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### **2. Paper**

The Trajectory of the Portuguese Protestant Migration in the 19th and 20th centuries. A different way of questioning Ethics and Economy throughout economic institution building.

### **3. Abstract**

This paper is based on a case study. It consists of a historical analysis of the relation between economy, migration and Protestantism from English and Scottish communities settled in Madeira during the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the Rev.d Lowe, Dr. Kalley and “Sister” Wilson cases, and of the migration of peasants from Madeira to the British West Indies, British Guiana, Brazil, USA (Illinois, Massachusetts, California, Hawaii) and Canada (Halifax, Nova Scotia) in the middle of 19<sup>th</sup> century and early 20<sup>th</sup> century, and their economic institution building, mainly of ministerial office and of social welfare work.

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### **1. Trajectory of the migration of Portuguese Protestants**

The Portuguese migration during the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> and the first half of the 20th centuries is based on political and economic reasons. It regards the Atlantic and Pacific economies.

There were approximately 2,000 Portuguese individuals (including their families and descendants) from Madeira linked to the Portuguese Protestants<sup>1</sup>.

Their migration is related to the settlement of the British community in Madeira<sup>2</sup>, to the Madeira wine trade as well as the sugar trade in the British West Indies<sup>3</sup>, British Guiana<sup>4</sup>, and in Hawaii<sup>5</sup>. The migration occurs more in families than by individuals.

This case meets other similar cases such as the “Potato Famine” in Ireland, the Portuguese, Irish, and Italian migration, the economical crisis in agriculture.

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<sup>1</sup> Purves, c.1940: 43; Testa, 1963: 63-64; Pe. Silva, 1984, vol. 3: 158; Ferreira, 1994: 14-17; 21; 23; 63-64; Vieira, 1990: 45.

<sup>2</sup> Koebel, 1909: 75-81; Purves, c.1940: 23; 26; 29; 35; Clode, 1952: 96-340; Gregory, 1988; Nash, 1990.

<sup>3</sup> Menezes, 1849, vol.1: 8-14; 69; 102; vol.3: 217; Blackburn, 1860: 188; Ciski, 1975: III; 12; 16; 18; 63-64; 71; table 3, 73-74; Higgs, 1990: 17.

<sup>4</sup> Blackburn, 1860: 178; Laurenth, 1958.

<sup>5</sup> Pap, 1949: 248, nota 32; Santos, 1996: 12-13; Silva, 1996: 19; 70; 77; 478; Spranger, 2001: 160-61.

There are three migratory waves – 1.st in the 1840's. 2.nd in the 1850's. 3.rd in the 1890's – and two different trajectories: the pastoral leadership, and the Portuguese Protestant exiles and migrants.

There are different economic and existential projects because there are networks, a labour market, opportunities, workmanship, agents, and middlemen.

## **2. The Lowe, Kalley, and Wilson cases in Madeira**

These cases highlight aspects of religious and Political intolerance with some English and Scottish merchants, the British Chaplaincy in Madeira, and the evangelistic work among the Portuguese peasants in Madeira, proved by the cases of Rev.d Richard Thomas Lowe<sup>6</sup>, linked to the English Church, Becco Chapel, and Oxford Movement in Madeira, Dr. Robert Reid Kalley<sup>7</sup>, formerly linked to the Scots Kirk in Madeira, then pioneer missionary to Madeira and Brazil, and by 'Sister' Mary Jane Wilson<sup>8</sup>, formerly an Anglican British subject, who then became a Franciscan nun working in Madeira.

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## **3. A different way of questioning Ethics and Economy throughout economic institution building**

This case reports to Evangelism from 1840's to 1950-60's. It consists of the preaching of the Gospel. It values the emotional aspects, the spontaneity, the living of faith as an individual and in community. It is characterized by independent and itinerant evangelisation directed at masses that migrate from the country fields to towns and cities. Proselytism is done by word of mouth and approximation, based on medical care, pastoral care and educational care, on domestic worship, on meetings, open-air schools, and social welfare work.

The Lowe, Kalley and Wilson cases are different. There are internal (in Madeira and in Portugal mainland) and external consequences (in Great Britain and USA) because these different cases give origin to the schism and the scandal in Madeira. The schism brings about three congregations: Presbyterian, Anglican, and a pro-Roman Catholic Anglican Chapel linked to the Oxford Movement.

The British community is made up of English and Scottish (clans) merchants who did business in Madeira wines, embroideries, tourism and hotel services (e.g. Reid's Hotel).

The agriculture crisis grape-mildew [oidium] and vine pest [phylloxera] in Madeira, in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, coincides with the appearance of other tourist markets in Europe, hot springs in Baden, Vichy, other cities in Italy, in Malta, in the Middle East (Lebanon, Syria, the Holy Land), in Egypt too.

