

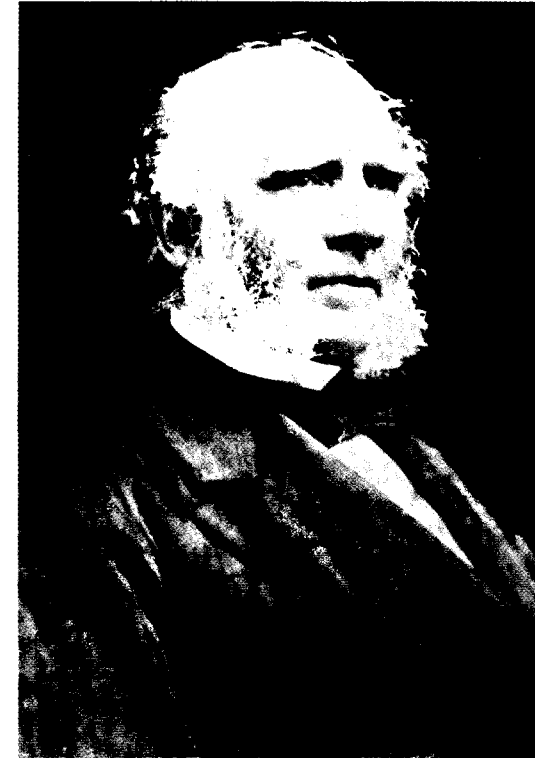
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## Prosecution of the Protestants in Madeira

by Gerald Luckhurst



Robert Reid Kalley

**THE WANDERERS:** The story of religious intolerance that led to the expulsion of many hundreds of Madeiran Protestants from their island home in 1846 and their subsequent dispersal around the world, has been told and retold many times, almost since the day that it occurred.<sup>1</sup> This paper aims to re-examine

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<sup>1</sup> A valuable bibliography has been published by FERREIRA, Jo-Anne: *Preliminary bibliography on the Madeiran Presbyterians: From Madeira to Trinidad and to the US*,

the events in Madeira from 1838 to 1846, citing sources as close as possible to the original events.

This affair brought into sharp relief the struggle for freedom of religious conscience that accompanied nineteenth century Britain and was characterised by the indignation of pious churchmen and rebellious activity of early socialists.<sup>2</sup> The intense anti-Catholicism of the Protestant mission was an assertion of British nationalism typical of the Victorian era. As such the relationship between both members of the *Anglo-Portuguese Alliance* was yet again put to the test (over a long period 1845-52), as the two Governments negotiated compensation to be paid to British subjects.

Today the descendants of the victims of these atrocities live in the Caribbean, the mid-Western state of Illinois, and even, though perhaps indirectly, in Hawaii. There is still a Protestant community on the island and also a thriving group of churches in Brazil that owes its existence to events in Madeira at this time. The central figure in this story is Robert Reid Kalley (1809-1888), a Scottish physician and missionary.

ANTICHRIST IN MADEIRA: The earliest of the many works concerning these events appears to have been *Popery at*

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<http://homepages.rootsweb.com/~madeira/jobiblio.htm> , updated 25th June, 2003. See additionally a well-researched personal account by Ferreira Fernandes: *Madeirenses Errantes*, Lisboa, Oficina do Livro, 2004. Also, NOGUEIRA, António de Vasconcelos, *Os exilados da Madeira relacionados com o Dr. Kalley e o desenvolvimento económico do capitalismo moderno* [ Texto policopiado ] : estudo de caso em História Económica e emigração da segunda metade do século XIX à primeira metade do século recently published by University of Aveiro [2005]. The pioneer study by the Rev. Michael Testa, has been re-issued in Portuguese translation as "*O Apóstolo da Madeira - Robert R. Kalley*" by the Igreja Evangélica Presbiteriana de Portugal, Lisbon, 2006.

<sup>2</sup> Scots Presbyterians were indignant when they discovered that the Catholics of Madeira had imprisoned Kalley. A paradox the secularists Jeffrey, Southwell and Paterson were quick to expose as reflecting their predicament with the Kirk. George Holyoake, secretary of the Anti-Persecution League corresponded with Kalley - each man trying to convert the other.

*Madeira: Or, An account of the persecution and oppression of Dr. Kalley, and other Protestants, by the Portuguese authorities at Madeira, 1844*, written by James Lord, chairman of the Protestant Association.<sup>3</sup> The bibliography is full of accounts by churchmen of all colours, each flying his flag in the wind of dissension and counter-abuse. James Roddam Tate wrote an eye-witness report in 1846 recounting the expulsion of Kalley and consequently his converts. Tate was a retired Royal Navy commander with a religious bent<sup>4</sup> who clearly enjoyed a good scrape. He relates, with lurid vocabulary, a blow by blow report of the violence and intrigue. His pamphlet *Madeira, or the spirit of Antichrist in a Series of Outrages Perpetrated in August Last (1846) on British Subjects and Portuguese Protestant Christian*, London, 1847, was a thinly disguised protest against the emancipation of the Catholic Church in Britain and Ireland. Tate feared the inquisitorial tendencies of the Roman Catholic Church. Where the "Papists" held absolute sway over civil authorities – as he perceived the case in Madeira – they can surely be relied upon to show their true colours.<sup>5</sup> For Tate, the conciliatory tone of modern Catholicism in England was a deceit to gain converts. For all the bigotry, however, the intrinsic value of this narrative meant

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<sup>3</sup> Published by Hatchards. Kalley later addressed the Protestant Association of London on the 6<sup>th</sup> of November, 1846. See also an anonymous pamphlet: *Narrative of Circumstances connected with the confinement of Dr. R. R. K., now a prisoner in the gaol at Madeira. By an English Resident.* (British Library catalogues this as written by Kalley.)

<sup>4</sup> James Roddam Tate, R.N., author of *A Practical Treatise on Naval Book-keeping in all its branches. : Comprising the duties of a captain's clerk, an admiral's secretary, an officiating judge ... With marginal references, notes and copious appendices, illustrative of the subjects*, Portsmouth, 1840, probably also the anonymous moralist (and anti-Semitic) writer of *The Sailor's Hope ... or plea to religion*, published shortly before.

<sup>5</sup> *In order to discover its true character, we must examine [the Church of Rome] in a country where it is dominant. In England, God be praised, she has not the power to indulge her natural propensities. She therefore hides her claws, and appears peaceful, meek and lamb like. [...] Madeira exhibits a specimen of undisguised Popery in the present day, and the persecutions there carried on are models of what would be carried on under similar circumstances in any part of the world, lying under the enslaving and debasing influence of the Church of Rome.* TATE, *op. cit.* p. iii-iv.

that it was extensively cited (or plagiarised) by all who followed.

