

ST. GEORGE'S CHURCH, LISBON.

A brief outline of its history, compiled from existing records, by A. R. W.

Up to the year 1534 the Church of Rome was the official Church of Great Britain, but in that year, under King Henry VIII, the Act of Supremacy was passed by the English Parliament, and the Reformed, or Protestant Anglican Church, became the official Church of England.

In the Reign of Queen Mary, who was a Roman Catholic, there was a temporary reaction, resulting in Archbishop Cranmer, and Bishops Latimer and Ridley, being burnt as heretics, and it was not until Elizabeth became Queen of England that full completeness was given to the Church Reformation which her father had instituted.

In those early days the building of Protestant Churches was not tolerated abroad in Catholic countries, and as it had long been the custom of many of the nobility and other notable wealthy persons to house and maintain their own private Chaplain for personal and domestic religious devotions, the same practice was followed when British Envoys, of Protestant faith, were subsequently appointed abroad to Catholic Courts.

Prior to the definite appointment of British Envoys to Lisbon, various eminent Englishmen, mainly Catholics, had been selected from time to time for special diplomatic missions to the Portuguese Court of relatively short duration. We do not find much about British Chaplains in Lisbon until from 1656 onwards, when due to their Protestant faith, and the strenuous objections of the rulers of the Holy Inquisition to its propagation and practice, the names of these Chaplains are recorded in the series of disputes which frequently took place. The first of these men seems to have been Zachary Cradock.

A real and persistent clash between the Inquisitors and the Protestant representatives occurred when the British community in Lisbon, previously admitted by the British Envoy to attend religious services in his own private Chapel, sought to hold similar services

elsewhere, desiring as they did to establish a permanent British Church, or Chapel as it was frequently styled in those days.

Some idea of this long controversy may be obtained from the contents of the following letters which have survived, it being borne in mind that, apart from the British Envoy and the Consul, the British community in Lisbon was largely represented by the British «Factory» of which latter most of the British merchants were members, working hand-in-hand with the Consul, and where all civil matters affecting the British were dealt with. This British «Factory», together with being really a commercial institution, was also something in the nature of a Meeting House where all questions affecting the colony were ventilated and discussed.

It is in this «Factory» that numerous receptions and entertainments were given at which the wives of members and their families were generally permitted to attend. It would further appear, from the records we have, that frequent religious services were held at which either the Chaplain or the Consul officiated, and there is ample evidence of such services taking place in the Consul's house, as well as in private houses.

To the thoughtfulness of that staunch friend and incumbent of St. George's Church, Canon T. G. P. Pope, D. D., British Chaplain from 1867 to 1902, we are indebted for the placing on record of a very interesting and valuable review of the events which led to the possession of a British Protestant Cemetery, and subsequently to the erection of the first Anglican consecrated Church in the Cemetery grounds. This review was embodied in St. George's Church Report for the year 1883 and from which we now reprint the following extracts :

«A Treaty, signed in London, Jan. 29. 1642, (1) between Charles I of England and John IV of Portugal, provides, in Art. xvii, that British Subjects shall not be troubled for their consciences while they reside in Portugal... and that... the most renowned King of Portugal shall take care and provide that they shall not be molested or disturbed for the said case of conscience, so as they give not scandal to others».

«A Treaty signed at Westminster, July 10, 1654, between England and Portugal (renewed by Art. xxvi. of the Treaty of 1810) has the following provisions :

«Art. xiv. And forasmuch as the rights 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

1 An earlier Treaty—that of 1605—«Treaty of Peace & Amity» already included this «freedom of conscience» clause which was reciprocal to Catholics in England.

«their wares ; that commerce may be free and secure, both by land and sea, the said king of Portugal shall effectually 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 that 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 shall think fit, without any trouble or hindrance ; and finally that a place be allowed them for the burial of their dead ; provided nevertheless that the English do not exceed what is written in this Article».

