

# THE COMING OF THE PORTUGUESE

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One of the most interesting passages in the history of Jacksonville is the romantic story of the settlement of the "Portuguese Exiles." Although it excited much interest at the time, outside the immediate vicinity its very existence is all but unknown. Yet it is an unique episode in the history of Portuguese immigration to the United States, and brings down into the middle of the nineteenth century conditions which we are wont to regard as belonging to the seventeenth. For these "Exiles of Madeira" were exiles for conscience's sake, and their vicissitudes show in more respects than one a striking parallel to those of the Pilgrim Fathers of Plymouth.

The story begins some eleven years before the "Portuguese Exiles" came to Illinois. In 1838, Robert Reid Kalley, a Scotchman of some twenty-nine years, started under a commission from the Free Church of Scotland, for a mission field in China. Before the voyage was well begun, his wife, who accompanied him, fell seriously ill, so that they decided to land at the first port touched by their vessel. This happened to be Funchal, on the island of Madeira.<sup>1</sup>

The zealous missionary appears to have accepted this occurrence as a direct manifestation of Providence. Although he had no commission to work there, and indeed his church had no mission in that field, he determined to make Madeira the scene of his labors. He was a man of considerable means, and so able, if he chose, to carry on an independent enterprise. Within a few hours of his landing he had formed his resolve and had begun to seek a practical knowledge of the Portuguese language.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Norton, *Facts Concerning the Persecutions at Madeira*, 230; Blackburn, *Exiles of Madeira*, 19; Dimmitt, *A Story of Madeira*, 18.

<sup>2</sup> Norton, 12-13; Blackburn, 19-20; Dimmitt, 17-19.

His wealth and preparation enabled him to organize his first work upon what has always proved the most effective of missionary approaches, that of the physician. He opened a free hospital and dispensary in Funchal, thus gaining a strong hold upon the people. The native physicians were lacking in skill, so that Dr. Kalley's cures gained him wide reputation. Although his enterprise was primarily one of charity, even the well-to-do sought his services.<sup>3</sup>

From the very beginning, however, Dr. Kalley kept in mind his real object, most cleverly contriving to impart his spiritual message to those who sought him for the healing of their bodies. He required that all who wished to consult him should assemble at his office by nine o'clock in the morning. Then, before proceeding to the work in hand, he would read a chapter from the Bible, deliver a brief discourse, and offer a prayer with special reference to the work of healing in which he was about to be engaged. When visiting patients in their own homes he also improved the occasion in a similar manner.<sup>4</sup>

He soon extended his efforts in another direction. He found the people largely illiterate and unable to read the Scriptures. He had very early opened a school for the teaching of English in order to facilitate his own acquisition of Portuguese. This led to the establishment of other schools throughout the island. His ample means enabled Dr. Kalley to bear all the expense of teachers' salaries and textbooks, and to offer the Madeirenses the first free education they had ever enjoyed. Some of the sessions were held in the evening, after the regular working hours, in order that adults might take advantage of the opportunity. The islanders responded eagerly. "Within a short period no less than eight hundred adults were taught in these schools, besides the children." In all, at one time or another, some twenty-five hundred were enrolled. The municipal authorities of Funchal formally voted Dr. Kalley their thanks for "his disinterested acts of benevolence and philanthropy in the establishment of free

<sup>3</sup> Dimmitt, 19, 22-23.

<sup>4</sup> Norton, 231-232; Blackburn, 22; Dimmitt, 20.



schools, hospitals, and dispensaries in different parts of the island.'"<sup>5</sup>

Thus for some time Dr. Kalley not only encountered no opposition, but enjoyed the highest popularity. Yet he was following practices which sooner or later were bound to bring him into collision with the ecclesiastical authorities. The first book which he taught the people to read in English was the Bible. Soon he began to circulate a Portuguese Bible, a supply of which he had obtained from Scotland. This was a translation made long since by a priest, Antonio Pereira, and sanctioned by the Queen and the Patriarch of Portugal. Some eighty copies had previously been sent to Madeira from Lisbon for the use of the clergy.<sup>6</sup>

Not content with teaching the Madeirenses to read and placing the Bible in their hands, Dr. Kalley also instructed them in its meaning. These instructions of a Scotch Calvinist naturally produced some mental difficulties among these simple folk who previously had heard only the doctrines of the Roman Catholic Church. Quite as naturally, some of them went to the priests with their difficulties, and the inevitable trouble began. It appears, however, that forcible repression was attempted only after Dr. Kalley had for some time been holding regular religious services for the islanders, and after open conversions had been made.<sup>7</sup>

"In 1840, the Bishop expressed a wish to see a copy of the Bible that was being put into the hands of his people. One was gladly sent to him. On the 21st of May he placed it in the hands of three canons of the cathedral of Funchal, and appointed them, as a commission, to examine it, and to report to him, as to its correctness or incorrectness. Two years and four months afterwards he published a pastoral, wherein he stated that that Commission had reported 'that there was scarcely a verse or any chapter either of the Old or New Testament which was not more or less notably adulterated;'

<sup>5</sup> Norton, 13-14; Blackburn, 24-25; Dimmitt, 21-23.

<sup>6</sup> Norton, 14; Blackburn, 20-21, 24-25; Dimmitt, 22-30.

<sup>7</sup> Norton, 15-16; Dimmitt, 29-30.

and he added, that he 'excommunicated *ipso facto* all who should read those Bibles.' "

Dr. Kalley at once made a verse by verse comparison of the Edinburgh and Lisbon editions of the Gospel of St. Matthew, and found them identical. This led to a controversy between him and the Commissioners, in which he continued the comparison until upward of five thousand verses were covered, and posted certified statements of the results in the streets. Some two months after the episcopal denunciation, an order arrived from Lisbon giving these Bibles the approval of the Queen and the Archbishop; but the anathema of the Bishop was not removed.<sup>8</sup>

As early as 1842, regular religious services for the Madeirenses were held in various places. These were usually open-air conventicles, often on the mountain-sides. The missionary would preach, or, if he were unable to be present, one of the converts would read portions of the Scriptures. "A few hymns were sung to such good old tunes as the Portuguese Hymn and Old Hundred." "For several months there were not fewer than one thousand persons attending these meetings in the open air, every Sabbath. Often there were two or three thousand, and once they were reckoned at five thousand."<sup>9</sup>

There already existed in Funchal a little Scottish church for the worship of the British residents of the island. This church and the free exercise of their religion were guaranteed to them by treaty between those ancient allies, Great Britain and Portugal.<sup>10</sup> In 1843, a new minister came out from Scotland to take charge of this church. To him, "as he was about to administer the Lord's Supper on the Sabbath," came two Portuguese converts, Nicolao Tolentino Vieira and Francisco Pires Soares, requesting permission to partake of the communion. Dr. Kalley warned them of their peril, but they persisted; and, after examination by the Protestant ministers, they were admitted. Four days later they were brought before the magistrates charged with apostasy. They were

<sup>8</sup> Norton, 32-33; Blackburn, 29.

<sup>9</sup> Blackburn, 25-27; Dimmitt, 31-32.

