

## A Short History of the British Factory House in Lisbon<sup>1</sup>

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It is a curious and regrettable fact that so little information is available about those trading communities, or factories, which developed independently of control or assistance from their home country and yet played such an important part not only in our commercial expansion but in our naval predominance at the time when the distant Mediterranean suddenly became the great strategic battle-ground - the "Keyboard of Europe". Thanks to the ability and industry of Mr. A. R. Walford we now have a picture of the great British Factory at the vital port of Lisbon during the latter part of its history.<sup>2</sup> Of the earlier part, which is "shrouded in obscurity" I would venture to place on record a few details which have attracted my attention while trying to find out something about the history of our early consuls who were originally chosen, if not actually appointed, by them to be their official spokesmen and chief executives.

An interesting but perhaps characteristic feature of these establishments, or associations, for that is probably a more accurate description, is that they were not legal entities at all and their correct official designation seems to have been the "Consul and the Merchants" or the "Consul and the Factors". The consul himself on the other hand had an unquestionable legal status, decided more than once in the Spanish courts in very early times, and was established by, or under authority from, royal patents. He was in fact a public servant who could only be appointed or discharged by royal authority (which however might be delegated to an incorporated body such as the Levant or Spanish Companies) and had national obligations quite unconnected with the factory itself. Perhaps in Lisbon - during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries - he was always an *ex officio* member of the factory rather than one still actively engaged in its commercial activities.

There seems, on the other hand, to be no record of any constitution of the factory during that period or evidence that it could own property or raise revenue except by voluntary contributions. The income, usually known as "consulage", obtained by levies on British merchandize or ships, could only legally be collected under authority of a royal patent. Act of

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<sup>1</sup> The only general authority on our merchants at Lisbon seems to be Shillington and Chapman's invaluable "Commercial Relations of England and Portugal". Other incidental information can be gleaned from States Papers at the Public Record Office (S. P.), the Lansdowne and Additional MSS. at the British Museum, various publications of the historical Manuscripts Commission and occasional books of travel. Accounts of our factories outside this particular area, e. g. those in India, the Levant, the Netherlands, Hamburg or Moscow, may prove misleading for this purpose as they were developed under very different conditions. Those in Andalusia, in the Canaries and at Leghorn furnish the nearest parallel.

<sup>2</sup> "The British Factory in Lisbon", Lisbon 1940 (Walford).

Parliament, or, before the Union, the Government of Scotland<sup>3</sup> - at first by the consul and later by the treasurer of the factory. The absence of any definite powers or set of rules is illustrated by various attempts early in the 18th Century to obtain from the very inefficient Board of Trade and Plantations solutions of a variety of problems including the enforcement of regulations on its members (especially the Irish ones), the compulsory appointment of a Treasurer, and the voting rights of those who had become naturalised Portuguese.<sup>4</sup> Thanks to a combination of favourable circumstances, the merchants, always independent and impatient of control, contrived to extract the maximum advantage from their ill-defined status, demanding abroad a high degree of privilege under British protection while declining to submit to the rather vague authority of the consul and claiming immunity from any control by the home government, even perhaps when it suited them, in connection with the operation of Acts of Parliament passed at their own request.

How soon the English merchants actually began to reside in Lisbon is not very clear, but although their trading privileges go back to the fourteenth century it hardly seems likely that in 1454 they would have pleaded unfamiliarity with the language as a reason for the appointment of a special Portuguese official to help with the collection of their debts<sup>5</sup> if they had long had a regular association of resident merchants. By the end of the fifteenth century there was evidently something more than the nucleus of a factory with a considerable number of resident factors, or agents of English merchants, and a chapel in which the King of Portugal in 1471 ordered the display of one of his decrees.<sup>6</sup> In those times a chapel or church might serve as a communal centre for foreign merchants who lived in their own houses in the town and, except for occasional privileges such as perhaps the right to carry arms or exemption from billeting, lived very much the same lives as their neighbours whose customs they adopted and whose daughters they frequently married. They probably used the language of the place for their official acts and owed allegiance at least as much to the country of residence as to their native land. In neighbouring Andalusia for instance, from which Lisbon may have learned a good deal, naturalisation or birth in the country seems to have been no bar to membership of the local factory which itself always retained its original nationality and, in addition, the buildings at San Lucar remained English property even though the establishment might for a time be entirely controlled by Spaniards and there might be no English or other British inhabitants left.<sup>7</sup>

It seems, in fact, to have been a normal practice for foreign factories to develop out of a church which served as the first meeting-place for the merchants while a chapel or consecrated portion was reserved for the celebration of divine service. Here, too, sanctuary could be claimed - and indeed we read of one English merchant finding safety from the clutches of the Inquisition in the Church of St. George at San Lucar for a period of six months - while some provision was probably also made for the accommodation of visiting merchants and display of

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<sup>3</sup> Cal. of S. P. Dom. 1611-18 p. 106. In some countries the Scots continued to enjoy special privileges and might have their own factories or even consuls. In Lisbon their privileges provided the basis for those subsequently granted to the English. Lans. MS. 190. ff. 4 and 5.

<sup>4</sup> Journals of the Board of Trade from December 1707 to June 1714.

<sup>5</sup> Lans. MS. 190.

<sup>6</sup> Shillington & Chapman op. cit. pp. 65-6.

<sup>7</sup> Lans. MS. 76 f. I. Add. MSS. II, 681 ff. I, etc.

their wares. Later on the buildings, such as a “convocation house” and a guest house, might be added and a burial ground annexed. The merchants themselves frequently formed a Confraternity under a patron saint and had their common fund for “pious uses” including the maintenance of their church, the relief of poor compatriots, and official presents. The Confraternity, or Factory as it came to be called, was administered by its own elected officers - a president or governor, who might bear the title of consul - and a number of counsellors to assist him.

