Protestantism in Brazil: A study of the activities and results of the Protestant foreign missionary movement in the United States of Brazil

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PROTESTANTISM IN BRAZIL:
A STUDY OF THE ACTIVITIES AND RESULTS OF THE
PROTESTANT FOREIGN MISSIONARY MOVEMENT
IN THE UNITED STATES OF BRAZIL

A Thesis
Presented to
the Faculty of the Department of History
University of Omaha

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts

by
Robert Martin Farra
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The purpose of this paper is to examine the development of Protestantism in Brazil, in an effort to determine the validity of some of the charges made against Protestant missions in that land by spokesmen for the Roman Catholic Church. The problem will be considered in two different ways. First, the author will seek to demonstrate the inadequacy of religious instruction and leadership provided the people of Brazil by the Roman Catholic Church in the several periods of that country's history. Secondly, he will endeavor to trace the steps by which various individual Protestants and organized Protestant mission agencies, independently and concurrently, have sought to meet the spiritual needs of the Brazilian populace. A final brief section will attempt to examine and evaluate the attitude of the Government of Brazil and selected civic, social, and non-Protestant religious leaders of that country toward both the Protestant missionaries and Brazilian Protestants.

The Protestant mission societies considered are representative rather than exhaustive, though most of the larger ones active in Brazil have been included. The term "Protestant" is regarded as including, in addition to the historic Protestant denominations, (1) the work of the several Baptist mission boards, although they may not regard themselves as
properly described by the term "Protestant," (2) the missions of the Assemblies of God and the Seventh Day Adventists, although neither of these religious groups is regarded as truly Protestant by some of the older historical Protestant denominations in Brazil, and (3) the extensive efforts of several interdenominational mission agencies, largely Protestant-supported.

Contemporary interchurch activities connected with the Ecumenical Movement are not considered in this paper, nor is the "Modernist-Fundamentalist" controversy treated. As nearly all such activity in Brazil has taken place since the end of the Second World War, the resulting unifications, divisions, and realignments of Protestant church groups are of too recent occurrence to be properly assayed historically. It is sufficient to record that all in such new groupings are still regarded as Protestants by the Government of Brazil and by the spokesmen for Brazilian and international Roman Catholicism.

The author has spent some time in Brazil as a Protestant missionary, and thus recognizes the existence of a personal "bias" when it comes to the discussion of the subject of this paper. He has, however, sought to attain true standards of objectivity in the writing of history, and he would point out that this personal experience in Brazil, and the observations made while there, even if tending to
give a "bias," also provided the motivation for this study. Likewise, the fact that he reads Portuguese, as a result of his missionary training and service, has helped to make the study possible.

The author desires to acknowledge the invaluable counsel and encouragement of Dr. A. Stanley Trickett, Professor of History at the University of Omaha, in the preparation of this thesis. He is thankful for the many acts of assistance rendered by the Librarian and staff of the Gene Eppley Library of the University, and the splendid cooperation of the librarians of the American Bible Society, the Board of Missions of The Methodist Church, and the Missionary Research Library, all three located in New York City. He is indebted to many Protestant missionaries and mission agencies for the detailed information they have supplied, and especially to the Reverend and Mrs. Kenneth V. Mitchell and the Reverend and Mrs. E. Guy McLain, all four now serving as Baptist missionaries in Brazil, for buying some books essential to the documentation of this study, and borrowing others from Brazilian Protestant leaders for this purpose.

The author also wishes to acknowledge his debt to Miss Maxine Joy for many hours spent in proofreading stencils and mimeographing this paper. He trusts that the records of the Protestant missionaries and the Brazilian national Protestant
pastors and religious workers will speak for their cause with a clear voice, and he accepts full responsibility for whatever errors and inaccuracies may have been incorporated in his transcription of those records, or in any other portion of this dissertation.

R. M. F.
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CHAPTER I

THE PROBLEM

Among the more important emphases of American foreign policy in this century has been the improvement of United States relations with the republics of South and Central America. In implementing the Good Neighbor Policy, popularized early in President Franklin D. Roosevelt's administration and maintained with varying success to the present, statesmen and politicians alike have sought to discover and, in many instances, to eliminate the principal causes of friction and disharmony among the nations of the Western Hemisphere. The Department of State in Washington has shown increasing concern during the past three decades over actions of American citizens which might tend to engender discordant attitudes toward the United States on the part of the other nations within the Organization of American States.

The representatives of the Roman Catholic Church in the United States have utilized this accentuation of demands for greater "tact" in hemispherical relations to air with renewed vigor their long-standing grievances over Protestant missionary activity in the republics south of the Rio Grande. The core of the Roman Catholic argument is that (1) representatives of that faith arrived in Latin America with the earliest conquistadores, and have been there ever since; (2)
Roman Catholicism is well established in this region and has had ample opportunity to meet the spiritual needs of the populace; and (3) the introduction of a competitive form of Christianity only causes confusion and resentment, and is divisive rather than beneficial. These views were given strong official expression in November, 1942, when the Administrative Board of the National Catholic Welfare Conference issued the manifesto, "Victory and Peace," in the name of all the Roman Catholic archbishops and bishops of the United States, convening at the time in Washington, D. C. The manifesto was, in part, as follows:

We send our cordial greetings to our brother Bishops of Latin America. We have been consoled by recent events, which give a sincere promise of a better understanding by our country of the peoples of Mexico, Central and South America.

Citizens of these countries are bound to us by the closest bond of religion. They are not merely our neighbors: they are brothers professing the same faith. Every effort made to rob them of the Catholic religion or to ridicule it is deeply resented by the people of these countries and by American Catholics. These efforts prove to be a disturbing factor in our international relations.

The traditions, the spirit, the background, the culture of these countries are Catholic. We Bishops are anxious to foster every worthy movement which will strengthen our amicable relations with the republics of this continent.

We express the hope that the mistakes of the past which were offensive to the dignity of our Southern brothers, their culture and their religion will not continue. A strong bond uniting in true friendship all the countries of the Western Hemisphere will exercise a most potent influence
on a shattered post-war world.¹

The same theme was echoed in even more straightforward language by the Right Reverend Monsignor John P. Treacy of Cleveland in an address before the Catholic Daughters of America during their 1943 convention:

The American Protestant Churches exported missionaries into Latin America to convert the natives who were 100 per cent Catholic, whether they practiced their religion or not. These people wanted their true faith or no religion and the United States had little or no faith to offer and about two hundred so-called religions. Naturally these people resented the colonists from the United States...²

Later, the Reverend Peter M. Dunne, a Roman Catholic priest, after traveling in various South American countries during the Second World War, wrote about a conversation he had in Rio de Janeiro with the Honorable Jefferson Caffrey, United States Ambassador to Brazil, in which the Ambassador is reported as having said that he regarded Protestant "propaganda" in Brazil as doing serious harm to Brazilian-United States relations. Dunne further wrote that Caffrey "said that the State Department undoubtedly was adverse to Protestant ministers' entering Brazil to exercise the