<sup>10</sup> Norton, 19; Blackburn, 19; Dimmitt, 31.

discharged by the court, but were excommunicated on the following Sunday. An attempt was made again to arrest them; but they were hidden by their friends, and continued in hiding for six months. At that time orders arrived from Lisbon putting a stop to the persecution.<sup>11</sup>

The arrest of Vieira and Soares was the beginning of a persecution whose thrilling episodes do not come within the scope of this study. The ecclesiastical authorities, as might have been expected, struck first at the schools, which they attempted to suppress. The representative of the Bishop also denounced the reading of the Bibles distributed by Dr. Kalley, stigmatizing it as "a book of Hell." In spite of the loyal approval of the Bible, its readers were denounced to the priests and arrested in large numbers. They were often detained in prison for months, only to be acquitted when finally brought to trial.<sup>12</sup>

With the apparent collusion of the authorities, mob violence ensued, directed especially against Nicolao Vieira, who was now teaching a school at his own home. Vieira was forced to flee to the mountains, and his family and pupils were arrested. After terrible hardships, he himself escaped to Demerara, where he eventually rejoined his family when they stopped *en route* to Trinidad.<sup>13</sup>

One woman, Mrs. Maria Joaquina Alves, was brought to trial for denying the real presence and other tenets of the Roman Catholic Church. Although she was arrested January 31, 1843, she was brought to trial only on May 2, 1844, when she was condemned to death for blasphemy, heresy, and apostasy. The English group interested in Dr. Kalley's work petitioned the Queen of Portugal in her behalf, and an appeal was taken to the Court of Relacao at Lisbon. The decision of this court did not reach Funchal until April, 1845, Mrs. Alves meanwhile remaining in prison at her own charges. On a technicality, the sentence of death was commuted to imprisonment for three months from the date of the sentence, with a

<sup>11</sup> Norton, 27, 35-37, 122-124.

<sup>12</sup> Norton, 16-19, 20-23, 26-34.

<sup>13</sup> Norton, 20-24, 124-127.

fine of six dollars. After the expiration of her sentence, she was detained in prison to meet this fine and the costs of her prosecution and imprisonment, finally being released in June, 1845.<sup>14</sup>

At length Dr. Kalley was himself arrested under an obsolete law of the Inquisition, enacted in 1603. Despite his insistence that this law contravened both the existing constitution of Portugal and the treaty between that country and Great Britain, Dr. Kalley was convicted and imprisoned for five months.<sup>15</sup> The terms on which Dr. Kalley's release was secured cannot be definitely ascertained, although there are suggestions sufficient to justify conjecture. Shortly after his release, he left the island for a visit in Scotland, stopping at Lisbon *en route*. There are intimations that he was constrained by the Court of Relacao to give some kind of pledge not to engage in religious propaganda at Madeira. It appears also that some question arose subsequently as to Dr. Kalley's observance of these limitations, which he considered unjust and unwarranted. On this account it is emphatically and categorically asserted that Dr. Kalley had no connection with the ensuing phase of missionary activity at Madeira, which seems to have transpired during his absence from the island.<sup>16</sup>

These developments were due to the missionary zeal of William Hepburn Hewitson, acting under a commission from the Free Church of Scotland. Mr. Hewitson was a brilliant scholar who had wrecked his health by over-application to study. Resolving to devote his remaining energies to missionary enterprise, a field was sought where he might have some chance to regain his health. Southern France and Malta had been under consideration, when Madeira was suggested. The idea pleased him. On October 15, 1844, he wrote: "It is, I understand, most desirable, at present, that a minister should be sent out to Madeira to acquire the Portuguese language, with a view to preaching the gospel to the poor Portuguese in the island. During the year which would be spent

<sup>14</sup> Norton, 38-43; Blackburn, 41-46.

<sup>15</sup> Norton, 25-26; Dimmitt, 32-33.

<sup>16</sup> Norton, 110; Blackburn, 49, 50.



in doing nothing but acquiring the language, my health might be so far recruited, by the blessing of God on the change of air, as to enable me afterwards to labour in that part of the vineyard." On November 6 he was ordained by the Presbytery of Edinburgh, of the Free Church of Scotland, as a preliminary to his despatch to Portugal as a missionary. Accordingly, he proceeded to Lisbon, where he spent two months. There he met Dr. Kalley who was on his way back to Scotland.<sup>17</sup>

It is said that Dr. Kalley "was not even aware of his intended mission to the island till after Mr. Hewitson's departure from England. They first met accidentally in Lisbon . . . ." This meeting took place upon Dr. Kalley's arrival from Madeira, January 28, 1845. That very day a message also arrived from Scotland giving the consent of the Colonial Committee of the Free Church of Scotland that Mr. Hewitson should go immediately to Madeira. It is impossible not to see some connection between Dr. Kalley's withdrawal from the island and this action of the Colonial Committee, who apparently had been detaining the eager Hewitson at Lisbon.<sup>18</sup>

Mr. Hewitson at once proceeded to Madeira. As yet, no church had been organized among the converts. Indeed, only twenty-five or thirty had so far openly renounced the church of their childhood. Mr. Hewitson lived in the house of Mr. Wood, an English clergyman, where he had a room for meetings. His labors prospered so that by May he was contemplating the organization of a church of the Madeirenses. He put his motives on record. "The time may be not far distant," he writes, "when I shall be obliged to leave Madeira by the strong arm of persecution, and it would be a great comfort to the afflicted church here, amidst their privations, to have the prospect of so soon receiving the ordinances at the hands of one of their own number."<sup>19</sup>

The organization of the church was actually accomplished on May 12, 1845, with Mr. Hewitson as minister and modera-

<sup>17</sup> Norton, 110; Blackburn, 50-60.

<sup>18</sup> Norton, 110; Blackburn, 61.

<sup>19</sup> Blackburn, 61-71.

tor of session. The first session was composed of Arsenio Nicos da Silva, João de Freitas, João Correa, Martinho José de Souza, João de Gouveia, and Manual J. de Andrade. The first deacons were Antonio de Mattos, Antonio Correa, José Marques Joaquin Vieira, Manuel Pires, and Martinho Vieira. Of these, Arsenio Nicos da Silva and Antonio de Mattos subsequently became ministers and were respectively pastors of the church at Trinidad and at Jacksonville. It is claimed that this was the first Protestant church of Portuguese ever organized; and that its direct successor today, after a series of reorganizations, schisms and reunions, is the Northminster Presbyterian Church of Jacksonville.<sup>20</sup>

The organization of the church was effected under lowering skies. On the very day of its accomplishment, Mr. Hewitson wrote: "The horizon is becoming more and more cloudy. Two or three days ago at a dinner party, the Bishop of Madeira declared exterminating war against the Bible. He said that he had all the authorities on his side, and he was resolved to put down all dissent from the Roman Catholic Church."<sup>21</sup>

Mr. Hewitson found that Mr. Wood's house was too small; so he rented another with a garden on each side where the people might not be so closely watched by the police. The Madeirenses, however, were quite reckless, seemingly careless of their danger. The officials were now seeking cause for the arrest of the missionary. The English treaty protected him against outrageous attack, but out of prudence he discontinued his meetings for a few weeks. Then he was warned by the police to discontinue them under threat of arrest; so he cautiously held them by night. Of one of these he writes: "This night we are at eight o'clock to 'keep the feast' in secret, with closed doors and windows, in our dining-room, with this poor and persecuted little flock of Christ. The ser-

<sup>20</sup> Vasconcellos, *Brief Narrative of the Original Portuguese Church, and Brief History of the Portuguese Settlement at Jacksonville.*

<sup>21</sup> Blackburn, 71.

vice if discovered will send his dear servant to prison, but the Lord is his keeper."<sup>22</sup>

Then Mr. Hewitson fell ill. He retired to a country village for rest, but grew worse. He was brought back to Funchal in a hammock. For six weeks he was unable to attend the services of the little Scottish church. He thought it unwise to resume the public services until Dr. Kalley should return from Scotland, but he organized a class for the instruction of the converts, and then sent them out to hold meetings from house to house.<sup>23</sup>

For over a year persecution had been raging. Mr. Hewitson was in daily expectation of arrest. Dr. Kalley's return was signalized by Mr. Hewitson's being forbidden to preach or teach. His arrest was indeed sought, but the judge, who was the son-in-law of Arsenio Nicos da Silva, declined to issue the order on the ground that his authority did not extend over the missionary. The English merchants were forbidden to allow meeting of the Portuguese in their houses. The Bishop departed for Lisbon to seek aid, vowing, it was said, never to return until Dr. Kalley should be driven from Madeira. Affairs were clearly approaching a crisis.<sup>24</sup>

Under these circumstances, it seemed best that Mr. Hewitson should retire from the scene for a while. He was, however, determined to complete the course of study he had marked out for his class; and to this end he redoubled his efforts. In three weeks there were eighty-seven open conversions among the Portuguese. Then in May, 1846, a little over a year after his arrival, he left Madeira with the intention of returning in a few months. When he saw his flock again it was far away in Trinidad.<sup>25</sup>

The excitement caused by Dr. Kalley's return and the feverish parting labors of Mr. Hewitson was increased in June by the release of a number of the converts who had been in prison for months. It became evident that legal measures

<sup>22</sup> Blackburn, 70-72.