In Portugal the office of consul seems to have been unknown, in spite of the commercial importance of Lisbon, until its annexation by Spain in 1580. Probably an influx of English merchants from Andalusia about this time brought new ideas to our factory since the petition to King Philip in 1583 is strongly reminiscent of long-standing arrangements at San Lucar. It was made by one João Telaert (or Taylor as a contemporary English manuscript shows his name to have been) who is described as “merchant and foreigner, president of the chapel of the blessed St. George in Sam Domingos and confraternity of the English merchants” and the next year in another petition he appears with his new title of “consul of the English, Scots and Irish”<sup>8</sup>, a novel designation which demonstrated complete independence of the reigning English Sovereign and helped to pave the way for organization of a *British* factory. Taylor and his colleagues were evidently not regarded as enemies of Spain since they continued to function in that highly strategic centre until sometime after the return of the Armada but possibly as a consequence of the prevailing panic Taylor was arrested on perhaps very dubious evidence as a spy and finally expelled from Portugal.<sup>9</sup> This probably fitted in very well with the plans of Father Parsons for establishing missions in Spain as for some years afterwards the English Jesuits seem to have taken charge of the Church of St. George (which must have already acquired a guest-house if it served in turn as a “residency” and a place for the examination of prisoners) and to have controlled the consulate and British community which continued by various devices to carry on a substantial trade with England and Ireland. Previous arrangements had in any case clearly been unsatisfactory from the English point of view since a memorandum to Lord Burghley had already referred to the necessity for “our nation”, i.e. the English community, to have a house “to be their free hoast and lodging” and a governor to determine all their controversies according to their own laws<sup>10</sup> - privileges which our nation in Andalusia had long enjoyed.

The foundations of the famous “Jolly Free Factory” at Lisbon, which less than a century later showed its devotion to the Protestant cause by its enthusiastic celebration of the Jacobite defeat at Preston, were evidently laid in 1617. On the conclusion of peace in 1604 and in response to the protests of Protestant merchants and shipowners about the conduct of affairs in the English community the newly-revived but short-lived Company of Merchants Trading in Spain and Portugal appointed Hugh Lee as consul. He only arrived in 1606<sup>11</sup> shortly before the Company was dissolved and had many difficulties to contend with even after he had received

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<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

<sup>9</sup> Shillington & Chapman pp. 158 and 183. Lans. MS.

<sup>10</sup> Lans. MS. 53 undated but placed among the papers of 1587. Shillington & Chapman, p. 183.

<sup>11</sup> H. M. C. Salisbury MSS. XVII, p. 560.

a royal commission from James I in 1611 and had been officially recognized by Philip the following year.<sup>12</sup> Shortly before he died his devoted labours for the welfare - material, moral and spiritual - of his very divided and turbulent community - “a company of young and disorderly fellows” the ambassador called them - resulted in a recorded act of February 3-13 1617 appointing, under the terms of his royal patent and with the consent of the merchants and masters of ships, eight merchants to be his assistants “for the whole year of 1617” and setting forth a list of “Decrees and orders for better government”.<sup>13</sup>

The regulations provided for the delivery of merchants' letters at the consul's lodging by the master or purser of any English, Scottish or Irish ship; for the loading of ships, freight charges and the carriage of passengers; for contributions to general expenditure and to the relief of the poor or of such other subjects of His Majesty as might arrive in distress “either by shipwreck or pirates”; and for the appointment of collectors and a treasurer and also of “a fit man ... to warn the merchants of the time and place of meetings, which they are bound to attend”. They probably continued in force although the community for the next forty years reverted to control by the Catholic element and in 1633 it seems clear that the Church of St. George had once more become the national centre in view of the elaborate proposals for its decoration by a series of scenes illustrating the history of the Order of the Garter.<sup>14</sup> In 1642 the consul, together with his wife, was ordered home by Parliament for “seducing the King's subjects from their religion”<sup>15</sup> and his successor seems actually to have been a priest and member of the Seminary.<sup>16</sup> From 1657 onwards the development of the Factory was almost entirely due to Thomas Maynard (1657-88) who had been provisionally elected by the merchants in Lisbon in 1656<sup>17</sup> on the conclusion of peace and who, though he was the unrelenting champion of their privileges and the Protestant religion and left their affairs in a state of prosperity such as they possibly never attained again, received no gratitude from them - any more than Lee who was already forgotten. Once Maynard's control was removed the merchants lost no time in asserting their independence and on the accession of William and Mary they evidently refused to submit to consular appointments made by the new regime and especially to the establishment of Oporto as a separate consulate.<sup>18</sup> From that time until the accession of George I they appear to have, in effect, chosen the consuls themselves from among members of the factory and upon the conditions which they themselves thought fit - an arrangement which, however, does not seem to have resulted in either efficiency or harmony. The members of the factory even carried their pretensions to the point of insisting, on the sudden death of the consul in 1712, that the consulage should be paid to his widow instead of the acting consul appointed by the Minister and were sharply rebuked by the Queen for presuming to interfere with the royal prerogative.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> Warrant Book I. November 8th 1611. H. M. C. Buccleuch (Montague House) MSS. I. P. 102, S. P. 94, 19 f. 84.

<sup>13</sup> H. M. C. Buccleuch MSS. I. pp. 181-2.

<sup>14</sup> Cal. of S. P. Dom. 1633-34, p. 342. The escutcheon of King Charles was to have the place of honour on the façade of the church.

<sup>15</sup> H. M. C. Report V, Pt. I, p. 22. House of Lords Journals V. 57.

<sup>16</sup> S. P. 89, 16 f. 225.

<sup>17</sup> Thurloe Papers V, pp. 374-5.

<sup>18</sup> S. P. 44, 97 f. 238.

<sup>19</sup> S. P. 89. 22. July 1712 to January 1713.

The size of the British mercantile community in Lisbon is hard to estimate. There may not have been more than thirty resident merchants in the earlier part of the seventeenth century but to that number must be added their assistants and apprentices or young men who were often sent out to learn the business and who seem to have paid heavy fees for the privilege of doing so. In 1660 there were sixty English merchants there<sup>20</sup> and five years later Southwell refers to “soe considerable a factory of his Majesty's subjects”<sup>21</sup> - the first time that I have found the expression used in connection with Lisbon in one of our official documents. By 1717 the number has risen to ninety and it was said that they did as much business as all the other foreign merchants put together.<sup>22</sup> A not very kindly account of the factory by a ship's captain in 1673 mentions a hundred English residents “whereof twenty five housekeepers, the rest factors and attendants” but the informant adds that seventeen merchants had returned home since the Restoration with comfortable fortunes.<sup>23</sup> The importance of the community was, however, out of all proportion to its numbers and was due mainly to the great volume of British shipping using the port and to the situation of Lisbon as an administrative and judicial centre for a vast Empire. The position of their executive officer was unique for those times. He was not only consul at Lisbon but consul-general for the Kingdom of Portugal together with Madeira, the Azores and, for a time, the frontier towns of Barbary, with a quasi-diplomatic status in the capital and the right not appointing deputies in other important places; and the Lisbon factory seems to have borne the cost of appeals from other areas to the higher courts situated there.