²George P. Howard, Religious Liberty in Latin America? (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1944), p. 2, citing the Washington, D.C., Evening Star, July 14, 1943. This work by Howard is hereafter referred to in this paper as Religious Liberty?
To support their charges, the Roman Catholic press has frequently featured articles written by American Protestants denouncing Protestant missionary efforts in Latin America as a work of "pure destruction," and describing such activity as being one of the "chief blunders of which we are guilty in our approach to our neighbors in this hemisphere." In such a featured article the well-known novelist, John Erskine, himself an Episcopalian, wrote in The Catholic Digest that, as Protestant missionaries recognize those baptized by the Roman Catholic Church as Christians, they should not attempt to change the form of Christianity found among the peoples of South America. In the article he said:

If the Protestant missionary in South America believes that the Catholic Church has not taught the Gospel, does he believe also that the Catholic Church has not baptized? Would he say that South Americans, though baptized into the Catholic Church, are still not Christians at all, but heathen? Of course he won't say this. He admits that the Catholic Church has the authority to administer the sacraments, but he holds that its teaching is erroneous.

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5 Ibid., p. 4.
Another castigating Protestant voice is that of John W. White, a correspondent for The New York Times in South America for nearly twenty years. While recognizing that a great many of the Evangelical missionaries have had a larger aim than merely changing the form of Christianity held by Latin American peoples, White, in an article also written for The Catholic Digest, followed hard on Erskine's blast by saying:

The one most serious obstacle to closer friendship and understanding between the people of the United States and those of South America is the proselytizing activity of hundreds of American Protestant missionaries who have been sent to the southern continent "to save the heathen and bring Christianity to them".... These so-called missionaries personify better than any other American activity that smug superiority and holier-than-thou attitude of ours which always has exasperated the South American people and made it impossible for us to get onto a basis of friendly and mutual understanding with them.\(^6\)

White went on to warn that arousing the enmity of the Roman Catholic Church in Latin American countries, where its influence, he claimed, reaches into the tiniest villages and the most remote towns, would result in many of the people of the South American lands being turned against the United States. He concluded the article by declaring that the "first and most important step" in winning the friendship of

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our neighboring nations to the south should be the recalling of Protestant missionaries from these countries.

The theory that active local and national resentment to the United States is being aroused by the activities of Protestant missionaries in South America continues to be propounded in the Roman Catholic press. The Reverend James F. McNiff, writing recently in *The Catholic World*, states that Latin Americans "rightly object to the gigantic efforts that American missionaries are putting forth to change their religion." He further declares, "...the harm they do is charged against the American people and government, and not to the particular sects of the United States which the proselytizers represent."8

To provide a definitive answer to such general assumptions, especially as they relate to all of Latin America, would require one to go far beyond the usual limits of a thesis of this nature. It may, however, be possible, within the compass of this type of dissertation, to assess the validity of such assertions in a single country. The United States of Brazil, both the largest and the most populous of the Latin American states, as well as one of the earliest

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8 Ibid.
territories in the New World to be claimed by the representa­
tives of the Roman Catholic Church, is a logical choice for a
limited study of this kind. The fact that Brazil has more
Protestant missionaries at work within its boundaries than
are found in any other Latin American country, as well as
having the largest and most vigorous national Protestant mi­
nority in South America, gives to its selection for this pur­
pose even greater validity.

This study will first consider the religious emphasis
connected with the founding of Brazil, and the unsuccessful
attempts by Protestant groups to establish colonies of their
own in the vast territory which constitutes that country at
the present day. Next will come an examination of the means
by which various Protestant missionary agencies became estab­
lished in Brazil during the period of the Empire (1822-1889)
and in the first sixty years of the Republic. A brief survey
of contemporary Roman Catholic and Protestant religious
activities in Brazil, and a cross-section of the opinions of
some prominent non-Protestant Brazilians regarding Protestant
missionary efforts in their land, will conclude the presenta­
tion of data. It is necessary to begin the study with the
discovery of Brazil, and the founding of the Portuguese
colony there, in order to show the nature and quality of
Christianity introduced at that time, and thus to lay a
foundation for the justification of subsequent Protestant missionary activity in the country.
CHAPTER II

PROTESTANTISM IN COLONIAL BRAZIL: ABORTIVE EFFORTS

I. THE RELIGIOUS EMPHASIS CONNECTED WITH THE
FOUNDING OF BRAZIL

From the day when a Portuguese fleet conveniently
strayed far westward from its usual African trade route,
and encountered a portion of the South American mainland
lying well within the Portuguese limitations defined by the
Treaty of Tordesillas,¹ the history of Brazil has been close­
ly associated with the Roman Catholic faith. Pedro Alvares
Cabral officially claimed the new land for Portugal on May
3, 1500, and called it A Terra da Vera Cruz, in honor of the
day set aside by the Roman Catholic Church to commemorate the
"finding of the True Cross."² The action, three years later,

¹A modern Brazilian historian presents evidence to
support the plausible and fascinating theory that other
Portuguese navigators knew of the existence of this eastern
promontory of the New World before Cabral's voyage, and that
the information was kept a complete secret by the Government
of Portugal to protect their interests against encroachment
by Spain, England, or France. This would help to explain
why, in the Tordesillas negotiations of 1494, Portugal
claimed that a line one hundred leagues west of the Azores
was insufficient elbow room for her India-bound fleets. See
João Pandiá Calogerás, A History of Brazil, trans. Percy
Alvin Martin (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina

²Frank Bennett, Forty Years in Brazil (London: Mills
changing the name of the new colony to Brazil, was looked upon by some religious leaders of the time as a sacrilege instigated by the Devil himself.

All the Roman Catholic priests who entered the colony during the first half of the Sixteenth Century were distinctly subservient to the "donatories," to whom enormous tracts of land known as "captaincies" had been granted by King João III of Portugal. These feudal arrangements, while regarded as contributing to the freedom from xenophobia which is characteristic of the average Brazilian, did little to assure good moral conditions in the new settlements. João Calogeras, a modern Brazilian historian, describes the situation in the following terms:

Moral conditions in Brazil were at this time deplorable. Religious sanctions, loose at best, had all but disappeared. Priests were few and such as there were led scandalous lives. Moreover, the immense extent of the captaincies and the widely scattered population would have made it almost impossible for the clergy to exercise any kind of control. All of these factors contributed to a moral collapse much worse than the spiritual life of the primitive Indians.


4James C. Fletcher and Daniel P. Kidder, Brazil and the Brazilians(Boston:Little, Brown, and Co., 1879), p. 49.


