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An Extraterritorial Privacy Zone?

*Dutch Protestants and their Embassy Chapel in Early Modern Portugal*¹

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Abstract

The Protestant Reformation led to a radical redrawing of the map of Europe, severely affecting international relations. An important consequence of Protestantism was the emphasis on the private dimension of religious practices, as it did away with clerical intermediaries and instead put the focus on the direct relationship between God and the believer. In this context, to facilitate diplomatic traffic between Catholic and Protestant countries, ambassadors came to enjoy the so-called Right of Chapel, allowing them to create a private place of worship and have a private chaplain at their ambassadorial residences. This right was explicitly included in two treaties that the Kingdom of Portugal and the Dutch Republic concluded with each other in the mid-seventeenth century. However, the two parties to the treaties had starkly different understandings of what was meant by 'private'. Both of these treaties granted Dutch citizens in Portugal freedom of conscience in their own houses, but the contrasting interpretations of what 'private' actually meant for the Dutch and for the Portuguese resulted in serious disagreement about the exact scope of these religious rights.

1 This article is a revised version of a lecture held as part of the seminar 'Zones of Privacy in the Early Modern Netherlands' at the Centre for Privacy Studies of the University of Copenhagen on 21 March 2019. I would like to thank the organizers of the seminar, Prof. Mette Birkedal Bruun, Dr Natália da Silva Perez, and Dr Michaël Green, for giving me the opportunity to present my research, the anonymous peer reviewers for their helpful feedback, and Dr Natália da Silva Perez for her editorial suggestions.

Introduction

What Central Park is to New York City, the *Jardim da Estrela* is to Lisbon. On the many sunny days with which the Portuguese capital is blessed, locals and tourists alike descend on this municipal park in large numbers to seek out the shade, have a picnic, or catch their breath. Few of them will be aware of what is hidden behind the large cream-coloured wall north of the *Jardim*. A small green gate in the middle of this wall provides access to a wooded plot of land, at the back of which the Anglican Saint George's Church has been located since 1822.² The front of the plot is occupied by a graveyard which was described by the English travel writer George Borrow (1803-1881) as 'a Père-Lachaise in miniature'. Borrow visited the cemetery in 1835, kissing the tomb of its most famous 'resident', the English novelist Henry Fielding (1707-1754).³ In spite of it being referred to as the *Cemitério Inglês*, the cemetery was originally not exclusively used by the English community in Lisbon. As the Latin caption of its mortuary – constructed in 1794 – reveals, it was 'erected at the expense of the British and the Batavians', the latter of whom are nowadays better known as the Dutch.⁴ In fact, second only to that of Henry Fielding, one of the most eye-catching tombs is that of Daniël Gildemeester (1717-1793), the fabulously rich Dutch consul-general in Portugal between 1759 and 1780, and his son Jan (1756-1778).⁵ This Gildemeester family figures prominently in the final stage of the history of a Protestant chapel housed within the Dutch embassy in early modern Lisbon.

The existence of both this embassy chapel and the joint Anglo-Dutch cemetery stemmed from bilateral agreements concluded between the Kingdom of Portugal and the Dutch Republic in the mid-seventeenth century. By virtue of these reciprocal agreements, Dutch ambassadors to Portugal had the right to a chaplain at their residences, while Dutch citizens in Portugal enjoyed freedom of conscience in their private homes. Nonetheless, as demonstrated in this article, the presence of Protestants from the Netherlands (or even from other countries, for

2 The original church building burned down in 1886. The current building dates from 1889. John D. Hampton, *History of the Lisbon chaplaincy* (Lisbon 1989) 41, 52-53.

3 George Borrow, *The bible in Spain*, ed. by Ulick Ralph Burke (London 1901) 6.

4 'Surrexit Impensis Britannorum et Batavorum', *Jaarboek van het ministerie van Buitenlandse Zaken 1955/1956* (The Hague 1956) 170.

5 Francisco Queiroz, 'Os cemitérios protestantes de Lisboa', *Debater a História* 1:5 (2014) 40-48, 47. The Anglo-Dutch cemetery also contains graves of several Jews and Germans, the latter of whom received their own burial ground in 1822 (48).



Illustration 1 The mortuary of the Cemitério Inglês in Lisbon in 1942 (source: photo by Eduardo Portugal, Arquivo Municipal de Lisboa, PT/AMLSB/POR/060282).

that matter) in Portugal continued to be ridden with conflict throughout the entire early modern era. Despite the Dutch perception that the treaties protected their private practice of religion, authorities in Portugal sought continuously to police matters of religion. Why was this the case?

In this article, I will first discuss the phenomenon of the embassy chapel and the religious rights to private worship that the Dutch enjoyed in early modern Portugal. Making use of a wide range of primary sources taken from the archives of the Dutch States-General, the Portuguese Inquisition, the Dutch Reformed Church, and the burgomasters of Amsterdam, I subsequently explore the history of Dutch Protestants in Portugal in their relation to the Portuguese ecclesiastical and secular authorities. The history of the English and Swedish embassy chapels runs parallel to – and is in large part interwoven with – the history of the Dutch one, so these chapels also receive attention.

Based on this discussion, I argue that tensions between the Dutch and the Portuguese resulted from disagreements regarding the scope of ‘privacy’. As will become clear from the evidence that I examine here, this term can at times refer to a person being in their private or domestic space as opposed to in public, but it can also refer to a person’s mental state, which in early modern parlance is often referred to as their conscience. Although the treaties that gave the Dutch certain religious

rights in Portugal do not explicitly mention the term 'privacy', they do include Dutch and Portuguese equivalents and references to the English adjectives 'private' and 'domestic'. In my definition of 'privacy', I do not specify what I mean by 'private' and 'domestic', an omission that is not accidental but intentional. In fact, the point I wish to make is that the Portuguese and the Dutch had different notions of what these terms implied.

The Portuguese authorities interpreted privacy in terms of *space*, *place*, and *visibility*, allowing Dutch Protestants to profess their faith only in *absolute* secrecy and *total* spatial seclusion. From the Portuguese perspective, once physically outside of their private homes or in the company of Portuguese locals, Dutch Protestants could not count on the protection of the diplomatic treaties. The Dutch authorities, by contrast, tended to look at privacy in terms of *personal* integrity, *mental* state, and an *inalienable* right, feeling that their subjects ought to be free from *any* restraint that the Portuguese might impose on their conscience. Dutch authorities considered this protection to follow the person, and to be valid even outside of the space of the home. As I show in my conclusion, because of this discrepancy in the interpretation of what religious privacy entailed, Dutch Protestants' religious privacy was restricted as much as possible by the Portuguese authorities, a restriction which was challenged, in turn, by the Dutch authorities.

Embassy chapels

After divulging his grievances against the ecclesiastical practice of selling indulgences as 'tickets to Paradise' in 1517, the German theologian Martin Luther (1483-1546) unintentionally initiated a movement that became known as the Reformation and led to the emergence of an ever-growing bunch of anti-papal 'Protestant' churches next to the Roman Catholic Church. Lutheranism, the theological current of which he was the eponym, found favour with the kings of Sweden and Denmark-Norway as well as with many princes within the Holy Roman Empire who themselves replaced the Pope as the supreme authorities of the churches within their territories from the 1530s onwards.⁶ In 1534, the English king Henry VIII (1491-1547) no longer accepted the supremacy of the Pope in ecclesiastical matters, either, putting himself at the

6 Robert von Friedeburg, 'Church and state in Lutheran lands', in: Robert Kolb (ed.), *Lutheran ecclesiastical culture, 1550-1675* (Leiden 2008) 361-410.

head of the Church of England. The features of this state church, for which the collective label 'Anglicanism' came into use in the nineteenth century, consisted of a rather eclectic mixture of both Catholic and Reformed liturgy, doctrines, and church polity.⁷

The adjective 'Reformed' refers not only to the Reformation as such, but also more specifically to a theological school of thought to which the name of the French theologian John Calvin (1509–1564) is particularly attached. From the mid-sixteenth century onwards, Reformed or Calvinist Protestantism fell on fertile ground in several Swiss cantons, parts of France, Scotland, and the Low Countries. In this last area, its biblical justification of rebellion against 'wicked' rulers fuelled resistance to the overlordship of the Habsburg king of Spain, which was a stronghold of Counter-Reformation Catholicism due to the monarchical sponsorship of the ecclesiastical tribunal of the Inquisition. Declaring themselves independent in 1581, the seven northernmost provinces of the Low Countries constituted the Dutch Republic, in which the Dutch Reformed Church, based on Calvinist teachings, gained a privileged position.⁸

Although the Spanish king Philip II (1527–1598) *de facto* lost his northernmost possessions, he had managed to gain territory to the west of Spain one year earlier when he ascended to the throne of the Kingdom of Portugal. The personal union between Spain and Portugal lasted until 1640 when Portuguese nobles and eminent citizens, dissatisfied with several royal measures that affected their wealth and privileges, recognized the duke of Braganza as their sovereign.⁹ Seeking recognition and military support, the new Portuguese king John IV (1604–1656) was eager to forge strategic partnerships in Europe. Despite being a Protestant country and a colonial rival, the Dutch Republic was an obvious candidate; after all, Spain was now a common enemy, recognizing Dutch independence only in 1648, and accepting its loss of Portugal only as late as 1668. Agreeing to suspend their colonial hostilities, the Dutch Republic and the Kingdom of Portugal concluded a ten-year truce, signed at The Hague on 12 June 1641.¹⁰

7 Paul Avis, 'Anglican ecclesiology', *The Oxford handbook of ecclesiology* (Oxford 2018) 239–262, 248–250.

8 M.E.H.N. Mout, 'Armed resistance and Calvinism during the Revolt of the Netherlands', in: J. van den Berg and P.G. Hoftijzer (eds.), *Church, change, and revolution. Transactions of the fourth Anglo-Dutch church history colloquium, Exeter, 30 August – 3 September 1988* (Leiden 1991) 57–68.