The Rev. John Baillie wrote a somewhat more balanced (though still thoroughly anti-Catholic) account based upon the memoirs of the Rev. W. H. Hewitson,<sup>6</sup> a sincere and self-effacing man who was the unsung hero of this story. Hewitson, sent as an agent of the Colonial Committee [*sic!*] of the Free Church of Scotland to Madeira in 1845, was responsible for the



*Your affectionate friend*  
*W. H. Hewitson*

W.H. Hewitson

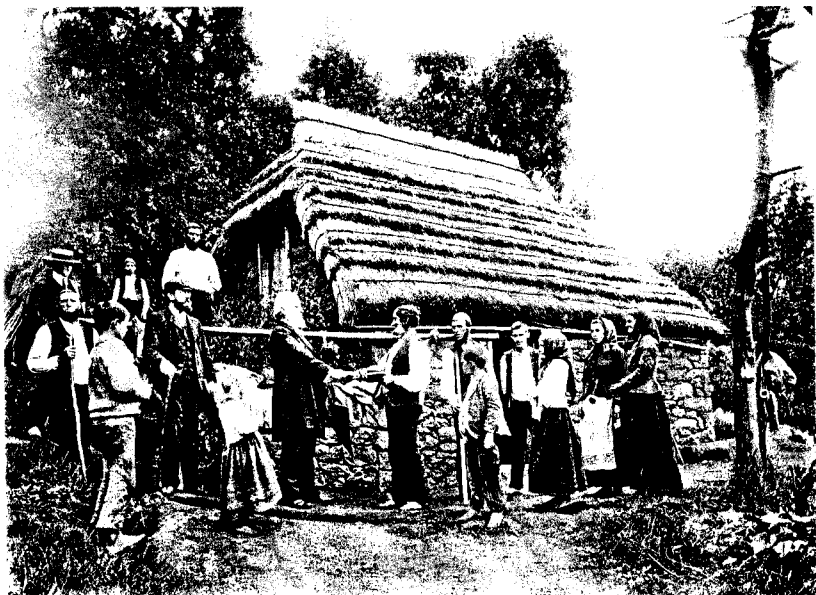
<sup>6</sup> BALLIE, John, *Memoir of the Rev. W. H. Hewitson*, London, 1852 (third extended edition). First published in 1851.

establishment of the first Portuguese Protestant Church in Portugal, and provided an essential and stabilising contrast to the reckless action of the free-thinking Kalley.

The Rev. Herman Norman, in New York, took up the story of the second migration of the Madeira Protestants from the island of Trinidad to the United States. His book: *Record of facts concerning the persecutions at Madeira in 1843 & 1846: the flight of a thousand converts to the West India Islands; & also, the sufferings of those who arrived in the United States* was published in 1849. Corresponding Secretary of the American Protestant Society, the concluding chapter reveals his sympathies: *Islands of the sea in the nineteenth century. Revival of primitive mode of spreading the Gospel. Spirit of the Roman church unchanged. Remonstrance of civilised world against this outrage on the rights of conscience. Faith of christians. The same in all ages. Priceless worth of civil and religious liberty.* Norton, although relying heavily on Tate's account and rivalling that author's sectarianism, records much dramatic information from the personal testimony of many of the Madeira converts that fled the island following Kalley's expulsion.

KALLEY AND THE CATHOLICS: the most prolific writer of the events was the tirelessly self-promoting Robert Reid Kalley: a consummate communicator with many different audiences and media. The press reports of the events are voluminous and partisan, not only in Madeira, where a veritable dog-fight was conducted between *O Defensor* (in the pay of Kalley) and the splendidly misnamed *O Imparcial* on the part of local authorities; but also in England and Scotland. Early numbers of *The Tablet* carried reports of Roman Catholic persuasion, whilst *The Banner* waved the Calvinist flag.

Happily many of these reports carry transcriptions of original documents that allow a balanced reading of events. Kalley was an inveterate pamphleteer.<sup>7</sup> A few ephemera have survived to



Kalley distributing Bibles

this day, others are known by name only: " *Mr. Hope of Glory*," " *Professor Gomes and the Good Pharmacist, Faria*," and " *The Great Feast, or the Best Food for the Hungry*."<sup>8</sup> He also published books, in Portuguese, as well as English.<sup>9</sup> The

<sup>7</sup> This was a phenomenon of the times; the devolution of the Free Church from the Established Church of Scotland in 1843 can be tracked over more than ten years conflict from the publication of lengthy pamphlets. REID, W. Stanford, *The Pamphlet Collection on the Church of Scotland's Disruption of 1843* - Collection update. No. 7, Guelph, Ontario, University of Guelph Library, 1983.

<sup>8</sup> Titles cited by Michael Testa, his translation. First editions of these tracts were presented by Professor Eduardo H. Moreira to the library of the Presbyterian Theological Seminary at Carcavelos, Portugal, but appear to have been lost. Some of Kalley's tracts are to be found in the National Library (*Biblioteca Nacional*) Lisbon. For example: KALLEY, R. R., *Um brado em favor da verdade e da justiça por um homem independente*, Funchal : Typ. do Defensor, 1843.

principal antagonistic publication, written by Manoel de Sant'Anna e Vasconcellos, a former chief of police (*administrador do concelho do Funchal*) has been universally lambasted by all who have written up this story.<sup>10</sup> The book is actually an extremely valuable and well documented archival account – what else would one expect from a secret policeman!

**KALLEY BIO:** born 1809 in Glasgow, to a wealthy merchant family. Brought up as a member of the Church of Scotland, and destined in youth for the ministry. His grandfather had earmarked for him the parish of his estate with a considerable stipend. But the young man rebelled against his family's wishes. Declaring himself an infidel and man of science, he renounced Christianity and became a medical doctor and pharmacist.

In 1829, recently graduated from the Glasgow Royal Infirmary, he served as a ship's surgeon on vessels trading between Glasgow and the Far East; visiting Madeira for the first time in 1831. Later he established himself on shore as a medical practitioner in Kilmarnock, Ayrshire.

Kalley described how his experiences with the suffering and faith of his Scottish patients began to raise doubts in the hitherto certainty of his atheism. " *I was an infidel, and revelled in the coldness, the darkness, the thrill of openly declaring my*

<sup>9</sup> Kalley, R. R., *Exposição de factos : relativos à aggressão contra os protestantes na Ilha da Madeira*; Funchal : na Typ. do Defensor, 1843, & Lisboa : Typ. Luso-britannica de W. T. Wood, 1875. Also KALLEY, R. R. *A short statement of Dr. Kalley's case: His expulsion from Madeira, by outrage in violation of the treaty, between Great Britain and Portugal; and the subsequent proceedings of the British Government*, London, James Nisbet and Co, 1847.