6Calogeras, op. cit., p. 10.
In an effort to promote greater unity in the colony, and to strengthen and improve religious devotion there, Thomé de Souza was sent to Brazil as Governor-General in 1549, accompanied by six hundred soldiers, four hundred convicts, a number of married couples, and, under the leadership of Manoel de Nobrega, six priests of the then newly-organized Society of Jesus. The city of São Salvador, better known in English as Bahia, was established by this group as the seat of the new central government for the colony. At the request of the Jesuits, the Papacy established in 1551 a bishopric in Brazil and named Dom Pedro Fernandez Sardinha, who arrived the following year, as the first bishop. José de Anchieta, the founder of the school and community center which later became the city of São Paulo, came to the colony with six additional Jesuits in 1554. By 1559 the Jesuits in Brazil numbered forty, and five years later there were fifty-two active priests of that order in colonial Brazil.

The Jesuits took a special interest in the conversion of the Indians, at that time very numerous along the Brazil-

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ian coast. By accommodating Christian terminology to the animistic beliefs of the savages, rapid progress was made. The "missioners" found cannibalism a more difficult problem, since it was closely tied to both religious ritual and tribal pride. One calamitous incident resulted in the death of Bishop Sardinha, who, after a clash with Governor-General Duarte da Costa, successor to Thomé de Souza, attempted to return to Lisbon in order to present his side of the quarrel to the King. Unfortunately, his ship was wrecked on the northeast coast of the colony, and the bishop and one hundred other Europeans were eaten by the Cahete tribe of Indians. The Jesuits were also leaders in protesting against the enslavement of the Indians, thus frequently finding themselves at odds with the secular priests who were already established in the country; the latter regarded the Indians as beasts.

10 Nevin O. Winter, Brazil and Her People Today (Boston: L. C. Page and Co., 1890), p. 239, which quotes Baron de Santa-Anna Nery as follows:

"The Missionaries did not insist upon any strict theological teaching....The God of the Christians became for these imaginative savages the awe-inspiring Tupan. Satan was incarnate in the person of the terrible Anangá. Then they grasped a trinity, based upon the Catholic Trinity, and composed of the sun, the moon, and Ruda, the god of love. We took part in our childhood at processions where fetich beliefs were mixed up with Catholic rites."

11 Oakenfull, op. cit., pp. 61,62.
and their enslavement as proper and permissible.\textsuperscript{12}

II. THE HUGUENOTS AT GUANABARA BAY

The first Protestants to settle in the New World came from France in 1555, under the leadership of Nicholas Durand de Villegaignon. A native of Provence, a Knight of Malta who enjoyed high rank in the French naval service,\textsuperscript{13} Villegaignon "persuaded Henry II that he would establish an asylum for the persecuted Huguenots, and at the same time open the commerce of America to Europe."\textsuperscript{14} The French colony, sponsored by Admiral Gaspard de Coligny, the friend and benefactor of the Huguenots, was established on an island which Villegaignon named for himself in Guanabara Bay, a site which is now part of Rio de Janeiro. A fort, called "Coligny" after the Admiral, was immediately erected, and the territory was designated as Antarctic France. The new settlers were aided by the Indian tribes in the area, whose friendship was a result of previously established trade with the French. In fact, when the Huguenots arrived, the Indians assembled by

\textsuperscript{12}Ibid.

\textsuperscript{13}Fletcher and Kidder, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 53, name Villegaignon as the commander of the vessel which bore Mary, Queen of Scots, home from France.

\textsuperscript{14}Hugh C. Tucker, "Brazil," \textit{Protestant Missions in South America}, Harlan P. Beach \textit{et al} (eds.) (New York: Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions, 1906), p. 74. This article is hereafter cited in this paper as "Brazil."
the hundreds to welcome the newcomers, whom they tended to regard as protectors of native interests against the much disliked and feared Portuguese.

Villegaignon quickly appealed to France for more colonists—"especially a supply of godly ministers from Geneva to spread the doctrines of the Reformed Church in the New World." Reinforcements, including two pastors chosen by John Calvin and his elders, arrived in the spring of 1557, and the first Protestant communion service in the Western Hemisphere was held on March 21 of that year, with the beautiful Guanabara Bay as a setting.

Despite the high hopes for the establishment of a permanent Protestant community in Brazil, the French colony was short-lived. Within a year Villegaignon and the Calvinists were embroiled in a dispute over doctrinal matters. When

15Fletcher and Kidder, op. cit., p. 54.
19Thomas Ewbank, Life in Brazil (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1856), p. 83. Ewbank says that the dispute was over the Lord's Supper (the "real presence" and diluting the wine), and using salt and oil in baptism. The "innovations"
some of the Huguenots demanded permission to return to France, they were sent off in a leaky vessel without proper provisions, and a box of letters, wrapped in cloth and addressed to the magistrates at whatever port they might land, was sent with them, denouncing them as Protestants and calling for their persecution. However, the Magistrates at Hennebonne, where the pitiful band disembarked, favored the Reformation and made known the treachery of Villegaignon. 

Three Huguenots who remained with the colony, but refused to accept the prevailing doctrines, were strangled and thrown into the sea on February 9, 1558.

Within a few years the Portuguese, who looked upon the French settlers as a threat to Portuguese interests despite overtures of friendship from Villegaignon, prepared to break up the French colony, and to establish a settlement of their own in Guanabara Bay. Nobrega, the Jesuit, and Mem de Sá Barreto, successor to Duarte da Costa as Governor-General of Brazil, planned and launched a successful attack on January

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were sanctioned by Villegaignon but denounced as popery by the followers of Calvin's teachings. It is not known whether Villegaignon suffered a change of conviction, or simply used the doctrinal changes to force a showdown with some of the colonists who did not like his leadership.

20Fletcher and Kidder, op. cit., p. 55.

21Jean Crespin, Histoire des Martyrs Persecutés et Mis à Mort pour la Verité de l'Evangile, as cited by Braga and Grubb, op. cit., p. 18.
20, 1567, St. Sebastian's Day. In commemoration of the victory, the subsequent Portuguese settlement, presently Rio de Janeiro, was originally named São Sebastião. Altogether, about ten thousand Huguenots had planned to emigrate to the new colony, but these arrangements were cancelled when Ville-gaignon's betrayal of the first settlers became known in France. Thus the first Protestant effort in Brazil, and France's only good opportunity to obtain colonial territory on that part of the South American continent, were without lasting benefit and a casualty of Ville-gaignon's doctrinal vacillation.

III. THE DUTCH IN PERNAMBUCO

Stimulated by the prospect of both religious and economic advantage, the Dutch in 1621 chartered the West India Company for the express purpose of obtaining colonial property in the Americas. Temporary control of Bahia was gained in 1624, and, during the next ten years, Dutch suzerainty was extended along the entire Atlantic coast from Sergipe to Maranhão. The strongest Protestant establishment, as a result, developed in the area called Pernambuco. Olinda, the

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22 Fletcher and Kidder, op. cit., p. 57.
23 Ibid., p. 56.
24 Munro, op. cit., p. 261.
chief city of the region and of Brazil at that time, and, along with its port city, Recife, the center of the Brazilian sugar industry, was a rich prize. When numerous Portuguese Jews in the area, who had become "New Christians" under the exigencies of the Inquisition, learned that other sons of Abraham were stockholders in the Dutch West India Company, they experienced little difficulty in accepting Calvinist doctrines in place of their recently, and hurriedly, acquired Roman Catholic dogma.

