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EARLY DAYS OF THE LISBON CHAPLAINCY

These Notes were collected by the Revd H. Fulford Williams, Chaplain of Lisbon 1937-1943, and represent what is available in materials for a history, as far as he was able to gather it.

INTRODUCTION TO 1654

The ecclesiastical connections of Lisbon and England commence on its reconquest from the Moors by D. Afonso Henriques in 1147. A body of English Crusaders aided the King, and one, Gilbert of Hastings, was made Bishop of Lisbon. He introduced the "Sarum Use" which continued until the sixteenth century, although its history is unknown.

D. Duarte, King of Portugal, about 1430 wished to have a Coronation Office in Portugal, and a MS. exists at Évora made at Windsor, with the Coronation "Ordo" and the Funeral "Ordo" of an English King.

It is also known that in the fourteenth century among the privileges of English merchants in Lisbon was a Chapel, but its site is unknown.

The Reformation at once raised points of difficulty, and the Commercial Treaty of 1576 stipulated just treatment in both lands for each others' subjects, but the Spanish Conquest in 1580 abrogated this. Nevertheless, some English Merchants, even of the Reformed faith remained in Lisbon under Spanish rule, and these in 1603-4 presented a petition to the authorities, asking for permission to use the English Prayer Book, in their own houses, for immunity from the Inquisition, that they should

not be compelled to attend Mass, and that if they met the Host in the streets, they should not be compelled to do homage. They further asked that they should be protected by the magistrates, as long as they did not willingly offend against the Roman Catholic religion, and when such offences occurred, they asked to be dealt with by the Consul not the Inquisition. The petition however produced nothing.

In 1604 King James' Treaty with Spain had three secret Articles, on the protection of subjects of each country, and the freedom of conscience of the English community in Lisbon, but the Inquisition prevented its being carried out possibly because English feeling made any reciprocity impossible. In 1605 the Lisbon merchants complained that the bodies of their dead were denied Christian burial, and that they were taxed to maintain English Roman Catholic priests and fugitives. And in 1606 the private use of the English Prayer Book was forbidden.

In response to the Gunpowder Plot, all Roman Catholic schools in Britain were closed, which in 1620 led to the founding by Philip III of Spain, in Lisbon, of the "English College of S. George" (the Inglesinhos) to train priests.

Matters remained in this state until the revolt of Portugal against Spain in 1640 opened a new chapter.

Charles I and John VI of Portugal concluded a Treaty 29 January 1642 and its xvii article stipulated -:

English subjects shall not be troubled for their consciences while they reside in Portugal, and the most renowned King of Portugal shall take care and

provide that they not be molested for the said cause of conscience, so they give not scandal to others.

The English community seems to commence with the appointment of Sir Henry Compton as Envoy in 1646, and the Dutch community had its own chaplain about the same time. Portugal was prepared to make concessions for aid against Spain to both the Protestant powers.

The Commonwealth was not popular in Portugal, which aided Prince Rupert's Royalist fleet, but Cromwell's anti-Spanish policy united both countries by the Treaty of Westminster, 10 July 1654: article xix (confirmed by the Treaty of 1810) runs thus:-

And forasmuch as the Right of Commerce and peace would be null and void, if the people of the Republic of England, should be disturbed for conscience sake, while they pass to and fro from the Kingdom and Dominions of the said King of Portugal, or reside there for the sake of exchanging their wares, that Commerce may be free and secure both by land and sea, the said King of Portugal shall effectively take care and provide, that they be not molested by any person, Court or Tribunal, for any English Bibles or other Books, which they may have in their custody and make use of; and it shall be free for the people of this Republic to observe and profess their own Religion in private houses, together with their families, within any of the Dominions of the said King of Portugal, whatever; and the same to exercise on board their ships and vessels as they think fit, without any trouble or hindrance, and that finally a Place be allowed for

them to bury their dead, provided nevertheless that the English do not exceed what is written in this Article.

The first Lisbon Chaplain was appointed under this Treaty and the office is one of the very few, if not the only one, that was created by the "Republic of England".

