
The Legacy of Robert Reid Kalley

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Although he has been called the dancing doctor from Kilmarnock, the wolf from Scotland, and apostle to three continents, Robert Kalley remains largely an unknown figure. This Scottish Presbyterian medical doctor and adventurer, who learned Portuguese during a period of medical work on the island of Madeira, off the coast of Morocco, founded the first evangelical churches in Brazil and was the first Protestant to evangelize Brazilians in Portuguese.

Formative Years

Robert Reid Kalley (1809–88) was born in Glasgow, Scotland, and was baptized in a Presbyterian church. After basic schooling he entered Glasgow University, studying Latin during the academic year 1823–24, but obstetrics, chemistry, surgery, and medicine in 1828–29. His family had had other plans than medicine for him: “My grandfather was patron of the parish in which his estate lay, and the stipend of the minister was considerable. . . . But, becoming an infidel on going to college, I could not bear the thought of being obliged to preach that which I considered a parcel of lies.”¹

A true son of the age, he enjoyed “various sciences, prying with the microscope, . . . [and] the telescope scanning the heavens,” but was totally “unable to embrace the idea of a God.”² On qualifying in pharmacy and surgery, Kalley became a ship’s doctor on the route between Glasgow, Bombay, and the Far East. His experiences of human misery and idolatry there confirmed him in his atheism. He left the ship in 1832 to set up a clinic in Kilmarnock, Scotland, and was known as an excellent doctor who treated many poor free of charge. It was one of these patients, an unnamed woman dying of cancer, whose serene Christian witness shook the young atheist and led to his conversion.

Kalley’s leisure activities now changed to include evangelistic outreach to his clientele. As his wife later recalled, “When he was converted (1834–35) it was with the Established Church that he was connected. It was by some ministers and some elders of that church that he was condemned as intruding into work which he had no right, when, as a young Christian doctor, he assembled the poor and ignorant to explain the Scriptures to them.”³

Kalley became a member of the Church of Scotland and “received very much help and teaching from ministers of that Church, most of whom, however, left the Establishment at the Disruption. At that time [1843], though warmly sympathizing with the movement, he did not join the Free Church, being too much absorbed by the work in Madeira: . . . and therefore, he really belonged to the Established Church of Scotland to the end.”⁴

Simply leading Bible studies and helping the poor did not satisfy the zealous convert, so he sought to go to China with the Church of Scotland. However, there were no openings for medi-

cal missionaries. Subsequently, he applied to the London Missionary Society (LMS), whose minutes of November 20, 1837, record, “Mr R. R. Kalley, of the Church of Scotland, Kilmarnock, recommended by the minister of the same, and by the Rev. John Ward, minister of the Congregational Church in the town, was accepted as an assistant medical missionary.”⁵

The LMS was “a Bible Society, a Tract and Book Society, a School Society, . . . a Civilization Society, . . . [and] a Society for Preaching the Gospel.”⁶ It was founded in 1796, “not to send Presbyterianism, Independency, Episcopacy, or any other form of Church Order and Government, . . . but the Glorious Gospel of the blessed God to the Heathen.”⁷ At first the mission derived its income from different denominations, but gradually it became restricted for its support (and candidates) to Congregational churches.⁸ But it certainly was the missionary society of the period, with the annual meetings in Exeter Hall (of Spurgeon fame) attended by up to 5,000 people.

Scottish candidates, Kalley included, studied at the (Calvinist) Glasgow Theological Academy, led by Congregational ministers Ralph Wardlaw and Greville Ewing.⁹ On his marriage to Margaret Crawford in 1838,¹⁰ however, Kalley was removed from the LMS roll, the mission judging that Margaret’s health was inadequate for work in China. Still, his contact with the LMS was formative for Kalley; until his life’s end his outlook—moderate Calvinism, ecclesiastical independency, interdenominational vision, and evangelistic zeal—remained essentially that of the LMS, although his communication with English Congregationalists eventually waned.

Pioneering in Madeira

Margaret’s poor health led the couple to the island of Madeira in 1838,¹¹ where Kalley studied Hebrew and Portuguese,¹² read John Owen, and began translating *Pilgrim’s Progress* and Dr. Keith’s popular *Fulfilled Prophecy*. But most of his time was spent distributing Bibles,¹³ comparing Bible translations,¹⁴ and doing medical and educational work. He saw an average of one hundred patients daily.

