

ALL SAINTS  
ROYAL HOSPITAL:  
LISBON AND PUBLIC HEALTH



SANTA CASA  
Misericórdia de Lisboa

omnium  
sanctorum

# specifications

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*Hospital Real de Todos-os-Santos: a cidade e a saúde*  
[All Saints Royal Hospital: the City and Public Health]

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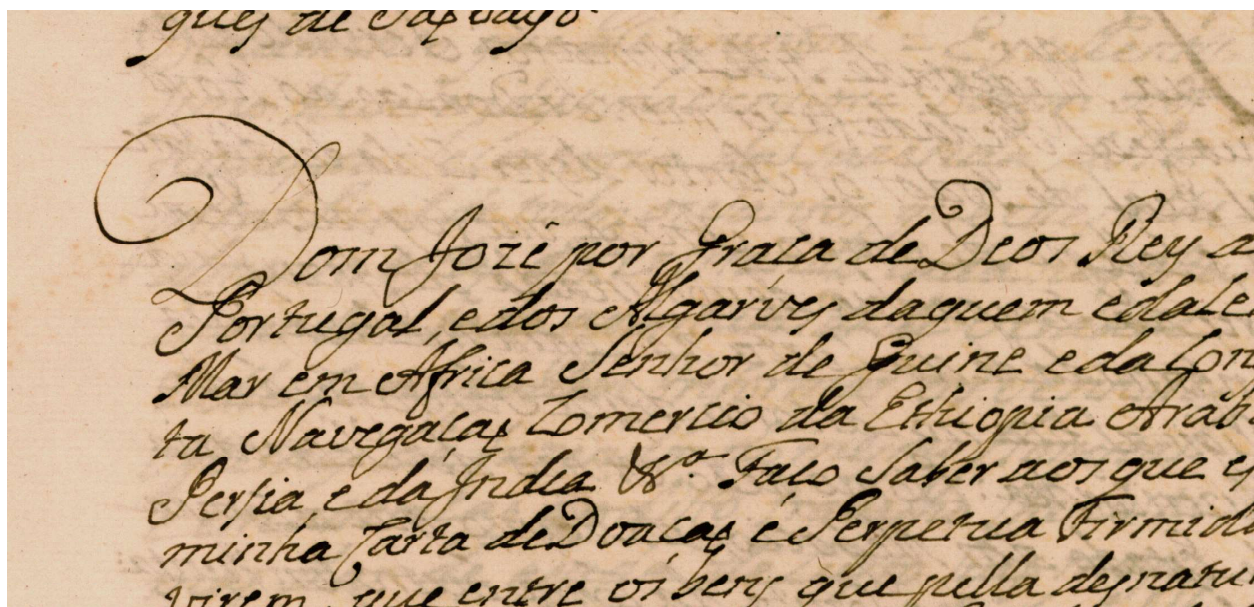


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# 5

PRESERVING  
HEALTH  
IN LISBON



## THE HOSPITAL AND THE MISERICÓRDIA OF LISBON DURING THE GOVERNMENT OF SEBASTIÃO JOSÉ DE CARVALHO E MELO

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Founded long ago in the late 15th century, All Saints Hospital and the *Misericórdia* [House of Mercy] of Lisbon were united on June 27, 1564, after the confraternity accepted the invitation from the kingdom's regent, Cardinal Infante D. Henrique, to govern his “espiritual de todos os sanctos da dita cidade como convem ao serviço de nosso Senhor e ao meu” [All Saints Hospital in said city as befits the service of our Lord and mine] (Pereira, 1998, p. 252). Two centuries later, on January 31, 1775, secretary of state of the kingdom Sebastião José de Carvalho e Melo, the future Count of Oeiras and Marquis of Pombal, proclaimed the “restauração e nova fundação da Santa Casa da Misericórdia de Lisboa e dos hospitais dos enfermos e inocentes expostos” [restoration and new foundation of the Lisbon *Misericórdia* and of the hospitals for the sick and foundlings] (ANTT, Ministério do Reino, Livro 376, f. 16), imprinting his mark of reform upon the two institutions that continued to dominate relief work in the country, by then symbolically installed in the buildings of the Society of Jesus: the church and house of São Roque and the College of Santo Antão-o-Novo.