9 David Birmingham, *A concise history of Portugal* (Cambridge 2018) 35–42.

10 Cornelis van de Haar, *De diplomatieke betrekkingen tussen de Republiek en Portugal, 1640–1661* (Groningen 1961) 15–43.

Both countries now entered into official diplomatic relations with each other, which allowed for the exchange of ambassadors. Such an office of permanent representatives of one country in another originated in Renaissance Italy and found acceptance throughout the rest of Europe in the course of the sixteenth century.¹¹ In the 26th article of the 1641 Luso-Dutch Treaty of Truce and Commerce, it was stipulated that Dutch ambassadors to Portugal would have and enjoy (*'hebben ende ghenieten'*, or *'uzem, e gozem'*, as it was formulated in Dutch and Portuguese respectively) liberty and exercise of religion (*'liberteyt ende exercitie van Religie'* / *'liberdade, e exercicio da Religião'*) in their houses and domiciles (*'in hare Huysen ende Wooningen'* / *'em suas casas, e domicilios'*),¹² equivalent to the treatment that Tristão de Mendonça Furtado, who negotiated the treaty as the ambassador to the Dutch Republic on behalf of the Portuguese king, had received from the Dutch.¹³

Around that time, granting ambassadors freedom of worship in their residences, which functioned both as their embassies offices and their dwellings (domiciles), had already become the norm in international diplomacy and took the form of what was called the *droit de chapelle* or Right of Chapel. The Right of Chapel was an unwritten *priviège de courtoisie*, on the basis of which host countries tolerated the performance of religious services within the residences of ambassadors and the employment of chaplains for this purpose.¹⁴ It stemmed directly from the disintegration of Western Christendom: 'When all Europe had been Catholic, everyone had been able to take communion everywhere. But after Martin Luther, John Calvin, and Henry VIII, the *droit de chapelle* was needed.'¹⁵ After all, sovereigns generally appointed a co-re-

11 A detailed account of the emergence and spread of the office of resident ambassador is given in Garrett Mattingly, *Renaissance diplomacy* (Baltimore 1955).

12 Dutch: *Recueil, van de Tractaten gemaect ende geslooten tusschen de Hoogh Mog. Heeren Staten Generael der Vereenighde Nederlanden, ter eenre, ende verscheyde Koningen, Princen ende Potentaten, ter andere zyde* (The Hague s.a.) no. 9; Portuguese: *Collecção dos tratados, convenções, contratos e actos publicos celebrados entre a Coroa de Portugal e as mais potencias desde 1640 até o presente* I, José Ferreira Borges de Castro (ed.) (Lisbon 1856) 45. An (unofficial) English translation is given in Frances Gardiner Davenport (ed.), *European treaties bearing on the history of the United States and its dependencies* (Washington D.C. 1917) 345.

13 Edgar Prestage, *A embaixada de Tristão de Mendonça Furtado à Holanda em 1641. Primeiras embaixadas de el-rei D. João com documentos elucidativos* (Coimbra 1920); Virginia Rau, 'A embaixada de Tristão de Mendonça Furtado e os arquivos notariais holandeses', in: *Anais da Academia Portuguesa de História*, 2nd series, VIII (1958) 95-160.

14 Graham H. Stuart, *Le droit et la pratique diplomatiques et consulaires* (Paris 1935) 51.

15 Quoted in: Grant V. McClanahan, *Diplomatic immunity. Principles, practices, problems* (London 1976) 27.

ligionist as their representative abroad, which meant that ambassadors were often sent to countries with an official religion different from the one at home.

The embassy chapels that emerged as a solution to this problem led to the emergence of the principle of 'extraterritoriality' in the course of the eighteenth century, thereby legitimizing them in retrospect. According to this principle (which contributed to the development of diplomatic immunity as it exists today), embassies should be seen as 'exclaves' of the countries they represented, thus falling outside the jurisdiction of the countries hosting them.¹⁶ The original purpose of embassy chapels was 'rooted in the domestic', enabling ambassadors and those with whom they lived and worked within their residences to attend church in countries where they would otherwise have lacked the opportunity to do so.¹⁷

Nonetheless, there were other people who had an interest in attending religious services in embassies but did not belong to the entourage of ambassadors. While the compatriots of an ambassador could usually worship in embassy chapels without much hassle, other foreigners who wanted to do the same occasionally met with difficulties. The attendance of locals at such chapels was even seen as downright controversial. To what extent local authorities permitted others to join an ambassador, his family, and his employees in chapel worship depended upon the intensity of local fears of social disruption and the 'observability' of embassy chapels.¹⁸

For example, between the 1560s and the 1650s, Catholic embassy chapels in London occasionally turned into scenes of violent outbursts of anti-Catholic sentiments when the English authorities and agitated Protestant mobs found out that they were frequented by locals.¹⁹ Since all English nationals were legally obliged to attend church at Anglican places of worship, the admittance of locals into these Catholic embassy chapels was, from an Anglican perspective, an intolerable subversion of the social order. By means of intimidation, the English authorities

16 Benjamin J. Kaplan, 'Diplomacy and domestic devotion. Embassy chapels and the toleration of religious dissent in early modern Europe', *Journal of Early Modern History* 6:4 (2002) 341-361, 345-346.

17 Benjamin J. Kaplan, *Divided by faith. Religious conflict and the practice of toleration in early modern Europe* (Cambridge MA 2007) 187.

18 *Ibid.*, 148.

19 William Raleigh Trimble, 'The Embassy Chapel question, 1625-1660', *Journal of Modern History* 18 (1946) 97-107; Albert J. Loomie, 'London's Spanish Chapel before and after the Civil War', *Recusant History* 18:4 (1987) 402-410; Alexandra Walsham, 'The fatal vesper'. Providentialism and anti-papery in late Jacobean London', *Past & Present* 144 (1994) 36-87.

made perfectly clear that such chapels should neither vex the Anglican establishment nor tempt 'crypto-Catholic' locals into joining Catholic worship. Therefore, in order to not reveal their religious purpose, most of these chapels 'were plain rooms containing a minimum of ecclesiastical furnishings'.²⁰ Accordingly, the chapel to the Portuguese embassy in London that was built in the 1740s 'was an unpretentious, precisely square building',²¹ while the exterior of the local Sardinian embassy chapel that was erected some fifteen years later 'had no architectural pretensions whatever'.²² This could not, however, prevent the Sardinian and Bavarian embassy chapels in London from being completely destroyed during the 1780 Gordon Riots, which stemmed from Protestant outrage over the relaxation of several anti-Catholic laws in Britain.²³

In Paris, where Protestant locals were not allowed to worship at embassy chapels in the aftermath of the 1685 Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, the Dutch embassy chapel became a centre of controversy in the early 1720s for being frequented by non-Dutch foreigners. At the time, due to pressures from the influential archbishop of Rouen, Louis de La Vergne-Montenard de Tressan (1670–1733), the French authorities intensified their measures against Protestantism, harassing or even imprisoning several foreign Protestants who attended religious services at the Dutch embassy.²⁴ The Dutch ambassador Cornelis Hop (1685–1762) heavily protested, arguing that such incidents infringed upon 'the secrets of ambassadors' residences'.²⁵ The French authorities, on the other hand, claimed that 'only the ambassador's household and family had the right to attend the [embassy] chapel', emphasizing that, 'strictly speaking, no one else could assume this right to themselves'. They had so far given 'all non-naturalized foreigners' permission to worship at the Dutch embassy, but only 'for the sake of good relations with

20 Denis Evinson, *Catholic churches of London* (Sheffield 1988) 21.

21 F.W.H. Sheppard (ed.), *Survey of London* XL. *The Grosvenor estate in Mayfair, Part II – The buildings* (London 1980) 309.

22 *London Topographical Record* VIII (London 1913) 102.

23 Ian Haywood and John Seed, 'Introduction', *The Gordon riots. Politics, culture and insurrection in late eighteenth-century Britain* (Cambridge 2012) 1–18, note 4.

24 L.A. van Langeraad, *De Nederlandsche ambassade-kapel te Parijs* II (The Hague 1894) 49–100. According to Driancourt-Girod, the Swedish embassy chapel in Paris, on the other hand, 'ne rencontre – en cette période de persécution des protestants – aucune difficulté d'existence légale, ni aucune entrave à sa liberté'. Janine Driancourt-Girod, 'Vie religieuse et pratiques d'une communauté luthérienne à Paris aux XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles d'après les statuts et les registres paroissiaux de la Chapelle Royale de l'Ambassade de Suède', *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français* 119 (1973) 1–34, 6.

25 Van Langeraad, *De Nederlandsche ambassade-kapel te Parijs* II, 80.

foreign powers'.²⁶ From their point of view, this permission was merely a favour or gesture of kindness and could, therefore, be revoked at any time. However, being still less eager to pursue yet another campaign against Protestantism than their words suggested, the French authorities quickly retraced their steps: after 1729, there were no more incidents involving foreign worshippers at the Dutch embassy.²⁷

The cases of London and Paris indicate that, even though the ambassadorial Right of Chapel as such was not challenged, embassy chapels remained highly contested spaces until well into the eighteenth century. The Lisbon case explored in the following section further illustrates this.

Protestant foreigners in Portugal and Catholic Portuguese in the Dutch Republic

In addition to ambassadors, citizens of the Dutch Republic also enjoyed liberty of conscience in their private houses (*'vryheyt van Conscientie in hare particuliere Huysen'* / *'liberdade de Consciencia privadamente em suas casas'*) and free exercise of religion aboard their ships (*'binnen Scheeps-boort vrye exercitie van Religie'* / *'dentro de suas naos de liure exercicio de sua Religião'*) in Portugal and its overseas territories by virtue of the 26th article of the 1641 Luso-Dutch Truce.²⁸ Hearing about the religious rights that the Portuguese granted within their realm to the Dutch, both the Swedes and the English, who were also negotiating treaties with the re-established Kingdom of Portugal, managed to secure the exact same rights for their subjects in July 1641 and January 1642, respectively.²⁹ The Swedes even obtained permission to acquire their own graveyard in Portugal, a privilege that the English received in an adjusted Anglo-Portuguese treaty signed in 1654.³⁰

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 83.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 99–100.