<sup>10</sup> VASCONCELLOS, Manoel de Sant' Anna, *Revista Histórica do Proselytismo anti-catholico exercido na ilha da Madeira pelo Dr. Roberto Reid Kalley, médico escocoz, desde de 1838 até hoje por Um Madeirense*, Funchal, na TYP. DO IMPARCIAL, 1845. Even the most recent and neutral writers have adopted this position viz: Ferreira Fernandes, *op. cit* p. 21: *O tom é naturalmente violento contra o propagandista protestante, e é avisado não se considerar inocente nada do que lá se escreve.*

*unbelief. When I discovered, be it said to my satisfaction, that there is a God, and that this book [the bible] is from God, I felt then that every Christian is called to enter that field of service in which he/she can use for God's glory the varied talents with which each has been endowed by God himself. As for me, I have had to think seriously in what way as a Christian doctor I can best serve the Son of God.*"<sup>11</sup>

Thus determined, he applied to Church of Scotland Missionary Society, his ambition: China. The society however rejected his appeal; China was beyond their present scope. Undismayed, the young convert directed his attention to the London Missionary Society which resolved: "*that Dr. Robert Reid Kalley of the Church of Scotland, Kilmarnock, recommended by the clergyman and by the Rev. John Ward, minister of the Congregational Church there, be accepted as assistant missionary and medical practitioner for China.*"<sup>12</sup>

Further rejection was however to follow. Kalley married, without first obtaining permission from London: he was asked to resign. His bride, Margaret Crawford, brought up in very comfortable circumstances, was of strong character, but delicate health.<sup>13</sup> China was out of the question. In fact, with the onset of Tuberculosis, it was decided to leave Scotland for a period of convalescence in Madeira.

CHRONICA, 12 OUTUBRO, 1838: "*B. Kalley, e senhora, 3 Misses Crawford ... carvão de pedra e ouros generos*" were unladen at Funchal by the English Barque *Jane*. Kalley's arrival was announced, just as so many other invalid visitors by

<sup>11</sup> Kalley's address to the Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland, 1845. Quoted by FORSYTH, William B., *The Wolf from Scotland*, Durham, Evangelical Press, 1988, p.20.

<sup>12</sup> London Missionary Society, Board minute of 7<sup>th</sup> November 1837. Quoted by Forsyth, *ibid.* p. 22.

<sup>13</sup> *ibid* p. 22

the semi-official local newspaper.<sup>14</sup> The three misses Crawford were his wife, her sister and their mother. They took a house in *Vale Formoso* at Santa Luzia, Funchal.

It seems that from the first instant Kalley's behaviour set him apart from the typical tourist. Norton relates that he set about learning Portuguese in a determined manner.<sup>15</sup> His first action was to open a school to teach the English language: achieving in exchange the Portuguese language skills he would need to begin his mission. Soon he founded a small free hospital and a series of cottage schools to teach literacy ... and the Bible.

"*In the beginning of my intercourse with the Madeirenses*", wrote Dr. Kalley in a series of autobiographical notes made in Beirut, 1851, "*I met few of them who had never seen a bible, or seemed to know that the New Testament was written by men who went about with the Lord Jesus when he dwelt on earth – who saw his miracles – heard his words – gazed upon him, as he went up to heaven – and described by the testimony of their own senses [...]* In 1837, a few shewed a good deal of desire to read and hear the Word of God. In 1840, the interest in it increased much and many adults went to school, that they might learn to read the Bible."<sup>16</sup>

<sup>14</sup> *Chronica*, Funchal, 12<sup>th</sup> October, 1838, fl.1. Funchal Municipal Library has a bound volume for 1838, unfortunately very few other years of this publication have survived. The editor left this publication to found *O Defensor* shortly later.

<sup>15</sup> *He sallied forth from his dark room, entered a store, and inquired for a candle. No one understood him. When he pointed out the article, and heard the Portuguese name, he ever after knew what to say when he wanted a candle. This is an illustration of the course he adopted to gain a speedy knowledge of all things essential to life and comfort.* NORTON, Herman, Rev., *Record of Facts concerning the Persecutions at Madeira in 1843 and 1846*, New York, 1849, p.12-13.

<sup>16</sup> Baillie, p. 150

THE BIBLE SOCIETIES: Kalley distributed British & Foreign Bible Society editions of Bibles, New Testaments and select books (editions of Psalms, Proverbs etc.) from the latter half of 1839 onwards. In November 1840 he wrote to the Bible Society informing them that he had achieved an exemption on import duties for the books thanks to the good offices of the Bishop of Funchal<sup>17</sup>. However on 20<sup>th</sup> May 1841 a commission was appointed by the same Bishop to examine the veracity of the translation under distribution. The Funchal commission, fully two years later, found that it was *rarissimo o verso de qualquer capitulo tanto do Velho, como do Novo Testamento, que não diffira mais ou menos notavelmente da ditta tradução*.<sup>18</sup> This was wholly ridiculous. A correspondent from Porto Santo writing to the *Defensor*<sup>19</sup> established the fact that the esteemed body of Churchmen had mistakenly used the original 1778 edition for comparison and that the London Bible Society edition was an entirely faithful copy of fully-revised editions (1791 for the Old Testament and 1818 for the New Testament). Kalley, with indignant righteousness, published two tracts on the presses of the *Defensor*<sup>20</sup>. The commissioners had been careless and lax, seizing upon an apparent difference of choice of words in a sensationalist manner. However, the objections to the editions had an ecclesiastical basis, well beyond syntax, that the Church was loathe to express.

<sup>17</sup> cited by Ferreira Fernandes p.44

<sup>18</sup> From the tract: *AOS MADEIRENSES*, Por Robert R. Kalley, M. D. &c. (Biblioteca Nacional, Lisboa).

<sup>19</sup> *O Defensor*, Funchal, 20<sup>th</sup> January, 1844, vol.V., n.º 212, fl.4. "*a Sociedade Biblica, na sua edição da Biblia em Portuguez, mandou copiar a risca, a risca, sem lhe faltar nada ou acrescentar nada, a segunda impressão da tradução feita pelo Reverendo Theologo António Pereira de Figueiredo publicada em Lisboa no anno de 1791 em 8.º na Regia Oficina Typographica, devidamente approvada pela Comissão de Censura, em quanto ao Velho Testamento, é só omittio as notas, e os livros chamados pela Igreja Reformada apocrifos; e em quanto ao Novo Testamento seguiu tambem exactamente a edição retocada, pelo mesmo Padre Figueiredo, em 4.º grande, com a vulgata ao lado, publicado em Lisboa com approvação da Meza do Desembargo do Paço no anno de 1818 na officina da Viuva Neves e Filhos.*"

<sup>20</sup> Kalley, Robert Reid, *Aos madeirenses*, Funchal: Typ. do *Defensor*, 1843. & *Mais duas palavras sobre a revisão das Biblias*, Funchal: Typ. do *Defensor*, 1843

A Papal encyclical issued on 8<sup>th</sup> May 1841 dealing with the activities of Bible Societies in Italy helps us to understand why the Bishop of Funchal<sup>21</sup> was so anxious to suppress the distribution of an approved translation made by the Portuguese Oratory Father, António Pereira de Figueiredo (1725-97).<sup>22</sup>

*"Among the special schemes with which non-Catholics plot against the adherents of Catholic truth to turn their minds away from the faith, the biblical societies are prominent. They were first established in England and have spread far and wide so that We now see them as an army on the march, conspiring to publish in great numbers copies of the books of divine Scripture. These are translated into all kinds of vernacular languages for dissemination without discrimination among both Christians and infidels. Then the biblical societies invite everyone to read them unguided."*<sup>23</sup>

Already in 1836 Gregory XVI had overturned Benedict XIV's 1757 proclamation on reading the bible in the vernacular that had allowed such translations if they were approved by the papacy or contained explanatory notes from learned scholars. Gregory reintroduced Pope Clement VIII's (1592-1605) requirement for papal approval for reading the Scriptures in the vernacular, effectively denying "unguided" general access.