The new stage in the life of the hospital and *Misericórdia* had been set to coincide with the beginning of the year

according to the secretary of state's wishes, beginning with the transfer of the sick from All Saints to Santo Antão, but it was postponed until April due to delays in the works (ANTT, Ministério do Reino, Livro 376, fs. 79-79v.; Hospital de São José, Livro 944, n.º 5). However, it was not in fact a reunification, as suggested by Victor Ribeiro (Ribeiro, 1998, p. 124), because the confraternity had not been dispossessed of the hospital. Rather, it was a decisive moment in a transformation underway since the 1755 earthquake, a project completed the following November, with the abolition of the *Misericórdia* of Lisbon's 1618 constitution.

In this article, we intend to reflect on the evolving relationship between All Saints Hospital and the *Misericórdia* of Lisbon during the government of Sebastião José de Carvalho e Melo as secretary of state of the kingdom. At a time characterized by state control, we intend to outline the secretary of state's policies regarding these two institutions and evaluate their effectiveness. To this end, we use some information from previous studies (Abreu, 2013, pp. 28-43) on the financial organization of the new relief structure that dictated the end of All Saints and, in light of the documentation produced by the hospital,

reanalyse the *Breve Memorial* [Brief Memoir] by the chief nurse, Jorge Francisco Machado de Mendonça Eça Castro Vasconcelos and Magalhães (Mendonça, 1761).

### A transitional government

Following the earthquake of November 1, 1755, All Saints Hospital, still recovering from the serious damage caused by the fire that had broken out on its premises in August 1750, returned to the crown's direct administration. It was not a question of depriving the Lisbon *Misericórdia* of its rights over the hospital, but rather of confronting the emergency created by the catastrophic scenario<sup>1</sup>, which had also affected the confraternity with the loss of its facilities. The secretary of state of the kingdom ordered measures be taken to care for the sick and repair the building. In May of the following year, he also ordered that some of the patients who had been scattered around the city return to the hospital (Lisboa, p. 11; Carmona, 1954, p. 257). That same year of 1756, Sebastião José de Carvalho e Melo appointed a new board for the Lisbon *Misericórdia*, suspending elections among peers; this act was seen as interference in the life of the confraternity, something that was also occurring in other institutions, and not only relief institutions (Lopes *et* Paiva, 2008, pp. 7-36). To the post of *provedor* [administrator] of the Lisbon *Misericórdia*, the secretary of state appointed D. Lourenço Filipe Mendonça e Moura, Count of Vale de Reis, who had already held the office in 1752/1753 (Serrão, 1998, pp. 672-673).

Under the government's guidance, the *Misericórdia* of Lisbon sought to restore its own routines and those of All Saints Hospital by recruiting doctors, surgeons, and several other employees, and ensuring the maintenance of centuries-old privileges, which were being reclaimed by the hospital workers, among many other actions<sup>2</sup>. In early July 1758, the hospital received D. Jorge Francisco Machado de Mendonça Eça Castro Vasconcelos e Magalhães as treasurer and simultaneously chief nurse, that is, responsible for the institution's operations. The appointment of a chief nurse was an

exceptional situation but foreseen in the *Misericórdia*'s 1618 constitution for when the confraternity's administrator (who governed the hospital) could not reside in the hospital. In such cases, the chief nurse was to report weekly to the board of the *Misericórdia* "do estado das cousas que tem a seu cargo" [on the state of things in his charge] (Serrão, 1998, p. 672). In this context, it is not particularly significant that D. Jorge de Mendonça was not a *Misericórdia* brother nor a member of its governing bodies, as stipulated in the 1618 constitution, considering the secretary of state acted in the same manner regarding the confraternity, although in this case he forced the confraternity to admit the board members he had chosen as brothers.

Analysis of the documentary records kept in the hospital archive and of the edicts and orders compiled in the *Breve Memorial* - addressed by D. Jorge de Mendonça on October 18, 1759, to the newly appointed Count of Oeiras, providing a detailed explanation of his performance as chief nurse - reveals an energetic man who, a few days after he took office, began to introduce a large number of norms and regulations covering the provision of services, administrative organisation and control of the hospital's assets: in general, caring for the sick, the dying, the dead and their souls; the work of the staff, including the religious and the *merceiras* [devout laywomen] housed in the hospital, their recruitment and/or replacement; the management of the different areas of the building; the control of costs, particularly those associated with the kitchen; the provision and quality of secretarial services; the privileges of certain persons regarding the acquisition of meat by the hospital's victualler; the recovery of embezzled assets and the collection of rents; and, above all, the seizure of debtors' assets, be they farmers or administrators of unfulfilled pious bequests.