On the other hand under the Commonwealth the Legation of Portugal in London and that of France were the only places in London where Roman Catholic public worship was allowed.

The Lisbon British Merchants wanted to build a Church by the treaty but this was refused. The Kalendar of State Papers (domestic) has a note May 8th (OS) 1656:

The King of Portugal has denied the building of an English Church in Lisbon, as the Pope and the Inquisition will not concede it.

Though Cromwell has left out the article about Religion in the treaty rather than not have the liberty of the Port.

It was agreed from the outset that when there was an Envoy in Lisbon, the British community might meet for service at his House, which privilege was never interfered with. Until 1815 this was the legal position, though long before this the Chaplain was an adjunct of the Factory rather of the Embassy.

The Commonwealth position is obscure, though it seems clear that Philip Meadows came as envoy in 1656 accompanied by an unnamed Chaplain who only stayed a few weeks.

Thomas Maynard was appointed Consul in 1656, a strong personality "who was destined to keep his countrymen in Lisbon in a ferment for the next thirty-five years". The first Chaplain appointed was Zachary Craddock.

ZACHARY CRADDOCK, 1656-1661*

Zachary Craddock was born in Rutlandshire about 1633, entering Emmanuel College, Cambridge in 1650 (BA 1653). He was elected Fellow of Queens' College Cambridge on August 2, 1654. Ralph Cudworth, master of Christ's suggested him to Thurloe, Cromwell's secretary, as Chaplain of Lisbon. Cudworth was a leader of the "Cambridge Platonists", an important group of scholarly Puritans, whose stronghold was Emmanuel College, and it is at least possible that Craddock was a younger disciple of the group.

Craddock reached Lisbon about 1657, and clearly found his position anomalous: it was simple when there was an Envoy, as his rights included a Chaplain, but when - as often there was no envoy - the Consul claimed the right to have service at his own house, it may have been, as indeed it is likely that this claim was based on the Consul acting as envoy, in an interim as he often did, but the Inquisition refused to admit the right and thus friction often arose.

Maynard had to pay the Chaplain a stipend of £150 a year himself, and service was held in his house in the San Paolo or S. Catherine of Siena parish (Inquisition Records).

Craddock and Maynard seem soon to have had friction, and in 1657 the latter reports to England that a "Mr Robartes has preached before the Consul and others at the Envoy's House with great approbation".

Craddock himself was summoned before the Inquisition in 1659/60 in the case of a relapsed heretic named Margaret Throgmorton, and in consequence of this left Lisbon, 16 December 1659 according to the Inquisition statement but another explanation is given below.

The Restoration occurred in 1660 and Craddock like many other Puritans was episcopally ordained, and took his BD and DD in 1661.

The marriage treaty of Charles II and Catherine of Braganza, 23 June 1661, confirmed the privileges of the former treaties, and the English merchants were in a far stronger position to ensure their performance.

The question of the Chaplain came up, and apparently some merchants wished for Craddock's return so the Envoy Sir Richard Fanshawe wrote to the Bishop of London:

Mr Craddock is an able, honest minister, his life and conversation agreeable to his doctrine, but the ill-treatment of him by the Consul in words, and not paying him his Salary according to promise made him quit the place.

Maynard on his side wrote to the Privy Council, July 20 (OS) 1661 as follows:-

I only beseech Your Honour to take care the Minister which is set over the factory, may be an orthodox, able, divine, for we have too many Fanatics among us already. If Your Honour may be pleased to recommend us one of your Chaplains it will be a great Obligation.

For his maintenance he shall be allowed a thousand crowns, for his diet. (State Papers Portugal.)

In November 1661, Maynard wrote again to the Board of Trade and Plantations (a sub-Committee of the Privy Council which dealt with these matters):

That it is his painful duty to inform their Lordships that the anti-episcopals are pressing to have one Craddock, who was here formerly and was then a great enemy to the Liturgy of the Church of England, and the Royal Family, who he, Craddock, often expressed, in such words as I cannot commit to paper. The twenty-six Merchants, who are Episcopals, will not be among Craddock's auditors, and they hope that the Bishop of London will not confirm the appointment. (Heathcote papers.)