The first "classes" of the Dutch Reformed Church in Brazil met at Recife on December 16, 1636, with eight ministers and five elders present. Several congregations were represented, including one composed entirely of Englishmen under the pastoral leadership of one Samuel Batiler. Protestant ministers were soon reporting considerable success in missionary endeavors among the Indians, who later seemed happy to join ranks with the Dutch against the resurgent Portuguese.

In 1637, Jan Mauritz, Count of Nassau, sent by the Dutch West India Company to govern the newly acquired territory, established his headquarters at Olinda. Nassau, a patron of art and science, and a liberal statesman, expressed

25Braga and Grubb, op. cit., p. 47.
ideas beyond the comprehension of many of his contemporaries. 26 His proclamation of "free enjoyment of religion to all who would submit" to Dutch authority helped in large measure to secure the loyalty of the Portuguese settlers to the new regime. 27 But it aroused the ire of the ardent Calvinist ministers that had come to the colony with the original Dutch invaders, and who saw little reason for the toleration of a Roman Catholicism that was determined to destroy all Protestant groups in the area. The ensuing controversy led to Nassau's recall to Holland in 1643, and his removal from office the following year. 28

The government in Lisbon, weaker than usual as a result of the struggle to break free from Spanish domination, could do little to recover the invaded territory. In almost every instance, the eviction of the Dutch was accomplished by the Portuguese Colonials alone, as one coastal enclave after another fell before their persistent attacks. Olinda-Recife, the last Reformed stronghold in Brazil, was retaken on January 26, 1654, and the Dutch evacuated the site within

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27 The quotation is given in Tucker, "Brazil," p. 76.
28 Munro, op. cit., p. 262.
three months, in accordance with the terms of capitulation.\textsuperscript{29}

The expulsion of the Dutch by the Colonials, unassisted by
the mother country, greatly strengthened the tradition of in­
dependence which was growing in Brazil,\textsuperscript{30} and at the same
time sounded the death knell of organized Protestant reli­
gion in that area for more than one hundred and fifty years.

IV. THE STATE OF RELIGION IN COLONIAL BRAZIL

Roman Catholicism had a free hand in religious matters
throughout Brazil's existence as a Portuguese colony. While
non-Catholic foreigners were not always completely excluded
from residence and trade, the Roman Catholic clergy made
earnest efforts to forestall any growth of Protestantism in
their demesne. Gilberto Freyre, the noted Brazilian social
historian, writes as follows concerning the program of reli­
gious quarantine established:

Throughout certain colonial epochs the custom
was observed of having a friar aboard every ship
that arrived at a Brazilian port, for the purpose
of examining the conscience, the faith, the reli­
gion of the arrival. In those days it was hetero­
doxy that barred the immigrant; the stain of
heresy in the soul rather than racial character­
istics in the body. Religious health was the matter
in question: syphilis, the plague, smallpox, and
leprosy entered freely, borne by both Europeans and
Negroes from various places.

\textsuperscript{29}Hernane Tavares de Sá, \textit{The Brazilians: People of

\textsuperscript{30}See comments by Calogeras, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 14.
The peril lay not in the fact that one might be a foreigner or a cacogenic individual, but that he might be a heretic. Let him be able to intone [rezar is Freyre's word] the Our Father and the Hail Mary, to recite the Apostles' Creed, to make the sign of the Cross—and the stranger was welcome in colonial Brazil. The friar went on board to ascertain the orthodoxy of the individual in the same manner as the health and the race of an individual is investigated today. 31

Important discoveries of gold in the provinces of Minas Gerais, Mato Grosso, and Goias between 1694 and 1724 caused that area of Brazil to grow in prominence. Subsequent migrations ignored the line established in the Treaty of Tordesillas, and Spain was powerless to enforce the provisions of the pact. 32 In 1720, possibly as a measure of economic as much as religious protection, a law was passed making it almost impossible for a person to land in Brazil unless he was in the service of the Crown or the Roman Catholic Church. Foreigners were absolutely excluded. 33

No permanent court of the Inquisition was ever estab-


32 Calogeras, op. cit., p. 15. This Brazilian historian states that the new frontier rule was "the abandonment of the old treaties which delimited territory by astronomical lines and the establishment of the legality of ownership on the basis of effective and continuous possession." The adventurous, slave-hunting groups of bandeirantes soon pushed across the jungles to the foothills of the Andes, giving to Brazil approximately the same geographical boundaries which it has today.

33 Braga and Grubb, op. cit., p. 47.
lished in Brazil. Suspected heretics were sent to Lisbon, where the Inquisition held sway until curtailed in 1750 by José de Carvalho e Mello, Portugal's great Prime Minister and later the Marquis de Pombal. According to one Portuguese authority, five hundred Brazilians were burned alive before Pombal abolished the auto da fé. Pombal's vigorous ministry throughout the third quarter of the Eighteenth Century slowed Portugal's decline as a political power, but his reforms were strongly opposed by the Jesuits. Incensed by their antagonism to his policies, Pombal dissolved all the Jesuit missions in Portuguese territories by 1758, and in the following year he persuaded King José I to banish the Society of Jesus from Portugal and all her colonies.

The low standard of morality among the non-Jesuit Roman Catholic clergy in Brazil remained largely unchanged throughout the whole of the colonial period. While Freyre regards Roman Catholicism as the cement which unified the widely separated "captaincies" into a viable nation, he makes this plain comment on priestly behavior during that

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34 Munro, op. cit., p. 269.
35 Elliott, op. cit., p. 47.
36 The historian Porto Seguro, as cited in Elliott, loc. cit.
37 Munro, op. cit., p. 273.
38 Freyre, Casa-Grande e Senzala, p. 43.
period:

In the Sixteenth Century, with the exception of the Jesuits—who were uncompromisingly virginal—large numbers of priests and friars of the less rigidly disciplined orders took up with Indian and Negro women. The clerics of Pernambuco and Bahia scandalized Father Nobrega. Throughout the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries, and most of the Nineteenth, cassocks were freely tucked up for the fulfillment of functions nearly patriarchal, when this was not done for the sake of the excesses of libertinism with Negro and mulatto women. Many times, behind the most seraphic names in this world—Divine Love, Assumption, Mount Carmel, Immaculate Conception, Rosary—, certain chroniclers tell us, formidable stallions flourished, instead of ascetics afflicted by their vows of celibacy.39

The Indians of Brazil, enslaved by the colonists, did not develop into good workers under their Portuguese taskmasters. In fact, so many of them sickened and died in servitude that the colonists began to import Negroes very soon after the first settlements were established. The African slaves brought with them strong animistic beliefs, and only accepted the Christianity of their masters as an expedient veneer covering the rituals long practiced by

