocese. In 1790, a Lazarist priest, Antonio Pereira da Silva e Azevedo, was sent from the Lisbon house to the college “in order to participate in missions and other ministries of his institute.” The range of their ministries was highlighted in a pair of documents from 1792, which notes that Lazarists were commissioned to various monasteries in Estremoz and Monte-Môr as confessors.

An extensive history of the Lazarists’ post-Jesuit administration of each institute is not the objective of this project. However, it is worth noting that the Lazarists’ control of the Colégio during the early nineteenth century was as turbulent as the Jesuits’ last decades before their suppression. The Lazarists’ educational and missionary activities continued in the city unabated from 1779 until the final days of July 1808, when Evora suffered a brutal invasion during the Peninsular Wars (1807-1814), a series of campaigns by Napoleon’s empire to gain control of the Iberian Peninsula. On 29, 30, and 31 July, French forces led by

73 “Livro para servir aos assentos dos Exercícios dos Ordenandos e que teve principio em Dezembro de 1779 que foi o tempo em que se admittirão os primeiros depois que a Congregação tomou posse deste Collegio da Purificação de Evora,” fos. 49r and 49v, ANTT, PT/TT/AC/M026.03.
74 Ibid., fos. 62r and 62v.
75 “para que delle saiam a doutrinar os Povos ignorantes na forma do seu honravel e pio Instituto,” “Carta de Doação,” fo. 31r; “Decree of João da Cunha of 16 August 1779; ‘...observando porem inviolavelmente as virtuozas Maximas e estatutos que a dita Congregaçao prescreveo o seu Santo Fundador...’” Ibid., fo. 32r. See, ANTT, PT/TT/AC/L0060.
76 “...agora vão também dois missionarios e irão mais para e empregarem nos ministerios sobreditos do seu Instituto...” See, ADE, COD CL XIX 1-30, 22 August 1779.
77 “para se impregar nas Missões e demais ministerios do Seo instituto...” See, ADE, COD CL XIX 1-30, 30 September 1795.
78 See, ADE, COD CL XIX 1-30, 27 June 1792, and 25 October 1792.
Louis Henri Loison (1771-1816) devastated the town, killing approximately 1,500 people and ransacking its ecclesiastical institutions, including the Colégio. Soldiers entered the building through its cellar, drank the wine, and lifted the seminary’s goods, not least the many precious objects from the college chapel. The establishment’s troubles did not end there. Reconstituting the college after the French sack, the Lazarists remained until 1834, when the government of Joaquim António de Aguiar nationalized all religious possessions. Like the Jesuits before them, the Lazarists were suppressed throughout Portugal.

Conclusion

The Colégio da Purificação was one of many dozens of establishments transferred to other religious institutes in the wake of the Jesuit suppression. Its importance as a single case should therefore not be exaggerated. However, this sketch of the post-suppression history of the college yields some significant conclusions, as well as themes to guide the current project’s course as further Jesuit replacements are scrutinized.

In examining the histories of the Society of Jesus and the Congregation of the Mission in Portugal, more starkly opposing fates in the eighteenth century could scarcely be imagined. On one hand, the history of the Colégio provides a fair illustration of the kind of disarray occasioned by the suppression of the Society in a specific locality. The suppression process, which involved herding scores of Jesuits into the university’s grounds, followed by their prolonged house arrest, and eventual expulsion from the realm, was a brutal affair. It was then followed by protracted wrangles over the college’s future. However, during this very era of Jesuit decline the monarchy in Portugal showered gifts and honors on rival ecclesiastical institutes, including the Congregation, a relative newcomer to Portuguese religious life.

In developing the Congregation’s Portuguese province, the acquisition of the Colégio in 1779 figured high in the stream of honors that began trickling from patrons, especially successive monarchs. However, the actual narrative of succession confirms that the process of replacing the once-dominant Jesuits was anything but triumphal for the Lazarists. For a start, the gap of twenty years between the Jesuits’ departure and the Congregation’s appointment to the college does not suggest that the monarchy had an immediate preference for an alternative religious ethos in the administration of the establishment. Indeed, it was only when desperation moved Maria I’s government to abandon the policies of Pombal that the Crown settled on the Lazarists. Prior to their installation the evidence demonstrates that the Crown did not even actively search out the Lazarists, and that instead their appointment to Evora was rooted in the esteem held for them by local authorities. These were dignitaries familiar with the missionary work recently performed by Lazarists in the

80 Mendeiros, O Seminario de Parocos, 89-90, 99.
area who subsequently petitioned the Crown for their nomination to the college. On the other hand, the fact that the Crown assented to the request so rapidly, and subsequently provided handsome financial rewards to the Congregation, is doubtless attributable to the central power’s close relationship with them.