²⁸ Dutch: *Recueil*, no. 9; Portuguese: Borges de Castro, *Collecção* I, 45; English: Davenport, *European treaties*, 345.

²⁹ Karl Mellander and Edgar Prestage, *The diplomatic and commercial relations of Sweden and Portugal from 1641 to 1670* (Watford 1930) 33; Edgar Prestage, *The diplomatic relations of Portugal and England from 1640 to 1668* (Watford 1925) 3.

³⁰ Lucy M.E. Shaw, *Trade, inquisition and the English nation in Portugal, 1650–1690* (Manchester 1989) 38 and *The Anglo-Portuguese alliance and the English merchants in Portugal 1654–1810* (Aldershot 1998) 9.

In the aftermath of colonial clashes that quickly led to the violation of the 1641 Luso-Dutch Truce and prevented the Dutch from sending an ambassador to Portugal, a new Luso-Dutch treaty had to be signed. The Dutch then demanded the right to a burial ground similar to the one that had been granted to the Swedes and the English. The Dutch and the Portuguese signed the Articles of Peace and Confederation on 6 August 1661, of which the fifteenth article acceded to the Dutch demand for a separate burial ground. In addition, the Dutch regained freedom of religion in their houses and on board their vessels, a stipulation to which further particulars were added. The 1661 Treaty explicitly prescribed that no Dutchman in Portugal was to be subjected to any court, tribunal, magistrate, or Inquisition ('voor gheen Hoff / Vyerschare / Rechter ofte Inquisitie ghestelt ofte de selve onderworpen [...] werde' / 'nenhum vassallo [das Provincias Unidas] esteja obrigado a apresentar-se perante algum Juiz, Tribunal e Inquisição') for carrying a Bible with him, reading the Bible, or due to any other reason arising from differences in religion ('om dat hy misschien den Bybel met hem draecht / ofte de Boecken van de Heylige Schrift [...] leest / ofte het zy oock om eenige andere oorsaecke van onderscheyt ende verschil in de Religie' / 'por ocasião de trazer consigo a Biblia, ou lêr a Escripura Sagrada [...], por qualquer outro respeito de diferente religião').³¹

By giving the ambassadors of the Dutch Republic, the Kingdom of Sweden, and the Kingdom of England the Right of Chapel and the citizens of these countries the freedom of conscience in private, the Portuguese authorities granted these foreigners certain privileges that they denied to their own subjects. In accordance with its Spanish counterpart, the Portuguese Inquisition, established by royal command in 1536, enforced observance of the Roman Catholic religion upon all native citizens within their jurisdiction, even within the walls of their private domiciles.³²

The 1641 Luso-Dutch Truce granted Portuguese ambassadors to the Dutch Republic the exact same religious rights that were enjoyed by Dutch ambassadors to Portugal.³³ Although both this truce and the 1661 Luso-Dutch Peace Treaty specified the religious rights of Dutch common citizens in Portugal, these documents lacked any such ref-

31 Dutch: *Recueil*, no. 32; Portuguese: Borges de Castro, *Collecção* I, 281.

32 António José Saraiva, *The Marrano factory. The Portuguese inquisition and its new Christians 1536-1765*, ed. By H.P. Salomon and I.S.D. Sassoon (Leiden 2001) 19-42.

33 Dutch: *Recueil*, no. 9; Portuguese: Borges de Castro, *Collecção* I, 45; English: Davenport, *European treaties*, 345.

**Articulen van Vrede
ende Confoederatie,
Gheslooten tusschen den
Doorzichtighsten Coningh van Portugael/
ter eenre / Ende de Hoogh Mogende Heeren
Staten Generael der Vereenighde Neder-
landen / ter andere zyde.**



**I N 's G R A V E N - H A G E ,
By Hillebrandt van Wouw , Ordinaris Drucker vande Ho: Mo.
Heeren Staten Generael der Vereenighde Nederlanden .
Anno 1663. Met Privilegie.**

Illustration 2 The 1661 Luso-Dutch peace treaty.

erence to religion with regard to Portuguese citizens in the Dutch Republic. Arguably, this 'omission' had to do with significant contextual differences. In Portugal, freedom of conscience was non-existent, which meant that a specific exception had to be made for Protestant foreigners. By contrast, no such exception was necessary for Portuguese Catholics in the Dutch Republic where, although the Dutch Reformed Church functioned as the privileged 'public' Church, no one was forced

to adhere to its Calvinist tenets. The Dutch political authorities allowed non-Reformed Protestants and Catholics, irrespective of their nationality, to exercise their religion in their own houses and tolerated non-Reformed worship in so-called *schuilkerken* (clandestine churches).³⁴

Dutch Catholics could even attend Catholic embassy chapels in The Hague. While it is certainly true that a 1655 decree of the States-General restricted access to the chapel inside the Spanish embassy to the ambassador and his family, prescribing that guards were to be stationed in front of the embassy during the hours of Mass, this resolution remained more or less a dead letter.³⁵ Although the exact scope of religious toleration depended upon both time and place, Dutch political authorities generally approached Catholicism rather pragmatically, leading them at an early stage to stop their efforts to prevent locals from attending Catholic embassy chapels.³⁶ Therefore, it is safe to assume that these chapels, including the Portuguese chapel in The Hague, were less controversial than Protestant embassy chapels, including the Dutch one, in Lisbon, where there was no native Protestant community.

The 'location' of privacy

Although the Swedes would never exercise their right to a burial ground, they were apparently the first foreigners in Portugal to make use of the Right of Chapel. On 10 November 1649, Johann Friedrich von Friesendorff (1617-1670), who had been representing Sweden as its ambassador to Portugal since earlier that year, wrote to the Swedish government: 'God be praised that the congregation [assembling] in my house is growing from day to day'. Being German-born, Friesendorff implied in his letter that this 'congregation' included German Lutheran merchants residing in Lisbon, with whom he was in close touch.³⁷ A 1652 Inquisition report (dealt with in greater detail below) confirms that this was

34 Cf. Benjamin J. Kaplan, *Reformation and the practice of toleration. Dutch religious history in the early modern era* (Leiden and Boston 2019) 232-233.

35 P.G. Bongaerts, *De St. Teresa-Kerk, weleer de koninklijke kapel van Spanje. Hare geschiedenis, in verband met de lotgevallen der katholieke godsdienst en de werkzaamheden der sociëteit van Jezus, in en om 's-Gravenhage* (The Hague 1866) 27.

36 Kaplan, 'Diplomacy and domestic devotion', 348.

37 'Die Gemeine [sic] in meinem Hause vermehret sich Gott Lob von Tag zu Tage'. Paul-Wilhelm Gennrich, *Geschichte der evangelischen Gemeinde deutscher Sprache zu Lissabon* (Bad Rappenau-Obergimpern 1978) 20-21.

indeed the case.³⁸ From the late 1710s onwards, for reasons explained hereafter, German Lutherans increasingly attended religious services held at the Dutch embassy.³⁹ The Portuguese authorities do not seem to have had any objections against German Lutherans congregating in the residences of the Swedish and Dutch ambassadors.

They did, however, have problems with Englishmen worshipping at the house of their consul in the absence of an English ambassador to Portugal. Whereas ambassadors were the official diplomatic representatives of one country in another, consuls in the early modern era served the economic interests of their compatriots abroad. Although only ambassadors possessed the Right of Chapel, the English consul Thomas Maynard (?-1692) hosted a chaplain and organized religious gatherings at his place during absences of ambassadors ever since his disembarkation in Lisbon in 1657, due to an implied agreement between the English and the Portuguese. One source mentions that the Inquisition imprisoned him soon after his arrival in the Portuguese capital, accusing him of having 'said or done something against the Roman Religion'.⁴⁰

Other sources state that Maynard and Michael Geddes (±1650-1713) – the Anglican chaplain who had conducted religious services at Maynard's Lisbon residence since 1678 – were brought before the Inquisition much later, in 1686. The Portuguese authorities seized upon the ascendance of the Catholic monarch James II (1633-1701) to the English throne in 1685 as an opportunity to abolish Maynard's tacit Right of Chapel, working under the assumption that James II would not go to great lengths to defend it. Maynard pleaded his cause by arguing that the religious gatherings that had been held at his place for several decades were private affairs (!) and consequently in harmony with the liberty of conscience that Englishmen had enjoyed in their dwellings pursuant to the Anglo-Portuguese Treaty of 1654. However, the inquisitors were unrelenting. Although neither Maynard nor Geddes was kept in custody, no further services were celebrated at Maynard's house afterwards.⁴¹

38 Arquivo Nacional Torre do Tombo Lisboa (hereafter PT-TT), Tribunal do Santo Ofício 1536/1821 (hereafter TSO), Inquisição de Lisboa 1536/1821 (hereafter IL), Cadernos do Promotor 1541/1802, cat. nr. 030, 32º Caderno do Promotor 1648/1652, inv. 0231 fo. 106-110.

39 Gennrich, *Geschichte*, 24.

40 Philip a Limborch, *The history of the inquisition*, tr. Samuel Chandler (London 1731) 214. He probably refers to the Throckmorton case discussed below.

41 Hampton, *History*, 15-16; Shaw, *The Anglo-Portuguese alliance*, 172-173; Jorge Martins Ribeiro, 'O anglicanismo em Portugal do século XVII ao XIX', in: Luís A. de Oliveira Ramos et al. (eds.), *Estudos em homenagem a João Francisco Marques II* (Porto 2001) 337-353, 342.