Prominent in the *Breve Memorial* is the laudatory tone used to describe the work done - as if D. Jorge de Mendonça had ruled over burnt land, literally - and fierce criticism of the Lisbon *Misericórdia*, which he sees as solely responsible for the hospital's disarray. Alongside his self-congratulation, he equally fiercely censured the

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<sup>1</sup> As amply demonstrated by António Pacheco (2008), following the work of Gustavo de Matos Sequeira in 1967, among others, the documentation from All Saints Hospital's archive does not confirm the idea that the building was completely destroyed on November 1, 1755.

<sup>2</sup> The first provision we have found from the board of the *Misericórdia* after the earthquake - to recruit an official (a doctor) - dates from February 28, 1756 (ANTT, Hospital de São José, Livro 943, f. 15).

absence of administrative records relating to the large inheritance of Francisco Pinheiro, a bulk merchant who died in 1749 and whose will, according to the instructions received, should have been executed by the *Misericórdia's* administrator, the 5th Count of Valadares, in April of the following year<sup>3</sup>; however, he ignores the effects of the 1750 fire and the 1755 earthquake, as well as the complexity inherent in the execution of wills. With the same vehemence, he also criticized the fact that the hospital took in prisoners, a decision by the secretary of state himself in January 1755 (ANTT, Hospital de São José, Livro 943, fs. 8-8v.)<sup>4</sup>. Bluntly, he suggested the *Misericórdia's* removal, stating “não ser justo que o thesoureiro tendo todo o trabalho, ao provedor da misericórdia se lhe agradeção as victorias e pela sua mão sejam administradas as regalias do mesmo hospital” [it is not fair that the treasurer has all the work, but the administrator of the house of mercy is thanked for all the victories, while his hand administers that same hospital's privileges] (Mendonça, 1761, p. 23).

However, the accusation that he had found the hospital “sem formulário ou regimento para a sua governança, por quanto querendo-me eu reger por elle, não só nem sombras achei mas menos aresto e forma de governo dos meus antecessores” [without a model or statute for its governance, such that when I wished to govern by it, not only did I find no shadow of it but much less any precedent or form of government by my predecessors] (Mendonça, 1761, p. 23) is not confirmed by the institution's archives, which indicate no discontinuity between his decisions (until 1760, when he opted for separate bookkeeping) and the governing acts of his predecessors. In fact, the archive's preservation is attested by an order from the secretary of state of the kingdom, on May 7, 1756, that the clerks of the court of orphans and chantries extract all necessary certificates from the hospital's books to reconstitute said court's records, which had been destroyed by the earthquake (ANTT, Hospital de São José, cx. 274, mç. 2, n.º 71). In addition, most of the regulations for the various services and functions that he had signed (in the form

of edicts) reproduce, in abbreviated form, previous statutes (1632, in most cases), or even the hospital's first statute, dated 1504. This does not undermine the importance of D. Jorge de Mendonça's work in restoring normality in the hospital's operations and correcting the existing disarray, but merely places his discourse into perspective according to its purposes.

Albeit without known documentary support, we hypothesize that in this period there were considerable tensions between the chief nurse and the board of the Lisbon *Misericórdia*, which, although it played little part in daily management, continued to present itself as the “Mesa da Santa Casa da Misericórdia d'esta corte, Hospital de Todos os Santos and Real Casa dos Expostos” [Board of the Holy House of Mercy of this royal capital, All Saints Hospital and the Royal House of Foundlings] (Ribeiro, 1998, p. 123) and to deal with the hospital's treasurers, dispatching various matters relating to its doctors, religious, tenants, and others (ANTT, Hospital de São José, cx. 390, mç. 1, n.º 40)<sup>5</sup>.

D. Jorge de Mendonça's proposal to remove All Saints Hospital from under the tutelage of the Lisbon *Misericórdia* was not welcomed by the Count of Oeiras. Indeed, from 1765, he began to strengthen the ties between the two institutions, reaffirming the *Misericórdia's* authority over the hospital and the crown's over both institutions<sup>6</sup>. After nine years at the head of the *Misericórdia*<sup>7</sup>, the Count of Vale de Reis was replaced by D. José de Vasconcelos e Sousa da Câmara. On May 23, 1766, the Count of Oeiras selected from the confraternity's new board D. José Luís de Meneses Castelo Branco, 6th Count of Valadares, to assume the office of chief nurse at All Saints Hospital, terminating the administration of D. Jorge de Mendonça (Serrão, 1998, p. 223)<sup>8</sup>. The return of the House of Valadares to the hospital's administration and the inclusion, by Royal Order, of its top administrators on the *Misericórdia's* board - as in the case of Luís Diogo Lobo da Silva (Serrão, 1998, pp. 244-246)<sup>9</sup> - or merely as confraternity brothers - for example, Félix Teixeira de Matos was