<sup>21</sup> 26 de Fevereiro de 1840 Januario Vicente Camacho foi nomeado governador da diocese do Funchal e eleito vigário capitular a 27 de Março do mesmo ano (Bispo eleito de Castel Branco)

<sup>22</sup> *A Sancta Biblia: contendo o Velho e o Novo Testamento*. Traduzidos em Portuguez, pelo Padre A. Pereira de Figueiredo, Londres, B. Bensley: 1821.

<sup>23</sup> Pope Gregory XVI: *Inter praecipuas machinationes*, 8<sup>th</sup> May, 1844. Translation from : <http://www.ewtn.com/library/ENCYC/G16INTER.HTM>

The Bible-Society<sup>24</sup> edition distributed by Kalley lacked the priestly notes, deemed essential for the comprehension of non-ecclesiastical readers, and also a number of books, such as Tobias, Judith, the letters of Jeremiah, and three books of the Maccabees, regarded by Protestants as "non-canonical".<sup>25</sup> Papal authorisation was exclusive; it could never apply to an alternative edition, however accurate, let alone an incomplete facsimile! Later this formed the principal line of attack in the *Imparcial*: "Kalley ... continua ... a fazer explicações da Biblia, não a verdadeira traducção de P. António Pereira de Figueiredo, mas sim d'um extracto dessa grande obra ..." <sup>26</sup>

FIVE THOUSAND PEOPLE: gathered on a ridge, deep steep valleys falling away to the east and west, and a vast mountain rising perpendicularly to the south. A lone figure, gaunt and upright, dressed in frock coat and bare-headed, preaches the scriptures to the multitude of peasants, some of whom had walked for twelve hours over mountains three thousand feet

<sup>24</sup> The British and Foreign Bible Society was founded in 1804, its stated aim "to encourage a wider circulation of the Holy Scriptures". It caused the immediate enmity of the Catholic Church and was attacked by Papal Encyclicals such as "Ubi Primum" of Leo XII, dated 5<sup>th</sup> May, 1824, and Pius IX's Encyclical "Qui Pluribus", of 9<sup>th</sup> November, 1846. Pius VIII in 1829 and Gregory XVI in 1844, spoke to similar effect. See entry "Bible Societies" in The Catholic Encyclopaedia, 1917.

<sup>25</sup> Compare Kalley's confrontational approach with that taken by the Bible Society's agent in Spain and Portugal, himself lately imprisoned in Madrid: "The chief difficulty to settle will be the Apocrypha; but I have authorised a friend to state that the Society is disposed to make every possible concession, and to go so far as to relinquish the Old Testament entirely and to content itself with circulating the New. Perhaps I went too far in this advance; but I believe a similar concession has been made in the case of Ireland, and I feared to lose all by aiming at too much. However flattering affairs may appear at present, I am well aware that a herculean labour is to be surmounted before matters can be placed on a safe footing in Spain. Prudence, coolness and firmness are at this moment particularly necessary; and let it never for a moment be supposed that religious instruction and the knowledge of genuine Christianity can be introduced into Spain by scurrilous handbills and the low arts of the mountebank." BORROW, George Henry, *Letters of George Borrow to the British and Foreign Bible Society*, London, Hodder and Stoughton, 1911, Letter LXXIV, To the Rev. A. Brandram, 17<sup>th</sup> May, 1838, (ENDORSED: recd. May 28, 1838) MADRID, May 17<sup>th</sup>, 1838.

<sup>26</sup> *Imparcial* 18 de Agosto de 1843, fl. 3. "Kalley ... continues ... to teach from the Bible, not the true translation of Father António Pereira de Figueiredo, but merely an extract of this great work ..."

high to hear him. "You may imagine the interest of such a scene in a Popish country!"<sup>27</sup> Kalley had taken to the hills. The dimension of his flock had overtaken the capacity of meetings that he had at first organised in his home and the mountains provided a more secluded environment away from the attentions of local priests and policemen. This was 1842, these meetings<sup>28</sup> and the extraordinary success of the schools<sup>29</sup> were soon to attract unwelcome attention.

INTIMIDATION: *João Chrysostomo Ferreira Uzel, Administrador do Concelho do Funchal, Província da Madeira, &c. Em virtude das ordens que recebi do Exm.º Governador Civil d'este Districto em Officio expedido pela 2.ª repartição, L.º 5.º N.º351, mando ao Official de Diligências d'esta Administração, Bernardino Roiz Pereira, que intime ao Dr. em Medicina Roberto Reid Kalley, da Nação britannica, morador no caminho do Monte, freguezia de S. Luzia, para que não continue a admittir em sua casa reuniões de subditos portuguezes, nem a dirigir-lhes praticas, palestras ou discursos sobre materias religiosas em sua dita casa, ou fora d'ella. O que cumpra. Funchal, 16 de Março de 1843. – Eu João Accioly de Noronha, Escrivão da Administração, o*

<sup>27</sup> BAILLIE, John, The Rev, *Memoir of the Rev. W. H. Hewitson*, London: James Nisbet and Co., Third Edition, 1852, p.151-2. "... narrated chiefly by Dr. Kalley himself, in a series of «Notes» kindly contributed by him for this memoir [...] dated «Beyroot, 15<sup>th</sup> January 1851»"

<sup>28</sup> V. S.ª apenas receber esta, passará a intimar na presença de duas testemunhas, quaesquer Professores ou Professoras das Escolas de Primeiras Letras, que existam n'essa parochia, pagas pelo Sr. Dr. Roberto Reid Kalley, da nação britannica, para que não continuem a ensinar pessoa alguma, e quando depois de recebida a intimação, conste a V. S.ª, que ellas continuam, V. S.ª m'os enviará a este administração acompanhados de dois cabos de policia. V. S.ª me dará conta até segunda feira proxima da execução da presente ordem, mencionando as pessoas que em virtude d'ella hover intimado. Deus guarde a V. S.ª João Chrysostomo Ferreira Uzel, Administrador do Concelho.