39 Ibid., p. 487. Samuel Putnam, in his classic English translation of Freyre's work, entitled The Masters and the Slaves, pp. 446-447, renders angustiados as "austerely concerned;" but Pequeno Dicionário Brasileiro da Língua Portuguesa (Rio de Janeiro: Editora Civilização Brasileira S/A, 1951), hereafter cited in this paper as Pequeno Dicionário, gives aflito (afflicted), agoniado (agonized), and atribulado (troubled) as synonyms for angustiado. It is possible that the distinguished translator hesitated to attribute to the religious devotees the same normal desires that Freyre does.
their pagan forebears. One author, in explaining the origin of the strange Negro cults of modern Brazil, puts it as follows:

The Sudanese—and other African tribes to a lesser degree—brought a well-developed mythology with them. Their Lord of the Heavens, Master of the Sky, was Olorun. A Being without form, remaining on his African Olympus, he was only manifested through secondary gods or orixas. Obatalá, the Sky, and Odudua, the Earth, chief of these orixas, marrying, became the parents of Aganjú, Land, and Yemanjá, Water. And Land and Water also uniting, had one son, Orungan. Like Oedipus, Orungan became impassioned with his mother. One day when his father was absent, he tried to violate her. She fled, and as he was about to overtake her, fell to the ground, dead. Immediately her body began to swell; from her breasts flowed two rivers that formed a great lake, and from her womb appeared fifteen gods. Among these were Xangô, God of Thunder, and Ogun, God of War and Iron.

In Brazil, when baptized en masse into the Catholic faith, the Sudanese made some logical identifications. In God...they recognized Olorun. In Christ, a very material Christ, they saw Obatalá, or more concretely, Nosso Senhor do Bom Fim ("Our Lord of the Good End").

Odudua, like Sant'Anna, mother of the Virgin Mary, was relegated to a secondary place, and Yemanjá became Nossa Senhora do Rosário in Bahia or Nossa Senhora da Conceição in Rio. In Rio, Xangô became St. Michael; Ogun, sometimes St. Anthony, sometimes St. George. And Exú and Leba, two evil Sudanese deities, were identified with Satan. With these and other similar adjustments, the Negroes during colonial times were able to appear to their white masters to be dutifully following the Catholic teachings, while in reality they continued to worship their own gods.40

40 Vera Kelsey, Seven Keys to Brazil (New York: Funk and Wagnalls Co., 1940), pp. 25-26. Tucker, The Bible in
The settled portions of colonial Brazil were undeniably strongly Roman Catholic in their form of religion, even if, as seems equally certain, the tone and character of life was only nominally religious, and frequently served only as a covering for decidedly unchristian idolatry and immorality. The failures of the French Huguenots and the Dutch Calvinists, followed by the legal exclusion of non-Catholics, left the Church of Rome in an unchallenged position in the colony, as the sole religion permitted the Brazilian people.

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Brazil, p. 19, says: "Our Lady of the Rosary, the peculiar patron saint of the blacks, is sometimes painted as a negress."
CHAPTER III

PROTESTANTISM IN THE PERIOD OF THE EMPIRE:

BIRTH AND INFANCY

I. CHANGES UNDER THE RESIDENT MONARCH

In 1808, João, Prince Regent of Portugal, fled from Lisbon, barely escaping the onrushing Napoléonic forces, and established his capital in Rio de Janeiro.¹ A more enlightened and liberal program of government, as a result, was inaugurated in the colony:

...a military school, a medical school, and a national bank were established, a newspaper was published, and the royal library of 60,000 volumes was thrown open to the public. Many foreigners began to visit Brazil, and the Prince Regent invited several French artists and scientists to make their home there. Rio de Janeiro and other ports were opened to the trade of all friendly nations...²

João was especially interested in trade and the furtherance of immigration. In 1810 he signed a treaty with Great Britain, establishing trade relations and "laying the basis for a British commercial preeminence in Brazil" that lasted well into the Twentieth Century.³ The treaty pro-

¹Under Pombal, the capital had been transferred from Bahia to Rio de Janeiro in 1763.
²Munro, op. cit., p. 276.
³Calogeras, op. cit., p. 59.
vided that a place of worship for the British residents and transients could be erected in the capital city. J. Lloyd Mecham says that José Caetano da Silva Coutinho, Roman Catholic Bishop of Rio de Janeiro at the time, favored giving the British such religious liberty, as he guessed rightly that the chapel would attract only a very few worshippers. The cornerstone of "The Church of St. George and St. John the Baptist" was laid on August 12, 1819, the oldest extant Protestant church building in all of Spanish or Portuguese South America. When the building was completed, religious services were limited by agreement to the English language, and no attempt was made to propagate Anglican teachings among the Portuguese-speaking Brazilians. In addition, it had been expressly stipulated in the treaty that the edifice should bear no outward resemblance to a place of worship, and João personally reviewed the plans for construction, and corrected them to conform to this restriction.

The Prince Regent became King João VI of Portugal in

4J. Lloyd Mecham, Church and State in Latin America (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1934), pp. 311, 312.

5James L. Kennedy, Cincoenta Anos de Methodismo no Brasil (São Paulo: Imprensa Methodista, 1928), pp. 11, 12.

6Ibid.

7Braga and Grubb, op. cit., p. 50.
1816, and the next year he brought in Swiss settlers as part of his program to further colonization. Very few of the immigrants, however, survived the radical difference in climate between their homeland and the hot coastal area of Brazil. Some 340 additional colonists were then recruited from Germany to fill the depleted ranks. The second group established the town of Novo Fribourgo in the heights back of Rio de Janeiro. These settlers were promised freedom to worship God as they pleased but, as they held their services only in German, they, like the English, made no effort to evangelize the other Brazilians.

King João returned to Lisbon in 1821, but left his son Pedro behind in Brazil, and exhorted him to seize the Crown if Brazil became independent. João also left behind him the beginnings of a governmental policy of religious toleration in Brazil, and the first authorized Protestant worship in any of the colonial territories of Portugal or Spain.

II. NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE AND THE BEGINNINGS OF RELIGIOUS TOLERATION

Soon Pedro was peremptorily summoned to Lisbon. He received the dispatches while journeying near São Paulo on

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8 Elliott, op. cit., pp. 56, 57.
9 Munro, op. cit., p. 278.
September 7, 1822. Having already discreetly sampled the opinion of the people of both Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo, and being confident of their support, he uttered the Grito de Ypiranga, "Independência ou morte!," Brazil's abbreviated equivalent of the North American Declaration of Independence. This refusal to submit to the dictates of the Portuguese government united popular sentiment behind him in a demand for the severance of all ties with the homeland.