Later on, from 1678 to 1688, a Dr. Michael Geddes was Chaplain of the British Factory here. After his return to England he published various works, termed «Geddes Tracts». In the preface of one of them it is stated that in 1686 the Consul and he were summoned before the Inquisition :

«They went through several large rooms, which were still lock'd behind them as they passed on. The Consul was taken in first, and examined, but was not suffered to speak to the chaplain when he came out again. The Chaplain was then sent for to make his appearance before those judges, who received him at first with great affectation of civility and courtesy, and desir'd him to sit down, and be covered before they proceeded to examine him. After this piece of ceremony was over, they sternly demanded of him, how he dared to preach or exercise his function in that city. He answered, that he enjoyed that liberty by virtue of an article between the two Crowns of England and Portugal ; that it was a thing which had never been called in question ; that he had been there eight years ; and during that time had served the English Factory as Chaplain, as many others had done before him. They reply'd that it was a thing altogether unknown to them ;... and that, if they had known it, they would never have suffered it.»... «After they had threatened him, and strictly forbidden him to minister any more to his congregation, he was dismiss'd. Whereupon a letter of complaint was written to the Bishop of London, subscribed by Mr. Maynard the Consul, and other merchants of the Factory ;... and one was written by the Consul himself to the same Right Reverend Father... But before those letters reached England, his Lordship was suspended, and all hopes of redress were remov'd. They were wholly debarred the exercise of their religion till the arrival of Mr. Scarborough the English Envoy, under whose character as a public minister they were obliged to screen themselves, altho' they had a right to the exercise of their profession by the Treaty between the two nations ; and... under this state of things he thought it advisable to return to England, which he did in May 1688». (He was afterwards made chancellor of Salisbury, where, he died. The letters mentioned above are printed below.

To The Right Honourable  
HENRY  
LORD BISHOP OF LONDON.

Humbly present :

Lisbon, 7/17 Sept. 1686.

«May it Please your Lordship,

«In all Humility and Gratitude we acknowledge your Lordship's greate Charity to this Factory, and all the King's Subjects «residing in this Kingdome, where God hath hitherto bless'd us «with the Liberty and Freedome of the Exercise of the Religion «into which we were initiated ; which Happinesse, through the «Envy of some men, the Inquisition endeavours now to deprive «us of : About four or five dayes since, the Consul and Mr. «Giddes were summon'd to appeare att the Council Boord in the «Inquisition, where they were forbid the Publicke Practice, and «meeting at Divine Service and Preaching, which your Lordship «will know more fully from them, by their particular Letters.

«My Lord, there was Provision made by the 14th article of «the Treaty of Commerce, celebrated, and concluded between «the two Crownes of England and Portugal, that the King's «Subjects should not bee molested for conscience-sake, but that «they might freely exercise their Religion, with their Families «of the same Nation and Religion, without any Impediment or «molestation ; and that it was alwaes soe understood by the «King, will appeare by His Majesties Grant of 100 £ a yeare to «be paid by the Consul to the Minister that resides there, and «the same Liberty is granted to the Subjects of the States of «Holland, which can bee noe small Griefe to us, to see our Reli- «gion and our Nation soe much slighted by the Inquisition, in «being denied what they enjoy ; a Priviledge that we have been «possesst of ever since the King's happy Restauration ; and we «hope through God's Blessing, and your Lordship's Charity in

«bringing the state of this Matter to the King's Cognizance, we «shal continue soe great a Blessing, to all our Comforts : and we «beseech your Lordship to remember the Factory of O. Oporto, «as well as this, noe way doubting, that when His Magestie is «informed of the true state of our Agrievances, he will protect «us in our just Rights ; and that God will bless your Lordship «with long Life and Happinesse, shal ever bee the Prayers of

May it Please your Lordship,  
Your Lordship's most Obedient,  
Obleidged Servants,

Here follows the signature of the Consul and all the members of the Factory.

To the Right Reverend Father in God

HENRY

LORD BISHOP OF LONDON.

Present :

Lisbon, the 7/17 Sept. 1686.

«My Lord !