<sup>29</sup> Of the schools, Kalley wrote in the Beirut notes: "I believe that about 2500 persons attended them for a longer or shorter period between 1839 and 1845, and that upwards of 1000, between the ages of fifteen and thirty, learned to read the scriptures intelligently, and were thus able to search for themselves" Ballie, p.154.



escrevi. – João Chrysostomo Ferreira Uzel. – Bernadino Roiz Pereira, *Official de Diligencias*.<sup>30</sup>

Friends in Scotland wrote to Kalley advising him to leave the island. *O Imparcial* too, recommended to him the words of the Gospel: *Exeuntes foras de domo vel de civitate excutite pulverem de pedibus vestris!*<sup>31</sup> If Kalley has such a thirst to preach, let him seek out new-found lands and preach to the barbarians – good luck to them!<sup>32</sup> Why, if he really wants to become a martyr, does he not follow the example of Catholic missionaries such as those in Cochinchina: prisoners for Jesus Christ since 16<sup>th</sup> of February 1842 who pray to the Lord to hasten the day when their blood be spilled for their faith?<sup>33</sup>

Kalley's reply was published by the Glasgow *Scottish Guardian*, June 6<sup>th</sup>, 1843 "*At present I am threatened with imprisonment and if the enemy be allowed to fulfil what is in his heart and on his tongue, I am likely to be in jail when you receive this [...] you reminded me of the order given, when persecuted in one city to flee into another; but you will also remember that it is said of the hireling that he fleeth, because he is an hireling, and the wolf comes and catches the sheep. Were I to flee, I believe the poor sheep of Christ's fold would*

*feel deeply discouraged, and the wolf would catch them.*"<sup>34</sup>

<sup>30</sup> Published as Document N.º 2 by Vasconcellos and also Kalley, *Exposição de Factos*, p.13. To paraphrase: The Chief of Police advises Kalley that he is no longer permitted to hold religious meetings of Portuguese citizens in his home, or elsewhere.

<sup>31</sup> Matthew 10:14. [And whosoever shall not receive you, nor hear your words:] going forth out of that house or city shake off the dust from your feet.

<sup>32</sup> Sebastião Casemiro de Vasconcellos writing in *O Imparcial* n.º 162 1843, fl.4

<sup>33</sup> *O Imparcial* n.º 163 1843

<sup>34</sup> Some idea of the tone of the message sent back to Scotland can be gauged by further paragraphs from this letter: "*The woman drunk with the blood of saints may stretch out her blood-stained arm, but God will cut it off and destroy her. In a moment shall she be brought low. Be on your guard against her accursed witcheries, for it is true that though in some*

In July 1843 he was arrested, and imprisoned without bail for the crime of Blasphemy. Meanwhile the priests turned their attention to the flock.

EXCOMMUNICATION: "... *reprovamos, condemnamos, e anathematisâmos a todos os Exemplares da Biblia da Edicção Ingleza por estar adulterada, errada, e maliciosamente alterada, para que so não possa licitamente ler, nem ensinar por ella neste Bispado, e Mandamos com pena d'Excommunhão ipso facto a todos os Proffessores Publicos, que não ensinem por ella, e a todos os Fieis em geral debaixo da mesma pena, que não ouçam a sua leitura...*"

This Pastoral address<sup>35</sup>, 26<sup>th</sup> September, 1843, by the Bishop of Funchal, signalled the beginning of a concerted campaign to rid the island of the "Calvinist" Bibles. "*No princípio de 1844 nas freguesias de S. António da Cidade, S. Roque, S. Martinho, Caminho do Meio, no Salto e Levada de Santa Luzia e pelo centro da Cidade, as autoridades espediram ordens para repetirem a busca nas casas de todos os calvinistas e outros suspeitos, para tirar-lhes à força as Biblias e Novos Testamentos, ou partes da Biblia. Aquelles que recusavam entrega-los eram presos e levados à presença das*

*aspects she exhibits the malignity of hell, and the most horribly appalling corruption, there are others in which she appears enticing, and she intoxicates myriads with the wine of her fornication ... [etc.!]*" This letter is quoted at length by Norton, *Record of Facts*, p.16-19.

<sup>35</sup> Published by *O Imparcial* n.º 164, Funchal, 25<sup>th</sup> October, 1843, fl.1. Literally: "We disapprove, condemn, and anathematize [*consign to damnation*] all the examples of the English edition of the Bible since they are adulterated, erroneous, and maliciously altered, to the effect that one cannot legitimately read, nor teach from the same within this Diocese, and we command all public school teachers that they do not teach using this edition, or they are to suffer excommunication *by that very fact*; also to the Faithful in general, and under the same penalty, that they should not listen to the reading of this bible ..."

*autoridades que os mandavam para a cadeia por desobediência.*"<sup>36</sup>

THE FIVE POUND NOTE: On 27<sup>th</sup> of December, 1843, Dr. Kalley received a five pound note from a well-wisher in England. The charges of blasphemy, apostasy and heresy and his subsequent confinement had caused much consternation in Britain. In Scotland<sup>37</sup> meetings had been held by churchmen to express support and to lobby for diplomatic intervention by the British Government. At one such public meeting, convened by Adam Black, the Lord Provost of Edinburgh, three members of the Anti-Persecution Union had been dragged away by police for expressing opinions that did not conform to the orthodox religious assembly. Thomas Paterson, one of these men, was later jailed for fifteen months for selling "infidel works" in his bookshop<sup>38</sup>.

The sender of the banknote, in his capacity as secretary of the Anti-Persecution Union, was George Jacob Holyoake, an atheist, who, imprisoned for Blasphemy in Gloucester in 1842, was himself was no stranger to religious intolerance. Holyoake informs Kalley that Lord Aberdeen, the Foreign Secretary, had ordered an enquiry into the case, and expresses the hope that the doctor would soon be at liberty. The Anti-Persecution League believed that all men should be free to express their

<sup>36</sup> Dagama, João Fernandes, *Perseguição dos Calvinistas da Madeira*, S. João do Rio Claro, S. Paulo, Brazil, 1896, p. 29 again paraphrased: In early 1844, in a number of parishes and also the centre of Funchal the authorities ordered searches of Calvinist homes to forcibly remove their bibles, those who refused were to be imprisoned.

<sup>37</sup> 28<sup>th</sup> September 1843 *The Banner* reports a meeting held in Aberdeen to raise support for Kalley.