Dr. Kalley is isolated, pursued and violently expelled from the Madeira Island with the Madeira peasants. Rev.d Lowe is a supporter of the Oxford Movement which was pro-

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<sup>6</sup> Lowe, 1846; 1848; *The British Chaplaincy, Madeira*. 1846; Gainsborough, 1847; Nash, 1990.

<sup>7</sup> Kalley, 1844<sup>a</sup>; 1844<sup>b</sup>; 1845; 1847<sup>a</sup>; 1847<sup>b</sup>. Also: Tate, 1847; Norton, 1849; Hewitson, 1851; Blackburn, 1860; Gama, 1896.

<sup>8</sup> Amorim, 1975; Ribeiro, 1989.

Roman Catholic, and remained so for a long period. Rev.d Lowe, more than Dr. Kalley, divides the community. For different reasons the same happened with “Sister” Wilson.

Rev.d Lowe’s connections and relationships were with Christ’s College, Cambridge, with the Cambridge Philosophical Society, and with Oxford Movement. Rev.d Lowe’s friendship with Portuguese Baron of Castello de Paiva results in scientific publishing about fauna/flora species in Madeira and Canary Islands. Rev.d Lowe is keen on the species in Cape Verde. Rev.d Lowe offers his species collection to the Royal Garden in Kew, London, and to the British Museum of Natural History, London.

Dr. Kalley’s originality lays on his medical care, pastoral care, and monitorial system of education, forthcoming Evangelism and word of mouth. Subsequently and influenced by Dr. Kalley, there are Mrs. Ellen Roughton and Mr. Archibald Turner, both in Lisbon<sup>9</sup>, Mrs. Fletcher<sup>10</sup> and the Bros. Cassels in Oporto and in Gaia<sup>11</sup>. Dr. Kalley’s second wife, Sarah, contributed towards the first Portuguese Protestant hymn-book<sup>12</sup>.

The Portuguese immigrants from Madeira are not pioneers in America. The Portuguese Jews in 17<sup>th</sup> century exiled themselves and immigrated before them<sup>13</sup>. They were the commercial and financial *élite*. The Protestants from Madeira were illiterate and deprived peasants. Kalley’s evangelistic work was circumscribed. It gave rise to various Presbyterian churches (in Madeira, the Azores, Portugal mainland, in the British West Indies, in Illinois, USA), to other Evangelic churches (in Lowell, Massachusetts, in Hawaii, USA), and to Congregational churches (in Brazil and in Portugal mainland).

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### **In a nutshell: From historical references to the economic institution building**

This case about Portuguese Protestant migration has economic and confessional motivation<sup>14</sup>. It has continuous and non-linked cases in space and time. There are leaderships and doctrines with different bearings. The activities of the British community of residents in Madeira, and in connection with other destinations through the migration of Portuguese from Madeira and the mainland, implies a flow of ideas, controversy, doctrines that originate schisms, Evangelism, scientific research, disclosure, and political crisis, e.g. A. L. Cunha, who was a teacher in Lyceu do Funchal, published mainly Kalley’s writings. He stood up for the defence of Dr. Kalley *vs* Bernardo Francisco Lobato Machado, who published Rev.d Lowe’s writings.

The cases of Rev.d Lowe, Dr. Kalley, and “Sister” Mary Wilson highlight the English merchants’ *vs* Scottish (clans of) merchants’ interests regarding the falling wine market and business in Madeira.

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<sup>9</sup> Moreira, 1958: notal, 156-57.

<sup>10</sup> Rocha, 1946, vol. 3: 181; Forsyth, 1988: 169-70.

<sup>11</sup> Cassels, 1908; Peixoto, 2001

<sup>12</sup> Kalley et al., 1888<sup>2</sup>; 1899<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>13</sup> Poage, 1925: 101-35; Bigelow, 1931: 757-67; Arbell, 2002.

<sup>14</sup> Queirós, 1874, reed. 1979: 101; Testa, 1963: 31-32; 74; 145, nota 23; Forsyth, 1988: 81; Dinnerstein et al., 1999: 39.

In the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century other destinations come up, e.g. Malta, which was a Protestant typographical centre, Lebanon, Syria, Palestine, and Egypt.

The Geographic and Archeological studies in Palestine linked to the Royal Geographic Society (founded in 1830), and to The Palestine Exploration Fund, (founded in 1865). Dr. Kalley's visits to Palestine are related to these activities and disclosures.

The Portuguese exiles and immigrants were destitute peasants, small ruined landowners. This migration of Portuguese Protestants from Madeira has no return, neither does it know other migratory flows. They completely assimilated themselves and if there were cases of individual success, this resulted from the *melting pot* and from individual entrepreneurship, not from the Portuguese Protestant group as such.

There are different churches of Presbyterian denomination founded by Dr. Kalley, the Portuguese Protestant exiles and immigrants in Madeira, in Trinidad, and in Illinois. There are also churches of Congregational denomination in Brazil<sup>15</sup> and Portugal mainland<sup>16</sup>, and two chapels in Honolulu and Hilo, Hawaii, of Evangelic denomination.