A report for one day in 1841 gives the flavor of Kalley’s ministry. “I read at 9 A.M. a portion of the Scriptures, and offer a running comment on it—all seem very attentive and universally respectful. Frequently persons . . . get a copy of the Scriptures to read while waiting—and are often induced to buy. Many are taken by the sick to distant parts of the island. . . . Many buy to please me, as I generally see those who purchase Bibles. All whom I prescribe for receive advice and medicine gratis. Today some of the richest in the island and some of the poorest were together hearing of the love of God manifested in the gift of His Son. . . . I do not see the rich to the exclusion of the poor, nor the poor to the exclusion of the rich, but the more dangerous cases first, whoever they may be.”¹⁵

So that the people could read the Bibles, Kalley set up schools and “almost two and a half thousand attended these schools between 1839 and 1845. . . . Well over a thousand . . . learned to read the Scriptures intelligently, and to study for themselves.”¹⁶ Gradually public preaching and Psalm-singing began, and conversions were frequent. Throughout, Kalley remained “uncon-

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nected with any church and unemployed by any party," for he never ceased to be "grieved by the evils of sectarianism."¹⁷

But he began to contemplate ordination, compelled by the low spiritual state of the expatriates in Madeira, which he judged to be due largely to the influence of the Oxford Movement.¹⁸ In 1839 he wrote, "It will be my duty to lift up a standard for the truth. I would willingly do so at once . . . for I do not regard licence from any body of men at all essential before preaching . . . to perishing souls. The message is God's, not man's and the licence required therefore is licence from God: and this appears to me so plainly given in His Word that I would have no hesitation on that score. But such are the views and feelings among my countrymen that few would attend unless I were formally set apart. It would be desirable to be empowered to administer baptism and the Supper—which with my present views I would not feel authorized in doing as a layman."¹⁹

As to who should ordain him, "I consider that of little moment, if they hold the great essential truths, and will allow me freedom to be guided by my own views on God's Word in minor matters."²⁰ His "convictions did not allow him to accept episcopal ordination,"²¹ and although "the views I entertain are those of . . . the Church of Scotland,"²² "Presbyterian forms required some three or four years of Theological study, and this was out of the question, for . . . Madeira was . . . 'stretching forth her hands' for the Gospel and Dr Kalley could not withdraw for such a length of time."²³

So he contacted Congregationalists in London, and John Arundel, a Congregational minister (as well as LMS secretary), informed him that "several individual ministers of the Society would have no objection whatever, in their individual capacity, to unite in your ordination."²⁴ Kalley traveled to London²⁵ and was ordained July 18, 1837,²⁶ by John Moir, John Arundel, Thomas Palmer Bull, Jacob Bennett, Algernon Wells, and William Stern Palmer, all well-known Congregational leaders, except for Moir, a Presbyterian.²⁷ Immediately afterward, Kalley visited the Kilsyth revival²⁸ before returning to Madeira—and persecution by the Roman Catholic hierarchy.

Kalley was not anti-Catholic. In his schools "the teachers were Romanists, and the only books were a small Romish primer, and a New Testament translated by a Romish priest."²⁹ Even the

As his library burned in the background, Kalley escaped, disguised in female attire.

municipal council of Funchal recognized that "R. R. Kalley . . . has continuously occupied himself with the highest of high philanthropy: . . . without taking part in any polemics."³⁰

Notwithstanding, soon "the cries of 'Calvinistas' and 'Kallistas' were very loud. . . . Large companies of men marched through the city declaring that all Protestants, foreign and native, should be destroyed."³¹ The persecutions are detailed in the works of Blackburn and Norton: Kalley was forbidden to practice medicine, local believers were imprisoned, and Kalley suffered the same fate in 1843. Prison visitors included "the Duchess of Manchester, . . . an M.P., . . . [and] Captain Alan Gardiner . . . on his way to South America. . . . [Gardiner] lamented that Her Majesty's government should allow a British subject to languish

in a foreign jail on trumped-up charges."³²

Kalley was freed in January 1844, after six months of incarceration, but continuing pressure, due perhaps to the organization of a Presbyterian church in Funchal in May 1845,³³ led to a deepening crisis. Eventually, in August 1846, Kalley was forced to flee. One observer recalled that he was "disguised in female attire, put into the hammock, and covered over . . . with a linen sheet. . . . We proceeded on our long circuitous journey, passing . . . little groups of curious people, talking over the affairs of the day and gazing on the dense column of smoke rising from Dr Kalley's burning library,"³⁴ etc., the papers from which were falling around us. . . . At length we reached the pier."³⁵

The ship took 200 Madeirans to Trinidad: "The sound of hymns is very sweet. . . . They never speak against their persecutors—they only mention them with pity."³⁶ Kalley's compensation money from the Portuguese government enabled the penniless refugees to set up home in the West Indies.