<sup>3</sup> The document handing over the movable assets and papers belonging to the Confraternity of Nossa Senhora da Doutrina, the first executor of Francisco Pinheiro's will, only dates back to April 14, 1750; the document relinquishing the inheritance is dated November 19, 1751. The different phases of this case can be found in ANTT, Hospital de São José, cx. 274, mç. 2, n.º 69A.

<sup>4</sup> D. Jorge de Mendonça also received the same order from the secretary of state of the kingdom in 1759, as stated in the same book, f. 47v.

<sup>5</sup> Also edicts from the *Misericórdia's* board during the government of D. Jorge de Mendonça in mç. 1, n.º 39; mç. 1, 41 and 42.

<sup>6</sup> The appointment on August 1, 1765, of a special judge for cases involving the two institutions may be understood in this context. ANTT, Ministério do Reino, Livro 376, f. 1v.

<sup>7</sup> Changes to this administrator's governing team were sporadic, most often due to the death of a board member. Serrão, 1998, p. 223.

<sup>8</sup> The new chief nurse appointed in May 1768, Nuno José da Cunha de Ataíde, also came from the *Misericórdia's* board.

appointed clerk to the hospital treasury and brother on June 21 - demonstrated the strength of the power relations still in force, which the Count of Oeiras manipulated at his pleasure, while they may have escaped D. Jorge de Mendonça.

### The *Misericórdia's* assets at the service of the Hospital

Mandated by the *Misericórdia's* board with only admitting to the Hospital individuals put forward by the confraternity (ANTT, *Hospital de São José*, Livro 943, f. 72v.), the Count of Valadares started his work as chief nurse by renewing contracts, and firing and hiring staff, a ritual his predecessor had also performed in 1758 and, long before him, the *Misericórdia* in 1564, when it took over All Saints Hospital from the Lóios.

The strengthening of the ties between the hospital and the confraternity and the adoption of the same management practices and mechanisms coincided with changes to the inheritance law and the de-amortization and de-linkage of assets. This may have been a strategy so the country's main relief institutions could have a coordinated response to the impacts of the new legal framework. It was also a response to the greater control exerted over the two institutions' assets by men trusted by the secretary of state of the kingdom, and it enabled the projects he had in mind, as confirmed by the donation of the church and house of S. Roque to the *Misericórdia* (February 8, 1768) and, the following year (September 26, 1769), of the College of Santo Antão, to "se estabelecer o hospital Real de Todos-os-Santos" [establish the Royal All Saints Hospital] there<sup>10</sup>.

The Marquis of Pombal, acting through the *Misericórdia* administrators, conducted the works that led to the closure of All Saints Hospital. With the donation of the College of Santo Antão, the administrator also received the plans to transform its premises into a hospital, with

instructions on the procedures to be followed and the materials to be used (ANTT, Ministério do Reino, Livro 376, f. 16),<sup>11</sup> together with documents for splitting up the All Saints Hospital lands and the order to have them finalized and sold and the proceeds invested in the new hospital (ANTT, Ministério do Reino, Livro 376, fs. 18-18v.; AHSCML, Aviso Régio, 1769 September 27, PT-SCMLSB/SCML/CR/02/02/023).

What stands out in the documentation is the fact that the conversion of the former College of Santo Antão did not take place as quickly as the secretary of state expected, since on several occasions he complained to the *Misericórdia's* administrator. In one of these letters, dated August 16, 1771, he reminded him of the monarch's interest in completing the works before winter arrived, thus avoiding the damage it could cause to the timbers. He promised to make available the money needed for the rapid progress of the works (AHSCML, Aviso Régio, 1771 August 16, PT-SCMLSB/SCML/CR/02/02/030). Analysis of the Marquis of Pombal's generous offer demonstrates he used the *Misericórdia's* capital to finance the hospital by imposing a loan of 10,667\$220 *reis* at an interest rate of 5%<sup>12</sup>.