<sup>38</sup> HOLYOAKE, G. J. *et al.*, *The Trial of Thomas Paterson, for Blasphemy before the High Court Justiciary, Edinburgh*, with . . . the Trials of Thomas Finlay and Miss Matilda Roalfe (for Blasphemy) in the Sheriffs' Court. With Notes and a Special Dissertation on Blasphemy Prosecutions in General, by the Secretary of the "Anti-Persecution Union." London, Published for the Anti-Persecution Union by Henry Hetherington . . . and Matilda Roalfe (Edinburgh), 1844, p.53

religious opinions without fear of persecution by others and wished, through support of this case, to demonstrate that it held no prejudice according to the nature of these beliefs. The money was immediately returned by Dr. Kalley, for it formed part of an elaborate jibe at the attitudes of Scottish churchmen and their lack of tolerance, conducted through an elegant public exchange of letters. The two men represented opposite extremes of religious expression, this correspondence was at once a public clash and an opportunity for expression of a common disregard for the established authorities, whether civil or ecclesiastical; each man trying throughout to convert the other.<sup>39</sup>

LEGAL PROCEEDINGS: in Lisbon the case was reported in the *Gazeta dos Tribunaes*.<sup>40</sup> Amidst the charges brought against Kalley, he was accused of being an "apostle of the Anglican church". This curious miscomprehension of the British ecclesiastic establishment on the part of Portuguese authorities was used by the doctor's defence counsel to full advantage: in regard to the Virgin Mary, the Anglican and the Catholic churches were in agreement and in opposition to the Lutherans and Calvinists. This deception did not go unnoticed amongst the English community in Madeira.<sup>41</sup> His appeal to the court to consider his rights as pertaining to the French declaration of the *droits de homme*<sup>42</sup> is at the very least somewhat surprising, no doubt his lawyer wanted to appeal to

<sup>39</sup> Copies of this correspondence are held at the Bishopgate Institute, London

<sup>40</sup> Reprinted for the benefit of an eager readership in Funchal by *O Imparcial*.

<sup>41</sup> "Dr. Kalley aproveitou se da falta da distincção que deve haver; para se fortificar na asserção de não ter pregado contra a Fé Catholica: por se considerar a Igreja Anglicana também Catholica nas suas doutrinas. Mas que indigno e vergonhoso subterfugio para quem quer ostentar-se apostolo da verdade! Que Calumnia! Que dissimulação ! querer implicar a Igreja Anglicana, e de baixo do escudo de seu Catholicismo (que por suas acções abjura) fazer melhor a sua defeza!!" *Imparcial* n.º 184 fl.2 - carta de um Anglo-Catholico datado de 11 de Março de 1844.

<sup>42</sup> Article X - *Nul ne doit être inquiété pour ses opinions, même religieuses, pourvu que leur manifestation ne trouble pas l'ordre public établi par la loi.*

liberal anti-clerics in Lisbon. Finally, his best defence was one of incompetence and procedure. The charges laid against him for heresy had been thrown out by the district attorney (*juiz de direito*) in March of 1843 for want of applicable legislation against an British subject. Whereas it had been a local judge (*juiz ordinário*) who had brought the new charges that led to his imprisonment without bail. The failure of the district attorney to ratify the action of his substitute proved to be sufficient for the Lisbon judge to throw out the case on 22<sup>nd</sup> de December, 1843. Earlier on the 12<sup>th</sup> December, 1843 the court granted bail to Dr. Kalley, over-riding the decision of July 1843. Kalley was released in January 1844. On 24<sup>th</sup> February 1844 the judge in Funchal archived the process.<sup>43</sup>

In summary, the prosecution characterised Kalley's crimes, not as those of apostasy or heresy, but as an "*enorme attentado contra a ordem publica pela manifesta violação do direito das gentes, e desprezo da suprema lei do estado, maquinando a destruição da religião catholica na ilha da Madeira, e expondo a nação ás calamitosas consequencias politicas desse facto, - e como tal um crime de lesa magestade...*"<sup>44</sup> Further attempts to deal with Dr. Kalley were imminent.

QUINTA DA AMEIXOEIRA: in *Santo António da Serra*, somewhat removed from Funchal, was to become Kalley's new home for the summer. Here from April 1844, emboldened by his brush with the authorities, he conducted his mission with greater audacity. Large gatherings in the gardens of the *Quinta* were closely watched by police agents. Nearby at *Lombo das*

<sup>43</sup>*O Imparcial* n.º185 Funchal, 22nd March, 1844, fl.3

<sup>44</sup>*O Imparcial* n.º183, Funchal, 8<sup>th</sup> March, fl.2. Literally: "A gross offence against public order, an obvious violation of human rights, and disdain for the sovereign law of the state, working towards the destruction of the Catholic faith on the island of Madeira, and exposing the nations to calamitous political consequences..."

*Fayas* where one of the schools had been established, the results in late September 1844<sup>45</sup> were cataclysmic.

*"The Judge and public Prosecutor, with a Notary, and about sixty soldiers proceeded at night to the Lombo das Fayas. The houses of the scholars, chiefly Bible readers, were broken open - thirty men and women were taken prisoners - most of them were bound - many of them were beaten, and some very severely - and their houses were given up to be sacked by the soldiers, who committed the most horrible atrocities. With scarcely any clothes on (for they had been roused from their beds by the soldiers) twenty-two of them were conveyed to Funchal in a Portuguese Frigate, which to complete the melancholy farce was sent to support the operations of the soldiers, (!!!) and there committed to prison."*<sup>46</sup>

CASH CROPS AND POTATOES: The island of Madeira in the years following the Miguelite civil wars of 1828-34 was characterised by economic depression and even famine. Sales of Madeira wine had declined sharply in the peace following the Napoleonic era due to fierce competition from Jerez. The trade embargos of the French war years had been highly favourable to the island. Since then the merchants of Funchal had accumulated ample stocks of old wine in their warehouses and did not need to buy more to meet the reduced demand. Consequently peasants could not sell their cash crop that had provided them with the income to buy their food.<sup>47</sup> To make

<sup>45</sup> Kalley's Beirut Notes gives the date rather imprecisely as "the end of September following" Baillie p.163. TUCKER, John T., *Heróis da Cruz*, Carcavelos, 1957. p.30, gives the dates as: "Os dias de 24, 25, e 26 de Setembro de 1844 ficarem assinaladas na Ilha da Madeira pelas grandes perseguições, espancamentos bárbaros, prisões, aboletamento de militares, etc.," further confirmation is at present lacking.

<sup>46</sup> TATE, J. R., *Madeira...*, p.4.