<sup>23</sup> Blackburn, 72-73.

<sup>24</sup> Blackburn, 74-75, 148.

<sup>25</sup> Blackburn, 74-75.

would not suffice for the suppression of the heresy. As early as 1843, the "*Imparcial*," a newspaper edited by the brother-in-law of the civil governor at that time, "openly recommended the cudgel, as the best means of convincing the country people of the truth of their religion, because they were not accustomed to arguments, but could understand the power of a stick. The gallows and the stake were also at another time recommended in it, as the only remaining cure for heresy;" and its columns were constantly filled with attacks on Dr. Kalley's followers. In 1845, these attacks had been compiled and published as a pamphlet under the title, "*An Historical Review of the Anti-Catholic Proselytism carried on by Dr. Kalley in Madeira since October, 1838.*" This was published by subscription, and copies of it were carried to Lisbon by the Bishop. Dr. Kalley wrote a reply to this pamphlet, which was printed in Lisbon and circulated there and in Madeira in July, 1846.<sup>26</sup> This open controversy seems to have been the match which touched off the explosion.

The first violent outburst occurred on Sunday, August 2, 1846. Two English ladies, the Misses Rutherford, resided on the island and sympathized with Dr. Kalley's work. On the date mentioned, they allowed a group of the Madeirenses the use of a room in their house. There some thirty or forty assembled, under the leadership of Arsenio Nicos da Silva, to hold a prayer meeting and to read a letter which had come from Mr. Hewitson. News of the meeting spread and a mob gathered without. The leading spirit was one of the canons of the cathedral named Conego Telles de Menezes.

When the meeting ended, about half past twelve, da Silva and three or four others broke through the mob and escaped, though not without indignity and rough treatment. The rest, for the most part women, were compelled to remain. During the afternoon, Dr. Kalley came and went, calling professionally on one of the ladies who was an invalid. He was affronted at the gate and his groom beaten. Later, another English gentleman, Captain Tate, to whom we owe the de-

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<sup>26</sup> Norton, 23-24.



tailed account of the riots, came to the house and remained throughout the night.

The police had been about all day without making any attempt to disperse the mob. At sunset, however, they were withdrawn. About eleven o'clock, the mob invaded the grounds and prepared to attack the house. To the remonstrances of the inmates they paid no heed, declaring that they did not care for the English consul, that there was no law for "Calvinists," and that they could appeal to the governor. After some further parley, the house was broken into. The Madeirenses had been secreted in its most remote parts. The mob was hesitant and dilatory in its search. At last, however, the victims were found, and amid blows and threats were dragged into the garden. At this stage, when the murder of the converts seemed imminent, the proceedings were interrupted by the tardy arrival of the police and soldiery. The mob was quickly dispersed and the frightened converts escorted to their homes.<sup>27</sup>

This, however, did not end the mob violence. Threats and demonstrations continued throughout the following week. Another outbreak should have been expected on the following Sunday, for it was the great religious festival of the island, when the fanaticism of the people would be at its height. The Misses Rutherford appealed to the British consul. He, however, did not sympathize with Dr. Kalley and his friends, and refused to interfere, referring them to the police department. The authorities demanded a promise that the ladies would permit no more meetings in their house. They refused to give such a promise in unequivocal terms, and so received no assurance of protection.<sup>28</sup>

Dr. Kalley, meanwhile, had been carrying on a heated correspondence with the police magistrate, the governor, and the consul both on the Misses Rutherford's account and his own. The threats continued and grew more fierce. The mob was watching Dr. Kalley's house and subjecting all who came

<sup>27</sup> Norton, 46-53.

<sup>28</sup> Norton, 58.

and went to insult and abuse. On August 8, Dr. Kalley received an anonymous letter exactly detailing the plans of the riot which took place on the following day. This letter, also, he despatched to the consul without apparent effect.

On the next day, August 9, 1846, the great riot occurred. The native converts as well as Dr. Kalley were subjected to attack. The Madeirenses fled to the mountains. Dr. Kalley's family first took refuge at the British consulate and later fled on board one of the British ships lying in the harbor of Funchal. After various movements and several narrow escapes, Dr. Kalley himself was finally carried on ship-board disguised as a female invalid. His house and valuable library were burned. The consulate itself was besieged and threatened with destruction. The consul chose to mingle with the crowd without official insignia. In the evening, he came down to the shore with some of the leaders of the mob and requested Dr. Kalley to show himself on the deck, in order that the fury of the mob might be appeased and order restored. This Dr. Kalley did, although he regarded the request as an insult.<sup>29</sup>

On the next day, the Misses Rutherford, Captain Tate, and other English residents who were identified with Dr. Kalley, in all three men and ten women, also took refuge on board the ship. The invalid Miss Rutherford died as a consequence of the excitement and exposure of the flight.<sup>30</sup>

It is plain that the consul and others of the English residents disapproved of the course taken by Dr. Kalley and his friends, and resented the anti-English feeling it had aroused. The British press commented with great severity on the conduct of the consul, but he appears to have received no official reprimand. Although he had gone out to his country estate in the morning, and so had not received an application which was made to place Dr. Kalley's house under the direct protection of the British flag, he returned in the midst of the riot and urged the governor to use the troops to disperse the mob which was about to destroy British property. Dr. Kalley's

<sup>29</sup> Norton, 56-78.

<sup>30</sup> Norton, 55-56.

family were sheltered in the consulate, and the consul's servant gave great assistance in Dr. Kalley's escape to the ship. All accounts of the riots are based on the narrative of Captain Tate, who was violently indignant at the consul's conduct. Even his *ex parte* testimony, however, presents these ameliorating circumstances. The consul's attitude appears to have been that Dr. Kalley and his friends had produced such strong and general feeling as only their departure from the island could allay. Since they would neither change their course, which they held perfectly legal, nor withdraw voluntarily, mob violence was inevitable; and he seems to have sought, therefore, not so much to prevent the riot, as to prevent, so far as possible, the destruction of British property and life.

The conduct of the civil authorities was indeed culpable, and in marked contrast to that of the military commandant, who earnestly sought permission to disperse the mob with his troops. The British ambassador at Lisbon at once entered a protest and the Queen of Portugal was constrained to send a royal commission of investigation to Madeira. "This commission came and made their investigations. In their view, the conduct of the government at Madeira was so unjustifiable that they requested the administration to resign. They all resigned except the *administrado do concelho*.

"His dismissal was immediately sent from Portugal. A new governor was appointed at Madeira. In this change there was a show of disapprobation on the part of the queen against those who had encouraged and sanctioned this persecution by their silence and inaction. Whether this change was made by the queen with a conviction of wrong doing on the part of the authorities at Madeira, or whether it was effected through fear of British cannon, may be a question.