English merchants in Porto agreed with Maynard that their right 'to observe and profess their own religion in their own private houses, with their families', as enshrined in the fourteenth article of the 1654 Anglo-Portuguese Treaty,⁴² 'extended to the general use of all the rites of the protestant [*sic*] religion, which could not be performed without a minister', including the rite of congregating on Sundays. However, like their compatriots in Lisbon, these merchants too met with a rebuff from the Portuguese authorities.⁴³

Joachim de Besche (1667-?), the Swedish consul in Lisbon at the time, was involved in a similar case in the 1710s. Upon discovering that Andreas Silvius (1684-1746), a Lutheran minister from Sweden, had been leading services at De Besche's house since June 1713, the Portuguese authorities forbade the consul to facilitate religious meetings any longer. This injunction is indicated in a letter that German Lutherans in Lisbon, who constituted arguably the largest group with an interest in attending these meetings,⁴⁴ sent to the council (*Rat*) of the Free Imperial City of Hamburg in the autumn of 1713.⁴⁵ De Besche evidently disregarded the Portuguese command to not open his house to Protestant worshippers, since one source relates that the Inquisition indicted him four years later for doing precisely what he had been forbidden to do, noting that he was called to account for his actions before the court of the Portuguese king.⁴⁶ Referring presumably to the same incident, another source reports that the court prohibited De Besche from maintaining Silvius in office under penalty of losing life and goods. Jesuits had asked the court to do so, since Silvius not only conducted services in Lisbon but also made pastoral visits to Lutheran foreigners in Porto.

In the face of heavy protests by the Swedish government and the apparent unwillingness of the Portuguese government to jeopardize its friendly relations with Sweden, Silvius did not have to leave Portugal immediately.⁴⁷ However, after he had overplayed his hand by evangelizing among the Portuguese, the Jesuits finally succeeded in having Sil-

42 Malcolm D. Evans, *Religious liberty and international law in Europe* (Cambridge 1997) 55, note 52.

43 Shaw, *The Anglo-Portuguese alliance*, 174-175.

44 Because most Lutherans in Lisbon came from the Holy Roman Empire, Silvius preached in German. Gennrich, *Geschichte*, 23.

45 Ernst Baasch, 'Zur Geschichte des lutherischen Gottesdienst in Lissabon', *Hansische Geschichtsblätter* 25 (1895) 165-170, 165.

46 Leos Müller, *Consuls, corsairs, and commerce. The Swedish consular service and long-distance shipping, 1720-1815* (Uppsala 2004) 90.

47 Paul-Wilhelm Gennrich, *Evangelium und Deutschtum in Portugal. Geschichte der Deutschen Evangelischen Gemeinde in Lissabon* (Berlin 1936) 33.

vius outlawed, which was announced in all Roman Catholic churches in Lisbon on the first Sunday of Lent in 1721.⁴⁸ His life now at risk, the Swedish Lutheran preacher was forced to flee the country by boarding a Dutch ship.⁴⁹ The controversy surrounding De Besche and Silvius that led to the latter's expulsion compelled German Lutherans to frequent religious services at the Dutch embassy, despite the fact that the services were of a Reformed, rather than Lutheran, character.

The Dutch received a treatment similar to that given to the English consul Maynard in the 1680s and the Swedish consul De Besche in the 1710s: the Portuguese authorities did not allow them to worship at the house of Abraham Heysterman (?-1739), their consul at the time, during the absence of a Dutch ambassador in 1717.⁵⁰ When the same situation recurred in 1732, the English ambassador came to their rescue, putting at their disposal a prayer room in his residence.⁵¹ There are no indications that the Portuguese reprimanded him for doing so.

The shared Anglo-Dutch origins of the aforementioned *Cemitério Inglês* furnish further proof of the existence of a spirit of fellowship between the English and Dutch Protestant communities in early modern Lisbon. After much 'obstruction by the Inquisition',⁵² the English were able to assert their right to a burial ground only in 1717, renting a plot of land to bury their dead that was located close to where the Dutch acquired a graveyard in 1723. Becoming co-tenants of the interjacent plots in 1729, the English and the Dutch unified their burial grounds in 1734.⁵³ Although (as has been noted previously) George Borrow described the Anglo-Dutch cemetery as 'a Père-Lachaise in miniature', one of his interpreters, Peter Missler, believes that 'a Père-Lachaise in

48 Persson believes that Silvius was expelled for publishing two brochures, *Christus och Antichristus* and *Evangeliskt ljus och Påviskt mörker, ställde emot hvarandra*. Another source refers to a libel titled '*Lac et solidior cibus*', saying that it was publicly sold in Lisbon in 1720. Not referring to any publication, Gennrich writes that Silvius tried to persuade ('überzeugen') Catholics into becoming Protestants. Bertil Persson, 'Jesper Swedberg och nonjurors', *Skara Stiftshistoriska Sällskap Medlemsblad* 22:4 (2014) 7-8, 8, note 8; *Samlung auserlesener und überzeugender Canzel-Reden* [etc.] II (Hamburg 1742) 7; Gennrich, *Evangelium*, 33.

49 Gennrich, *Geschichte*, 24.

50 *Generaale index op de registers der resolutien van de Heeren Staaten van Holland en Westvriesland, genoomen in haar Edele Groot Mog. Vergaderingen, seedert den jare 1714, tot den jaare 1723, beide inclus (s.l. s.a.)*, Heisterman-1717, Religie-1717; Richard J.H. Gottheil, *The Belmont-Belmonte family. A record of four hundred years* (New York 1917) 81-82.

51 Stadsarchief Amsterdam (hereafter NL-AsdSAA), Archief van Burgemeesters, cat.nr. 5027, inv. 216, Van Til, 22 July 1732.

52 Barry Hatton, *Queen of the sea. A history of Lisbon* (London 2018) 214.

53 Hampton, *History*, 21-23.



Illustration 3 Map of Lisbon and image of the city after the 1755 earthquake, by Matthäus Seutter (1678-1757) (source: University Library Utrecht, Ackersdijk 671 (Dk27-10)).

camouflage' would be a more suitable phrase, observing that 'this is a Protestant cemetery in a deeply Catholic land, and everything has been done to keep this plot, pillaged from the Holy Soil of Portugal for the benefit of heretics who will only contaminate it with their vile dead bodies, perfectly inconspicuous and out of sight of the faithful'.⁵⁴

These words might seem ironic, but the Inquisition actually *compelled* the English and the Dutch to hide their cemeteries behind a line of trees for precisely the same reason that Missler describes.⁵⁵ Interpreted in a different sense, however, there is indeed a certain irony in Missler's words. By being forced to bury their dead and congregate in secrecy, Dutch Protestants in Lisbon received the same treatment as all non-Reformed Christian communities in the Dutch Republic, which were only allowed to worship in *schuilkerken* that were not recognizable as places of prayer from the outside. The English continued to co-

54 Peter Missler, 'The Father of the Novel and the Mother of the Waters', *George Borrow Bulletin* 35 (2007) 10-21, 12 [Missler's emphasis].

55 Hampton, *History*, 23.

rent the Lisbon cemetery with the Dutch until 1958, after which the United Kingdom became its sole owner.⁵⁶

The 'absence' of privacy

In the excerpt quoted above, Missler implicitly answers the question of why the Swedes, the English, and the Dutch were so eager to have the right to their own burial grounds included in their treaties with the Portuguese. Being 'heretics' from a Roman Catholic point of view, Protestants could not be buried near those who had died as members of the 'Holy Mother Church' and were accordingly denied access to municipal cemeteries in Portugal. Therefore, the English in Lisbon had to hide their deceased countrymen aboard their ships and inhumate them on the other side of the Tagus river before the local Anglo-Dutch cemetery was opened. In Porto, they had to bury their dead across from the Douro river until 1787 when, after frequent violations of English corpses by Portuguese locals, an English graveyard was established.⁵⁷ The vicissitudes of the Dutch were probably the same.

Protestant foreigners had to not only do without a decent final resting-place for a long time, but even well after the establishment of their own cemeteries, they also ran the risk of having their peace disturbed on their deathbeds. For example, shortly before his death in March 1738, a wealthy Dutch Reformed merchant in Lisbon named Lucas Nobel told Jan Rochus van Til (1698-1755), the Dutch ambassador to Portugal at the time, that a priest had pressured him into converting to Roman Catholicism. Writing about the incident to the mayors of Amsterdam (who, by virtue of governing a city that constituted the economic centre of the Dutch Republic, had an important say in the Republic's foreign affairs), Van Til asked his chaplain Henricus van Limburgh (?-1788) to visit Nobel every day, as a result of which the latter died a Calvinist.⁵⁸ Within the English community in Portugal, similar incidents occurred involving Catholic priests who sought to convert Protestants in their hour of death.⁵⁹

56 Lucas A. Ocken, 'Portugal – De Nederlandse protestantse begraafplaats in Lissabon', <https://www.dodenakkers.nl/artikelen-overzicht/buitenland/protestants-lissabon.html>, published 2 February 2016, accessed 24 June 2019.