<sup>47</sup> *O estado de decadência, a que chegou na Madeira o Comércio de Vinho, único, que no atrazo em que se encontra nossa industria constitue a principal riqueza d'esta Provincia, demanda imperiosamente, que todos os nossos patricios, que se interessão pelo bem do paiz, se esforcem até onde lhe permittirem suas forças, para ver se nos é possivel sahir de tão*

matters worse Funchal suffered from drought.<sup>48</sup> In 1846 Potato crops were decimated by a new “*moléstia*” The Irish Potato Famine Fungus, *Phytophthora infestans*.<sup>49</sup>

EMMIGRATION: was for the small farmers a desperate means of survival. Early nineteenth-century Madeira was constantly subject to famine.<sup>50</sup> Since 1835 the destination chosen by Madeiran emigrants had been Demerara (now known as British Guiana), 7,600 emigrants arrived there in February 1841. The first Madeirans to arrive on Trinidad did so in May 1846.<sup>51</sup> Between 1835 and 1855 some forty-thousand Madeirans left the archipelago.<sup>52</sup> Domingos Olavo de Azevedo, *administrador-geral* of Funchal described another issue: The

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*grande apuro. Ou seja porque o comércio em geral lucta actualmente com gravíssimos obstáculos, mui principalmente nos Estados Unidos d'America Septentrional, onde o mais completo desarranjo no systema monetário do paiz, tem causado o transtorno de grande numero dos homens abastados que davão consumo ao nosso artigo; ou porque o espirito d'economia que em todo parte prepondera, ou a móda tem excluído o Vinho da Madeira das opulentas mezas de Grã Bretanha, que ali tem sido substituído pelo de Xeres de la Frontera ou Sherry Wine; é todavia infelizmente um facto que o commercio de vinho se acha completamente paralyzado na Madeira. Por quanto ninguem pôde contar com a venda de vinhos velhos, e os da novidade pendente não apresentam melhores esperanças; um estado tão assustador não nos lembra que por nós tivesse passado nos nossos dias! Imparcial n.º45 23 junho de 1841*

<sup>48</sup> *O Imparcial* n.º189

<sup>49</sup> The blight seems to have arrived from the United States in 1844 with a shipment of seed potatoes offloaded at Ostende in Belgium. No serious damage was caused that year but the disease spread rapidly throughout the continent in the latter half of 1845 and again in 1846. The Irish SOLAR, Peter, *The potato famine in Europe*, in C. O Grada, ed., *Famine 150*, Dublin, 1997, pp. 113-128. The potato had been introduced to Madeira as a staple in the 1820's. NEPOMUCENO, Rui, *As Crises de Subsistência na História da Madeira*, Lisboa, 1994, p. 98

<sup>50</sup> During the first half of the century famines occurred 1802, 1806, 1812, 1815-18, 1823-29, 1837-1839, 1844, 1847. NEPOMUCENO, *ibid.* p.90

<sup>51</sup> FERREIRA, Jo-Anne S., *Madeiran Immigration to Trinidad during the 20<sup>th</sup> Century* in José Pereira da Costa, Ed., *Imigração e Emigração nas Ilhas, Centro de Estudos de História do Atlântico*, Funchal, 2001, p.125.

<sup>52</sup> On May 3, 1835, the first 40 Madeiran peasants arrived at Demerara on the ship, *Louisa Baillie*. MENEZES, M. Noel, *The Madeiran Portuguese and the Establishment of the Catholic Church in British Guiana, 1835-98* in JOHNSON, Howard, (Editor) *After the Crossing: Immigrants and Minorities in Caribbean Creole Society*, London, Routledge, 1988, p. 57-58. RIBEIRO, Orlando, *L'île de Madère. Étude géographique*, Lisboa, UGI. *Congrès International Géographie - Lisbonne* 1949, 1949.

abolition of Slavery. “*A emigração é hoje promovida, não porque ao menos se julgue que aqueles a quem a desgraça arrasta a semelhantes climas, possam ali fazer algumas vantagens; é sim porque tendo sido suprimida a escravatura, procuram os proprietários d'algumas possessões inglesas, animados unicamente dos seus intresses, suprir com homens brancos, o serviço que já hoje não podem haver dos negros.*”<sup>53</sup>

This was good business. Shippers were paid a bounty of 30 dollars for each emigrant landed in the British Colonies and each emigrant paid 30 *patacas* for the passage by making a contract of indentured labour discounting two dollars and a half dollar (the dollar was directly equivalent to the *pataca*) each month for a year following arrival. The arrangement was apparently satisfactory to all parties, the immigrant usually accumulating savings over and above the contract payments.<sup>54</sup>

The Portuguese Gentry regarded all this emigration with alarm, seeing that their estates were in danger of de-population. According to Tate the hostility shown to Kalley was in large measure fuelled by jealousy between landlords and foreign residents:

*“The great and paramount object of jealousy was the appalling excess of discontent among the peasantry, who were in large numbers abandoning the Island, for the British West India Colonies. These peasants were almost driven to despair by hunger, misgovernment [...] and was also owing in a great measure to the galling oppression of the landlords. [...] The*

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<sup>53</sup> Transcribed by NEPOMUCENO, *op. cit.* p. 99. paraphrased: Emigration is intended for the benefit of the displaced, but rather to provide labour for the British colonies now that slavery has been abolished.

See also: “*Escraviseiros nossos irmãos para seremos ricos.*” DEMERARA, ‘*O Echo da Revolução*’, Vol. Nº 10, Funchal, 29 de agosto 1846, fl.4.

<sup>54</sup> *Madeira Immigration*, From the Demerara Royal Gazette quoted by Port of Spain Gazette, Friday, May 1, 1846, p. 3 transcribed at <http://freepages.genealogy.rootsweb.com/~portwestind/research/archives/>

*grinding oppression [...] has already caused upwards of 40,000 of these poor oppressed people to leave the island [...] vessels, capable of carrying 3000 more, were at anchor in the roads. [...] Now the blame of all this was laid at the door of the British merchants, who were the principal consignee of these vessels, and who certainly made large sums of money by the shipments. The sum of thirty dollars [...] is still allowed by the Governments of Demerara, Trinidad, and other colonies for each emigrant landed, so that to the galling reflections of the Portuguese proprietors, in seeing their estates abandoned, was added the irritation of seeing the English making so much money through their misfortunes.”*<sup>55</sup>

#### THUS WAS A PILE OF COMBUSTIBLE MATTER LAID:<sup>56</sup>

The spark that set the conflagration ablaze was the appointment of one of the disgruntled landlords, Valentine de Freitas Leal, as temporary Governor of Madeira. His first action was to appoint one of Kalley's fiercest opponents as head of police. The persecution took on new bounds.

**ATROCITIES:** Following mass at the Funchal Cathedral on Sunday 2<sup>nd</sup> August 1846 an angry mob, led by Canon Carlos Menezes de Telles, laid siege to a house occupied by certain Misses Rutherford where a prayer meeting of Portuguese Protestants was underway. The mob, unmolested by police, remained in position until nightfall. Commander Tate, who had rode out to their assistance was “out on the balcony about

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<sup>55</sup> TATE, J. R. *Madeira*..., 1847, p. 8. The previous paragraph, also revealing, reads: “*Some of the English merchants, in times of decreased, and seemingly still decreasing, shipments of their wines, [have] lately taken to farming; and, under the faith of former Treaties, but particularly of the last Treaty of peace, made purchases of large tracts of land in the mountains. And this too, I am told, to an extent, which had awakened the envy of the Portuguese Gentry, who declared that the English wanted to turn them out of the Island. For though they were glad enough to get the English purchase money, that was soon spent; and they became envious of the possessions they had parted with, when they saw their despised wastes covered with country houses, pleasure grounds, plantations, and in many instances luxuriant crops.*”

<sup>56</sup> TATE, p. 9

eleven o'clock, when the silvery moon was shining peacefully through the trellis of the varandah, and all nature quietly reposing in the solemn stillness of the night, [he heard] the sound of human voices [...] the mob had come within the gates. [...] a number of men, armed with bludgeons, [were] standing at the front door, [Tate] at once warned them off the grounds. Miss Rutherford addressed them in Portuguese ...” The temerous lady however watched the ruffians break into her house intent on murdering the Protestant Madeirans within... “the smashing of the windows, and the crash of the bludgeons ... announced that the enemy were doing their work.” Fortunately police and soldiers eventually arrived before anyone was killed.<sup>57</sup>

In the morning Tate reported the outrage to the British Consul, George Stoddard, but was received with indifference. The doctor and his converts lived a tense and hostile week until the final atrocities took place on Sunday 9<sup>th</sup> August 1844.