"There was also the *external* form of a trial of some of those who had been the most active and the most savage in this persecution. The result of this appearance of justice was the acquittal of all the rioters. Even those who were arrested, in the *very act of murdering* the Bible-readers, were

acquitted. When the evidence of their guilt was too obvious to be denied, no penalty was inflicted. The leaders of the mob, such as the Canon Telles, were not subjected even to the form of a trial.

"The painful conclusion to which we are driven by these facts is, that the civil government and the courts of justice connived at these enormous crimes, and that the whole form of trial was a solemn mockery or a farce."<sup>31</sup>

From this it would appear, as it does from other incidents, that the feeling against the "Calvinists" was quite general among the populace, although Captain Tate charges that the rioters were hired from a fund raised by subscription. Later, the British government demanded and obtained full indemnity for Dr. Kalley's pecuniary losses.<sup>32</sup>

During the week of August 2-9, the mob also turned its fury against the native converts. The violence continued until they had no recourse but flight. "On the evening of the 5th many houses were plundered by bands of marauding ruffians, and sixty or eighty of the converts were compelled to leave their homes and pass the night in the mountains. Night after night these bands continued to repeat their desolating work; . . . till, on the Sunday, many hundreds of Portuguese subjects . . . had fled for their lives. The mob had broken open their doors, and destroyed their windows, furniture, and other property; trampling under foot the grapes and corn of those who possessed vineyards and gardens. When the work of destruction was done in the town and neighborhood, the ruthless persecutors followed the scattered flock to the mountains. . . ."<sup>33</sup>

The fugitives soon heard that the ship "William of Glasgow" had received Dr. Kalley and their other English friends; and there the persecuted Madeirenses also sought refuge. By the night of the 10th, several of them had reached the ship. From night to night they flocked on board the "William" until she had received all the ship could accom-

<sup>31</sup> Norton, 80-81. The italics appear in the original.

<sup>32</sup> Norton, 50-51, 95-97.

<sup>33</sup> Norton, 84.



moderate. During the two weeks from the 9th to the 23d, two British warships lying alongside the "William of Glasgow" kept firing their guns at intervals to show the people, as the captains remarked, "that afloat, at least, the English could and would protect themselves." The sound of these guns gave great encouragement to the fugitives among the mountains, some of whom wandered for thirteen days before finding safety on the "William."<sup>34</sup>

Another demonstration was planned for the 16th, but the military officers sent word to the governor, whom they accused of conniving in the riots, that they would quell any further disturbance independently of the civil authorities. This was sufficient to end mob violence in Funchal. The rioters contented themselves with rowing around the "William of Glasgow" in boats, singing songs against the "Calvinistas" and otherwise insulting them and their English friends. All that day also, in spite of a consular reprimand, the warships continued at intervals to fire their guns for the encouragement of the fugitives.<sup>35</sup>

Dr. Kalley had originally taken refuge on the ship "Forth"; but the "William of Glasgow" had come by arrangement with the planters of Trinidad, who were greatly in need of laborers. Thus the Madeirenses were able to comply with the demand of their enemies that they should become exiles from their homes. It was necessary, however, to arrange for their passports. The authorities were by this time so anxious to allay the storm that they facilitated their emigration by waiving the requirements of personal application and certificate of church attendance.<sup>36</sup>

"Some made efforts to sell their property, when they were about to leave, that they might have some means for their voyage. But no one would buy only at an immense sacrifice. One man whose property was worth \$1,500 sold it for \$100, &c. Those who had large and valuable property

<sup>34</sup> Norton, 89.

<sup>35</sup> Norton, 84-89; Dimmitt, 66.

<sup>36</sup> Norton, 89; Dimmitt, 70.

could not sell at all. Those who had small possessions, worth \$400, or \$500, could get nothing for them."<sup>87</sup>

When all arrangements had at length been made, on Sunday, August 23, 1846, the "William of Glasgow" loosed her sails and began her voyage to Trinidad. Dr. Kalley and the other English refugees also departed from the island. Among the two hundred and eleven passengers of the "William," was one Roman Catholic family, abjectly poor, bound also for Trinidad. This family was treated by the exiles with the greatest kindness. Soon after this, the "Lord Seaton" took about the same number to the West Indies. "Besides these 400 souls, others fled to the various vessels, and sailed for the West India Islands. About one hundred landed at Demerara, and about the same number fled to St. Vincent, and also to St. Kitts. Between 600 and 700 went to Trinidad, while others landed at other islands." When the "William" touched at Demerara, the exiles were joined by Nicolao Vieira, who went on with them to Trinidad. In all, a thousand or twelve hundred went into exile.<sup>88</sup>

In time, they were also joined by Arsenio Nicos da Silva. He had fled first to his estates in the interior of Madeira, where he thought he might be safe. But he became convinced that there was no safety for him on the island, so he determined to flee to Lisbon. When he returned to Funchal, he was unable to go to his own home, but lay hidden elsewhere according to arrangements made by his family, who did not agree with his religious views. His wife supplied him with money for his flight to Lisbon. He had hoped that his family, whom he had been unable to see in Funchal, might rejoin him at Lisbon; but even there he was not safe, and thought of going to Oporto. But he received letters from both the Madeirenses at Trinidad and Dr. Kalley, urging him to go and labor in that field. The missionary board of the Free Church of Scotland at the same time offering to sustain him there, he at once sailed for Trinidad. There he was ordained by the local

<sup>88</sup> Norton, 90-94, 127; Blackburn, 203.

<sup>87</sup> Norton, 94-95.

Presbyterian ministers and eagerly accepted as their pastor by the Portuguese exiles. This was in April, 1847, at Port of Spain.<sup>39</sup>

At the beginning of the year, Mr. Hewitson had sailed for Trinidad, arriving toward the end of January. At that time, there were about 450 exiles in Trinidad. Including children, there were more than 300 converts in Port of Spain and its vicinity, of whom eighty-five were members of the church. Three of the seven elders and four of the nine deacons had come from Madeira, and had regularly conducted meetings for worship. About thirty persons had applied for admission to the church.<sup>40</sup> Since August there had been a succession of flights from Madeira. By March, 1847, it was thought that an expected company of one hundred would be the last; but upward of 250 more arrived.

Mr. Hewitson thus describes the material condition of the exiles:

“On their arrival, a considerable number of them were engaged by planters to labor on sugar estates. Some of these were placed on an estate situated in the neighborhood of marshy ground, and, as might have been expected, were soon prostrated by an attack of fever, which, in several instances, terminated in death. A speedy removal of all who survived from the pestilential neighborhood, in which they had been so unhappily located, to the more salubrious air of the capital, was found to be necessary. The removal took place, I believe, in consequence of an order from the governor of the island—and I have great pleasure in taking this opportunity of bearing testimony to the kind exertions which his excellency, Lord Harris, was always ready to make on behalf of our refugees. Those who were employed on sugar plantations in more salubrious localities than the one above referred to, were enabled to continue their labors without experiencing so much injury of bodily health; but they, too, were occasionally disabled by an attack either of dysentery, or of intermittent

<sup>39</sup> Norton, 148-151; Blackburn, 161.