57 Shaw, *The Anglo-Portuguese alliance*, 192.

58 NL-AsdSAA, cat.nr. 5027, inv. 216, Van Til, 4 March 1738.

59 Shaw, *The Anglo-Portuguese alliance*, 180-181.

Dying as a Protestant foreigner in early modern Portugal posed risks not only for the individuals in question, but also for the underage children they left behind. A striking case in point is dealt with in two letters that Johan Wolfsen (1645-1709) and Abraham van Eswijler directed to the mayors of Amsterdam on 17 March 1693. Wolfsen had been the Dutch ambassador to Portugal since July 1675, and was the first Dutch ambassador to make use of the Right of Chapel, immediately upon his arrival in Lisbon. In 1693, religious services at his residence were led by Johannes van Haeften (?-1731), the fifth Reformed minister to serve as chaplain to the Dutch embassy. Van Eswijler was the Dutch consul in Portugal between December 1684 and December 1697, combining this position with that of acting ambassador (between October 1695 and January 1697) after Wolfsen's resignation.⁶⁰

In their letters, Wolfsen and Van Eswijler wrote that a German-born citizen of Amsterdam, a surgeon named Jorge Rabbe or George Rolle, had recently died in Lisbon.⁶¹ Being a Roman Catholic, this surgeon had married a Dutch Reformed woman in 1678 in the Dutch Reformed Church of Sloterdijk, a village near Amsterdam. Rolle's wife, who already had a daughter from a previous relationship, bore him two daughters who were baptized and raised in her Reformed faith. Accompanying him to Lisbon, Rolle's stepdaughter and two daughters attended the Reformed services held at the Dutch embassy; in fact, the former even took Holy Communion there. Because their mother had already died, the girls became orphans after Rolle's death. The queen consort of Portugal, Maria Sophia of Neuburg (1666-1669), somehow heard about the death of Rolle and assumed the guardianship of the girls, seeking to give them a Roman Catholic upbringing. Van Eswijler and Wolfsen considered this act to be a violation of the fifteenth article of the aforementioned Articles of Peace and Confederation.⁶²

Together with his chaplain Van Haeften, Wolfsen sent a missive to the minister Henricus Troye (?-1715), one of the delegates to the Synod of South Holland of the Dutch Reformed Church. Because The Hague – the political centre of the Dutch Republic – was within its jurisdiction, this synod was more closely involved in the affairs of Dutch embassy

60 Otto Schutte, *Repertorium der Nederlandse vertegenwoordigers, residerende in het buitenland 1584-1810* (The Hague 1976) 270-271, 426-427, 432.

61 In the primary sources mentioned in footnote 62, his name seems to be spelled 'Jorge Rabbe'. However, the sources mentioned in footnotes 63 and 64 refer to him as 'George Rolle'. For the sake of consistency, I follow the latter spelling.

62 NL-AsdSAA, cat.nr. 5027, inv. 215, Van Eswijler, 17 March 1693; Wolfsen, 17 March 1693.

chapels than other provincial church councils.⁶³ Wolfsen and Van Haef-ten accused the monarch's Jesuit confessor of having persuaded the Portuguese queen to imprison the three Dutch girls in a convent. Since Rolle's stepdaughter had reached the 'age of discretion', she was accordingly set free. His two daughters, however, were still minors and were retained in the queen's custody.

Upon hearing this news, Troye contacted Anthonie Heinsius (1641-1720), the grand pensionary of Holland and the most powerful civil servant of the Dutch Republic, who pressured the Portuguese ambassador in The Hague to have the two underage girls liberated. The ambassador responded by saying that the queen of Portugal was not willing to let them go because her faith did not allow her to do so, Rolle had been a domestic aide of hers, and the girls themselves did not want to return to the Reformed religion. Heinsius, in turn, protested heavily, insisting that the spiritual welfare of Reformed children was a Dutch state affair, questioning whether Rolle had indeed been one of Maria Sophia's servants, and arguing that minors lacked freedom of volition. In a letter dated 22 December 1693, Wolfsen informed Troye that Rolle had never served at the queen's court.⁶⁴ In the subsequent years, the Dutch States-General, Heinsius, the ambassadors Wolfsen and Jacob Daniël de Famars (1662-1704), Van Haef-ten, and the synodal delegates Troye and Henricus Francken (1634-1704) continued to correspond with each other and urge the Portuguese authorities to release Rolle's daughters. However, they had to finally stop in 1699, when the girls had (almost) reached maturity and were relocated from the convent to the queen's court.⁶⁵

Foreign Protestant children did not have to become orphans to fall into the hands of Portuguese Catholics; in fact, they could be kidnapped even in an unguarded moment. In 1720, during one of his annual trips from his home island of Ameland to the Portuguese town of Saint Ubes (Setúbal), a Dutch Mennonite sailor named Jelle Teunis left his twelve-year-old son Iwe Jelles at the house of a certain Steeven de Vrie (Estêvão de Frias de Frota?),⁶⁶ a nobleman who possessed several salt pans near Setúbal, and who would go on to teach the boy reading

63 Laurentius Knappert, 'Schets van eene geschiedenis onzer handelskerken', *Nederlandsch Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis* 21:1 (1928) 1-46, 3-4.

64 *Acta der Particuliere Synoden van Zuid-Holland 1621-1700* VI, ed. by W.P.C. Knuttel (The Hague 1916) 305-306.

65 *Ibid.*, 342, 392, 430-431, 481-482, 529.

66 PT-TT, Registo Geral de Mercês 1639/1949, Registo Geral de Mercês do reinado de D. Pedro II, Mercês de D. Pedro II: livro 10, cat.nr. 0010, Estêvão de Frias de Frota 1705-07-20/1705-07-20, inv. 759.

and writing in Portuguese. Upon his return to Setúbal in 1722, Teunis found out that his son had been put into a monastery whose friars were willing to release the boy, albeit only at de Vrie's request. The nobleman, however, refused to give his permission. Discussing the matter in July of that same year, the Dutch States-General asked Louis Houwens (1664-1731), their ambassador to Portugal, to convey their indignation over the affair to the local authorities. The boy should be handed over into the custody of Abraham Heysterman, the Dutch consul in Lisbon, who would then send him back to the Dutch Republic. Moreover, the States-General delegated some officials to establish contact with João Gomes da Silva (1671-1738), the Portuguese ambassador in The Hague at the time, in order to bring to his attention the fact 'that religion cannot be an excuse in this matter, for every [Dutch citizen in Portugal] is at liberty to profess his religion according to his conscience'.⁶⁷ This last clause implicitly referred to the fifteenth article of the 1661 Luso-Dutch Peace Treaty.

Members of the British community in Portugal had experiences similar to those of Teunis. They complained in 1715 to the British ambassador Henry Worsley (1672-1740) that the Inquisition was trying to convert their children to Roman Catholicism.⁶⁸ Around the same time, they were also confronted with the problem of several successful kidnappings of children by Portuguese noblewomen.⁶⁹ According to one source, these noblewomen not only believed that God would bless them for proselytizing among the children of 'heretics', but also had a legal incentive to put this belief into practice. Between the late seventeenth and the mid-eighteenth century, Portuguese law prescribed that any child over seven years of age who embraced Catholicism did not have to return to its parents.⁷⁰ Because the Inquisition enforced adherence to the Roman Catholic faith upon all Portuguese citizens, this law in effect applied only to foreigners.

The freedom of conscience that they enjoyed in private thus did not protect Protestant foreigners in Portugal from being encouraged (on their deathbeds) or forced (at a young age in the absence of their parents) to convert to Catholicism. On the other hand, the Portuguese

67 '[...] dat de Religie in deesen geen praetext kan weesen, alsoo het aan een ieder hier te Lande vry staat, professie te doen van soodanige Religie, als hy in sijn gemoet meend te behooren'. *Groot Placaatboek, vervattende de placaten, ordonnantiën en edicten van de Hoog. Mog. Heeren Staaten Generaal der Vereenigde Nederlanden* [etc.] VI (The Hague 1746) 351-352.

68 Diogo Cassels, *A Reforma em Portugal* (Porto 1906) 26-27.

69 Shaw, *The Anglo-Portuguese alliance*, 178-180.

70 *Ibid.*, 179; *Idem, Trade*, 30.

authorities made abundantly clear that this freedom did not include conversions in the opposite direction. For example, as indicated in the 1652 report referred to earlier, the Inquisition was eager to investigate the accounts of a German physician in Lisbon who claimed that a Catholic woman from Hamburg attended religious services held at the Swedish embassy, and that the Lutheran minister who held these services – a certain Andres – had united two foreigners, a Lutheran and a Catholic, in matrimony.⁷¹ Whether it was because of this inquiry or due to some other reason, Andres was never heard of again.⁷²

The first Anglican minister in Lisbon, Zachary Cradock (1633-1695), was involved in an even bigger controversy. In early 1659, Cradock converted to Protestantism Margaret Throckmorton, an eighteen-year-old English Catholic young woman who had gone to Portugal to enter a Bridgettine convent in Lisbon.⁷³ This happened at Thomas Maynard's residence where Cradock had been leading religious services since 1657. Infuriated, the Inquisition sent approximately fifty armed men to Maynard's house to arrest Throckmorton. Maynard, as the host, refused to cooperate, arguing that neither he nor anyone else in his house could be taken into custody for religious reasons by virtue of the 1654 Anglo-Portuguese Peace Treaty. In consequence, the Inquisition authorities imprisoned the consul Maynard himself.

Writing about the incident to the Portuguese ambassador to England, Luisa de Guzmán (1613-1666), the Portuguese queen consort at the time, challenged Maynard's point of view. Nonetheless, she successfully requested to have the English consul released in order to prevent the English from turning against Portugal and infringing upon the freedom of private worship that Portuguese Catholics enjoyed in England. Margaret Throckmorton was, unfortunately, treated less mercifully and

71 PT-TT, TSO, IL, cat.nr. 030, inv. 0231 fo. 106-110; Gennrich, *Evangelium*, 28; Isabel Drumond Braga, 'The Germans and the Portuguese inquisition (16th and 17th centuries)', in: Albrecht Burkardt and Gerd Schwerhoff (eds.), *Tribunal der Barbaren? Deutschland und die Inquisition in der Frühen Neuzeit* (Konstanz 2012) 135-154, 147-148.

72 In fact, it was only in 1713, after Silvius's arrival in Lisbon, that mention was again made of religious services led by a Swedish minister.