If a good Cause, and Prescription had been enough to have «preserv'd us in our Rights, there had been noe occasion to have «troubled your Lordship with soe unpleasing a Subject, as Ne- «cessity now forces me upon, being Silence, and desisting from «endeavouring a Remedy, would make all the King's Subjects «residing in Portugal hugely unhappy, and to prevent Prolixity, «I will onely give your Lordship an Account of the Matter of «Fact, and humbly implore your Charity to Assist us, that our «Agrievances may come to the King's Cognizance, that wee may «obtaine some Releise from his Majestie's Piety and Justice, which greate Charity I hope God will reward an hundred-fold «upon your Lordship.

«Upon Thursday 2/12 of this Month, I had a Summons from «the Inquisition to appeare att their Councill-Boord, where being «sett at the lower end of the Table, one of the Inquisitors said «to me, You have taken a House at Porto de Sancto Antam, «where you have your Meeting Sundays and Holly-dayes, and «have your publick Prayers and Preachings : to which I reply'd ; «alwaes true that the King of England's Subjects did come there «to Divine Service ; and to heare Sermons, then he asked mee by

«what authority I suffered them to meet att my house ; I told  
 «them by vertue of the treaty of peace made between the two  
 «crownes of England and Portugall, in which it is expressly  
 «provided by the 14th article of that treaty ; To which the In-  
 «quisitor said, There can be noesuch thing granted to you, I  
 «answer'd, That 'tis expressly declared in that article, that all  
 «commerce would bee ineffectual, if the King's Subjects were  
 «disquieted for conscience-sake, therefore the King of Portugall  
 «would effectually provide and take care, that the King's Su-  
 «bjects should not bee disquieted or molested in their conscien-  
 «ces, by any man, court, or tribunall, but that they might freely  
 «in their houses, with their families, being of the same Nation  
 «and Religion, in any part of the King of Portugall's Dominions,  
 «professe and exercise their Religion, without any trouble or  
 «impediment, to which one of the Inquisitors said, It never  
 «came to the cognizance of the Inquisition. To which I replied,  
 «That I had been Consul heare thirty yeares, in which tyme the  
 «King's Subjects Assembled to heare Divine Service and Sermons,  
 «and 'twas very improbable, that in soe many yeares, it should  
 «not come to the cognizance of the Inquisition ; and I farther  
 «told them, that many yeares since, when the Arch-Bishop of  
 «Evora presided in that Court, I was questioned as I am now,  
 «by what authority wee assembled, which I made out, as I do  
 «now, wee did it by vertue of the articles of Peace ; since which  
 «wee were never disturbed in our meetings, to which one of the  
 «Inquisitors said, You are mistaken in all your sayings, and  
 «you shall have noe more meetings, but att an Ambassador, or  
 «Envoy's House, and you must now signe this Paper (written  
 «by themselves) that wee should not assemble in any other  
 «place, To which I replied I could signe noe Paper, that did  
 «contradict the Treaty of Peace between the two crownes, unless  
 «I had a command from my Sovereigne Lord the King to do it,  
 «and soe I parted from them. The next Day I went to dis-  
 «course with the Inquisitor-Generall of what had hapned att  
 «the Boord ; he being absent from thence by some Indisposition,  
 «and being admitted to him, I gave him a briefe relation of  
 «the discourse wee had at the Boord, to which he told mee, I  
 «had noe Reason, or Justice to persist in that matter, for wee  
 «could not expect wee should have liberty to assemble to our  
 «Prayers, but every man might pray by himselfe, and that was  
 «all that was intended ; to which I replied, that there was noe  
 «need of an article of Peace, to pray privately in our closetts,  
 «for noe man could hinder us from that, to which he passionately  
 «replied, That if he had been att the Board, neither you, nor  
 «the other (meaning the minister of the Factory) should have  
 «gon out of this House, I replied, That I was not guilty of any  
 «Fact that might merritt soe severe a Sensure, as to be a perp-  
 «etuell prisoner in the Inquisition ; soe rising from the place,  
 «where I was setting, to take my Leave of him, he tooke hold  
 «of my Arme, and said, Pray sitt downe againe, wee will disc-  
 «course this Busines a little more, and he said, I have knowne  
 «you att least this thirty yeares, and have never understood,  
 «that you ever wronged, or scandaliz'd any man, but are gene-