<sup>40</sup> Norton, 103, 106-107; Blackburn, 152-153.

fever;—ophthalmia likewise prevailed amongst them. I have no hesitation in saying, that the result of the experiment, which necessity constrained them to make, has been unfavorable to the hope that they will be equal to the hardships connected with cane cultivation in Trinidad, until a lengthened residence in the island has inured them to the scorching heats and drenching rains of its tropical climate. When I arrived, I found only about fifty individuals (including children) who were *supported* by the labors of cane cultivation, and of these only about sixteen were actually, or in condition to be, *employed* in these labors. Others obtained employment on cocoa plantations; and, as their labor is chiefly under the shade of trees thickly planted, they are saved from the dangerous effects of protracted exposure to the rays of a vertical sun. One disadvantage of their situation arises from the great humidity of the atmosphere, which, in not a few instances, has occasioned intermittent fever, or ague.

“The greater proportion of the exiled brethren have found occupation in the capital of the island, Port of Spain, or its vicinity. Not a few of them are distributed in domestic service among the families resident there. Some are occupied in gardening and similar labor. A few have commenced shopkeeping on a small scale, being unable to gain a livelihood by any other means. While those of them who are masons, carpenters, and shoemakers, are endeavoring, in their respective departments of labor, to earn a livelihood. The female converts, who, in Madeira, were able to support themselves by needlework, are still dependent on the same means of support, but their earnings are comparatively small and precarious. While some of the brethren are, by the goodness of God, in comfortable enough circumstances, not a few have such difficulties to struggle with as tend at once to keep them hanging in daily dependence on the Lord, and to give permanency to the impression—the persuasion in their minds, that ‘this is not their rest.’ ”<sup>41</sup>

Thus already it was felt that Trinidad could not be their

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<sup>41</sup> Norton, 104-105.



permanent abiding place. Their economic situation was not encouraging and Mr. Hewitson found the spiritual atmosphere unpropitious. When Mr. Hewitson returned to Scotland, he left Mr. da Silva as pastor of the church; and it was under his leadership that plans were laid for the new migration.<sup>42</sup>

Reports of the persecution and exile of the Madeirenses had received wide publicity in the religious press, and came to the attention of the American Protestant Society, which had its headquarters in New York. This society already had a missionary, M. G. Gonsalves, born in Madeira, at work among the Portuguese who had settled along the New England coast to the number of five or six thousand. In the winter of 1847-48, the society sent Mr. Gonsalves to Trinidad to investigate the situation of the exiles.<sup>43</sup> On his return, Mr. Gonsalves brought a letter from Mr. da Silva, of which the following are the most significant passages:

"Finding myself constituted the pastor (though unworthy of so great a trust) of a church of nearly six hundred persons, it is not only my duty to feed them with spiritual aliment, but also to seek prayerfully their temporal good; endeavoring to keep them together in the faith and enjoyment of their daily bread.

"And that they may be able to hear the Word of God with profit on the days appointed, I do not see here the prospect of keeping this people in the midst of the present distress, as their labors are not paid as they should be; for in this sickly climate, when the husband and father is taken to the hospital the wife and children are left destitute, and not being able to pay the house-rent, they are turned into the streets, to beg from door to door. This state of things led me to solicit of the governor of this island (Lord Harris), a portion of land to be divided amongst the Portuguese, that they might on the same build their cabins, provided they could receive some aid in advance, to be paid by them in the

<sup>42</sup> Norton, 105-107.

<sup>43</sup> Norton, 111-112.

course of time. But although the governor is friendly to us, yet in his official capacity he said he could not comply with our request. I have also written on this subject to the Rev. Mr. Hewitson, of Scotland, who answered that we should find it difficult to obtain lands for families in these islands. And finally, in the midst of these efforts, the bank of West Indies failed, and sugars came down in price, and business was prostrated to the ruin of many households. Government works were stopped, and laborers can find little or nothing to do. And worse than all, our children, whose morals should be preserved at every expense, are mixed with a low, profane, wretched Roman Catholic population. I have consulted also the Rev. Messrs. Kennedy and Bodie, pastors of the English Presbyterian church, and Rev. Messrs. Banks, Kerr, Black and Berry, on a visit from the United States to this island. I said to these brethren that I believed God would in his way prepare a place for his people in some country where I might retire with the whole church, and that he would open the hearts of the faithful that they might bestow upon us the requisite aid. These gentlemen thought the United States of America offered advantages greater than any other country for a Bible-reading, spiritual, virtuous, industrious people.—

... I have also written to the friends of Christ in Scotland, that they might still feel for this people, who must receive immediate aid, or many of them will perish with misery. I do not ask for money, but for lands. I ask what God has given to man, that he might earn his bread by the sweat of his brow. Our people are mechanics and farmers, virtuous and industrious; they will soon thrive with the blessing of God and the labor of their hands. They will soon rejoice in abundance, for they hate vice and love virtue. All these things I have made known to the Rev. Mr. Gonsalves, and he, seeing the desire of all the Portuguese to depart for the United States, for they were ready to fly, offered to take with him a small number, believing that the excellent American Protestant Society and the Christian community would assist them with all the aid in their power. But, on the whole, I thought we should

wait until we should receive advice from the American Protestant Society, and the friends in Scotland, who, under God, have granted us so many blessings, and to whom we feel greatly indebted." <sup>44</sup>

One of the ministers at Trinidad wrote in September:

"If, in God's all-wise providence, the believing Portuguese sojourning among us, are to be removed to your country, Mr. Da Silva wishes that they should be located near each other, so that they could worship together, and have the great advantage of suitable schools for their children." <sup>45</sup>

In October, 1848, Mr. Da Silva wrote to the colonial committee of the Free Church of Scotland as follows:

"The sufferings in which this church is at present involved arise from the decaying state of this island. With difficulty do the people at all find labor so as to be able to support themselves and their families, and to pay the rent of their houses, which are always exceedingly high. In circumstances of extreme necessity, those of them who sicken, die as much in consequence of want as of the severity of their disease. Their little children are almost naked, and have only rags to sleep on. Such of them as are of age to be sent to school, are, as a matter of sheer necessity, put to service for food and clothing. And what is it that they learn? Everything that is opposite to the doctrine of the Gospel; and consequently the children, who should grow up to take the place of their believing parents in love to the Lord, are like seed-corn that is completely lost.

"Above forty Portuguese have already gone to the United States. I was greatly grieved on account of it, as it would have been much better not to separate them from their brethren, but to wait with Christian patience till your resolutions on the subject were ascertained. Many of these have written to their christian brethren, telling them that they had been kindly received by the Society, and that it had given them a house to live in till the arrival of the whole church

<sup>44</sup> Norton, 153-155.

<sup>45</sup> Norton, 157-158.



from Trinidad; when they might join it, and go to the place that should be fixed for their settlement.

"If you then shall approve and aid in the removal of this church to a country which offers it a hospitable welcome, we may expect that your approval of the step may not be unaccompanied with the blessing of the Lord."<sup>46</sup>

Meanwhile, however, the exertions and hardships of Mr. Da Silva had seriously impaired his health. His physician advised a visit to a more northern climate. Accordingly, he came to the United States, arriving at New York about the first of December, 1848. For the first two weeks his condition improved; then came a change for the worse, and he sank rapidly, dying January 10, 1849. His funeral was conducted at the Reformed Dutch Church, at the corner of Fourth Street and Lafayette Place; and he was buried in its vaults.<sup>47</sup>

Early in 1849, arrangements were made with the American Hemp Company for the settlement of the exiles in Illinois. The place selected was on the Meredosia and Springfield Railroad, at Island Grove,<sup>48</sup> about midway between Springfield and Jacksonville. "By these arrangements the American Hemp Company, which is composed of gentlemen at the west and in this city [New York], is to give both the Portuguese, who are here, and also those who are in Trinidad, immediate employment and good wages on their arrival there. They are also to furnish them with houses and every thing necessary for their comfort for one year without charge. Besides this, the company have engaged to give every family of the colony (in all one hundred and thirty-one families) ten acres of land in fee and unincumbered, on which a house can be built where they can have a permanent home. The ten acres lots are to be on the same tract of land, contiguous to each other, and, by the terms of the arrangement to be located by a committee consisting of the Hon. A. C. French, governor of Illinois; Rev. J. M. Sturtevant, president of Illinois College, at Jacksonville; and Rev. Albert Hale, of Springfield.