Of the wealth of the British community during the seventeenth century there are many indications and its responsibilities were greatly increased by the importance of Lisbon, especially in wartime, as a port of call for our warships and large convoys of merchant vessels. A result was the growth of a large number of English “tippling houses” and similar resorts, which the indefatigable Maynard tried to bring under his control, and other war activities may have brought the opportunity of acquiring an English military hospital which certainly existed near Lisbon in 1713.<sup>24</sup> That the “Poor's Box” or benevolent fund of the factory was in a flourishing condition during the reign of Charles II, who is said to have shown interest in it and its proper application, is clear from the fact that the treasurer was called to account for arbitrarily abstracting the sum of four hundred milreis in order to present a piece of plate to a departing British envoy.<sup>25</sup> It was pointed out that such a proceeding would prove a deterrent to voluntary contributions and also that it had taken place “without the knowledge and consent of the Consul”, to whom, at that period at least, the distribution of such funds was normally entrusted. The substitution, at a later date, of a levy of four milreis per thousand on English merchandize in place of the voluntary system does not seem to have worked well as some of the merchants in Britain evaded it by the shabby device of consigning their goods to foreign merchants, and a petition to Their Majesties in 1640, asked that this levy might be made compulsory since a fund must be regarded as a “National Benefit” which provided for the “Relief of Shipwreck'd Mariners and others their Fellow Subject in Distress in that Kingdom,

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<sup>20</sup> Venetian S. P. 1659-61. p. 288 “Sixty houses of English merchants”.

<sup>21</sup> Add. MSS. 34336, f. 27.

<sup>22</sup> Shillington & Chapman, op. 239. “Une description de la Ville de Lisbonne”, Paris 1730 (British Museum).

<sup>23</sup> H. M. C. Dartmouth MSS. III. pp. 23-27. Names are given of merchants at Lisbon and Oporto.

<sup>24</sup> Cal. of Treasury Papers 1708-14, p. 461.

<sup>25</sup> S. P. 89, 16 f. 236, undated but about 1680.

and for the Maintenance of a Minister to do Divine Service there and for other Pious and Charitable Uses among themselves”, and that all should contribute to it “proportionably” so as to place the trade “upon a Just and Equitable Foot”.<sup>26</sup> Apparently nothing was done at this time to remedy the state of affairs, as somewhat similar difficulties were reported twenty years later, but it probably resulted in the Act passed for the purpose under George I<sup>27</sup> which, it is to be hoped, was better respected than a similar one was by the factory at Cadiz.

In one respect perhaps the prestige of the increasingly prosperous community in Lisbon, where we are told the English merchants were “treated with all the Respect and Civility they can look for” by the inhabitants<sup>28</sup> and received satisfactory treatment in the courts<sup>29</sup>, suffered some diminution. The Church of St. George naturally ceased to be its national centre once it became predominantly Protestant and instead it used the consul's residence for its regular meeting-place - at least until the end of Queen Anne's reign, after which the relations of the consuls with the factory seem to have become less close and their place taken to some extent by the treasurer and the local vice-consul both of whom may be described as factory officials.

Although provision was made in the patents of Maynard's successors for ministers belonging to the factory to “pray, preach and use their ministerial functions” in the consul's house none of these consuls was able to secure what was claimed as a “right” against the opposition of the Inquisition and it became necessary to make use of the premises of the Embassy or Legation which were covered by diplomatic privilege. Moreover during the War of the Spanish Succession the increasingly large congregation was swelled by the presence of army officers, etc., to about five hundred, and to meet the new situation and eliminate what was regarded as the uncertainty and humiliation of the existing arrangement it was proposed to obtain “a large house at a great rent” for the purpose and Queen Anne was petitioned to “give direction for fixing and settling such a Certain Place for the Performance of Divine Service”.<sup>30</sup> The time, however, had not yet arrived when the celebration of Protestant Services in such a manner in Catholic countries could be regarded as otherwise than a detestable practice and an “occasion for scandal” and the services would seem to have continued throughout the century to be conducted at the Legation by the Factory Chaplain. It would be interesting to know how he overcame what may have been the even greater difficulties of Protestant funerals.

The original arrangement under which a chaplain was appointed by the merchants of London and paid by the consul out of his own emoluments throws some light on the early complications of factory organization as it led at first to a ridiculous and rather scandalous stale-mate, in which neither the Ambassador nor the Bishop of London was able to intervene effectively, when Maynard dismissed a chaplain whom he regarded as unsatisfactory.<sup>31</sup> The London merchants declined to appoint a successor in the hope of reducing the consulage or other contributions, while Maynard not unnaturally insisted on receiving the full amount

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<sup>26</sup> “The Case of the British Merchants Trading to Portugal”, London 1690 (British Museum).

<sup>27</sup> Walford *op. cit.*, pp. 157-161.

<sup>28</sup> J. Colbatch (Court of Portugal) 1700.

<sup>29</sup> Board of Trade Journals November 17th 1713.

<sup>30</sup> S. P. 89, 20 August 1st 1710.

<sup>31</sup> H. M. C. Heathcote MSS., pp. 81-2.

payable to him, until eventually a chaplain was provided who was so much appreciated by all parties that when he had to go to England on urgent business they offered to continue to pay his salary if he would only promise to return.<sup>32</sup> Though he had earnestly endeavoured to “put more sweat” into his sermons on their account his farewell text “I am afraid of you lest I have bestowed upon you labour in vain” suggests that neither his exertions nor the incorporation of Lee's lengthy exhortation to “brotherly love” in the original regulations of their Society had yet had much effect in subduing their tendency “to shew themselves, as they call it, Freeborn subjects and to uphold the Liberties of the People which is their mutinous dialect”.<sup>33</sup> So it may well have seemed to an Envoy of Charles II but however little this spirit of assertive independence and aggressive individualism may have helped in the early stages of organizing a factory or ordered community we of later days can hardly fail to recognize in it the very quality which was so largely responsible for the development of our prestige and commercial pre-eminence in that important part of the world.