Maynard's comments above must be read in conjunction with the remark in the Heathcote papers by Sir Richard Cranshawe, that "Maynard himself, was a most zealous republican until His Majesty's Restoration."

To assist the Bishop of London in his selection Maynard set out what he thinks needful in the Chaplain, mentioning among other things that he must be a good controversialist "as he will meet those here who will try his parts". On the financial side, he adds, "Though by my Patents, I am to allow him but £150 a year, his place will be worth £250, it being the Factors here who will allow him £100 a year more". (Heathcote Papers.)

The above letter is the first known use of the word

"Factor" in connection with English merchants in Lisbon.

In estimating the salary, the greater purchasing power of money must be remembered, and also that any Chaplain who was a Fellow of a College, held this until death, or marriage, in addition to any other income.

Craddock however never returned to Lisbon. Charles II in 1661 made him a Royal Chaplain, perhaps his having been at Lisbon was useful with a Portuguese Queen. He was Chaplain of King's College Cambridge 1661-1670, Canon of Chichester 1670, Fellow of Eton 1671, and Provost of Eton February 1681. He was elected in opposition to Edmund Waller, the Puritan poet. He was a famous preacher, and a friend of John Evelyn, the Diarist, who stayed with him at Eton. He died September 1695 and was buried in the College Chapel at Eton.

- * Bibliography: Dictionary National Biography
Inquisition Cases. Lisbon Hist. Soc. 1937
Lisbon Church Report. 1831
Heathcote Papers. British Museum
Letter. Dean Emmanuel Coll. Cambs. 1938
Letter. Headmaster Eton College. 1936

INTERREGNUM 1661-1663

The Restoration is perhaps the best point to outline the system under which the Lisbon chaplaincy was managed until 1776, with some small modifications. The Bishops of London, the Crown and the Factory all had a part in it, and some account of each is essential.

By ancient medieval custom the ecclesiastical supervision of the "the King's subjects beyond the seas" was vested in the Bishop of London, and this after the Reformation became important, more especially in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. All clergy in the "plantations" (colonies), trading bodies, ships and chaplain to envoys were licensed by him, and on the ecclesiastical side of the duties controlled by him.

The system obviously had imperfections, and parishes without ecclesiastical supervision became congregational and no uniform system of appointment was possible.

It lasted until the American Revolution, when the Episcopal Church of the United States organised itself under Bishop Seabury, who was consecrated by the Scots Bishops. In 1797 the "colonial" episcopate began when the Bishop of London formally handed over "that part of his diocese which was in the Colony and King's Dominion of Canada", to form the Bishopric of Nova Scotia.

In 1843 the Gibraltar Diocese was constituted and Portugal was added to it in 1867. Traces of the system lingered later, as the present writer himself was appointed to the Indian Ecclesiastical Service in 1912 and his "Letters of Orders" were passed by the Bishop of London on behalf of the Secretary of State, in the same manner as the First Chaplain of the East India Company was appointed in 1603. The system was changed in 1913 and transferred to a representative of the Bishop of Calcutta.

THE CROWN. The connection of the Lisbon Chaplain and the envoy, vested the actual appointment in the Crown until

1875. Originally the Envoy made the nomination, and later the Factory did so; it is not quite clear when the Factory began to make the nomination but certainly it was as early as that of Swift.

THE FACTORY. All bodies of British nationality in the world tended to conform to a common type, of a corporation with exclusive privileges, having headquarters in London and representatives abroad. The latter were known as "Factors" or "gents", the place of business or society as a "Factory". The system was not confined to Britain alone. Unlike the East India or Hudson Bay Companies, the Lisbon Factory had no London headquarters as far as is known. The Lisbon merchants were in the lands of a civilised and allied power, but on the other hand they were exposed to dangers, the Inquisition and commercial rivals, and common action was necessary at times. Thus, while no Act of Parliament founded the Factory - as in the case of the East India Company in 1660 - there was a common association first mentioned by Fanshawe in a letter of 1661. It is not clear how members were elected or what constituted membership, but it seems likely that at any rate in the early stages it was an association of Protestant merchants only. The head of the Factory was the Consul, who acted with London on its behalf, but when the Factors and the Consul differed the latter addressed the Government directly. All these elements seem to have played a part in the discussion over the Chaplaincy vacancy 1661-1663.