<sup>46</sup> Norton, 158-160.

<sup>47</sup> Norton, 160-170.

<sup>48</sup> *Illinois Journal*, March 27, 1849.



"Great care has also been taken that these advantages, so secured to this interesting people, should be rendered available to themselves and to their families.

"The writings have been drawn, sealed, and delivered, in which the parties are under bonds of ten thousand dollars each to fulfill their engagements."<sup>49</sup>

Word of these arrangements was sent to Trinidad, and Mr. Gonsalves began to send forward the rest of the exiles. For the execution of this plan, the society, in March and April, 1849, collected funds to defray the expense of their transportation to Illinois. Meanwhile, due publicity was given the project in that locality. In March, the "Illinois State Journal" published and endorsed the "Last Appeal" of the society in behalf of the exiles and explained the contract with the American Hemp Company. In April it devoted its editorial column to a résumé of Dr. Kalley's work in Madeira.<sup>50</sup>

"Every preparation was made for their departure. The buildings which the Society had rented for them in New York were rented by others, and the Portuguese were to vacate them before the 1st of May. As they were about to move it was ascertained that the American Hemp Company, who had engaged to take them, had failed to fulfill its engagements, although under a bond of ten thousand dollars to do so. This company had made no preparations to receive the Portuguese. This deranged the plans of the Society, and obliged them to rent other buildings in New-York for the Portuguese, as in such circumstances they could not send them to the West. We were daily expecting the way would be prepared for their departure to Illinois, but for weeks we were held in the most painful suspense.

"In this state no efforts could be made to obtain employment for the Portuguese. Hence they were entirely dependent upon the Society for daily bread. Their prospects for the future were dark, on account of the suspense in which they

<sup>49</sup> Norton, 185.

<sup>50</sup> Norton, 238; *Illinois Journal*, March 27, 1849, April 13, 1849.

were about their destination in Illinois, and because no other location as suitable was presented.”<sup>51</sup>

When this news reached Illinois, however, it was not regarded as an unmixed evil. “We *never* approved of that plan,” said the “Illinois Journal.” “When foreigners come to our country, in our opinion, they should become Americanized as soon as possible; and this never can be done if they are located in isolated communities.”<sup>52</sup>

“At length another door was opened. A letter was received from Rev. Dr. Sturtevant, . . . informing us of a meeting of the principal Protestant churches of Jacksonville; of the appointment of a joint committee, representing two Presbyterian churches, one Congregational, one Baptist, and one Methodist Episcopal church, and of their action respecting the Exiles. This letter proposed to have those in New-York go to Jacksonville at once, to take care of them and put them into positions to earn a comfortable living, and not leave them to themselves till they should be thus provided for.

“The letter further proposed that those in the West Indies should follow these, with the expectation of being located in Jacksonville and its immediate neighborhood, or at farthest in the three places, Jacksonville, Springfield, and Waverly, (the latter situated eight miles south of the railroad on which the two former lie, and about equi-distant from each), where ‘there can be no doubt that all of them could find the means of living with comfort from the rewards of their industry.’ ”

“This letter was laid before the Board of Directors of the American and Foreign Christian Union, and, after careful deliberation, it was resolved to send our Portuguese brethren to Jacksonville with the least possible delay. Everything was arranged, and the day was appointed for their departure. Their passage was engaged on the Western route, over the lakes to Chicago, and thence through the canal and down the Illinois river to Jacksonville. But before the day arrived

<sup>51</sup> Norton. 238-239.

<sup>52</sup> *Illinois Journal*, August 7, 1849.

sickness and cholera had commenced among them. Again were we disappointed and our plans deranged."<sup>53</sup>

Indeed, the time was unpropitious for their arrival in their new home. Their friends in Illinois first sent a telegram advising that their departure be delayed, and then despatched the following letter:<sup>54</sup>

"Illinois College, July 10, 1849.

"Rev. Herman Norton, Cor. Sec. Christ. Union.

"Dear Sir: There are two reasons why we think the journey should not be undertaken:

"1st. There is so much pestilence all along the great thoroughfares, from the east to the west, that the journey cannot be performed by such a number of persons without much danger.

"2nd. This village is thus far unaffected by the pestilence, but there is great sensitiveness about the propagation of the disease by infection from Cholera patients.

"The Committee are of the opinion that these apprehensions are excessive, but they are real, and would be likely to stand in the way of that kindness and hospitality which would otherwise be extended to these persecuted disciples. We think, therefore, that they constitute a good reason for delaying the journey for the present. In all other respects, the facts remain the same as at the time of my other communications. We have reason to believe that neither in respect to interest in these exiles, as sufferers for the testimony of Jesus, nor in the facility of affording them employment and the means of a livelihood, will there be any disappointment.

"Judging from our experience in the prevalence of Cholera during its former visit, we entertain the hope that our thoroughfares will be safe for the journey in a few weeks from this time; still this scourge is in God's hand, and he alone knoweth the limits of ravages. We are fearful these Refugees may be greatly exposed to it in your city, and yet,

<sup>53</sup> Norton, 239-240.

<sup>54</sup> Norton, 241; *Illinois Journal*, August 9, 1849, clipping from *New York Tribune*.

with the care and skill which can be brought to their aid there, we must think they will be safer than on board canal boats and steamboats on either of the great thoroughfares. May God appear in his good time for all his persecuted ones.

“Yours in the Gospel,

J. M. STURTEVANT.”

As the summer progressed, the embarrassments of the society increased. On July 19, another party of the exiles arrived at New York, bringing word that about August 1 a hundred and fifty more might be expected. No information having reached Mr. Gonsalves at Trinidad of the failure of the arrangement with the American Hemp Company, and the exiles being in great difficulties in that place, the whole company, some 450 in number, were expecting to embark for the United States as fast as arrangements could be made for their passage. The following letter appears to have been brought by this group of exiles: <sup>55</sup>

“Trinidad, Port of Spain, July 13, 1849.

“Rev. Herman Norton and Mortimer De Motte, Esq.

“My Dear Sirs: By the bark Henry Trowbridge, Capt. Frisby, I send to your care 74 of the exiles of Madeira. Another bark and brig will sail in a few days with 76 and 74 more exiles.—As the condition of the people is so heart-rending, they are all anxious to go to America, but not knowing how much funds you have received for the exiles, I dare not venture any more at present, though my heart aches for them. They are a devoted, pious and patient people. The people on this island are very angry because the Portuguese are going to America. They think the British government ought to have given them lands on this island and not suffer a good people to go to any other country. This poor people have sold furniture and made every sacrifice, so great is their desire to reach American soil, and unite their prayers and tears with

<sup>55</sup> *Illinois Journal*, August 4, 1849. from *New York Herald*, July 20, 1849; *ibid.*, August 9, 1849, from *New York Tribune*.



their brethren already in America's favored land. I know that in this emergency I have gone beyond my limits; no other motives but heart yearning compassion has led me to take a step for which I may be blamed; but I will suffer all things cheerfully for the sake of God's poor persecuted of the Nineteenth Century.

“Yours in the best bonds,

“M. J. GONSALVES.”

This news aroused great concern in the West. “The situation of these exiles,” said the “Illinois Journal” after quoting an account of the arrival of this party in New York, “calls for the sympathies of all. The failure of the plan by which they were to be colonized must be extremely embarrassing to them, and unless promptly relieved will result in great distress. . . .