73 The *Convento de Santa Brígida* or *Convento das Inglesinhas* founded in 1594. See Elisabeth Perry, 'Petitioning for patronage. An illuminated tale of exile from Syon Abbey, Lisbon', in: Caroline Bowden and James E. Kelly (eds.), *The English convents in Exile, 1600-1800. Communities, Culture and identity* (Farnham 2013) 159-174. There was another convent of foreign nuns in Lisbon – the *Convento de Nossa Senhora da Quietação* or *Convento das Flamengas* – which accommodated Poor Clares from the northern and southern Low Countries who had found refuge in the Portuguese capital in 1582. See Raymond Fagel and Joke Spaans, *Nonnen verdreven door geuzen. Cathalina del Spiritu Sancto's verhaal over de vlucht van Nederlandse clarissen naar Lissabon* (Hilversum 2019).



Illustration 4 Portrait of Zachary Cradock, the first Anglican chaplain in Lisbon between 1657 and 1659, by Mary Beale (1633-1699) (source: Wikioo – The Encyclopedia of Fine Arts).

banished from Portugal. Cradock went back to England in late 1659, probably to escape prosecution.⁷⁴

The Inquisition did not leave the Dutch in peace, either. Shortly after the conclusion of the 1641 Luso-Dutch Truce, the Inquisition denied the Dutch soldiers who fought alongside the Portuguese against Spain the right to profess their Reformed faith, which the Dutch interpreted as a violation of the 26th article of the same truce.⁷⁵ In 1642, the

⁷⁴ Shaw, *Trade*, 74-81.

⁷⁵ Van de Haar, *De diplomatieke betrekkingen*, 45.

Dutch Reformed Synod of South Holland urged the states of Holland and West Friesland to address the issue in the States-General, which, in turn, lodged a complaint with Francisco de Andrade Leitão (1585-1655), the Portuguese ambassador to the Dutch Republic at the time.⁷⁶ Several decades later, the Amsterdam-born Nicolaes Coldenhoven was arrested in Lisbon by the Inquisition at the instigation of a certain Diogo Hoybruk from Hamburg, who accused Coldenhoven of having disrespected the Roman Catholic religion and having called the Pope the Antichrist. Throwing himself into the breach for Coldenhoven, the Dutch ambassador De Famars reminded the Portuguese authorities of the 1661 Luso-Dutch Peace Treaty, the fifteenth article of which prescribed that the Inquisition had no authority over members of the Dutch nation. He informed the mayors of Amsterdam and the states of Holland and West Friesland about the affair,⁷⁷ which subsequently also came to the attention of the Dutch Reformed Synod of South Holland. Although Coldenhoven was a Lutheran rather than a Calvinist, the Synod committed itself to doing whatever it could to have him released.⁷⁸ After an imprisonment of four-and-a-half months, during which time the Inquisition interrogated him several times and even entered into a theological discussion with him on the question of whether the Bible identifies the Pope with the Antichrist, Coldenhoven admitted that he had insulted the Pope in a bout of drunkenness, though only in response to mockery of his Lutheran faith. Swearing to keep his experiences in detention a secret, he was finally set free in June 1698.⁷⁹

‘Transgressing’ privacy

While the Portuguese authorities thus seized every opportunity to confront Protestant foreigners with the ‘long arm’ of the Roman Catholic

76 Utrechts Archief, Oud Synodaal Archief van de Nederlandse Hervormde Kerk, cat.nr. 1401, inv. 990; Nationaal Archief Den Haag, Staten Generaal, cat.nr. 1.01.02, inv. 12577.12; Johannes Pieter Arend, *Algemeene geschiedenis des vaderlands, van de vroegste tijden tot op heden* III (Amsterdam 1868) 573; Knuttel, *Acta* II, 357.

77 NL-AsdSAA, cat.nr. 5027, inv. 215, De Famars, 18 February 1698; *Generalen index op de registers der resolutien van de Heeren Staten van Hollandt ende West-Vriesland, genomen in haar Edele Groot Mog. Vergaderingen, sedert den beginne van den jare 1687 tot het uyteynde van den jare 1700* (s.l. s.a.), Portu-gael-1698.

78 Knuttel, *Acta* VI, 482.

79 PT-TT, TSO, IL, Processos 1536/1821, cat.nr. 030, Processo de Nicolau Coldenhoven 1698-01-09, inv. 02656; NL-AsdSAA, cat.nr. 5027, inv. 215, De Famars, 24 June 1698.

Church, Dutch Protestants, in turn, were not willing to 'obscure' their religious identity without opposition. The Dutch States-General, for example, did not hesitate to risk a diplomatic scandal after the Portuguese secretary of state, Diogo de Mendonça Corte-Real (1658-1736), had requested all foreign ambassadors to Portugal, including the Dutchman Louis Houwens, on behalf of the Portuguese king to have salutes fired from foreign ships during the Feast of Corpus Christi in June 1719. Although there were no Dutch ships anchored off Lisbon at that moment, Houwens asked the States-General how he was expected to deal with similar requests in the years to come. The States-General felt that Houwens must disregard such requests on the grounds of conscience – notwithstanding their respect for the Portuguese king, they told Houwens that he should never instruct his countrymen, adherents of the 'true Reformed religion', to take part in a festival dedicated to the Roman Catholic doctrine of the real presence of Christ's body and blood in the Eucharist. Moreover, they urged Houwens to seek the aid of his English colleague in order to prevent Protestant foreigners from being obliged to observe this festival.⁸⁰

Renewing annually their request to have salutes fired from foreign ships, the Portuguese authorities were apparently willing to pardon Protestant foreigners for not complying with it on the grounds of conscience. This situation becomes clear from a letter that Jan Rochus van Til, the Dutch ambassador to Portugal at the time, sent to the States-General in July 1748. Van Til wrote that he had ignored the said request for the past sixteen years (that is, ever since his arrival in Lisbon in 1732) without being called to account by the Portuguese authorities.⁸¹ However, the Portuguese had assumed that he had forwarded their request to his countrymen, who were then free to decide whether or not they wanted to accede to it, and were appalled to learn in 1748 that this was not the case. The same year, it came to the attention of Marco António de Azevedo Coutinho (1688–1750), one of the Portuguese secretaries of state, that Cornelis Schrijver (1687-1768), a Dutch admiral whose ship was anchored off Lisbon, had publicly blamed Van Til for keeping him in the dark about the aforementioned request. In doing so, Schrijver probably tried to compromise the Dutch ambassador, with whom he was involved in a fierce dispute about the execution of two disobedient

80 ' [...] van de waare Gereformeerde Religie zynde'. *Memorien, stukken en documenten van Jan Rochus van Til, resident van weegens den Staat der Vereenigde Nederlanden aan het Hof van zyne Majesteyt den Koning van Portugal* [etc.] (s.l. s.a.) 67.

81 *Ibid.*, 65-66, 65.

sailors who were aboard his ship.⁸² Coutinho reprimanded Van Til for his negligence, informing him that Schrijver, despite belonging to the Reformed (!) faith,⁸³ had nonetheless fired gunshots on the Feast of Corpus Christi or had at least been willing to do so (the Dutch text is ambiguous on this point). The ambassador replied that his conduct was in accordance with the instructions that the States-General had given to his predecessor Houwens in 1719.⁸⁴ It appears that the Portuguese authorities were satisfied by this response, probably because Van Til took their side against Schrijver in the affair of the two executed sailors.⁸⁵

In a country on which the Inquisition maintained a stranglehold, it was impossible to even say anything in favour of Protestantism, let alone preach the gospel from a Protestant perspective, as the Swedish chaplain Silvius was to learn by bitter experience in the 1710s. However, there was another, more subtle way of bringing Catholics into contact with Protestantism – by leading virtuous, God-fearing lives. This was the advice that Johannes Schiving (?-1773) gave to his congregation in his first sermon as the new chaplain to the Dutch embassy in Lisbon on 31 May 1761. Preaching on Acts 16:9-10,⁸⁶ Schiving compared himself to Paul the Apostle (±5-±67) and his congregation to the primitive church in Macedonia that Paul helped to establish.⁸⁷ In doing so, he characterized his congregation as a missionary post amidst people who were deprived of the true Gospel of Jesus Christ. Schiving urged his congregation not to surrender to the world surrounding them and to put their faith into practice, thereby suggesting that Protestants had to attract the attention – and admiration – of the ‘enemies of the Truth’ on account of their conduct.⁸⁸

82 S.J. de Groot, ‘Terecht- en teleurstelling op de Taag. Het handelen van luitenant-generaal Cornelis Schrijver op de rivier van Lissabon in 1748’, *Tijdschrift voor Zeegechiedenis* 17 (1998) 153-162.

83 All public offices in the Dutch Republic, including those in the navy, were formally reserved for members of the Dutch Reformed Church.

84 *Memorien*, 65.

85 De Groot, ‘Terecht- en teleurstelling’, 156-159.

86 ‘And a vision appeared to Paul in the night; There stood a man of Macedonia, and prayed him, saying, Come over into Macedonia, and help us. And after he had seen the vision, immediately we endeavoured to go into Macedonia, assuredly, gathering that the Lord had called us for to preach the gospel unto them’. (King James Version)

87 Interestingly enough, Johannes Martinus Themmen (1700-1728), who was the chaplain to the Dutch embassy between 1721 and 1725, held his first sermon in Lisbon on Acts 18:9, dealing with a vision Paul had in Corinth. ‘Kerknieuws – Walcheren’, *Maandelyke uittreksels, of Boekzaal der geleerde waerelt* 26 (April 1728) 509.

88 ‘[...] Vyanden van de Waarheyd’. Johannes Schiving, *Vier kortbondige leer-redenen op verscheidene tyden en gelegentheden opentlyk uitgesproken* [etc.] (Amsterdam s.a.) 38.