So ended what Andrew Bonar described as "the greatest happening in modern missions."³⁷ But it made Kalley more cautious—"missionary work in Popish lands should be carried on as far as possible in secret"—though still independent: "[This] can hardly be done in connection with a society."³⁸

Pastoring in Illinois

After the Madeira experience, Kalley began a period of peripatetic ministry, first in Ireland, then in Malta, and, finally, in Palestine (1851–52). There he set for himself a different course than the usual tourist route. "I took with me a large quantity of medicines, and stayed several days in one place, some weeks in another, to get to know the people, and to help the sick. So . . . I had opportunities . . . to get information about the land and its people. An earlier knowledge of Arabic helped."³⁹

In Safed "he organized a small congregation of Jews and Muslims converted to Christianity"⁴⁰ and baptized his very sick wife, "sprinkling water on her in the name of the Father, Son and Holy Spirit."⁴¹ Margaret died six months later and was buried in Beirut, the funeral service being "conducted both in English and Arabic . . . as he [Kalley] wanted Arab mourners to hear of the Christian hope, the resurrection."⁴²

In Palestine Kalley became acquainted with Sarah Poulton Wilson, who was a linguist, musician, painter, poetess, and Sunday school teacher. They married on December 14, 1852, in a Congregational church in Torquay, England. The bride's father, William Wilson, was a wealthy industrialist, and her mother, also Sarah, was sister of the famous Victorian liberal politician Samuel Morley, "a thorough Congregationalist."⁴³ Congregational history abounds in references to the family—with profits from hosiery factories, newspapers,⁴⁴ and banks, they built churches and supported missions, temperance societies, and schools. Thomas Bilney's sermons on money in 1865 were dedicated to Samuel Morley: "It is not wrong to be rich," Bilney insisted.⁴⁵ Kalley's second marriage thus brought him into the center of English Congregationalism.⁴⁶

The couple decided to go to North America, arriving in Boston on April 1, 1853. They soon met with eighteen Congregational ministers (including Henry Ward Beecher, brother of Harriet Beecher Stowe), and Kalley preached in Congregational churches. He attended the "May meetings" of Congregational ministers held in Boston,⁴⁷ general missionary conferences, and various churches of other denominations. He even went to hear a rabbi preach in the synagogue on the Feast of Tabernacles! Sarah Kalley, meanwhile, as she reported, read "'Uncle Tom'

until my blood boiled, and I could scarcely breathe the wretched American air of slavery so oppressive and so wrong. A free country! Never was there a blacker scandal to the blessed name of liberty!"⁴⁸

Difficult economic conditions in the West Indies made it impossible for the Madeiran refugees to remain there, so Kalley worked to obtain permission and patronage for them to enter North America.⁴⁹ The majority settled in Springfield, Illinois,⁵⁰ and he traveled from Boston to be with them, staying in a log cabin belonging to Abraham Lincoln.

On the day the first refugees arrived, November 17, 1853, Kalley held services with them and continued to minister to the group,⁵¹ using as his base the Portuguese Presbyterian Church in Springfield, founded by two Madeirans who had received ministerial training in Scotland. One of them, Antônio de Mattos,⁵² was ordained and financed by the Church of Scotland.

Invited by the Madeirans to be their pastor, Kalley declined, but he and his wife worked hard with the group. In January 1854 Sarah Kalley began a class for young men: "The study was Matthew's call, Roman citizenship and its privileges, and Paul's use of them, Roman supremacy as affecting Pilate and the High priests." Her unusual choice of subject does not seem to have deterred others, and "each Monday, Wednesday and Friday I had a class of men, about 40 years of age, to teach to write. They are all true Christian men and some of them have suffered much for Christ's sake. . . . After the writing lesson others come in and Dr Kalley gives them what may be called a conversational theological lecture which they prize much."⁵³

The Tuesday meetings were "chiefly for answering questions about different parts of the Scriptures which they find difficult. . . . I have a class of girls on one afternoon, and hope to have a class of women on another. On the Sabbath after the morning and the afternoon services I have a large class of young men, some over 30 years of age, for Bible lessons in English."⁵⁴

That Sarah Kalley should have enjoyed such liberty to teach is of itself fascinating. Dr Kalley's teaching style too has a contemporary ring: "The Dr passed in review what the doctrinal class had studied in the past 10 weeks, and he asked his hearers what profit they had obtained from this course of study of the Scriptures. And what was the prospect for the next 10 weeks of study?"⁵⁵ One of these study blocks covered the "concert of grace"; Christ as Prophet, Priest, and King; baptism as a seal of the Christian; the moral beauties of Christ; sin against God, the Son, the Holy Spirit and one's own soul; and certainty of salvation.