However, while it is clear that both local knowledge and wider renown were elemental to the Lazarists’ succession to the Jesuits in various locations, the weight of both differed. One important area of future examination will be to investigate if the process of Jesuit dissolution in other territories repeated the features of the Evora case, which opened with guidance and planning on a national level but ended with a replacement process driven by more localized efforts. In Germany, for example, initial clues indicate that the prince palatine planned the Lazarists’ succession with far greater interest and attention than the Portuguese Crown.81 However, if the dynamics of replacement evident at Evora were repeated elsewhere, the Lazarists’ impressive record of Jesuit succession throughout Europe might have relied more on the factor of ‘right-place-right-time’ than anything else.

Even if the Lazarists’ succession was not the result of careful strategic planning, their record in Evora indicates that it was a good choice. The Congregation had sufficiently similar institutional goals and capacities to fully replace the majority of previously Jesuit-delivered services in Evora and the surrounding area. The Lazarists’ presence answered the need for educational providers given the difficult circumstances following the Jesuit collapse, and the Congregation’s vast experience in educating the clergy of Europe recommended it highly. Yet, the foundation documents make plain that the Lazarists’ patrons did not seek carbon copies of the Jesuits. Maria I’s carta de doação recognized the needs of the ordinary people in Evora, strongly connecting the education of the clergy at

81 See, for example, Haas, Die Lazaristen in der Kurpfalz.
the college to the edification of the local Catholic populace. This emphasis, along with the presence of groups of ordinands for spiritual retreats at the college, was in the best tradition of the Vincentian ethos. Preservation of the college’s ancient role as a seminary, and its transformation into a house of missionaries, therefore highlights the need for continuity with the Jesuits and the capacity for change at many different locations where the Lazarists replaced them. It is a persuasive reminder that the suppression was a two-step process that firstly involved the handover of physical patrimony, and then demanded the replacement of a pervasive cultural and religious ethos in Europe. Because it is premature to make conclusions based on one case, it will be for another day to determine if the transfer of Jesuit houses translated into a complete loss of Jesuit culture, or if elements of this culture survived through the agency of their successors.

The Evora narrative alone tends to support arguments that the eighteenth century, during which the most famous and powerful religious institute was targeted, was acutely severe on European Catholicism. Nevertheless, we should consider a more comparative approach, for such a perspective illustrates Catholicism’s great adaptability during the era’s extraordinary political and cultural shifts. This adaptability was firmly embodied by the religious who labored alongside the Jesuits, and whose institutes escaped the kind of attacks levelled on the increasingly unpopular Society of Jesus. Indeed, as we have seen, the Lazarists were not alone as successors to the Jesuits in Evora, as the Franciscans received the neighboring Colégio do Espírito Santo. Establishing the proportion of total former Jesuit establishments expropriated by the Lazarists, and how this compared with other religious institutes — Franciscans, Dominicans, Recollects — will thus be rewarding areas of future investigation. While for now these questions remain unanswered, the Lazarists’ history in Portugal, and their succession at Evora, surely confirms that the Jesuits’ woeful tale, while immensely important, is but one narrative in the evolving story of religious life in eighteenth-century Europe.
Ignatius of Loyola (1491-1556).
Founder of the Jesuits. Portrait by Peter Paul Rubens.
Oil on canvas, c. 1620-22.
Public Domain
The exterior of the Colégio da Purificação; and detail of a relief in the college’s chapel featuring Vincent de Paul.

*Courtesy of the author*
Portrait of Henrique I (1512-1580), King of Portugal.
Located in Tibaes Monastery, Braga, Portugal.
Public Domain
Cloister and courtyard of the Colégio da Purificação.

Courtesy of the author
Portrait of the Marquês de Pombal (1699-1782), Prime Minister of Portugal.

Public Domain
The chapel of the Congregation of the Mission’s provincial house, Lisbon, Portugal.

Courtesy St. Vincent de Paul Image Archive Online
http://stvincentimages.cdm.depaul.edu/
Courtyard of the Colégio da Purificação.

Courtesy of the author
The ceiling of the college chapel; Relief in chapel featuring Vincent de Paul.

Courtesy of the author
Statue in the courtyard of the Colégio da Purificação.

*Courtesy of the author*