By a royal notice of May 8, 1772, the hospital collected another 2 246\$862 *reis* (half of the money was taken from the Board of Administration of the Diamond Coffer, a legacy left by Lourenço Amorim da Costa for the restoration works on All Saints after the 1750 fire<sup>13</sup> - AHSCML, Aviso Régio, 1772 May 8, PT-SCMLSB/SCML/CR/02/01/152), which must have provided the venture with some relief but was quickly spent. In the second half of 1774, the project gained new momentum: between July 21 and October 20, a sum of 11 220\$327 was allocated to it from the assets of the defunct confraternities of Nossa Senhora da Doutrina, Nossa Senhora da Boa Morte, Jesus Maria José and the Casa Professa de São Roque (AHSCML, Ofícios da Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios do Reino, 1774 July 21 and October 20,

<sup>9</sup> As discussed elsewhere, the renewal of the *Misericórdia's* board and brothers in the context of the trial of the Puritans, conducted by the secretary of state of the kingdom, has yet to be analysed.

<sup>10</sup> "Doação irrevogável ao Hospital Real de Todos os Santos da Igreja e Colégio de Santo Antão com a sua Cerca" [Irrevocable donation to All Saints Royal Hospital of the Church and College of Santo Antão and its precinct], ANTT, Ministério do Reino, Livro 376, f. 19v. As is well known, these donations had been preceded by the donation to the hospital, in March 1760, of the pharmacy and other assets belonging to the College of Santo Antão. ANTT, Hospital de São José, Livro 943, f. 71.

<sup>11</sup> On the day the *Misericórdia* received notice of the donation of the College of Santo Antão (September 27), the Board of Commerce had been informed that it should give one of the lime kilns it had on the beach of Paço de Arcos "ao sargento-Mor da Infantaria, com experiência de engenheiro" [to the sergeant major of the infantry, with experience as an engineer], José Monteiro de Carvalho, director of works of the Royal Hospital. ANTT, Hospital de São José, Livro 376, f. 19.

<sup>12</sup> The hospital was also promised bequests made with no purpose specified by the testators and funds from the sale of terms, which did not translate into immediate liquidity.

<sup>13</sup> The other half, according to the Royal notice, was to be invested in the *Misericórdia*.

PT-SCMLSB/SCML/CR/02/02/037 and 38). In late December, Pombal ordered the *Misericórdia's* administrator to transfer the sick during January from All Saints to the College of Santo Antão, which had for some time been known as the Hospital of S. José. As the project coffers were already empty, he resorted once again to the *Misericórdia's* money, determining that 6 million *réis* of the royal interest that the confraternity had in its portfolio be invested in the new hospital (AHSCML, Ofício da Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios do Reino, 1774 September 23, PT-SCMLSB/SCML/CR/02/02/039). On January 14, 1775, with the sick still in All Saints, Pombal again pressed the administrator and asked him for a list with the number of mattresses, sheets and blankets needed for the move. In a separate letter, he asked him how much he needed to perform the task. The administrator's answer - 48 800\$000 *réis*, an amount the hospital did not have, but which that same day Pombal ordered be withdrawn as a loan from the *Misericórdia's* coffers (AHSCML, Aviso Régio, 1775 January 14, PT-SCMLSB/SCML/CR/02/02/042) - may have precipitated the events in the second half of the month, culminating in the aforementioned *Restauração e Nova Fundação da Santa Casa da Misericórdia de Lisboa* [Restoration and New Foundation of the Holy House of Mercy of Lisbon], dated January 31.

The plan to solve the new hospital's financial problems was based on the creation of an “única massa ou acervo comum para que compreenda as receitas e as despesas de tudo o que for pertencente á referida massa” [single mass or common fund to cover the revenues and expenses of everything belonging to said mass] including the *Misericórdia's* incomes, those of the foundling hospital (united with the *Misericórdia* by the decree of January 4, 1768, ending the duplication of management and financial costs which had arisen within the brotherhood in 1657) (Abreu, 2013, p. 31) and those of the “hospital dos enfermos” [hospital for the sick] (Lopes *et* Paiva, 2008, pp. 419-423): a total of 93 320\$416 *réis*. The secretary of state also abolished the hospital's debt of 49 306\$102 *réis* to the confraternity, arguing that 25 991\$070 *réis* corresponded to the value of the bequests

to be fulfilled by the two institutions, which he took as cancelled (even before the Pope had announced his decision regarding the request to eliminate said bequests and reduce the *Misericórdia's* chantries from 124 to only 24, which would only happen with the papal bulls of June and July 1775), and that 16 444\$732 *réis* represented amounts recovered by the *Misericórdia* from capital invested with interest, which in the future was to be converted into fixed-interest royal bonds. Also reserved for the sick and foundlings was the revenue from the sale of silver and jewellery from the confraternities of S. Roque. For abandoned children, there was also an increase in the contribution from the Lisbon City Council from 600\$000 *réis* annually to 2 000\$000 *réis*, as well as sums imposed by the *Casa da Suplicação* [Court of Petitions] and a new tribute of 10 *réis* paid by each person who received sacraments in the capital and its outskirts (Abreu, 2013, pp. 34-35).