This case gave an outstanding input to Protestant missions to the Portuguese colonies in Africa, e.g. José Lomellino, Kalley's follower, who was judged and supposed to be deported to Luanda, Angola, where he should meet David Livingstone in Nov. 1853-earlier months of 1854<sup>17</sup>. However his sojourn did not take place since he fled from Madeira to Trinidad in the British West Indies. Unfolding Protestants and Evangelic missions occurred later (1880-96) and played an important role in (per)forming the new leadership of African nationalist movements against the Portuguese colonial domination in Africa<sup>18</sup>.

However, Dr. Kalley's movement is circumscribed. The Portuguese Protestant exiles and economic immigrants were few in number, all about 2,000 individuals. There were no *élites* among them. These Portuguese Protestants were not the pioneers of the Midwest, but they voted on the Republican Party<sup>19</sup>.

Later on, in the 1890's and following, they also took part in the Trade and Labour Union movements (*Jos. Capps & Sons Woolen Mills Inc.*)<sup>20</sup>, as well as in other Brotherhood organizations (*International Brotherhood of Firemen & Oilers*)<sup>21</sup>, Free Mason Lodges (both of Scottish and York Rite, called *Grand Lodge of Illinois, Ansar Temple*, or *Modern Woodmen of America*) and social welfare work through *Red Cross*, *Morgan County Tuberculosis Association*, *Morgan County Polio Foundation* as well as *Salvation Army*<sup>22</sup>.

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<sup>15</sup> Filho, 1997; Mendonça, 1998; César, 2000; Nassif Cardoso, 2002.

<sup>16</sup> Cardoso, 1975; 1998; Santos, 2000, t. xii: 37-64; 2001, vol.4: 75-85; Nogueira, 2004: 81-94.

<sup>17</sup> Livingstone, 1913; 1961.

<sup>18</sup> Gonçalves, 1960; Guichard, 1995; 1998; *Lusotopie*, 1998.

<sup>19</sup> Noll (ed.), 2001: 297.

<sup>20</sup> *Morgan County, Illinois*. 1968: 220.

<sup>21</sup> *Morgan County, Illinois*. 1968: 224-25.

<sup>22</sup> *Morgan County, Illinois*. 1968: 210.

Was there, on behalf of these Portuguese Protestant exiles and immigrants, a successful strategy?

American names and surnames were given. Marriages within and out of the Portuguese Protestant group were celebrated. Some became farmers, and within the USA migrated from Illinois to California, to Massachusetts and Rhode Island, and from Hawaii to California.

There was a relationship between the Portuguese Protestant immigrants with Abraham Lincoln, who made them money loans with usury<sup>23</sup>. The assassination of Lincoln was a conspiracy which involved João M. Celestino, another Madeira native, but with no relation with the Protestant group.

John dos Passos (1896-1970), in literature, author of *Manhattan Transfert* (1925), who joined Ernst Hemingway (1899-1961) in supporting the Republicans during the Spanish Civil War (1936-39).

Mary Astor (otherwise Lucille Vasconcellos Langhanke) was a movie star, who earned an Academy Award for the best secondary actress in 1941<sup>24</sup>.

Sam Mendes (1965-...) is director-filmography. The movie *American Beauty* earned 5 Academy Awards.

About their migrant and confessional trajectories, some formerly Portuguese Presbyterian families and individuals changed to the Anglican, Methodist, and Baptist churches, both in Trinidad, British West Indies, and in Illinois, USA<sup>25</sup>.

In Jacksonville and in Springfield, Illinois, there were four divisions of the Portuguese Presbyterian churches<sup>26</sup>. The *Trinidad School* (in Jacksonville) was changed into a shed with no specific use in the 1930's.

Formerly Portuguese Evangelic chapels (founded in Honolulu and in Hilo) were alienated for real estate investment: e.g. to build a hotel in Honolulu, in 1944, and in Springfield, Illinois, in 1966, for a parking lot for *St. John's Hospital*, which is a Roman Catholic institution.

All together, these Portuguese Protestants did not care much about their educational background. For in the period of 1845-1903, upon the *Alumnae Catalogue for Young Women*, Jacksonville, Morgan Co., Illinois, there were only 5 admissions, 3 of them were the daughters of the Portuguese Presbyterian minister Emmanuel Pires<sup>27</sup>.

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<sup>23</sup> Pap, 1949: 246-47, nota 17; Fiore, 1971: 154; Fernandes, 2004: 197-98.

<sup>24</sup> Fernandes, 2004: 151-52.

<sup>25</sup> Hewitson, 1851: 254; Ferreira, 1994: 53; 69; 124, nota 1, nota 5; Rawlins, 2002: 6-7; 11-12.

<sup>26</sup> *The History of Presbyterianism (...)*, 1967; Suttles, 1997: 211-22.

<sup>27</sup> Warren et al., 2001: 318-19.

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