«rally well reputed, and beloved of all men, but this cannot bee  
 «granted you, for 'tis too great a Scandall to the People, To  
 «which I said, Our Meeting was very private, and it could be noe  
 «Scandall to any to serve God, and if that were the reason of  
 «this Disput, wee would for the future endeavour to meet with  
 «that privacy, that none should bee able to take notice of our  
 «assembling, To which he said, I should apply my selfe to the  
 «King his master, and if he pleased to send him an Order to  
 «suffer us, wee should have liberty to assemble together to our  
 «Prayers ; so I intend to speake to the King, and deliver him a  
 «memoriall setting forth our complaint.

«Mr. Geddis was likewise summoned to the Inquisition, who,  
 «I am sure, writes your Lordshipp of what past betwixt him and  
 «the Inquisitors, I beseech your Lordshipp to continue me in your  
 «Grace and Favour, by the tytle of,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most Obedient,

Faithfull Servant,

Tho. Maynard.

(«N. B. The punctuation, spelling and capitals are copied  
 «exactly from Dr. Geddes' book. — T. G. P. Pope.»)

«In an old Letter Book at the Consulate there is a copy of a  
 «letter, dated June 19. 1715 from the Factory to Mr. Wors-  
 «ley, then British Envoy to the Court of Lisbon, in which the  
 «merchants complain that various provisions of the Treaty of  
 «1654 are infringed ; and moreover they : «doe further complain  
 «of an insufferable abuse to the great dishonour of his Majesty,  
 «that they (i. e., the Portuguese Inquisition) doe inhumanly  
 «steale and take away our children from us with the intention  
 «of making them Roman Catholicks...»

«With the religious intolerance existing at that time in this  
 «country we gladly contrast the religious liberty and protection  
 «conceded to foreigners in our own day, and expressly established  
 «by article VI of the Constitutional Charter of 1826. Indeed it  
 «must in fairness be acknowledged that, in the times alluded to  
 «above, no nation understood the principles of religious liberty :  
 «and that in all countries protestants persecuted Roman Catholics  
 «and Roman Catholics protestants, according as each possessed  
 «the power. We must confess that we in England in old times  
 «were often guilty of persecuting Roman Catholics, and therefore  
 «we have no right to complain, if in those same old times Roman

«Catholics persecuted us. Let us rather congratulate ourselves «that in the British dominions the principles of religious liberty «are now firmly rooted ; that in Portugal we enjoy the protection «of a liberal government, which sets to other nations a bright «example of liberty and progress ; and that we dwell in the midst «of a friendly people, in whose ranks we can count relatives and «friends ,and to whom we hope to be always united by the bonds «of mutual esteem and good will. (T. G. P. Pope.)»

If we look at the dates of accession to the Throne of England, it will be seen that the recrudescence of antagonism on the part of the Inquisition, related in the foregoing extracts, occurred soon after the accession of King James II, a fervent Roman Catholic. His predecessor, Charles II, was likewise a Roman Catholic at heart though largely tolerant in matters of public worship. It seems permissible therefore to assume that with James II as King of England the Holy Office in Portugal saw some possibility of freeing itself from the strict observances contained in that part of the Cromwellian Treaty dealing with the free enjoyment by British Protestants of the practice of their faith. In all fairness, however, to the situation at that time, we must not overlook the difficulties which the Roman Catholic Church, apart from the more intolerant Holy Office, was experiencing, particularly in a seaport and capital of Lisbon's importance where the influx of large numbers of seamen, travellers, and exiles from other nations at times assumed unruly proportions.

The difficulties encountered in 1686 by the British Chaplain and Consul evidently continued for several years, for we find that in 1696 a later «Chaplain to the Factory»<sup>(1)</sup> was writing to the Bishop of Salisbury (from whose See he had evidently been appointed to Lisbon) complaining of the apparent lack of interest shown by the then British Envoy in helping them to secure a continuance of the right to hold Divine Service outside the diplomatic immunity afforded by the British Envoy's establishment, which latter for one thing was an uncertain privilege seeing that the office of Envoy to Lisbon was not then a permanent institution, and left frequent gaps when either the Envoy was absent on travel, or no Envoy at all was appointed.