Although the secretary of state of the kingdom had not forgotten the *Misericórdia* - which collected the assets of the confraternities erected in the House of São Roque, worth more than 306 million *réis*, and, also on that same day of January 31, 1775, became entitled to receive a wider range of inheritances and donations, which had been limited by the inheritance laws of the 1760s - its assets now had to cover any mishaps that might occur with the hospital's finances and the more than likely increase in expenses<sup>14</sup>. By a royal notice of August 30, the *Misericórdia* received orders to transfer 3 711\$358 *réis* monthly from its general coffer to that of the São José Hospital (AHSCML, Aviso Régio, 1775 August 30, PT-SCMLSB/SCML/CR/02/02/058), an amount of almost 45 million *réis* per year. Examination of the hospital's total annual revenues and expenses showed they were roughly balanced at values that had exceeded 20 million *réis* since the 1720s (Ramos, 2019), and almost 40 million under D. Jorge de Mendonça, who had managed to recover overdue rents<sup>15</sup>. However, budgetary compliance in this type of institution is known to have been more administrative than real, a situation evidenced, in the case of the hospital, by the debt of almost 50 million *réis* to the *Misericórdia*.

<sup>14</sup> On 2 March, control over the *Misericórdia* became even tighter, as the Marquis of Pombal ordered the judge of grievances, Manuel Nicolau Esteves Negrão, to provisionally attend all the sessions of the *Misericórdia's* board.

<sup>15</sup> In the financial years from 1786 to 1788, the income and expenses of the Hospital of São José already stood at 91,819\$717 *réis* and 86,780\$641 *réis*, respectively. In the year 1789/90, they rose to 102,872\$972 *réis*. Biblioteca da Ajuda, *Balanços de receita e despesa no Hospital Real de S. José*, Lisboa, 54-XI-15, n.º 5 and n.º 58.

On November 17, 1775, the *Misericórdia's* administrator received from the Marquis of Pombal the news of the king's decision to abolish its 1618 constitution, together with an order to establish “regimentos economicos para o governo do novo Hospital Real de São Joseph e para os outros hospitaes dos expostos e entrevados, para a contadoria e secretaria e para os capelaens e obrigações da Igreja e mais encargos do expediente da mesma misericórdia” [financial regulations for the management of the new Royal Hospital of St. Joseph and the other hospitals for foundlings and the incapacitated, for the accounting and secretarial offices, and for the chaplains and obligations of the church and other charges in the running of said house of mercy] (Abreu, 2013, p. 37): twenty years after the earthquake, the changes marked out at the time had been completed. Some of them were short lived: after Pombal's government fell, the *Misericórdia* of Lisbon managed to restore its 1618 constitution, through the decree of November 18, 1779; and in 1782, its revenue was separated from the hospital's, a decision that the Crown would reverse by the decree of July 3, 1790, and annul again on February 4, 1801 (ANTT, Ministério do Reino, Livro 376, fs. 29v.-

30, n.º I). The *Misericórdia's* vigorous opposition to having to share the revenues from unfulfilled pious bequests, which favoured the hospital over the confraternity - a change that occurred in the reign of D. Maria I (Abreu, 2013, pp. 38-40) - shows an institution jealous of its assets and unwilling to take risks.

In conclusion, the documentary evidence indicates a continuity of Sebastião José de Carvalho and Melo's government actions regarding All Saints Hospital and the Lisbon *Misericórdia* and the objective of consolidating state control over both. In this perspective, the period from 1758 to 1766, in which D. Jorge de Mendonça was the hospital's chief nurse, no longer seems as important for reform as it has been considered in the past. Here it is seen as a time of transition in a process that would be completed in 1775, a point in time that is symbolically marked by the donation to the Senate of Lisbon City Council, on November 23, 1775, of part of the land of the former All Saints Hospital, on condition that a fruit and vegetable market be installed there (AHSCML, Decreto, 1775 November 23, PT-SCMLSB/SCML/CR/02/02/063).

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