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## APPENDIX

### PART OF SOME OLD “FACTORY” MINUTES - 1715

(S. P. 110/89. Public Record Office, London)

Minutes of Meetings of members of the British Factory farther back than 1715 are extremely rare, as also are any details of the Factory's functions and its members' commercial activities. The following document is therefore of considerable interest, for not only does it give a general comprehension of the kind of merchandize imported and exported, but sets forth the difficulties encountered in trading under the Treaty then in force. At that time Portugal was very jealous of her rich and expanding trade with her Brazilian colony, greatly resenting any encroachment upon it by British traders, and prone to retaliate against any such interference in the manner herein described.

Just what steps had led the British Parliament to pass the Act of 1721 has been something of a mystery. It now seems quite clear that this new Act originated solely from a demand by the Lisbon British merchants, made in this document, where the difficulties and evasions experienced in collecting a self-imposed tax upon British imports for the continued maintenance of the Contribution Fund are vigorously emphasized: the revenue from this fund being destined for meeting local charitable grants and pensions to necessitous British subjects, mostly destitute widows of British merchants or factors.

The document now reproduced has been copied from Folio S. P. 110/89, Public Record Office, London, appearing as an isolated part of some minutes of the British Factory at Lisbon,

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<sup>32</sup> Ibid. p. 176.

<sup>33</sup> Add. MSS. 23338, f. 150 b.

the remainder of which have somehow become detached and arquived elsewhere, or have disappeared, leaving this surviving fragment. I was fortunate in being able to inspect and make a copy of this remnant and add it to our records; (with due acknowledgements to the Public Record Office for courtesies received).

The text has been copied exactly as written in the original, spelling, abbreviations, and punctuation conforming thereto:

Lisbon, 1715

To the Hon.<sup>ble</sup> the Lords Commissioners for Trade & Plantations.

My Lords:

In Obedience to his Majesty's Commands, signified to us by the Rt. Hon.<sup>ble</sup> Mr. Secretary Stanhope upon a representation from your Lordships that his Majesty would please to Command ye Several British Consuls in Foreign parts to summon the British Merchants, residing in each of their Consulships, to meet together and deliberate upon the State and Condition of the British Trade to and from ye Several places Within the extent aforesaid, & to draw up a particular account with regard to ye increase and decrease of the said Trade, the Causes & occasions of such increase & decrease, what obstructions it has met within those places, & the method which ye Merchants there shall judge proper for removing such obstructions & for preserving the said British Trade.

We, the Consul General & Merchants residing in this City of Lisbon have accordingly several times met together, & have advised & deliberated upon the directions laid down in ye said order & representation, & have endeavoured as far as we are able to comply therew.<sup>th</sup> and do w.<sup>th</sup> all submission & duty lay before his Majesty the following considerations w.<sup>ch</sup>, we humbly conceive, will tend to ye preservation & improvem.<sup>t</sup> of the British Trade, & removing the obstructions it meets w.<sup>th</sup> & lyes under at present.

With Relation to ye increase & decrease of the British Trade, we are very confident & well assured y.<sup>t</sup> within 30 Years last past, ye Wollen trade to this kingdom, has encreased two parts in three, and that this encrease does cheifly arrise from the improvement of the Portuguese trade to Ye Brazils, & the great quantity of Gold y.<sup>t</sup> is brought from thence, and as that Trade does goe on increasing, our Woollen Trade will also probably encrease proportionably.

We doe also further beg leave to lay before his Majesty in relation to this Trade y.<sup>t</sup> it will be necessary y.<sup>t</sup> his Majesty would be pleased to give very strict directions y.<sup>t</sup> none of his Majesty's Ships of Warr or others, presume to carry any goods directly to the Brazils from Great Britain which though it may be advantagious to the perticular persons concerned, is very mischeivous & prejudical to the Trade in general, & may be attended w.<sup>th</sup> very ill consequences. Since the discovery of the Mines which yield so much Gold, the Government here are very jealous of that

Trade & of their Colonies there and are very scrupulous of permitting any Foreigners either to goe or settle there, & tho by the Treaty we have full Liberty of going thither, and by the Treaty made at the Marriage of Queen Catherine we are allowed to have four families, or houses, in each Colonie or plantation, they make great difficulties in giving that liberty to any, & doe not only almost refuse it, but also begin to hinder our Merchants from tradeing thither, tho in Portugueze ships, & have already denied y.<sup>t</sup> privilege to British merchants in some of the remote parts of this kingdom & perticularly in the Island of Madeira from whence the late Consul General Milner received Several complaints on that account, & tho a plain violation of the Treaty, yet notwithstanding all his applications to the Court here he could obtaine no satisfaction, but was put off & delayed by sending to & from ye said Island for informations, etc., w.<sup>ch</sup> the Ministers doe not deny but confess we have this liberty by ye Treaty yet they industriously avoid giving any determination in the matter.

The Portuguez Merchants also complain y.<sup>t</sup> Wollen goods carryed from Great Britain to Ye Brazils in British Ships, & landed there are & can be sold at lower rates than those carryed from Portugal can be afforded at w.<sup>ch</sup> is very prejudicial to the trader thither, and to Ye King also in his Customs, & if that practice should be permitted & continued they will still be more unwilling to allow any British Merchant or Factor to goe or settle there, & probably hinder & restrain our tradeing thither at all, as they have of late began to attempt, neither can we so well insist upon the observation of the Treatys while they have any occasion to object this against us.

For the better preservation & improvement of this considerable branch of ye Bristol Wollen trade, we do further most humbly represent y.<sup>t</sup> whereas the Dutch doe send great quantities of fine Clothes to this kingdom & can afford it cheaper than we can doe, that it will be necessary for the improvem.<sup>t</sup> of the trade of fine Clothes (if any method can be found for it) that the said fine clothes should be better worked, & if possible afforded as cheap as Ye Dutch Cloth's: & it will tend very much to ye better trade of Y. M. if due care be taken that the said cloths be of an eequal goodness from one end of Ye Peice to the other, both as to ye spinning, weaving & shearing, in which we find there is a great defect, & which the Dutch take care to prevent, & have thereby a great advantage of us in ye sale of their cloths; it is therefore necessary a due inspection be made into this matter, by proper officers fitly qualifed for it, in the several corporations & towns where the said Cloathes are Fabricked, & also of all other Woollen goods, particularly of Colchester bayes & Creapes, that due care be taken yt the fabricks of said goods be kept up to their full perfection, & that they be of an equal goodness from one end of Ye peice to ye other.