As to baptism, Kalley did "not regard dipping to be the form of baptism ordained in Scripture."⁵⁶ Rather, he "followed the Presbyterian mode of pouring a little plain clean water on the head of the recipient adult that could give a public confession of his faith, and was accepted as a truly converted individual: in Madeira he baptized a few children, or rather infants, after the usual general custom at that time."⁵⁷

However, at the church business meeting of April 20, 1854, Kalley "demonstrate[d] that Papist baptism is not Christian, therefore, on conversion, Romanists must be re-baptized as if they were gentiles."⁵⁸ This change of policy against infant baptism was to have far-reaching effects in Brazil, where most evangelical churches still rebaptize.

Kalley perceived the missionary potential of the Madeirans, "whose hearts seem truly set on making known the glad tidings of free salvation to those who are perishing. They are poor and without human learning. . . . Their native language is Portuguese and they cannot work efficiently with any other tongue. . . . They

are married and have children. . . . Can you give me any information concerning a Portuguese-speaking population among whom they could be employed either as colporteurs or Scripture readers, or where by their manual labour they might support themselves while preaching the truth?"⁵⁹

Church Planting in Brazil

Kalley's missionary vision became his own call to be an independent missionary in Brazil! After visiting England and seeing to the printing of a tract for Jews, *Shalem-al-Israel*,⁶⁰ he and his wife sailed from Southampton on April 8, 1855, arriving in Rio de Janeiro on May 10. They eventually settled in the nearby mountain resort of Petrópolis, with Emperor Dom Pedro II as neighbor. In August they began a Sunday school class in their home with

Kalley's decision to invite Madeirans to help him multiplied his effectiveness.

only five children and the Book of Jonah! But evangelical work in Brazil, in Portuguese, had begun.

Until Kalley's arrival evangelical witness was limited to work among expatriate Protestants, since government policy forbade proselytism and church building. So Kalley concentrated on personal evangelism: he distributed tracts, and a "black servant . . . was very much interested as he listened." He "played bagatelle with two Jews with whom he had scarcely a chance of speaking on religion. Showed them and others some interesting specimens in the microscope."⁶¹ He gave medical assistance during the 1855 cholera epidemic in Rio, even producing an appropriate gospel tract. Other activities included the formation of a temperance society⁶² and the completion of his translation of Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*, for years the only Protestant devotional book in Portuguese. "There are to be 2 chapters of it each Sabbath issue [of the newspaper, *Correio Mercantil*]: we hesitated about . . . publication on the Lord's Day but . . . decided that it was justifiable."⁶³ Kalley made good use of the press over the years, publishing a variety of doctrinal and apologetic texts.

His decision to invite Madeirans to help him multiplied Kalley's effectiveness; Francisco da Gama, Francisco de Souza Jardim, and Manuel Fernandes became the intrepid evangelists of the court cities of Petrópolis and Rio de Janeiro. These men were Third World missionaries to the Third World, for "they had lost their all in Madeira, then suffered hard labor on the plantations of the West Indies." But, as Gama wrote to Kalley, "I was pleased to hear your voice calling me to such a precious task. I have always wished to work for my Savior."⁶⁴ Kalley, always self-financed, settled the Madeirans at his own expense, and they worked to maintain themselves, Fernandes as a gardener, and Jardim as a blacksmith. All three were soon being persecuted for their evangelistic zeal.

The persecution began in Petrópolis, in August of 1856, sparked off by Bible distribution and the conversion of two Brazilian upper-class ladies. Neither the friendship of Kalley and the emperor nor the negotiations of foreign politicians and dignitaries were to any avail. Even so, the work grew, and Kalley baptized the first member of the Igreja Evangélica Fluminense, in Rio on July 11, 1858. Colportage further afield led to the founding of a second church, October 19, 1873, in Recife, Pernambuco, over

1,300 miles away in northeast Brazil! The notes of Kalley's visit there give an insight to the man, his vision, and his methods.