In general, the Roman Catholic clergy in Brazil supported the move, in contradistinction to the position taken by similar groups of churchmen in the Spanish colonies. The clerical backing for Pedro may be explained by the fact that the kings of Portugal had continually exercised the right of ecclesiastical patronage in Brazil originally granted them in 1551 by Pope Julius III. This secured the monarchs in their control of the church lands and affairs in the colony, and in practice, at least, resulted in an impoverished clergy. The colonial padres had no property to protect from the possible scourges of a revolution, and their tithes were taken by the King. One writer of the period

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10 Mecham, op. cit., pp. 305, 306. Speaking of the abortive revolt in Pernambuco in 1817, Mecham cites Brazilian sources as recording that fifty-seven priests, nearly all of them Masons, were among those imprisoned after the insurrection was suppressed.

noted that the Archbishop of Mexico received ten times as large an income as did the Archbishop of Bahia, and that lesser church dignitaries in the two lands were paid in similar proportion. The Brazilian priests' action, or lack of action, in the revolt against Portugal may have proceeded in part from a hope for a bettering of their economic status in an independent country.

The Freemasons played an important role in the revolution. Pedro had been initiated into the order on August 2, 1822, and was made Grand Master shortly afterward. The period of bitter conflict between Freemasonry and Roman Catholicism in Brazil was still nearly fifty years off, and many priests and laymen felt an additional tie with their royal leader because of his election as a distinguished fellow-Mason. The early stabilization of the new regime was furthered by the successful forays of the Brazilian fleet, commanded by Lord Cochrane and manned by British officers and men under contract, and by speedy diplomatic recognition on the part of the United States.

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14 Munro, *op. cit.*, p. 281.

15 Calogerás, *op. cit.*, p. 89. This Brazilian writer
Pedro was acclaimed as the first Emperor of Brazil on October 12, 1822. The Constitution of the Empire, promulgated in 1824, recognized Roman Catholicism as the religion of the State, and required deputies elected to the Parliament to take an oath to maintain the Roman Catholic faith. But religious toleration was guaranteed by the Constitution, thus providing greater freedom for Protestantism in Brazil than ever before. Dom Pedro encouraged immigration in efforts to strengthen his empire, and did not hesitate to invite Protestants to settle in Brazil. A Government-sponsored colony of 126 Germans was established in the province of Rio Grande do Sul in 1825, and a German Evangelical Lutheran community was founded in Rio de Janeiro in 1827, under the leadership of a Prussian consul named Théreme. The German Evangelical Lutheran Church in Brazil was recognized as a state church by

regards the United States action of recognition, taken on May 26, 1824, the first nation to acknowledge Brazil's independence, as being an important link in the chain of friendship between the two countries.

16 Fletcher and Kidder, op. cit., p. 614, quote Article 3 of the "Abstract of the Brazilian Constitution, sworn to on the 25th of March, 1824, and revised in 1834," as saying, "The Roman Catholic religion is constituted that of the State; but the exercise of all others is permitted." Armitage, op. cit., pp. 146, 147, translates the article in virtually the same words. The rule regarding deputies is found in Article 5 of the Abstract, as cited by Fletcher and Kidder, op. cit., p. 605.

17 Elliott, op. cit., p. 57.

18 Kennedy, op. cit., p. 12.
the Brazilian Government, and the pastors of the larger congregations received federal financial support and protection.\textsuperscript{19}

Dom Pedro II, who succeeded to the imperial title in 1831, followed the liberal ideas of his father and grandfather with respect to freedom of worship, and continued their efforts to induce a greater tide of immigrants to enter Brazil. A colony of Germans and Swiss was settled at Petropolis, near Rio de Janeiro, in 1848 under his direction.\textsuperscript{20} Protestant worship was freely permitted in the capital city and adjacent areas in the 1840's, though meeting places were not allowed to have either steeples or bells, to avoid the appearance of being churches.\textsuperscript{21} The first German Lutheran church was consecrated in Rio de Janeiro on July 27, 1845, having been financed partly by subscriptions and partly by a grant from the German Government.\textsuperscript{22} A "cemetery for Ger-

\textsuperscript{19} Latourette, \textit{op. cit.}, V, pp. 106, 107. Braga and Grubb, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 51, point out that the German Evangelical churches were "neither exclusively Lutheran or Calvinist," and that they came from a connection with the movement which united the Lutheran and Reformed Churches in Germany in 1817.

\textsuperscript{20} Elliott, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 57.


\textsuperscript{22} Kennedy, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 12. Again, services were held only in German, with no attempt to reach the Portuguese-speaking population.
mans" was opened in 1851 near the center of the city of São Paulo, with half of the burial area reserved for Roman Catholics, and half for non-Catholics. Smaller German Evangelical congregations, unable to obtain the government stipend for pastors, appealed to the home churches in Germany for some well-trained religious leaders. These latter were sent in the years following a visit made to Brazil about 1850 by a German pastor named Borchard, who had been commissioned to survey the need.

In July of 1846, the Right Reverend Monsignor Cajetan (or, Gaetano) Bedini, Nuncio of Pope Pius IX at the Court of Brazil, visited Petropolis, where, as previously stated, numerous German Lutheran immigrants had settled, and had established their own place of worship, as permitted by the Constitution. Some intermarriage had taken place between the Roman Catholics and the Lutherans of the city, and the Nuncio, according to Fletcher and Kidder, "preached a furious sermon, in which he declared that all Romanists so allied were living in concubinage--their marriages were void, and their children illegitimate." Bedini's action was denounced by the leading papers in both Petropolis and Rio de Janeiro.

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as highly imprudent, and prone to kindle the fires of religious intolerance. Following the incident, Dom Pedro requested and received papal consent to mixed marriages in Brazil, a concession never granted in the nations which had been Spanish colonies.

III. THE INADEQUACIES OF THE ROMAN CATHOLIC STATE CHURCH IN THE MID-NINETEENTH CENTURY

The establishment of Brazilian independence seems to have done little to improve the spiritual level of Roman Catholicism throughout the land. Visitors, ecclesiastical leaders, and government officials who have left us accounts of the period are united in their condemnation of both clerical and lay degeneracy. Large groups of Roman Catholic immigrants from European lands arrived without religious leadership, and did little to secure such guidance for their own spiritual welfare, nor did the local Roman Catholic authori-

25 Fletcher and Kidder, op. cit., p. 142. In 1853-1854, Bedini, by that time an archbishop of the Roman Catholic Church, visited the United States as a special papal legate. His official reception by President Pierce aroused widespread fears of a plot to establish diplomatic ties with the Vatican, and touched off numerous demonstrations across the country, including one attempt to assassinate the papal representative. Bedini returned to Rome, and in 1859 he founded the North American Pontifical College, a training school for United States priests. See "Yankee Seminarians," Time, LXXIV, No. 16 (October 19, 1959), pp. 74, 76.

ties seek to serve them effectively. In most cases where such needs were provided for, instructors came from Europe as missionaries for that express purpose. A religiously sceptical traveller through the southern Brazilian provinces of São Paulo and Minas Gerais about 1865 commented on the religious indifference of the people there in the following words:

The Mineiro, like the Paulista, is a religious man, but a lax Catholic.... The confessional is not abused except by the professional devote[sic], and we seldom hear of a man who has recourse to his priest in all matters, trivial or important, secular or spiritual.