And whereas the Italians doe carry on a very considerable Trade by importing Rice into this kingdom, there being near Six thousand Tunn spent in the port of Lisbon yearly, we humbly conceive this trade might in a great measure be brought

over to Ye British merchants if Rice were permitted to be brought as formerly directly from Carolina to this Kingdom, that Rice being a much better than Ye Italian, but if it be first carried to Great Britain it neither comes out in so good condition if shipped again for Portugal, nor can be afforded so cheap as if it came directly from thence because it must pay two freights & two Insurances as well as other charges, by which Y.<sup>t</sup> trade has been lost to the great prejudice also of our Navigation. We do therefore humbly propose to entreate Yt. his Majesty would be graciously pleased to grant licence Y.<sup>t</sup> Rice may be shipped oft from Carolina directly to this kingdom & that ye same licence may be also granted for Pitch & Tarr of any other commodity of the growth of Y.<sup>t</sup> Contry fit for the expence of this Kingdom, his Majesty receiving (if he thinks fitt) a duty equivalent to what is paid for Rice & the other Comoditys of ye growth of Y.<sup>t</sup> Contry imported thence into Great Britain & reshipt, the drawback being deducted; & we are fully perswaded y.<sup>t</sup> if his Majesty is pleased to grant this liberty, that in a very few years we should gain ye greatest part if not the whole Rice trade, & drive the Italians out of it; & since Fish & Corn are permitted to be brought from thence, we humbly conceive there can be no reasonable objection against ye bringing of Rice & other Commoditys; this would also be a further advantage to ye Traders from Great Britain to Carolina, who usually loose considerably by their returns from thence to Great Britain whereas by bringing Rice & other Comoditys directly hither there would be profit on their returns as was found by experience in y.<sup>t</sup> little time Y.<sup>t</sup> Rice was permitted to be brought into Portugal, & is further demonstrable by all the Fish & Corn y.<sup>t</sup> is brought from America.

Contrib.<sup>n</sup> law besought .

And Whereas his Majesty has been pleased by his Patent, granted to ye Consul General, to give him a power to recover four reis p.mil for Pious & Publick uses from his Majesty's subjects upon all goods exported from Great Britain & its Dominions to this kingdom, upon the valuation of the Custom house, & upon all such goods as doe not pay any dutys or upon such as pay the same in Specie, four reis per mil on Ye Sale: we find that a very considerable quantity of goods are sent to Strangers & Foreigners who doe not pay this National Duty nor can we oblige Y.<sup>m</sup> to it, which is a great hardship on his Majesty's subjects who bear the whole burden of the contribution we having reason to believe y.<sup>t</sup> near half of the goods imported into this kingdom from the Dominions of Great Britain come consigned to Strangers & Foreigners here whereby his Majesty's subjects are not upon a Levell w.<sup>th</sup> them; & the advantage they have in not paying this national duty being considerable it is more Y.<sup>n</sup> probable that still a greater proportion of said goods will come consigned to Y.<sup>m</sup> as we find it goes on increasing every day, which is a great discouragement to ye British subjects for that strangers when they have made their Fortunes by such consignments return with their Estates into their own Contry; There would besides (if all strangers were obliged to pay this national duty) arise this further benefit y.<sup>t</sup> the duty itself would thereby be lessened considerably which

would be an advantage & encouragement to Trade in general; we do therefore humbly conceive that it seems necessary Y.<sup>t</sup> Act of Parliament should be passed in Great Britain to oblige all Foreigners as well as natives to pay the said contribution, & the method we propose for the more easy recovery of it is, Y.<sup>t</sup> all masters of British ships be obliged to specifye under their bills of lading to pay ten p.cent upon the freight of all goods, & two hundred reis p. Tunn on all Tunnage goods (except barley, Rye & Pulse, w.<sup>ch</sup> shall pay but one hundred reis p. Tun) under the denomination of ordinary Average, w.<sup>ch</sup> the said Masters of Ships must be obliged by said Act of Parliament to pay to ye Treasurer of the Nation here for the time being; as the Dutch & other Foreign Nations doe pay themselves on their own Ships & oblige us to pay also. The said Masters must be obliged also to give in to the Consul General, a true Manifest upon Oath of their whole Cargoe, & Ye said Consul empowered by a clause in the Act of Parliament not to give Y.<sup>m</sup> their clearance for their ships outwards till they produce unto him the said Treasurer's Receipt for the Contribution of their Cargoe; if this method were settled the contribution w.<sup>ch</sup> is now four p.mil would be reduced to two p.mil, which would be advantageous to ye Trade in general & put the British subjects on a Level with Forreigners: We humbly hope this proposal will appear both just & reasonable, & for the charge of passing this Act of Parliament we shall very willingly oblige ourselves to pay it, & if the method be approved of, engage our friends at home to solicit it: There being several Irish Merchants & Factors, Roman Catholicks, who live here & enjoy his Majesty's protection & the same privileges w.<sup>th</sup> his other subjects, who have for some years past refused to pay this National duty or to give any account of what goods they receive; the Consul General desired Ye Judge Conservador of ye British nation to Summon two of the chiefest of Y. M. (Ye Merchants) to appear before him & examine Y.M. upon Oath what goods they owed to the said National duty, which he accordingly did & offered them a reasonable time to make up their accounts; they owned they had received great quantities of goods but said they would give in no account & declared upon their Oathes that they neither owed nor would pay any Contribution, to ye great contempt of his Majesty's authority; & it is very difficult & almost impossible to find out & prove w.<sup>t</sup> goods are considgned to them, they entering & despatching Y.<sup>m</sup> in other peoples names in the Custom house; & if upon their refusal to give in their accounts or pay this National Duty the Judge Conservador should committ Y.<sup>m</sup> to prison, they would appeal to ye Relaçam (a Superior Court) & upon y.<sup>t</sup> appeal have their liberty, & would bring it to a Law suit, which besides the charge & tediousness of it, & the interest they have with the Judges by the Irish Priests upon account of their Religion, it would bring his Majesty's authority under the power of that Court, & subject it to their determination, which may be a great inconveniency & not fit to be admitted; but if the method now mentioned be approved,<sup>34</sup> & the masters of all