VIER-KORTBONDIGE LEER-REDENEN

OP VERSCHEIDE TYDEN EN GELEGENTHEDEN
OPENTLYK UITGESPROKEN

A L S

- I. Ter Inwyding van het Vernieuwde Kerkgebouw voor de Evangelische Lutherfche Gemeente van WILDERVANK en VEENDAM, uit Pfalm 84. *ψ.* 2 en 3.
- II. Affcheid Predikationen van de Gemeente te WILDERVANK en VEENDAM, na LIXBOA, uit de HANDELINGEN DER APOSTELN. cap. 20. *ψ.* 17. tot 33.
- III. Intre Predikationen te LIXBOA, uit de HANDELINGEN DER APOSTELN. cap. 16. *ψ.* 9, 10. Uitgesproken aldaar in de KAPEL van Haar Hoog Mog. de HEEREN STAATEN GENE-RAAL der Vereenigde NEDERLANDEN en MINISTER.
- IV. Eene Predikatie ter gelegenheid van den Groote BOET-DAG in 't Koningryk van PORTUGAL, ingesteld ter gedagtenisse van de groote AARDREYING op den eersten *Novem-ber* 1755. geweest in de Hoofdstad LIXBOA.

A L L E G E P R E D I K T D O O R

J O H A N N E S S C H I V I N G.

LEERAAR VAN DE ONVERANDERDE AUGSBURG-
SCHE GELOOFS-BELYDENIS.

E E R S T T E

WILDERVANK, THANS TE LIXBOA.



T E A M S T E R D A M,

By BERNARDUS MOURIK, Boekverkoper in de Nes.

Illustration 5 Johannes Schiving's inaugural sermon in Lisbon was published as part of a series of sermons shortly afterwards.

Although Schiving held his inaugural sermon in Dutch, his native language was German. In fact, being a German by birth, he had only recently learned Dutch.⁸⁹ In addition, Schiving was not a Reformed but a Lutheran minister. His appointment as the chaplain to the Dutch embassy in Lisbon had to do with the fact that the religious services that were being held there had started to attract an ever-growing number of German Lutherans since the 1710s, a trend that has already been referred to above. Since the number of Dutch Calvinists in Lisbon had steadily diminished over time due to a decline in the volume of Luso-Dutch trade (the number standing as low as three in 1738),⁹⁰ the Dutch embassy chapel was predominantly frequented by German Lutherans in the mid-eighteenth century. Arguably as a consequence of this development, Guillaume de Rochemont (1724–±1782) – a Reformed minister of Huguenot descent who had served several congregations in Hesse-Cassel in the late 1740s and had a thorough command of German – became the chaplain to the Dutch embassy in Lisbon in 1753.⁹¹

In 1760, a year after Rochemont returned to the Dutch Republic, several German Lutheran merchants urged the Dutch ambassador, Hendrik van Kretschmar (1719–1769), through the agency of Daniël Gildemeester, the then Dutch consul who was himself a Lutheran, to call a Lutheran minister to Lisbon, whom they were willing to support at their own expense. Recognizing that the Dutch community in Lisbon included no more than two Reformed families at the time and, therefore, being ready to render his assistance, Van Kretschmar received the States-General's permission to comply with their request.⁹² Schiving accepted their call, thereby becoming the first minister of what was now called the Congregation of the Adherents of the Unaltered Augsburg Confession in Lisbon.

The official transformation of the Dutch Reformed embassy chapel in Lisbon into a Lutheran place of worship was not an isolated incident. A couple of years prior to 1761, the Dutch political authorities had already allowed Lutherans in Batavia, Paramaribo, and on the islands of Ceylon and Curaçao to appoint their own ministers and build their own

89 Jan W. Hiskes, *De veenkoloniën* (Haren 1973) 127.

90 NL-AsdSAA, cat.nr. 5027, inv. 216, Van Til, 4 March 1738; Evert Willem de Rooij, *Geschiedenis van den Nederlandschen handel* (Amsterdam 1856) 761–772.

91 Jochen Desel, *Pfarrergeschichte des Kirchenkreises Hofgeismar von den Anfängen bis 1980* (Marburg 2004) 756. By his own account, De Rochemont held prayer meetings in Dutch, French, and German in Lisbon. See *Physikalische Betrachtungen von den Erdbeben* [etc.] (Frankfurt 1756) 213.

92 *Verzameling van geheime brieven van en aan de gezanten der Nederlandsche Republiek XI* (s.l.s.a.), Van Kretschmar, 15 April 1760; Gennrich, *Geschichte*, 26–28.

churches at their own expense.⁹³ Although some local ministers in the privileged Dutch Reformed Church had heavily protested at this, the Dutch States-General and the colonial administrators had simply acted in accordance with reality – Lutherans, many of whom were of German descent, were well-represented among the employees of the Dutch East and West India Companies.⁹⁴ Likewise, the States-General and Van Kretschmar had merely formalized the existing situation in Lisbon; after all, Lutherans, nearly all of whom were Germans, had not only been attending the religious services in the Dutch embassy chapel for several decades, but had also far outnumbered the Reformed Dutch. This lenient attitude towards Lutherans fits within a larger trend: fuelled by the spirit of the Enlightenment (by virtue of which religious toleration came to be seen as a *right* that minorities deserved rather than as a matter of connivance), the urge to counteract economic decline, and the emergence of a sense of Dutch ‘nationhood’ without specific confessional connotations, Dutch political authorities in the course of the eighteenth century began to adhere less strictly to the restrictive measures prescribed against non-Reformed religious communities.⁹⁵

Moreover, the fact that the Dutch were in the minority among those who worshipped at the Dutch embassy chapel in Lisbon was not exceptional, either. Elsewhere, such chapels and the closely related *handelskerken* (commercial churches) were often in a similar situation. In the Dutch embassy chapel in Paris, for example, religious services were exclusively held in French from 1719 onwards, since most churchgoers were local Huguenots.⁹⁶ In places such as Constantinople, Smyrna, and Saint Petersburg, religious services performed by Dutch Reformed ministers attracted Protestants of many nationalities (albeit no locals, just as in

93 Lutherans in Cape Town received the same rights in 1780. See S. Groenveld and G.J. Schutte, *Delta – Nederlands verleden in vogelvlucht II. De nieuwe tijd, 1500 tot 1813* (Leiden 1993) 183; Lodewijk Wagenaar, *Galle, VOC-vestiging in Ceylon. Beschrijving van een koloniale samenleving aan de vooravond van de Singalese opstand tegen het Nederlandse gezag, 1760* (Amsterdam 1994) 92–93.

94 When Lutherans in Batavia gained the right to appoint their own minister and build their own church in 1746, the colonial governor-general himself was a German Lutheran, Gustaaf Willem van Imhoff (1705–1750). See Roelof van Gelder, *Het Oost-Indisch avontuur. Duitsers in dienst van de VOC (1600–1800)* (Nijmegen 1997) 187.

95 Cf. Joris van Eijnatten, *Liberty and concord in the United Provinces. Religious toleration and the public in the eighteenth-century Netherlands* (Leiden and Boston 2003).

96 As said above, Huguenots were formally forbidden to attend these services after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685. However, Huguenot worship at the Dutch embassy chapel became increasingly tolerated towards the mid-eighteenth century and was ultimately legalized in 1766. Van Lange-raad, *De Nederlandsche ambassade-kapel te Parijs II*, 10–48.

Lisbon) and different church denominations in the eighteenth century.⁹⁷ At least in Europe, preserving Protestant places of worship in non-Protestant contexts seems to have been more important to the Dutch authorities than preserving the Dutch and exclusively Reformed character of the embassy chapels and commercial churches that they sponsored.⁹⁸

The Lutheran congregation in Lisbon, of which Daniël Gildemeester's brother Thomas (1720–?) was the pivot, continued to make use of the chapel in the Dutch embassy until 1780, when a conflict between Balthasar Constantijn Smislaert (1737–1784), the Dutch ambassador at the time, and Schiving's German-born successor, Johann Wilhelm Christian Müller (1752–1814), forced the congregation to move into the Danish embassy.⁹⁹ Being no longer in need of foreign protection since 1818, it lives on today in the form of the *Deutsche Evangelische Kirchengemeinde Lissabon*.¹⁰⁰

Conclusion

This article has offered an analysis of the different interpretations of designating something as 'private' in the context of diplomatic relations between the Dutch and the Portuguese. As the history of the Dutch and other foreigners in early modern Portugal demonstrates, there were significant differences of interpretation between the authorities of the Kingdom of Portugal, on the one hand, and those of the Dutch Republic and the Kingdoms of Sweden and England, on the other, with regard to the designation 'private' in the paragraphs on religion in a series of bilateral treaties that both parties concluded in the mid-seventeenth century. In these treaties, the Portuguese authorities granted Dutch, Swedish, and English citizens the freedom of conscience in private, which was a genuine privilege. Portuguese citizens, by contrast, were

97 Cf. Willem J. van Asselt and Paul Abels, 'The seventeenth century', in: Herman J. Selderhuis (ed.), *Handbook of Dutch church history* (Göttingen 2014) 259–360, 353.

98 Jan Willem Samberg, *De Hollandsche Gereformeerde Gemeente te Smirna* (Leiden 1928); Marlies Hoenkamp-Mazgon, *Palais de Hollande in Istanbul. The embassy and envoys of the Netherlands since 1612* (Amsterdam 2002); P.N. Holtrop, 'Dutch and Reformed in St. Petersburg', in: Pieter Holtrop and Henk Slegte (eds.), *Foreign churches in St. Petersburg and their archives, 1703–1917* (Leiden and Boston 2007) 83–95.

99 Gennrich believes that Smislaert was an orthodox Calvinist and, consequently, not willing to give shelter to the Lutheran congregation at his residence. This is, however, rather unlikely, because Smislaert was married to a daughter of Albert Meyer, one of the elders of the said congregation. Schutte, *Repertorium*, 429; Gennrich, *Geschichte*, 31–33.