Fanshaw the Envoy seems to have been anxious to put the whole position of the Chaplain on a proper footing, which as it was founded by the Protectorate, was lacking at the outset and he wrote to the Bishop of London in May 1663 as follows:-

Your Lordship will herewith receive copies of settlement here to the British Merchants after a long vacancy; Part of the reasons why I guess it was so long, are expressed in the same papers, to explain which a little further and clearer your Lordship may be pleased to take note that according to the literal constitution thereof, the Gift & Advowson, of this Cure of Souls, is in the English Merchants trading to Lisbon. Those that immediately pay the tithes or maintenance are the English trading her Factors for the most part to the other.

The Collector, or Paymaster, is the Consul, with this difference from common collectors, or paymasters, that without anything to the contrary in the letter of his Patent, and further he will not be bound, during all vacancies the Money goes into his own purse. Meanwhile the Merchants here resident pretend, that such mean profits ought to be applied to the Common Stock for Charitable Uses, whereby to ease them, and consequently their principals in London, that is to say to the use of the Patron of the Church, that pay tithes. If it were so in England no law of lapse, how many livings would be filled?

Now in this Place the present mischief is remedied for once without any exception on behalf of those in London who might claim the right of presentation, since having omitted it for three years, the strictest law of England would give it to the King pro had vice, especially to prevent the closing of so great a spiritual privilege as this by not usage.

Possibly for the future some middling course may be found out to save both rights without any prejudicing the other; as that the King His Majesty by the Bishop of London there, or by His Majesty's Public Minister

here, for the time being, may present in case of so many months Vacancy, as may be limited and not otherwise, unless by Act of Council preceding the Institution, the gift of this place among other foreign cures, ought still to remain the Bishop, and that all means should be in reserve to the next Incumbent, the more to invite one hither the longer there should be a vacancy. Certainly without censuring this, or that, these, or those, individual persons, but speaking as to succeeding times in general, if either the gainers by the Vacancy, a Preaching Minister here, - taking it one time with another - is likely either not to be placed, or after he is to be worried out of it.

The letter indicates the lines on while the appointment of a Chaplain was eventually made, but it had not immediate effect, as the Chaplaincy was still vacant when Fanshawe went on leave in the October of that year, leaving a relative, Lionel Fanshawe, as Chargé d'Affaires. The latter arranged for the Chaplain of Marshal Schomberg to act as Factory Chaplain. Schomberg, a Huguenot officer was then commanding the Portuguese army. An able soldier, he served in every army in Europe, and was eventually killed by the side of William III at the Battle of the Boyne.

In 1661-3 the English government sent an army to Portugal largely composed of Cromwell's ex-soldiers. Very little is known of it, as a police measure it drew off many who might have made trouble in England, but from the little that survives it fought well. A Puritan force would clearly not lack "preachers" but no records exist of their functioning in Lisbon.

THOMAS MARSDEN 1663-1665 **

Thomas Marsden was born in Lancashire 1637, educated at Manchester Grammar School and a Hulme Scholar of Brasenose College Oxford. He was clearly an able, zealous man of great personal charm. Though he ministered to the English colony, he was as his letters show, the personal chaplain of the Envoy, Sir Richard Fanshawe. Two of his letters to the latter exist:

The Rev. Thomas Marsden to Sir Richard
Fanshawe

Lisbon Jan 14 1664

It has been no small ingredient to the comfort of my life that Heaven gave me the opportunity of being employed as one of your Servants, for nowhere could I have met with so fair a complication of Wisdom and Candour as is eminently conspicuous in your Lordship! Which perfections do not stand in need of any trumpet, when both our King and Court, proclaim them so loudly. I know likewise that your readiness to do good is far greater than your desire to hear yourself called a Benefactor. I shall therefore be silent both as to the one and the other, not doubting but Your Lordship will remember that the seat of gratitude is the heart, not the tongue, and the most genuine characters are write in mutes not in vowels. In persuance of your Instructions I have given what time I could spare, apart from other studies, to the Spanish tongue, and if I fail in what you wish, it is not for want of parts, not industry, and to prove such errors were not venial, I need not but to quote that worn maxim "ultra posse non est esse". Mr Fanshawe's

society is sweet to me, I could wish my sullen temper was capable of requiting him. The frequent remembrance of your Lordship, my honourable Lady, with my hopeful young ladies, cheers me exceedingly.

This letter was written after Fanshawe had gone as the Ambassador to Madrid, where Marsden clearly expected to follow him. For an unknown reason, he decided to return to England and wrote to Fanshawe to that effect, 18 February 1665:

I thank Your Excellency for honouring me with a letter, and I hold myself bound to give you some account of my affairs here. Immediately on being deprived of the protection of your Presence, I thought it needful to put more sweat into my Sermons than formerly I did, lest any might watch for an occasion to say that my pains were not equal to my pay, the which I have done from that time to this, and that not without the success I wished for. But I thank God not being carped at is the least part of the success I have had in my ministry, if I believed my auditors, some of whome on the occasion of my preaching my farewell Sermon, last Lord's day, upon Gal. 1V.2. "I am afraid of you least I have bestowed upon you labour in vain" told me, not without tears, that I have not laboured in vain and that they have looked deeper into eternity and do value a Saviour far more than they did when I first came among them. The whole body of them are so passionately covetous of my stay that they have offered to augment my Salary to obtain it, or to dispense with my absence for ten or fifteen months, for settling my affairs in England in case of return. But as I do not see any possibility of this,

I have begged them to transfer their respect to my successor, whereon they have cheerfully renewed their subscriptions for whatever Minister, My Lord of London shall send them, which subscriptions I shall deliver to him, together with the Testimonials given me by the Merchants here, one of which I enclose for your Lordship.

Since you left this Court, I have only omitted preaching on two Lord's Days, once for Indisposition, the second time because the Merchants desired me to desist because the Auto-de-Fee (sic) fell on a Sunday.

I count myself happy in my acquaintance with your House, where I was no less a learner than a teacher. I have rubbed off so much ignorance since I came to Lisbon and have also gotten a competent Treasure in my purse, my Moneys amounting to £ 344.3.4. being put into two Bills of Exchange, payable to Mr Wm. Bird and Mr Edward Norwood, Merchants of London. I hope by long and hard study in England to fit myself for Your Lordship's countenance and entreat your concealing my infirmities and imperfections, a greater number whereof your Lordship and My Lady have seen both in my Person and my Pen than any, I think, in the world besides. I shall always try by God's help, to carry myself as becomes a Gospel Minister, and hope that this promise to you may contribute something to my establishment in good and many resolutions. Mr Prince will explain to you the reasons which require my return to England.

Enclosed with this letter is a Certificate, signed by M. Grogier, the French Minister at Lisbon, "hearer of the same Mr Marsden" Thos. Maynard, English Consul, Chris Maynard, Vice Consul, and twenty four English Merchants "that Thomas Marsden has been assiduous, and labourous in his life, and has discharged himself in all things as well befits a Gospel Minister. Lisbon, Feb 10. 1665"

(The French Minister's signature is of interest, but it must be remembered that the Edict of Nantes was in force and public office was open to Huguenots.)

After leaving Lisbon Marsden wrote a book "Roman Catholics, uncertain if there be any true priests or sacraments in the Church of Rome". His later history is uncertain. He died in 1730.

** Lisbon Church Report 1881

Heathcote Papers Hist M:SS Comm British Museum

Fanshawe. Sir Richard

Letter tutor Brasenose Coll Oxon 1938 to HW

Letter. Mrs Jayne to Mr G. Pope 1935

**The Revd H.F. Fulford Williams, MA, BD Des, HCF
4 November 1943.**