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<sup>34</sup> This particular request by the Factory merchants was eventually successful, for we find in Clause I of the Act of 1721, Anno Octavo Georg. I. Regis, Cap. XVII, that provision was duly made for the recovery of Contribution monies from all Masters or other Chief Officers or Commanders of all British ships. For reference thereto, and copy of this Act, see "The British Factory in Lisbon" (Walford) pages 35 & 36, and pages 157 & 158.

ships obliged to insert said national duty in their bills of Lading, & to give in a manifest upon Oath to the Consul General or his deputy Consuls, of their whole Cargoes, & to whom consigned, this would totally prevent this scandalous practice for the future; & for ye time y.<sup>t</sup> is past we most humbly propose that his Majesty would be pleased to acquaint Ye King of Portugal by his Majesty's ministers here, w.<sup>th</sup> this refusal of the Irish Factors to pay ye national duty, & to desire that his Majesty would please to give directions to Ye Judge Conservador that he should summon all ye Irish Merchants & Factors before him, and give a reasonable time to draw out their accounts of Contribution for the time past, to deliver it upon Oath & pay ye duty to the Treasurer of the Nation for the time being, & upon their not complying Y.<sup>t</sup> Executivament commit them to prison without permitting any appeal to the Relaçam, & we cannot conceive the King of Portugal would refuse to graunt this since none but his Majesty's subjects are concerned, & this would immediately determine this affaire.

The Dutys on our British Manufactures imported into ye kingdom are 23 p. cent on the valuation according to the Pauta or book of Rates (exception, Silk hoze & other manufactures of Silk w.<sup>ch</sup> pay but 13 p. cent) & we compute that the valuation as settled in the book of Rates is about the first cost of the goods, except that of Crapes w.<sup>ch</sup> are valued in about 18 Milreis p. peice, Duroys, 5 milreis p. peice, & cloath druggetts 250 & 300 reis p. covado; all which is much more than ye first cost of those goods in Great Britain, & as they are new Fabricks, invented since ye yeare 1653 when ye articles of Peace were made with Portugal; we doe not find ye British Consul was ever consulted as to ye valuation of those goods when they were added to ye book of Rates, as is especially provided for in ye Secret Article of said Treaty; which must have been the cause of their having so high a valuation put on Y.<sup>m</sup> to the great discouragement of ye Traders in those commoditys; this has partly caused the several indirect measures that have been taken of late years of importing these sorts of goods w.<sup>th</sup> several others in his Majesty's Packet boats from Falmouth, w.<sup>ch</sup> notwithstanding the repeated orders y.<sup>t</sup> have been sent from London to prevent it; either by ye neglect or connivance of ye officers at Falmouth, have brought over every voyage great quantities of woollen goods of all sorts, & especially Duroys, Crapes, & cloath druggetts, the said goods (or at least ye greatest part of y.<sup>m</sup>) have been run ashore & pay.<sup>d</sup> no duties, by w.<sup>ch</sup> means they can be afforded at much cheaper rates than those w.<sup>ch</sup> pay the King's dutys to ye great discouragement & losse of ye fair Traders, this being a practice dishonourable to his Majesty & defrauding ye King of Portugal of his Customs, & so pernicious to our Trade; We humbly hope his Majesty will be graciously pleased to enforce ye strict observance of ye orders y.<sup>t</sup> have been lately sent to Falmouth, to prevent this clandestine practice for the future; & if ye commoditys they use to bring from Falmouth, especially Crapes, Duroys and Cloath druggetts were reduced to a more moderate valuation in ye book of Rates, it would in great measure discourage this trade w.<sup>ch</sup> is carryed on in the Packet boats & other Ships from Falmouth, & put his Majesty's

subjects trading in these commodities, on a level, w.<sup>ch</sup> would prove a very great advantage to our trade in general from Great Britain.

The Duty on fish from Newfoundland, New England, & other parts, is 22 p.Cent in Specie, & on Coals, Pipe Staves & Timber, 13 p.cent in specie, & 9 p.cent in money Whereas by the Secret Article of ye Treaty W.<sup>th</sup> Portugal, all sorts of goods (charged with any duty) are to pay 23 p.cent on a favourable valuation, w.<sup>ch</sup> if observed we should save at least 8 p.cent of what we are obliged to pay on these commoditys & would be great encouragement to our Newfoundland trade especially: and whereas all sorts of provisions imported (except fish) are by the Foral or Laws of ye Custom house of Lisbon exempted from paying any Customs we have of late been obliged (contrary to what was alwayes practised) to pay an exhorbitant duty called Uzuall, on beef & Pork imported which amounts to at least 30 p.cent on the Sale, to ye great discouragement of y.<sup>t</sup> branch of our Trade, & tho Ye Consul General has made several complaints to this Court, of this new Imposition, he can yet get no redress.

All Goods exported from Y.<sup>s</sup> kingdom, by ye 3rd Article of the Treaty between Great Britain & this Crown are to pay only ye Consulado w.<sup>ch</sup> is 5 p.cent on a moderate valuation, on all goods of the growth of Portugal, & 3 p.cent on goods of the growth of any other contry; whereas they have of several years obliged us to pay a very large duty on wines of the growth of Portugal exported w.<sup>ch</sup> amounts to at least 20 p.cent on ye first cost under several denominations, as Siza, Portajem, Rialete, Uzual, & Consulado, all w.<sup>ch</sup> together w.<sup>th</sup> a duty of 15 P.Cent we are obliged to pay outwards on our empty Pipes raises the price of our Portugal wines to at least one third part beyond those of Spaine w.<sup>ch</sup> within these two years last past has very much diminished ye Exportation of the wines of this Contry: the Portuguese are so sencible of this diminution of y.<sup>t</sup> branch of their Trade & the ill consequences y.<sup>t</sup> attend it that we fear it will put Y.<sup>m</sup> upon ye prohibiting our Cloths & some other of our Wollen manufactures unless some method be found out for ye encreasing ye exportation of their wines w.<sup>ch</sup> as it would cause a larger consumption of our Woollen manufactures in this kingdom must certainly be of great good consequence to our trade in general, the means of encourageing ye Wine Trade from Portugal we most humbly recommend to his Majesty & his Parliam.<sup>t</sup>, either to grant some favour in ye dutys of y.<sup>m</sup> above other wines, since ye trade to Portugal is of such great advantage to Great Britain, or any other method y.<sup>t</sup> his Majesty in his great wisdom shall think fit.