To meeting. Small house in poor dirty street. . . . Meeting in room at the back about 12 feet square. Pretty well filled. Not expecting to be more than two weeks among them, I proposed to follow a short course in preaching and life with God. The certainty of His being—the glory of His nature—the excellence of His character. His right to govern. Man . . . Sin . . . The Substitute . . . The everlasting results for believers. . . . During the first week we had four meetings besides that of the church, . . . the members present being only 4. On other evenings between 20 and 30. Besides these I had made a list of those desirous to be baptized and I took occasion to meet and converse with them on the Lord's Day morning. . . . During 2nd week 5 general meetings, besides conversations, enquiries about register for marriages—and a large room for a lecture about Jerusalem. . . . During that week we had 7 meetings, one being that of church at which it was unanimously agreed that 12 should be received as members.⁶⁵

In the same two weeks, Kalley did his "slide show" of Jerusalem in the local theater, celebrated the first Protestant wedding in Pernambuco, and met a hail of stones thrown by a furious mob as he left the ceremony!

As well as testifying to the profound teaching given by Kalley to new believers, this quotation is witness to his ecclesiology. Not wishing to plant a foreign denomination in Brazil, Kalley called his churches simply "evangelical" or "houses of prayer," but they were Congregationalist, as befitted Kalley's lifelong convictions. The Fluminense church's confession of faith, for example, was hammered out by Kalley and the local elders in an open and, at times, painful way over many months before being adopted, days before Kalley retired to Scotland in 1876.⁶⁶

Limitations of space make it impossible to do justice to the wide ministry of Kalley and his wife. She had a music school in the Fluminense church; she also organized the colportage work, the first evangelical hymnbook in Portuguese, and a women's fellowship, a most advanced concept for the times. Kalley's achievements are summed up in a letter to his "dear brother [Charles] Spurgeon" in which he described the sixteen-year-old Rio church as "consisting of nearly 200 members almost all of whom are decided Anti-Paedo-Baptists. It is the first Protestant church formed of converts from Popery in this country. They are poor. . . . Some were Mahommedans, some slaves and many did not learn to read til after their conversion. . . . About a dozen of

the members take part in preaching. . . . They have never paid any rent for a place of worship in Rio or for the support of their pastor and could do very little towards such expenses, but they are supporting three day schools, pay rent of a meeting room on the other side of the bay and subscribe £6 to £8 per month for the poor. . . . The Sunday School has an average attendance of about 120 with between 20 and 30 teachers deeply interested in a Harmony of the Life of Christ."⁶⁷

Kalley asked Spurgeon for help—"Do you think that you could find and sustain men to take possession of the land for the Lord Christ?" His successor in the Fluminense church was Brazilian, João Manuel Gonçalves dos Santos, a son of the church, who himself had been trained by Spurgeon.

The mention of slaves in the above letter is important. Thirty years before the 1888 abolition of slavery in Brazil, Kalley was teaching the Bible to blacks and slaves. His tract for them, *The African Friend*, was "in simple language, in the hope that I may encourage slaves to learn to read and come to Jesus."⁶⁸ In November 1862 the Fluminense church received as member "Leopoldina . . . she is still a slave . . . she was baptized and sat at the Lord's Table."⁶⁹ It is impossible to imagine the degree of personal liberty that such participation represented. In contrast, church member and slave owner Bernardino de Oliveira Rameiro heard Kalley ask in a church business meeting, "Would you like to be treated as a slave by another man? . . . Those who do this are enemies of Christ and cannot be members of the church of Jesus, of that Jesus who . . . gave us freedom."⁷⁰ Bernardino was disciplined.

Kalley constantly experienced difficulties, including struggling to have Brazilian law changed so that Protestants could be officially married and decently buried, disagreeing with coworkers and other missionaries, and coping with a split in the young Fluminense church provoked by followers of J. N. Darby.

And there are questions to be raised about Kalley today. Was he correct not to insist that the Fluminense church help him financially? Was that church's confession of faith an adequate ecclesiological tool or a mere evangelical tract? Was Kalley's total lack of communication with English Congregationalism while in Brazil due to overwork or to his repudiation of the ever-increasing distance of that group from its evangelical roots?

Kalley was a missionary pioneer and statesman whose contribution—alongside that of his wife—to missionary endeavor must not be overlooked.