Another author, who visited the capital city of Brazil just before the middle of the Nineteenth Century, gave the following account of the religious practices common there, comparing the widespread use of ex votos in Roman Catholic shrines and churches with the same practice in pagan religions:

Pious pagans did not confine themselves to written acknowledgements of the interposition of medical divinities, but hung up in their temples figures in bronze, wood, etc., of the diseased members. So it is here. Heads, hands, arms, feet, legs, etc. [emphasis in the original], of natural dimensions, but molded in wax, mingle with the tablets [reporting the healing].

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Here are five hands, three feet, two legs, four arms, as many hands, a female’s breasts, a pair of eyes, jaws, and parts which I can’t make out. On two of the hands are wens, an excrescence on the breast, and some of the feet are distorted.  

Whether viewed as a cause or a result of religious laxity, moral conditions among the Roman Catholic clergy were tragically bad. James C. Fletcher and Daniel P. Kidder, whose volumes on Brazil are generally accepted as authoritative chronicles of the time, speak plainly in summarizing this situation:

The priests, to some extent, owe the loss of their power to their shameful immorality. There is no class of men in the whole Empire whose lives and practices are so corrupt as those of the priesthood. It is notorious. The Relatorios (messages) of the Minister of Justice and the Provincial Presidents annually allude to this state of things. Every newspaper from time to time contains articles to this effect; every man, whether high or low, speaks his sentiments most unreservedly on this point; no traveller, whether Romanist or Protestant, can shut his eyes to the glaring facts. In every part of Brazil that I [probably Kidder] have visited I have heard, from the mouths of the ignorant as well as from the lips of the educated, the same sad tale; and, what is worse, in many places the priests openly avow their shame.

The Minister of Justice and Ecclesiastical Affairs,

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Ewbank, op. cit., p. 153. The author of this paper saw several similar shrines in the Brazilian Northeast in 1951-1952, and he noted that, in some instances, the ex-votos were moved from one shrine to another by the local Roman Catholic authorities.

Fletcher and Kidder, op. cit., p. 141.
in his report for the year 1843, wrote despairingly of the "state of regression into which our clergy are falling." He deplored the scarcity of candidates for the sacred office, and noted that "no persons of standing devote their sons to the priesthood."  

The few Brazilian Roman Catholic leaders who fought to reverse the general religious decadence found their efforts vigorously opposed by the majority of the clergy. Among those who sought to combat the prevailing indifference was Antônio Joaquim de Mello, Roman Catholic Bishop of São Paulo from 1852 to 1861. Thinking that a possible solution might be found in a closer tie with the Papacy, in 1858 he addressed an appeal for such a program to Emperor Dom Pedro II, including the following statement:

Brazil has no more faith; religion is almost extinct there. Of religion only the exterior remains: great feasts that usually end in lower-class revelries, and physical idolatry of images. But that which is the way, truth, and life [emphasis in the original] is unknown....For the state at which we are arriving, Sir, for this paganism in the education of youth...I find but one remedy...a frank and loyal alliance with the Holy See...  

No attempt seems to have been made to camouflage the debility of the State Church and the need for religious reforms. Actually, it is highly improbable that improvements...

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31 See Appendix A in this paper for a translation of part of the Minister's report.

32 Quoted in Morse, op. cit., pp. 102-103.
ments of this sort will ever be initiated within such a sys-
tem. Brazil was hardly an exception, and a candid editorial
in the Roman Catholic paper, O Oriente, for December 2, 1866,
summarized the prevailing situation in the following words:

In spite of everything, Catholicism still
persists in Brazil; in spite of its despised
episcopacy, the deplorable state of its clergy,
a worship bastardized with pagan practices, beliefs
either fanatic or sceptical, and asphyxiated as it
is by the paralysis of a crushing indifference.33

Though the prospects of a reformation from within
were indeed dim, there was no noticeable mid-Nineteenth Cen-
tury trend among the Brazilian populace toward the acceptance
of Protestant religious views as a means for reviving the
spiritual vitality of the nation. Writing from opinions
formed through his extensive study of the religious activi-
ties in Rio de Janeiro and its environs about 1846, Thomas
Ewbank declared:

The more I see of this people, the more distant
appears the success of any Protestant missions
among them....Protestants, it is said, degenerate
here. The British chapel never received a native
convert, while monks have drawn members from it.
The Episcopal Methodists have had a Mission here
for some years, and have abandoned it. There is
no ground on which a missionary can meet the
people. They avoid him as one with whom associa-
tion is disreputable, and they entertain a feeling
toward him bordering on contempt, arising from a
rooted belief in his ignorance and presumption....

33 General Abreu e Lima, As Bíbias Falsificadas
(Recife: publisher not given, 1867), pp. 166, 167, as
quoted in Braga and Grubb, op. cit., p. 34.
Neither stringent Methodism nor Puritanism can ever flourish in the tropics. The commerce of the country and its internal trade are opposed to the overthrow of Romanism. Civil and social relationships would be broken up, and thousands upon thousands lose the means by which they live....To preach against Romanism is as much treason against the state as attempting to introduce the republican form of government, but the greatest of obstacles would probably be found in the reverence paid to the Virgin....

In Rio, Mary is held in the same enthusiastic reverence as was the great Madonna of the Ephesians, nor could the city be sooner thrown into an uproar than by a Protestant missionary publicly attempting to diminish her reputation. Silver shrine-makers would, with one accord, rush out of Ourives Street and address their fellow-workmen in the very words and spirit of Demetrius....Then the armadors, costumers, carvers, painters, gilders, image-makers, and wax-chandlers, equally aflame with wrath, would add to the commotion, and render it next to impossible for any town clerk to wrest the blaspheming babbler alive out of their hands.34

IV. THE EARLY METHODIST COLPORTEURS

The sale of the Holy Scriptures had not been permitted in colonial Brazil, but the general easing of restrictions after the arrival of the Prince Regent in 1808 had resulted in a widespread demand among the populace for copies of the Bible in Portuguese.35 The opening of trade relations between Brazil and England stimulated a growing interest on the part of Evangelicals in Great Britain to spread the Word

35Fletcher and Kidder, op. cit., p. 255.
of God in the "Land of the True Cross." Between 1804 and 1817, not less than 20,000 copies of the New Testament were published by the British and Foreign Bible Society, and many of these were shipped to Brazil, where they were widely distributed by merchants and seamen traveling along the Brazilian coast. In 1822, two thousand Bibles and Testaments were sent to Recife and circulated through the aid of British traders, and from 1835 to 1854 a British merchant named Thornton personally undertook the distribution of the Scriptures in the port cities of Brazil, among them Rio de Janeiro, Salvador, Maceió, and Belém.

In answer to a call for missionaries for South America issued by the Methodist Episcopal Church (South) in 1834, the Reverend Fountain E. Pitts, a member of the Tennessee Annual Conference, volunteered to make a personal survey, and arrived in Rio de Janeiro to undertake the task on August 19, 1835. Shortly thereafter he began holding preaching services in private homes and, before going on to Montevideo and

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36 Howard, Religious Liberty?, p. 121. Howard gives the dates as 1804-1807, but this seems to be a misprint. Braga and Grubb, op. cit., p. 74, give the dates cited in this paper, and they were more closely associated with religious activities in both Brazil and Great Britain.