The Dutys of Salt exported from this kingdom being 580 reis p. Moy is also very exhorbitant, & one Year w.<sup>th</sup> another amount to at least 40 p.Cent on ye first cost.

These are ye particulars w.<sup>ch</sup> we think most necessary humbly to lay before his Majesty, in relation to ye trade to & from Great Britain; & whereas ye Brazil trade to & from this kingdom is ye Basis & Foundation on w.<sup>ch</sup> the whole depends, we once more humbly recommend Y.<sup>t</sup> that trade may be left sacred & inviolable to

Portugal, & carryed on through no other channel than that of this kingdom, since if once any other nation whatsoever should be permitted to trade directly to ye brazils, tho some private advantage might accrue to particular persons thereby, Portugal would infallibly be soon ruined by it, & of consequence our whole Trade from Great Britain to Portugal (w.<sup>ch</sup> is at present of ye utmost advantage to our Nation) utterly lost ; we have several other complaints consarning the violation of our Articles of Peace & ye breaking in upon our privileges, which we lately drew up & presented to ye hon.<sup>ble</sup> Mr. Worsly his Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary to this Court; w.<sup>ch</sup> were by him sent home, & we humbly hope & intreat they may be redressed, & ye treatys punctually complied w.<sup>th</sup> when his Majesty in his great Wisdom shall think most convenient.

We are with all possible Resp.<sup>t</sup> & Sincerity

My Lords

Y.<sup>r</sup> Lordships most humble & most obedient Servants

Lisbon, July 31th, 1715 N. S.

*Wm. Poyntz - Consul General*

*Jno. Baudwin*

*Henry Sam Lysett*

*Joseph Poyntz*

*Herb. Wingfield*

*William Villett*

*Wm. Mawmann*

*Thomas May*

*Wm. Buller*

*Rich.<sup>d</sup> Parker*

*John Potter*

*Henry Gibbs*

*James Pitt*

*Jno. Freemantle.*

NOTE - The foregoing has presumably been copied from the original document into the 'Factory' minutes, seeing that minutes of a Meeting held on Oct. 9th 1715 form part of the same folio pages, numbered 35 to 46, of which pages N.º 35 to 45 comprise the copied documented, and page N.º 46 the October minutes; all in the same handwriting. The signatures, however, are those of their owners.

Lisbon, October ye 9th 1715

Resolved at a General Meeting of ye Factory at ye Consul General's house that Mr. Henry Gibbs be Treasurer to ye Nation for the year insuing.

And resolved also that ye Pension of One hundred & twenty Milreis p. annum be continued to Mrs. Hickes in England & y.<sup>l</sup> ye Treasurer remit ye same to her out of ye Contribution mony.

Resolved also that a Memorial be presented to ye Right Hon.<sup>ble</sup> Mr. Methwen desiring he would be pleased to use his good offices with ye Government in England towards ye recovery of ye mony that was advanced for transportation of ye Soudiers of ye time w.<sup>n</sup> Mr. Bonnin was Treasurer. And that in case any Fees or charges should be requisite, it be deducted out of the said mony.

Resolved also that the Consul & ye Treasurer be desired when any present is requisite towards ye carrying on any Law suit belonging to ye nation that they together w.<sup>th</sup> Mr. Wingfield shall dispose of any summ they think fit, out of ye contribution, w.<sup>th</sup> out being obliged to mention to whom given or for what purpose.

Resolved that Mr. Percival's Acc.<sup>ts</sup> to this day amounting to 587\$154 be paid him by ye Treasurer.

*Wm. Poyntz - Consul General*

*Jno. Baudwin*

*Henry Sam Lysett (?)*

*Herb. Wingfeild*

*William Villett*

*Wm. Mawmann*

*Thomas May*

*Wm. Buller*

*Rich.<sup>d</sup> Parker*

*Jno. Freemantle*

*John Potter*

*James Pitt*

*Joseph Poyntz*

## LIST OF BRITISH MERCHANTS IN LISBON

(Extracted from the Lisbon “Almanach” of 1788, 1789, 1790, & 1791 - translated)

Abel Worth	Rua do Caldeira
Allen Brownlie & C.º	Rua Bela Vista, & Rua do Caldeira
Charles Manoel Allen & C.º	Rua do Caldeira
Archibald Brownlie	Ribeira Nova
Bellinge, Mordaunt & Mahon	Travessa dos Remolares
Buller & Stephens	Cais de Santarém
Christopher Hake & C.º	As Chagas
Connel & Morony	Rua Fresca
Daniel Bowden & Son	Travessa dos Remolares
James Brander & C.º	Behind the Convent of S. Francisco de Paula
Devisme & C.º	Rua Famosa
James Philips & C.º	At the Buenos Ayres
James Burn & Sons	Rua da Rosa das Partilhas
Edward Forest	Rua Nova de S. Francisco
John Thomas Forest	Rua dos Algibebes
Edward Joyce	Rua da Caldeira
Evans, Offley, & Sealy	Pedras Negras
J. & B. Illius Ficke	S. Julião
Fitz-Gibbon & French	Rua Nova d'El Rei
Francis Graham	Bica Grande
Francis Morrogh	Rua das Flores
Gerald Gould	Rua das Flores
Henry Gallwey & C.º	Rua da Emenda
Holford, Marshall & Holford	Rua Pedras Negras
Holford, Gonne & C.º	Rua Pedras Negras, & «na Quintinha
Horn & Sill	As Necessidades
Hudson, Harrison & Gonne	Pedras Negras
Hugh Parker	Ribeira Nova, & Rua do Carvalho
Jeremy & Thomas Dyson	Calçada da Madalena
John B. Vivien & Herbert	Rua Nova d'El Rei
John Bell & C.º	Rua dos Douradores
John Bulkeley & Sons	Aos Remolares
John Edwards	Rua do Arsenal
John French	Largo de S. Paulo
John Stanley	St. <sup>a</sup> Caterina, e ao Chiado
John Skies (Skeyes)	Boa Hora
John Turner	Rua dos Douradores
George Allen	Travessa dos Remolares
George Thomas Bulkeley	Rua do Arsenal
Long & Murphy	Largo de S. Paulo
Luiz Stephens & C.º	Rua Nova d'El Rei
Lupton, King & Lupton	Rua dos Fanqueiros
Matthew Taylor	Travessa dos Remolares
May Coppendale & C.º	S. João da Praça, & Cais de Santarém
Matheson, Anthony	Rua do Arsenal