“We suppose that the society at New York has means to send these emigrants to the counties of Sangamon and Morgan. Now, we take upon ourselves to say, that two good men, in two weeks' time, can find situations for these exiles, able to support themselves by labor,—as people here all have to labor—in these two counties. Hundreds of them can have situations secured in families in the towns of Jacksonville and Springfield. This may not be as pleasant to them, in the idea, as a location of their own exclusively; but in our opinion it is more plausible—it is, in fact, entirely practicable—and would result in the greatest benefit to these citizens. They would thus learn our manners, our habits (we hope our good ones only), and our way of doing business of all kinds—and become useful to themselves, and in time amalgamated with us.

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“We recommend this matter to those who have seemed to have some connection with it, and especially to Rev. Albert Hale. . . . ” 56

<sup>56</sup> *Illinois Journal*, August 7, 1849.

A few days later, the "Illinois Journal" published the following letter and comment:<sup>57</sup>

"New York, Sept. 15, 1849.

"Mr. Erastus Wright.

"Dear Sir:—By request of the Society whose Secretary I am, I address you a few inquiries respecting the Portuguese Exiles, now under our care. We have now in this city and on Staten Island 470 of these exiles, natives of Maderia [sic], who have lost all their property and were obliged to flee from their country. . . . The majority of them are Farmers, some are Mechanics, and others were Merchants. None were so poor as to be dependent. Some were persons of great wealth. Now all are equally destitute. They are an excellent industrious class of people.

"The citizens of Jacksonville have requested us to send 100 of them there. They will take them with their families, give the Mechanics employment in the village, and the farmers, on the farms in the vicinity, so that all may assemble at Jacksonville on the Sabbath.

"It has been suggested to us that the citizens of Springfield might be willing to take a company of these exiles. My object in writing is to ascertain their desire on this subject. Your name is given to us as the proper person to address.

"Can you inform us in this matter. Can you tell us whether any and *how many* could be provided for this fall and winter in Springfield, whether they can be employed and how? Only a few of them can speak the English language.

"Will you please inform us as soon as convenient, as winter is coming on, and we are very anxious to secure them a comfortable home.

"It is their desire, if the way should be opened, to eventually settle together as a colony on the new lands. But this cannot be done immediately. Truly yours, Herman Norton, Cor. Sec'ry, etc."

"We commend the above letter to the attention of our

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<sup>57</sup> *Illinois Journal*, September 26, 1849.

citizens," commented the "Illinois Journal." "The labor of these exiles is much wanted, and we now feel on this subject as we have ever done, that if pains should be taken, places for 100 or more can readily be obtained.

"They will not understand our manner of doing work, and it will take them some time to learn 'our ways.' We do not suppose they will expect wages until they can become useful. Farmers would find the men of great service. They could also be of service in town—those not mechanics—in gardens, sawing wood, and doing the thousand jobs required by families.

"Besides in assisting these people we should perform a praiseworthy act, as pleasant to those who confer, as it would be grateful to those who would receive benefit.

"We hope the Rev. Mr. Hale, Jas. L. Lamb, Erastus Wright, J. A. Barret, and Elijah Iles will consent to act as a committee to receive communications, applications, &c. on this subject from our citizens; and also correspond with the Rev. Herman Norton, of New York, on the subject."

While these exertions were being put forth in the West, the Society was striving to cope with the situation in New York. Three vessels arrived from Trinidad, bringing the total number of refugees to nearly five hundred. "They were all destitute of money and of clothing suitable for our climate. The Society were obliged to furnish them with daily bread—with medicines, and to obtain for them a large supply of clothing. . . . A brief and simple statement of the facts was spread out before the community. . . . The response to this simple appeal was so prompt and liberal that within a few weeks we were constrained to publish that the wants of the Portuguese, as regards clothing, were all supplied."<sup>58</sup>

As soon as the cholera abated, arrangements were made for their journey; and on October 19, 1849, the first detachment of 280 left New York on the steamer "Isaac Newton." They intended to spend their first Sabbath in Albany, the second in Buffalo, and the third in Chicago. At all these cities,

<sup>58</sup> Norton, 242-243.

and at Detroit, public meetings were held and liberal contributions made toward their expenses. Everywhere they were received with the most cordial hospitality. From Buffalo to Chicago, they travelled on the steamer "Key Stone," "one of the largest and most elegant steamers on the lake." "They will be accompanied throughout the journey by the Rev. David Lathrop and by the Rev. Dr. Baird as far as Albany. The Rev. Mr. Sawtell has gone before, to make the necessary arrangements for their reception at each stopping place.

"Those of the refugees who still remain in the city [New York], about 200 in number, will not be removed until further intelligence is received from Mr. Sawtell, which may not be until the lapse of two or three weeks."<sup>59</sup>

Meanwhile, the "Illinois Journal" was heralding their approach. As early as November 8, it said: "The Portuguese exiles will be here today or tomorrow. Are we ready to receive them?" And indeed, on the morrow arrived their advance agent, the Rev. Mr. Sawtell. It was expected that they would arrive Monday or Tuesday by the afternoon train from Jacksonville. Again the "Journal" appealed for welcome and aid. The next evening, Friday, Mr. Sawtell gave an address at the Second Presbyterian Church, rehearsing the history of the exiles. On Sunday he preached at the Second Church in the morning and at the First Church at night.<sup>60</sup>

On Monday, the "Journal" published a résumé of Mr. Sawtell's address of Friday night; and reported that the exiles had not yet reached Jacksonville by Saturday night, and might not reach Springfield as early as expected by a day or two. A meeting was held that day which adopted the following resolutions:<sup>61</sup>

"To the People of Springfield and Sangamon County.

"Resolved, that the citizens of Springfield and the citizens of Sangamon County generally, be invited to contribute cash, furniture, clothing, food, or whatever else may be use-

<sup>59</sup> Norton, 244, 248; *Illinois Journal*, October 30, 1849, from *New York Journal of Commerce*.

<sup>60</sup> *Illinois Journal*, November 10, 1849.

<sup>61</sup> *Illinois Journal*, November 13, 1849.



ful to the Portuguese exiles, and to deposit the same at the shop of E. M. Hinkle, nearly opposite the Methodist church, to be distributed under the direction of the committee.

"It is expected that these Exiles will arrive in this city on Thursday afternoon, about three o'clock.

"The Committee will express the hope, and the confidence, that the generous and true-hearted citizens of this city and county, will promptly respond to this call, and donate food, clothing, and other necessities for the destitute Portuguese now temporarily thrown upon the hospitality and generosity of this community.

"By direction of the Committee,

SIMEON FRANCIS, Chairman.

"JAMES A. BARRETT, Secretary."

Unexpectedly, however, the exiles arrived in Springfield on Tuesday, November 13, 1849. The committee hastily sent out a new appeal to meet the emergency.<sup>62</sup>

"To the Ladies of Springfield, and to our fellow citizens generally.

"The Exiles unexpectedly arrived in our city yesterday. Our previous advices led us to suppose that they would not reach the city until Thursday. In consequence of their unexpected arrival, we are required to make an especial appeal to you in their behalf.

"These Exiles are destitute of many things necessary for their comfort. The Committee have procured three or four houses for them, but they are without furniture of any description, except a few chairs, some three tables, three water buckets, two bedsteads and a few cups and saucers, and bedding to a limited extent—for some 130 persons. Every thing, therefore, required for housekeeping, and which will readily occur to housekeepers and others, is wanted; and if they are second hand, or considerably worn, they will not be the less acceptable. What is done in this matter we desire to be

<sup>62</sup> *Illinois Journal*, November 14, 1849.

promptly done. There is scarcely a housekeeper who cannot send something for their benefit. A single chair, a tub, a bucket, and numerous other articles we have not time to name, will be gladly received.