Doubtless the lot of the British Envoy in those days was not always a bed of roses (the rose, however, judging from the context of this particular correspondence, seeming not altogether absent from his environment), for with a delicate mission of State to perform in an intensely Catholic Court, it must have been inconveniently irksome at times to have had equally intense and fervid protestants hanging upon his coat-tails for the enforcement of a privilege which those with whom the Envoy would need to confer were then bent upon having annulled, or at least restricted to the seclusion of the Envoy's own private Chapel.

In one of these awkward passes the Envoy must have accused the

(1) British Musoum : Additinal MSS.

British Chaplain of «conniving» to exceed the conceded terms of the Treaty, for in this very lengthy and passionate letter, recently brought to light, we find him declaiming :

«If it was designed only that ye Publick Minister shd. be «allowed a Chappel it would be no more than is granted of course «at Madrid, and all Courts of Italy, and it is not imaginable «that King John, considering ye condition he was then in shd. «chazard a Breach with England by opposing what was never «deny'd either by Himself or any other Prince in Christendom. «If I may offer my opinion in this matter it seems ye Portuguese «were unwilling to use more express terms in a Publick Treaty for «fear of offending ye Court of Rome, and ye English, secure of «ye thing, forbore contending about words : the Consul's Patent «being as formally confirmed by the King as ye Treaty itself, «and ye clause therein relating to this affaire is as express to «our Purpose as words can be, and that possibly was designed as «a secret article to supply what was deficient in ye Publick. «But however this be I suppose ye best explanation of a Treaty «is ye manner of its immediate execution. How this was executed «appears from what has been already saide, Our Church having «been established presently upon signing of ye article and that «sufficiently declares ye meaning of it. The English did then «assemble in a Solemn Manner and that not by Permission only «but under Protection of ye Government, there being no Publick «Minister here as I believe there was none till ye Business of «ye Queen's Marriage» (Catherine of Bragança, married to Charles II. in 1662.) «and more then that till ye People of ye «Country became accustomed to ye sight they had Guards assigned «them to Prevent any insults from ye Rabble, and may your «Lordship judge whether this may in any sense be a Bare Con- «nivance.»

«...If there has been an interruption of our Church it was «done from no Question upon Presumption that there wd. be «little notice taken of it in England under a Popish Reign and «your Lordship may observe it was not done by ye Government «but ye Inquisition who as your Lordship knows may at any time «pretend ignorance of what ye Civil Power does where Religion «is concerned...»

For just how long this ban remained effective we do not yet know, no further records having yet come to light bridging this period with that of nearly a hundred years later, even the «Factory» records from the year 1749 to 1808, as Canon Pope pointed out in his 1883 Church Report, being lost by shipwreck, although endeavours are now being made to collect correlative information from other sources. Doubtless the British protestants in Lisbon had no other remedy than to confine themselves to such facilities as the British Envoy's chapel afforded, for we can safely assume that with the frequently increasing activities of the Inquisition in Portugal, as evidenced by so many of their own records which have survived intact, there would be little opportunity for any further unrestricted

Protestant religious services ; at most, as indications go, of occasional and quiet gatherings within various private houses, and behind closed doors.

The Treaty of 1654, however, still held good between the two nations, and together with the earlier Treaty of 1642, points to the importance of the volume of trade between England and Portugal as well as to the considerable proportions to which the colony of British merchants, with their wives and families, had grown. It is evident that the English government was well aware of the religious disabilities experienced by the British colony in Lisbon at the time the two Treaties were being formulated, though it later apparently forbore to press the clauses regarding religious freedom for fear of endangering those which gave the valuable privileges of the ports <sup>(1)</sup>. It is interesting to observe that at the time the 1654 Treaty was being drafted, John Milton, our supreme epic poet, was acting as Latin Secretary to the Committee for Foreign Affairs. This position, it is recorded, he held «with great ability», being, in fact, a remarkable and profound Latin scholar. Himself a strenuous adherent and protagonist of the Protestant faith, and in close personal association with Oliver Cromwell, he must have become fully familiar with the difficulties which his co-religionists were suffering in Portugal, and it may well be that in the Latin wording of the 1654 Treaty the Lisbon community can trace the hand of the famous author of «Paradise Lost».