100 Alexander Wittich, *Erinnerungen an Lissabon. Ein Gemälde der Stadt nebst Schilderungen portugiesischer Zustände, Bestrebungen und Fortschritte der neuesten Zeit* (Berlin 1843) 168.

subjected to the Inquisition, which forced them to observe the Roman Catholic religion even within the walls of their own houses.

Catholic *foreigners* within Portugal were also expected to adhere strictly to Catholicism, as is demonstrated by the scandal caused by Margaret Throckmorton's conversion to Protestantism in 1659. As we saw above, in the letter that she wrote on the subject to the Portuguese ambassador to England, the Portuguese Queen Consort Luisa de Guzmán explained that an arrest warrant had been issued against Throckmorton since the clause on freedom of conscience in the 1654 Anglo-Portuguese Treaty did not apply to English *Catholics*.¹⁰¹ Just like their Portuguese co-religionists, foreign Catholics in Portugal did not enjoy the liberty to profess a religion of their choice within their private spaces and were thus also under the control of the Inquisition. They were, accordingly, not allowed to attend the Protestant religious services that were held at the Dutch, Swedish, and English embassies in Lisbon. The 1652 controversy surrounding the Swedish chaplain Andres is another case in point. Fears of social disruption, which the American historian Benjamin J. Kaplan identifies as one of the determining factors in the attitude of local authorities to embassy chapels, prompted the Portuguese authorities to deny all Catholics – Portuguese and foreign ones alike – access to these chapels. Indeed, the Portuguese authorities did everything they could to prevent Protestantism from seeping into, and thereby subverting, the existing Catholic social order.

Kaplan, one of the few historians to have studied the phenomenon, argues that the extent to which the services held in embassy chapels had a 'public' (in the sense of publicly perceptible) character also influenced the amount of controversy that these chapels generated. 'Compatriots, foreigners from other lands, and native dissidents surrounded the ambassador and his household as in a series of concentric circles,' he writes, observing that '[t]he broader the circle, the more public the services'.¹⁰² In the Portuguese context, the last circle – the one constituted by native dissidents – was non-existent: being Portuguese without observing the Roman Catholic faith was something that the Portuguese authorities did not tolerate. As mentioned previously, the Portuguese authorities did not want their subjects to be confronted with Protestantism or witness its presence in any form, even going so far as to compel the Dutch and the English to hide their burial grounds behind a row of trees (burial grounds to which these foreigners were entitled by vir-

¹⁰¹ Shaw, *Trade*, 75.

¹⁰² Kaplan, 'Diplomacy', 349.

tue of their treaties with the Portuguese). As long as it remained a secret that Protestant chaplains were leading religious services at foreign embassies in Lisbon, the Portuguese authorities were satisfied; they did not prohibit an ambassador's compatriots and Protestants from other countries, including those countries with which Portugal had not entered into a treaty, from worshipping at these embassies. For instance, the English ambassador was allowed in 1732 to place a prayer room at his residence at the disposal of Dutch Protestants in the absence of a Dutch ambassador to Portugal. Similarly, German Lutherans could freely attend the divine services celebrated at the Swedish embassy in the 1650s, at the Dutch embassy until 1780, and at the Danish embassy afterwards.

These conditions were in keeping with the notion of 'extraterritoriality' that emerged from embassy chapels. According to this principle, embassies were not subjected to the religious and legal authorities of their host countries and ambassadors were free to open their chapels to anyone over whom these authorities had no control. The fact that the Danish ambassador in Lisbon was permitted to have a chapel at his residence from 1780 onwards demonstrates that the notion of 'extraterritoriality' had become generally accepted in international diplomacy by that time; after all, in contrast with the Dutch, the Swedes, and the English, the Danes did not even have a treaty in the first place with the Portuguese in which their ambassador was granted the Right of Chapel. However, the Portuguese authorities apparently considered it to be a political and diplomatic right, linked to the presence of an ambassador. By forbidding the English, the Swedes, and the Dutch to hold religious services at the houses of their consuls in the 1680s, the 1710s, and 1717, respectively, the Portuguese authorities made perfectly clear that this right was the personal privilege of *ambassadors* exercising their political function, and hence it was attached only to the fixed location of ambassadorial residences.

According to the Portuguese authorities, the liberty of conscience that Protestant Dutch, Swedish, and English common citizens enjoyed in their private domiciles did not mean that they could exercise their faith as long as this act was not visible to those in the street. Hiding behind the façades of their dwellings was not enough; in addition to seclusion within their dwellings, the term 'private' also implied secrecy, that is, nobody should become aware of the dissident religious prac-

tice.¹⁰³ The Portuguese authorities felt that the moment their citizens became aware of the religious activities of foreign Protestants, these latter were no longer in a 'private' setting. Consequently, the Inquisition prevented the Dutch mercenaries who served in the Portuguese army in 1642 from professing their Reformed faith. In the eyes of the Portuguese authorities, foreign Protestants did not enjoy the right to religious 'privacy' even within their own houses when Portuguese citizens were present – a fact that explains why a Catholic Portuguese priest felt entitled to 'plague' Lucas Nobel, a Dutch merchant who had Portuguese domestic workers, even on his deathbed in 1732. As the kidnappings of George Rolle's daughters in 1693 and Jelle Teunis's son in 1722 demonstrate, foreign Protestant children ran the risk of being converted to Catholicism in the absence of a 'private' (parental) house where they could find protection. Lacking any designated place to bury their dead, foreign Protestants were also in danger of having their corpses desecrated, until the opening of the Anglo-Dutch cemetery in Lisbon changed the situation. It appears that the number of desecration incidents diminished after Joseph I (1714-1777) ascended the Portuguese throne in 1750, probably as a consequence of the measures taken by his state secretary, the marquis of Pombal (1699-1782), to weaken the influence of the Inquisition and the Jesuits in Portugal.¹⁰⁴

While the Portuguese authorities tried to limit the scope of 'privacy' as much as possible, the Dutch, in turn, tried to push the boundaries of what was regarded as 'private' in the first place. Unlike the Portuguese, the Dutch interpreted the clause of the 1661 Treaty which stipulated that they would not be prosecuted for possessing a Bible or 'any other reason arising from differences in religion' not as an exemplification of, but rather as a *supplement* to, the freedom of conscience that they enjoyed in their private houses. As is particularly obvious from the claim of the States-General that the Dutch in Portugal had the right to profess their religion according to their conscience (quoted in the context of the 1722 Teunis case above), the Dutch felt that they were exempt from any moral restraint and wholly free to organize their lives in accordance with the faith that they professed at home. For the Dutch, their religious privacy followed their persons beyond the domestic space. The same thing happened in the case of Swedish and English Protestants whose

103 Cf. François Guichard, 'Le protestantisme au Portugal', *Arquivos do Centro Cultural Português* 28 (1990) 455-482, 462 ('à la plus stricte intimité').

104 Giuseppe Marcocci and José Pedro Paiva, *História da Inquisição portuguesa* (Lisbon 2013) 289; Kenneth Maxwell, *Pombal, Paradox of the Enlightenment* (Cambridge 1995) 91.

religious rights were formulated in terms similar to those used in the 1661 Luso-Dutch Peace Treaty.¹⁰⁵ Thus, the English chaplain Cradock did not hesitate to convert an English Catholic young woman to Protestantism in 1659, the chaplain Silvius felt entitled to lead religious services outside the Swedish embassy in the 1710s, and the Dutch authorities protested against the imprisonment of Nicolaes Coldenhoven in 1698 even though the Inquisition accused him of having insulted the Pope *in public*.

Because of this interpretation of privacy, the Dutch (in addition to the Swedes and the English) wanted to organize religious gatherings also at the residences of their consuls, not only ambassadors. As was most convincingly articulated by the English merchants in Porto who argued in the 1680s that they could not be prohibited from observing the Lord's Day, these foreign Protestants believed that they should be able to congregate at any private house and not only or necessarily at the residences of their ambassadors. Their interpretation was that religious privacy was a personal right, rather than a politically protected diplomatic right. Finally, even though the Portuguese authorities did not allow them to openly preach the Protestant Gospel, the Dutch could still profess their faith outside their private houses, albeit in a subtle way. As the Dutch authorities demonstrated by ignoring the Portuguese king's request to fire gunshots from foreign ships on the Feast of Corpus Christi in the eighteenth century, and as Johannes Schiving emphasized in his inaugural sermon in the Dutch embassy chapel in 1761, Protestant foreigners found a way to stand out among the Catholic Portuguese by means of their actions rather than their words.

To conclude, according to the interpretation of the Portuguese authorities, a Dutch Protestant enjoyed freedom of conscience in Portugal only within the walls of his or her own dwelling and, even in that case, only if they were also discreet regarding this freedom of conscience. Dutch Protestants, irrespective of whether or not they were accompanied by other Protestant foreigners, were not allowed to worship together anywhere except the residence of their ambassador, since the right to hold devotional exercises was a privilege attached to the political function of the ambassador. The existence of a Protestant chapel or prayer room within the Dutch embassy was not to be visible to the

¹⁰⁵ Compare the quote preceding footnote 31 in this article (taken from the 1661 Luso-Dutch Peace Treaty) to the Anglo-Portuguese Treaty of 1654: '[...] the 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, or make use of.' See Evans, *Religious Liberty*, 55, note 52.

outside world; as long as they did not reveal their Protestant identity outside the premises of the embassy, foreign co-religionists could give expression to their sense of belonging. They were obligated to do so not merely at a fixed location (namely, the Dutch embassy) but also in absolute discretion, ensuring that Portuguese locals, who were forced to adhere to the Roman Catholic state religion under peril of persecution by the Inquisition, would neither be confronted with nor gain even the slightest awareness of the fact that these foreigners were of the Protestant persuasion. The Dutch authorities, however, contested both of these restrictions.

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