Notes

1. William B. Forsyth, *The Wolf from Scotland* (Darlington, England: Evangelical Press, 1988), pp. 17–18.
2. Robert Reid Kalley, "Biographical Notes," Igreja Evangélica Fluminense Archives, Rio de Janeiro, unsorted; hereafter IEF Archives.
3. Sarah P. Kalley, "Recollections in Memoriam," IEF Archives.
4. Ibid.
5. Richard Lovett, *The History of the London Missionary Society, 1795–1895* (London: Henry Frowde, 1899), and D. Boorman, "The Origins of the London Missionary Society" (E.F.C.C. Studies Paper, Ware, England, April 1982). On Ward, who evidently was the local contact for the LMS, see Henry Escott, *A History of Scottish Congregationalism* (Glasgow: Congregational Union of Scotland, 1960), p. 362.
6. Lovett, *History*, p. 651.
7. R. Tudur Jones, *Congregationalism in England, 1662–1962* (London: Independent Press, 1962), pp. 173–74.
8. Lovett, *History*, entry for May 7, 1866, and p. 653. Six out of every seven LMS workers sent to India before 1859 were Congregational.
9. Richard Carwardine, *Transatlantic Revivalism: Popular Evangelicalism in Britain and America, 1790–1865* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1978), p. 84.
10. Kalley completed medical studies in 1838, becoming a "Doctor in Medicine": "No 11390. (1823 AD) Robertus Kalley, fil.n.2dus Roberti Merc Cathcart. Otherwise Robert Reid Kalley, M.D. 1838," in *The Matriculation Albums of the University of Glasgow from 1729–1858*, transcribed by W. Innes Addison.
11. Kalley knew Madeira from a voyage in 1831.
12. "It is impossible to help the poor . . . without speaking their language. And, should I go to China, perhaps this language will be very useful, for . . . there are many Portuguese speakers in Macao." Robert Reid Kalley, "Letter [from Madeira]," November 29, 1838, IEF Archives.
13. "We are selling fifty Testaments per month." Robert Reid Kalley, "Report," June 2, 1842, British and Foreign Bible Society Archives; hereafter BFBS Archives.
14. "About the translation of *righteousness* . . . the term which seems to me more equivalent in Portuguese [is] '*rectidão*' . . . I have gone over