The narrative of these events is repeated by every writer: Kalley had been warned by an anonymous letter that his life was in danger. His house on the *Caminho do Monte* being surrounded by a threatening multitude, he took refuge in the home of Tate: the *Quinta dos Pinheiros*. Denied the object of their fury, the enraged mob broke down the door and threw Kalley's Bibles and other books into the street where they were excitedly burnt. A general sack pursued; Kalley escaped to a British steamer moored in the harbour, and thence to the West Indies. His undignified disguise as an invalid old woman carried out by hammock later provided grounds for many scornful commentaries from his adversaries.

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<sup>57</sup> TATE, p. 12-13

The events were reported in a new newspaper published for the first time in Funchal on 20<sup>th</sup> August 1844, named encouragingly: *O Independente*. Calm had returned to the island.



Robert Reid Kalley being transported in a hammock

*No dia 9, depois da missa que ao meio dia se celebre todos os domingos na cathedral, sahio d'ella impetuosamente uma multidão de povo do que ha muito indignado pela pertinancia do Dr. Kalley em propagar n'esta terra o anti-catholicismo, rompeo n'um tumulto por ventura até aqui nunca visto nesta pacifica terra; e dirigindo-se a casa delle o procuram por toda a parte destruindo alguns objectos, e queimando livros e manuscriptos que se supõem tratar do ponto em questão. As autoridades civis compareceram no conflicto: mas rejeitaram o auxilio de força militar que lhes offerecia o Exm<sup>o</sup> Snr. Governador militar. Era com effeito funesto. Por fim appareceu o Consul Inglez, que pode acalmar*

*aquella febre dizendo que Mr. Kalley já se achava a bordo do vapor que tinha por essa ocasião chegado ao porto; mas não cessou totalmente a agitação em quanto o Consul não foi a bordo mostrar-lhes o dito Kalley.*

*Nos dias seguintes continuou ainda alguma perseguição aos sectários do Dr. tendo a effervescência chegado a ponto de mataram um homem na freguezia de S. Roque. Constou finalmente que se projectava repetir no dia 16 a revolta contra os seguidores dos principios de Mr. Kalley; e para sustar desordens sempre fataes reunio-se a força militar com todos officiaes em seus respectivos quartéis, a fim de que ao menor indicio sahisse a por em prática todos os meios de brandura, meiguice e fraternidade, para aquietar os espiritos exaltados. Não houve novidade alguma; e hoje acha-se a cidade em perfeito socego.*

*Somos catholicos christãos, e folgamos com a sahida de Mr. Kalley: quizeramos todavia que elle houvesse deixado esta hospitaleira terra de outro modo: e desejavamos di intimo do coração que não se perseguisse mais ninguem, e que todos obdessemos sempre as leys liberaes que nos regem.*<sup>58</sup>

THE WANDERERS: Kalley's persecuted flock fled from the island in droves. The first group of 200 left aboard the 'William' bound for Trinidad on 22<sup>nd</sup> August 1844. Many more were to follow.<sup>59</sup>

<sup>58</sup> *O Independente*, Funchal, N<sup>o</sup> 1, 20<sup>th</sup> August, 1846, fl.3. Telegraphically: On 9<sup>th</sup> August, after Mass a multitude indignant with the anti-Catholic actions of Dr. Kalley exploded in a tumult never before seen on this peaceful island. They set off in search of him and destroyed his library. The military, though ready, were not called upon to intervene. The British Consul calmed the mob by explaining that Kalley was already aboard a ship in the Bay. The following days saw continued persecution of Kalley's converts, one man was murdered. But, since the 16<sup>th</sup>, no further violence has occurred, and today the city is at peace. We are Christian Catholics, relieved at the departure of Mr. Kalley, sorry at the mode of his departure, and wish him from the bottom of our hearts that he should suffer no further persecution.

<sup>59</sup> Baillie, p.222

FOREIGN AFFAIRS: Lord Palmerston, a man not known for intense spiritual commitment,<sup>60</sup> but rather his decisive action, referring to the Kalley case in Parliament several years later, made the following intelligent observation,: “let [us] suppose that a party of Spanish or Portuguese Jesuits came to this country, and openly began to attempt the conversion of British subjects to their tenets, [is it not clear] that our national feelings would be so wounded by the proceeding, that the question would assume a very different aspect from that of a mere assertion on the part of Spanish or Portuguese subjects of the free exercise of their own religion?”<sup>61</sup> The Treaty of 1842 granted the individual freedom of religious conscience to the British at Madeira, but matters of State were quite another matter.

Kalley had succeeded in provoking an international diplomatic row, abusing the hospitality of the islanders and using the might of the British Empire to his own ends. The Kalley affair dragged on until the Portuguese Government was finally bullied into making a payment of one thousand six hundred and eighty seven pounds seven shillings and three pennies<sup>62</sup> as compensation, paid in three instalments, 1851-52. Preaching the Gospel, as the Consul George Stoddart had

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<sup>60</sup> “Lord Palmerston’s policies on religion have been variously portrayed as stemming from ignorance, manipulation by an evangelical clique, and mere political calculation [...] although Palmerston lacked the intense spiritual commitments of many of his contemporaries, he still had a serious agenda on religious issues. In particular he sought to maintain the establishment of the Church of England by providing it with effective leadership and conciliating its opponents [...] he was both at home and abroad a consistent advocate of toleration, especially for Roman Catholics, although hostile to clergy with ecclesiastical or political pretensions, whatever their denomination.”

Wolffe, John, *Lord Palmerston and Religion: A Reappraisal*, English Historical Review, Oxford, September, 2005, Vol. 12, N.º 488, p. 907.

<sup>61</sup> Hansard, TS, xciv, 334–6, 15 July 1847

<sup>62</sup> Foreign Office to Sir H. Seymour British Envoy in Lisbon, 22<sup>nd</sup> February, 1849.

remarked to his superintendent in London, paid better than shipping wine!<sup>63</sup>

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<sup>63</sup> Private correspondence