Mayne & Brown  
 Mellish & Devisme  
 Andrew J. Morrough  
 Mordaunt & C.º  
 Nicolas Conolly  
 Parminter, Farquhar & C.º  
 Pasley Little & C.º  
 Patrick Caffery & Son  
 Power & Horton  
 Power & C.º  
 Robert Noble  
 Robert Slack & C.º  
 Slack & Connor  
 Timothy Goodall  
 Thomas Arthur  
 Thomas March & C.º  
 Thomas O'Brien  
 Thomas Rice  
 Valentine French  
 Walter Grossett & C.º  
 William Armitage  
 William Davenport  
 William Lucas  
 William & John James Stephens  
 William Tonkin

A Lapa  
 Rua Formosa  
 Rua do Alecrim  
 Ribeira Nova  
 Rua de S. Bento  
 Rua da Ementa  
 Rua da Caldeira  
 Cais da Ribeira Nova  
 Ribeira Nova  
 Rua do Alecrim  
 á Buenos Ayres  
 Campolide  
 Corpo Santo  
 Boa Hora  
 Ribeira Nova  
 Rua Áurea  
 Ribeira Nova  
 Rua da Caldeira  
 Largo de S. Paulo  
 «Behind the Conceição Velha  
 Rua dos Algibebes  
 Rua Augusta  
 Rua dos Fanqueiros  
 Rua das Flores  
 Rua Larga de S. Roque

AMBASSADOR - Sir Robert Walpole

CONSUL - Sir John Hort

VICE CONSULS - Edward Perechon

Oporto - John Whitehead

Viana - Richard Allen

Figueira - John Hitchcock

Faro - John Lemprière

Setubal - Wm. Williamson

(Extracted from the Lisbon “Almanach” of 1807 – translated)

Adams, T. Price

Allen, C. M. & C.º

Barrandon, J. & Cº

Bell, J.

Berthon, J.

Berton, P.

Brander, J.

Bulkeley, J. & Sons

Bulkeley, G. T.

Bowdens & Roberts

Caffery, Widow, & Sons

Rua dos Douradores, 31

Travessa do Alcaide, Paulistas.

Carmo.

Rua dos Navegantes, 28

Largo do Quintela.

Rua S. Francisco

Rua da Emenda, 28

Ribeira Nova.

In front of the Arsenal.

Rua Ferregial, 29

Ribeira Nova, 13

Coltsman & Stack  
Coltsman, J.  
Conoly, Widow,  
Conell Morony & C<sup>o</sup>  
Coppendale, T.  
Cussen, J.  
Davenport, Wm.  
Doran, T.  
Dyson, T & C.<sup>o</sup>  
DeVisme & C.<sup>o</sup>  
Edwards, J.  
Emery, J. F.  
Evans, Ostery & Sealy  
Ficke, J. & B. Illius,  
Filippe, J.  
Fitz-Gibbon & French Duff,  
Gonne, Harrison & Lupton  
Gould & Co.  
Herbert, J. B., Vivien & C.<sup>o</sup>  
Herbert, T.  
Holford, Gonne & Lucas  
Jarvis, W. (U. S. Consul)  
Joyce, E,  
Linch, B.  
Lynne, J. & C.<sup>o</sup>  
May, Coppendale & C.<sup>o</sup>  
Mayne & Brown  
Macarthy, F.  
MacMahon, J. Dowell  
Mahon, J. & C.<sup>o</sup>  
March T. & C.<sup>o</sup>  
Morrogh, A. J.  
Morrogh, F.  
O'Neill, Charles  
Oxenford, Wm. & C.<sup>o</sup>  
Parminter & C.<sup>o</sup>  
Penward & Hudson,  
Power, E. & C.<sup>o</sup>  
Roach, G.  
Slack, R. & C.<sup>o</sup>  
Stanley, J.  
Stephens, Wm. & J. J.  
Sullivan, E.  
Turner, J.  
Willis & March,  
Wilson & Kempe  
Young, W. & Action

Travessa do Corpo Santo  
Rua da Emenda.  
Poiais de S. Bento  
Rua do Alecrim, 36  
S. João da Praça.  
Poiais de S. Bento.  
Rua Augusta.  
Rua Nova S. F.<sup>o</sup> de Paula, 5  
Portas do Mar.  
Rua das Flores, 7.  
Rua do Arsenal.  
Rua Larga de S. Roque, 85  
Thesouro Velho, 31  
Rua de S. Julião, 13  
Buenos Aires, (Lisbon).  
Rua dos Fanqueiros.  
Pedras Negras, 32  
Rua da Emenda, 12  
Rua de S. Francisco, 6  
Rua Ferregial, 13.  
Rua Ferregial, 32.  
Rua das Chagas, 1  
Rua das Chagas, 8.  
Rua do S. Paulo.  
Rua da Madalena.  
Cais de Santarém  
Rua da Lapa.  
Rua dos Algibebes.  
Corpo Santo, 23  
Corpo Santo.  
Rua Aurea, 100  
Rua do Alecrim, 28  
Largo do Quintela.  
Rua da Emenda.  
Rua da Madalena, 43  
Rua das Chagas.  
Cais de Santarém.  
Rua das Flores, 58  
Casa da India.  
R. do Alecrim.  
Trav. de Santo Amaro, 41  
Rua das Flores, 1  
Rua dos Correeiros, 34  
Rua dos Douradores, 8  
Rua Bela da Rainha.  
Rua dos Douradores.  
Rua das Flores, 50.