- every passage in which *dikaiousune* occurs and . . . in none is *rectidão* less . . . proper than *justiça*." Robert Reid Kalley, "Report," January 7, 1841, BFBS Archives.
15. Robert Reid Kalley, "Report," February 16, 1841, BFBS Archives.
 16. Forsyth, *Wolf from Scotland*, p. 45.
 17. Robert Reid Kalley, "Notes [written in Madeira]," 1843, IEF Archives.
 18. Madeira was a popular health resort of the period. Kalley writes, "Only Longford is free from the Oxford Movement heresy." "Letter [from Madeira]," December 17, 1838, IEF Archives.
 19. Robert Reid Kalley, "Letter [from Madeira]," January 30, 1839, IEF Archives.
 20. *Ibid.*
 21. Sarah P. Kalley, "Notes," IEF Archives.
 22. Robert Reid Kalley, "Confession of Faith [prepared for ordination]," IEF Archives.
 23. Sarah P. Kalley, "Notes," IEF Archives.
 24. John Arundel, "Letter," April 5, 1839, IEF Archives.
 25. Kalley called on the way to pick up his diploma from the Escola Médica Cirúrgica de Lisboa.
 26. "Though entitled to use it . . . [Kalley] always repudiated the prefix 'Reverend' as a relic of Rome and contrary to the will of God." Sarah P. Kalley, "Notes," IEF Archives.
 27. Andrew L. Drummond and James Bullock, *The Church in Victorian Scotland, 1843–1874* (Edinburgh: St. Andrew Press, 1975), p. 271. William M. Blackburn, *The Exiles of Madeira* (Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication, 1860), p. 19, and Herman Norton, *Record of Facts Concerning the Persecutions at Madeira in 1843 and 1846* (New York: American & Foreign Christian Union, 1850), p. 12, are mistaken in stating that Kalley was ordained as a minister of the Free Church of Scotland.
 28. Robert Reid Kalley, "Notes," IEF Archives.
 29. Blackburn, *Exiles of Madeira*, p. 24.
 30. Forsyth, *Wolf from Scotland*, p. 48.
 31. Blackburn, *Exiles of Madeira*, pp. 92–93.
 32. Forsyth, *Wolf from Scotland*, pp. 57–58.
 33. *Ibid.*, p. 62.
 34. "Valued at \$10,000, (it) was reduced to ashes." Blackburn, *Exiles of Madeira*, p. 113.
 35. Norton, *Persecutions at Madeira*, pp. 75–76.
 36. Blackburn, *Exiles of Madeira*, p. 118.
 37. Forsyth, *Wolf from Scotland*, p. 27.
 38. Robert Reid Kalley, "Letter [from Springfield]," November 30, 1853, IEF Archives.
 39. Robert Reid Kalley, "Letter [to Emperor of Brazil]," March 4, 1860, IEF Archives. Kalley records Arabic classes in Syria on October 30, 1850.
 40. M. Porto Filho, *A epopéia da Ilha da Madeira* (Rio de Janeiro, 1987), p. 121. Little did Kalley know that he would later have converted Muslims in his church in Rio!
 41. Robert Reid Kalley, "Document," IEF Archives.
 42. Forsyth, *Wolf from Scotland*, p. 88.
 43. John Waddington, *Congregational History, Continuation to 1850* (London: Longmans, Green, 1878), 2:599.
 44. In 1866 Samuel Morley became the owner of the liberal newspaper *The Daily News*.
 45. Jones, *Congregationalism in England*, p. 290.
 46. *Ibid.*, p. 228.
 47. The American Congregational Union was formed in 1853.
 48. Sarah P. Kalley, "Diary," April 20, 1853, IEF Archives.
 49. Rev. Henry Ward Beecher was one of those from whom Kalley solicited help. "Letter," October 31, 1853, IEF Archives.
 50. The complicated denominational situation in the Springfield region at that time and the precise details of Kalley's involvement are outside the scope of this article.
 51. Sarah P. Kalley, "Diary," November 20, 1853, IEF Archives.
 52. A. Mattos, "You believe in general atonement. . . . I believe in particular atonement. . . . No man has a right to invite all sinners to come to Jesus." "Letter [to Kalley]," February 4, 1854, IEF Archives.
 53. Sarah P. Kalley, "Letter [from Springfield]," February 12, 1854, IEF Archives.
 54. Sarah P. Kalley, "Diary," February 12, 1854, IEF Archives.
 55. *Ibid.*
 56. Robert Reid Kalley, "Letter [to Rev. J. Thompson]," August 3, 1854, IEF Archives.
 57. J. G. Rocha, "Notes [on Kalley]," referring to February 1, 1854, IEF Archives.
 58. Robert Reid Kalley, "Document," April 22, 1854, IEF Archives.
 59. Robert Reid Kalley, "Letter [from Springfield]," February 28, 1854, BFBS Archives.
 60. This is a collection of Bible texts in English, ending with a brief prayer. It is a testimony to Kalley's lifelong love of the Jewish people.
 61. Robert Reid Kalley, "Diary," August 8 and September 29, 1855, IEF Archives.
 62. "There is so much drunkenness among the [immigrant] Germans." Robert Reid Kalley, "Letter," September 22, 1856, IEF Archives.
 63. Robert Reid Kalley, "Letter," October 11, 1856, IEF Archives.
 64. Forsyth, *Wolf from Scotland*, p. 125.
 65. Robert Reid Kalley, "Diary," October, 1873, IEF Archives.
 66. Kalley died in Scotland in 1888, and his wife in 1907.
 67. Robert Reid Kalley, "Letter [to C. H. Spurgeon]," March 9, 1874, IEF Archives. Kalley himself wrote the Sunday school lessons, sending copies to the Recife church.
 68. Robert Reid Kalley, "Letter," October 7, 1859, IEF Archives.
 69. F. Gama, "Letter [to Kalley]," November 5, 1862, IEF Archives.
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Apart from correspondence with, for example, the British and Foreign Bible Society (BFBS) held in Anderson Library of the University Library, Cambridge, England, and unsorted papers in the Archives of the Igreja Evangélica Fluminense, Rio de Janeiro, I have not found written material by Kalley in English. Material in Portuguese includes *Exposição de factos relativos à agressão contra os Protestantes na Ilha da Madeira* (Lisbon: Typographia Luso-Britannica de W. T. Wood, 1875). Kalley's many excellent lessons for the adult Bible school classes of the Brazil churches have never been published.

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