With the advent of the Peninsular War, and the occupation of Lisbon by the French under Junot in 1807, the influence of the Inquisition in Portugal met with a second and effective check, the first really destructive thrust being that made against it by the Marquis of Pombal in 1759, from which, however, it subsequently recovered under a change of sovereignty in 1777 when Queen Maria succeeded Dom José I.

By 1800 Auto-da-Fé's had long ceased to take place, though the dungeons and torture-chamber of the Inquisition still continued to function at intervals against those who had lapsed from Roman Catholicism, or those instrumental in converting them to the Protestant faith : against non-active Protestants there had been little or no molestation after the signing of the Treaties, though the holding of Protestant religious services was still under ban. Soon the marching of the armies, while shaking the foundations of old despotisms, was also to shake the weakened structure of the Holy Inquisition, religious doctrinal intolerance continuing increasingly to wane, and bringing relief, in this direction, to the British Protestant community.

It has always been somewhat of a mystery as to just why the «Factory» records were sent away from Lisbon to England «for safe keeping» in 1808. The coincidence of dates is noteworthy. It was early in 1808 that Junot issued a Decree <sup>(2)</sup> announcing, among other

(1) Calendar of Domestic State Papers- Commonwealth.

(2) W. G. Elliot : Treatise on the Defence of Portugal, p. 197.

levies and confiscations, that all British property was to be ransomed, and it was also early in 1808 that the «Factory» decided to send a large portion of its books and documents to England. It is evident that the «Factory» and its members were seriously menaced, though their decision to send their records away from Lisbon was an unfortunate one, the carrying vessel being «lost by shipwreck». It is not recorded whether the British Consul, «James Gambier Esq», to whom this portion of the «Factory» archives was entrusted at that time, escaped with his life or not, and if he did so escape, whether he was able to save any of his belongings.

Although the long drawn-out scene of Peninsular warfare shifted from Portugal elsewhere, it was not until 1815 with the final overthrow of the Napoleonic forces at Waterloo that Portugal could consider herself safe from any further invasion. The greatness of the service rendered to Portugal by the British military forces, the spirit of freedom in opinion evinced and spread by the long continued arrivals and traffic of these regiments up and down the country, were not without their effect in enabling the Portuguese to secure an enlargement of their own civil and intellectual liberties. Although the Inquisition still nominally existed in 1815, some measure of its impotency is obtained by the construction in Lisbon of the first (and indeed, the first in the Peninsular) British Church, or Chapel, on a site facing the old coachhouse of the Necessidades Palace, and Canon Pope, in the 1883 Church Report, records that Divine Service was first held there on August 6th 1815. From some interesting documents which have recently become available, comprising a complete set of the builders' A/cs, we get some idea as to the internal accommodation of this Chapel, the «Chair Stuffers» A/c including 137 *new* «Almofadas» or cushions, while there is an item of expense for 3 *new* «Bancos» (presumably pews) and repairs to 22 large and 6 small bancos ; from which we can draw the obvious conclusion that the older pews and cushions had previously served an earlier use, and either came from the Envoy's private Chapel or some private dwelling where the then Chaplain had conducted divine service. In Canon Pentin's list of British Chaplains, published in the 1936 Church Report, he cites the name of the Rev. R. M. Miller, M. A. as officiating from 1812 to 1818.

It is evident from these Statements of A/c that the «Factory» had a great deal to do with the building of this «1815» Chapel, its Treasurer's name, «Chambers Kendall» appearing on the general certifying statement of the total expense incurred, and that the «Factory» still functioned in the interests of the British colony even if, as it would appear, its former wide and semi-privileged commercial operations were well on the wane. Yet by the time the first St. George's Church was built, in 1820, all reference to the «Factory» has completely vanished.

(to be continued)