“The Committee design to have cooking stoves put up in each house to-day;—after to-day, therefore, we think it will not be necessary to call upon the ladies of this city, to furnish cooked food for the exiles, to any considerable amount. But food will be hereafter required—Vegetables, Flour, Meal, Meat, Tea, Coffee, Sugar, &c. There are several in ill health, to whom food suitable for persons in their condition will be required.

“The Committee reiterate their invitation to the humane and christian people in the country to assist in this case. Out of their abundance, they can contribute much for the subsistence and comfort of these people, until more permanent provision can be made for them.

“The Exiles will be likely to remain together for several days. A number of families will probably continue to live in the houses provided for them during the winter. Applications for labor and for assistance, will be received by the Committee, and will be laid before these Exiles, as soon as it shall seem expedient.

“We invite the Ladies to call at the houses of these Exiles to learn their wants, and continue their kind offices for their good.”

The condition of the exiles during that first winter is suggested by the following letter from Mr. Hale:<sup>63</sup>

“We are much occupied these days in ministering to our brethren, the Portuguese Exiles. They arrived here just in time to enter on the severe winter weather, which they now, in common with all of us, have to endure. They are not much accustomed to severe cold weather; and as our city was very full of people when they arrived, it was well nigh impossible to provide them habitations; to provide *comfortable* dwellings was out of the question, as every thing worthy of the name

<sup>63</sup> Norton, 249.

was already crowded full. But we have done what, under the circumstances, we could, and they are hoping for better times. So far as I know, they are contented and happy. Many of them find employment, at good wages and ready pay. They are highly valued as laborers, and will soon be able to take care of themselves without the aid of others. Indeed, the last thing to be looked for is that such men should long be a charge to their fellow men. If they maintain their religious principles and their habits of industry, there is but one destiny for them here, and that is plenty—independence.”

Owing to the destruction of the files of the local newspapers, there appears to be no extant evidence of the measures taken in connection with the arrival of the Portuguese in Jacksonville. We are therefore thrown back upon the action at Springfield. We cannot doubt that Dr. Sturtevant and his associates were equally zealous as their friends in Springfield, and probably resorted to much the same means of arousing public interest and caring for the needs of the exiles.

Since the Portuguese had not arrived in Jacksonville by Saturday night, November 10, and the Springfield colony arrived there from Jacksonville on Tuesday, November 13, it would appear that they must have arrived in Jacksonville either Sunday, November 11, or Monday, November 12, 1849.

About two hundred of the exiles were still in New York. “On the 8th November another company of about one hundred left New-York for Illinois. They took the rail-road from Albany to Buffalo, then steamboat to Detroit, and again rail-road to Chicago. They were to remain there until future arrangements could be made for them.” This left only a remnant in New York. Some had been prevented from going, by sickness or the sickness of some member of their families. To these, their detention was a great disappointment. Others preferred to remain there during the winter, having a prospect of work.<sup>64</sup>

Apparently this group in time joined their friends in Jacksonville and Springfield. From time to time others came

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<sup>64</sup> Norton, 247.

from Madeira, 211 in 1851, and 273 in 1853. These later groups were led by Mr. Gonsalves. Now and then a few more came either to Jacksonville or Springfield.<sup>65</sup>

Antonio de Mattos was one of the original deacons of the church of the Madeirenses. "He fled to Scotland in 1846, where he became qualified for preaching the gospel. He was ordained to come to this country and take the place of Mr. Da Silva, as the pastor of the scattered flock.

"He paid a short visit to his father's family in Madeira. He saw forty of the converts in the chief city. He met them one by one, conversed and prayed with them, for it was not thought prudent to hold public meetings. . . . He remained . . . until a notice was posted on the door, that he must leave the island or suffer death.

"He then visited Trinidad on his way to this country. There he found more than four hundred exiles, many of whom had come from other shores to enjoy the protection offered them by the British government."<sup>66</sup> Mr. De Mattos came on to Jacksonville, and on March 15, 1850, reorganized the church of the Madeirenses, which until 1856 remained under the jurisdiction of the Free Church of Scotland. To trace further the vicissitudes of this church would transcend the limits of this study.

So the Portuguese exiles at last found a new home and freedom of conscience. Their story, however, does not end here. While not so romantic as the tale of their persecution and wanderings, their fortunes in their new home are not lacking in interest and are possibly of even greater historical significance. Unfortunately, though, they are much harder to trace in any form on which the historian can rely. Yet enough scattered bits of evidence might be brought together to afford the basis of a narrative. Perhaps at no distant date this journal will publish such an account of the later fortunes of the exiles of Madeira.

<sup>65</sup> Vasconcellos, *Brief History of the Portuguese Settlement at Jacksonville*.

<sup>66</sup> Blackburn, 211; Vasconcellos, *Brief Narrative of the Original Portuguese Church*.



## BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

The source of greatest value for this study is the Rev. Herman Norton, *Record of facts concerning the persecutions at Madeira in 1843 and 1846: the flight of a thousand converts to the West India Islands; and also, the sufferings of those who arrived in the United States* (fifth edition, with a supplement, sketching the history to the present time, New York, 1850). Mr. Norton was Corresponding Secretary of the American Protestant Society, which was responsible for the migration from Trinidad to Illinois. The book is valuable for extracts from original documents, both correspondence elsewhere unavailable and addresses and narratives originally published in British periodicals. The book neglects Mr. Hewitson's work. It is frankly a piece of propaganda and must be used with great caution.

Second in importance is Rev. W. M. Blackburn, *The Exiles of Madeira* (Philadelphia, n. d., but copyright 1860). For the ground covered by Norton, Blackburn derives from him; but he also gives a good account of Mr. Hewitson's work derived from the *Memoirs of the Rev. W. H. Hewitson*. He also secured information from the Rev. Antonio de Mattos and others. This is the most scholarly and restrained book on the subject, and is an indispensable supplement to Norton.

Third in importance is Della Dimmitt, *A Story of Madeira* (Cincinnati, 1896). This book is of slight value, deriving from Norton primarily, but adding a few details, apparently derived from Dr. Kalley.

The file of the *Illinois Journal* for 1849 is an admirable contemporary source, though it tells much less than one would wish, or than would be found in a newspaper of the present day. The *Illinois Register*, its Democratic local contemporary, is strangely silent; I have been unable to find a single mention of the exiles in its file for 1849. The political affiliations of the two papers will suggest a highly significant explanation to anyone cognizant of the political issues and affiliations of the time.

Doubtless the files of the New York press would yield a good many references in connection with the arrival of the various companies of exiles in that city, their sojourn and departure. The *Illinois Journal* quotes extracts from the *Herald*, *Tribune*, and *Journal of Commerce*.

Two valuable unpublished papers by Mr. Emanuel M. Vasconcellos, *A Brief Narrative of the Original Portuguese Church*, and *A Brief History of the Portuguese Settlement at Jacksonville*, should also be mentioned. They are especially valuable on account of Mr. Vasconcellos's familiarity with the traditions of his people and for their account of the history of the church after the reorganization at Jacksonville, in part derived from the records and in part from Mr. Vasconcellos's personal knowledge.

I should also express my appreciation of the courteous assistance I have received from the Rev. W. E. Spoonts, Mr. Joshua Vasconcellos, Mr. George Day, and Mrs. J. A. Goes, of Jacksonville; Mr. E. M. Vasconcellos, of Springfield, and Miss Georgia L. Osborne, of the State Historical Library.