37 Braga and Grubb, op. cit., p. 74. This source uses the terms "Bahia" and "Pará" instead of Salvador and Belém, respectively. The use of the name of the province or state in place of the distinctive name of the capital is common in Brazil, but it is doubtful that Thornton's colportage work took him beyond the capital cities in these two provinces.
Buenos Aires for like work, he established a Methodist Society in the capital city of Brazil. Pitts returned to the United States in the spring of 1836, and recommended that missions should be established in each of these three South American cities.38

The Reverend R. Justin Spaulding, of the New England Annual Conference, quickly responded to the challenge given by Pitts, and left New York for Rio de Janeiro in March, 1836. In a short time he organized a congregation of forty members, which he taught in both Portuguese and English, establishing a Sunday School in addition to the worship services.39 Thus, Spaulding should be credited with conducting the first regular Protestant preaching services in Portuguese ever held in Brazil.

In November, 1837, the Reverend and Mrs. Daniel P. Kidder and Mr. R. M. Murdy left Boston and joined Spaulding. The American Bible Society, by this time some twenty years in operation, arranged for Kidder to serve as its agent in Rio de Janeiro, and began to ship Bibles and Testaments to a central depot which he established there. The Bible agent later spoke of the throngs that gathered to receive copies of the Bible whenever a shipment arrived, including the principals of several colegios, and some Roman Catholic priests who

38 Kennedy, op. cit., pp. 13, 14.  
39 Ibid.
desired copies of the Scriptures in the vernacular. At

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times, he said, the demand would be three or four times
greater than the supply. 41

During a tour of the São Paulo area, Kidder noticed
the lack of Bibles, and proposed to friends that the American
Bible Society would provide New Testaments in Portuguese for
the schools of the province—at least to the degree requested
by the Provincial Assembly. The offer was discussed with

40 Many Brazilian priests were not opposed to the dis-

tribution of the Scriptures. Kidder writes of visiting the
province of São Paulo, and states that, to the best of his
knowledge, it was the first such visit by a Protestant minis-
ter. Having received letters of introduction to persons
farther inland who could provide lodging, he found that one
of them was a Roman Catholic priest who, receiving the Bible
agent warmly and with generous hospitality, expressed great
interest in Kidder's colportage work. The priest (a diacono)
spoke freely of the worsening condition of religion in
Brazil, and regarded the distribution of the Bible as the
best means for the correction of the widespread moral and
religious abuses. He agreed to circulate any books sent to
him at a later date by the Protestant missionary, and Kidder
ends his account of the conversation with this note:

"We accordingly closed an arrangement, which subse-
quently proved highly efficient and interesting. When I
showed him some tracts in Portuguese, he requested that a
quantity of them should accompany the remission of Bibles.
On my asking how the ex-Regent [José Bonifácio de Andrada] and
others like him would regard the circulation of the Scrip-
tures among the people, he said they would rejoice in it, and
that the propriety of the enterprize would scarcely admit of
discussion. 'Then,' said I, 'when we are engaged in this work
we can have the satisfaction to know that we are doing what
the better part of your own clergy approve.' 'Certainly,' he
replied; 'you are doing what we ought to be doing our-
selves.' " [Fletcher and Kidder, op. cit., pp. 384-388]

41 Ibid., pp. 255-258.
prominent members of both parties of the legislative body, including, Kidder notes:

...two priests, one a doctor in medicine and the other a professor in the Academy of Laws; the Bishop-elect of Rio de Janeiro, who was the confidential advisor of the old Bishop of S. Paulo,—the latter also belonging to the Assembly; and at length the Andradas. Each of these gentlemen entertained the proposition in the most respectful manner, and expressed the opinion that it could not fail to be well received by the Assembly. The bishop..., together with one of the padres referred to, had purchased copies of the Bible, at the depository in Rio, for their own use, and highly approved of the edition we circulated.42

Kidder's account continues with a brief report of his visit to members of the great Andrada family, who likewise encouraged the proposition. He then gives the text of the proposal as presented to the Sao Paulo Assembly on February 15, 1839, and the following acknowledgement:

To Mr. KIDDER: I inform you that the Legislative Assembly has received with especial satisfaction your offer of copies of the New Testament, translated by the Padre Antonio Pereira de Figueiredo, and that the Legislature will enter into a deliberation upon the subject, the result of which will be communicated to you.

God preserve you!

Miguel Eufrasio de Azevedo Marquez, Secretary

Palace of the Provincial Assembly
S. Paulo, Feb. 20, 1839.43

Due to opposition, seemingly a result of sentiment

42Ibid., pp. 390-393. 43Ibid., p. 393.
stirred up by an English Roman Catholic priest in Rio de Janeiro, and fostered by a bitter struggle between the two factions in the São Paulo legislative body, the implementing legislation was never enacted, but, to Kidder's knowledge, never rejected. However, the Reverend James C. Fletcher, an English agent of the American Bible Society who visited the São Paulo area about 1855, reported finding a similar popular receptiveness to the distribution of the Scriptures.\footnote{Ibid., pp. 394-395.}

Within a few months after the opening of the American Bible Society's depot in Rio de Janeiro, according to Fletcher and Kidder's account, the Roman Catholic clergy in that city started two newspapers with the express intent of attacking the colportage ministry. Both of the papers failed after the publication of only a few issues, however, because popular sentiment clearly favored the distribution of the Scriptures as a program of civic enlightenment.\footnote{Ibid., pp. 255-258.} One of the leaders in this abortive attack on the missionaries was Padre Luiz Gonçalves dos Santos, who authored many articles and at least one book directed against them. Kennedy quotes portions of the padre's vitriolic diatribes as follows:

How is it possible that, in the Imperial Court of the Land of the True Cross, right under the nose of her Emperor and of all the ecclesiastical and secular authorities, there have come laymen, married, with children, called "Missionaries of Rio de Janeiro," sent from New York by others like...
them, Protestants, Calvinists, to preach Jesus Christ to the people of our historic and fair city?!

An incredible thing! but true, disgracefully so. These so-called missionaries have been in our midst for nearly two years, seeking with the fervor of demons to pervert the Catholics, shaking their faith, with public preaching services in their house, with schools for religious instruction and Sunday Schools, scattering mutilated and noteless Bibles; in general, inviting all and sundry to Protestantism, and especially to embrace the Methodist sect, of all the Protestants the most troublesome, the most careless, fanatical, hypocritical and ignorant.

The death of Mrs. Kidder left the Bible Society's

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46 Kennedy, op. cit., p. 15, citing Religiões Acatólicas, pp. 205-207, and O Catholico e o Methodista, introductory pages, both authored by Gonçalves dos Santos. Because of the curious and inflammatory nature of this quotation, it is given here in the original Portuguese:

"Como é possível que na Corte do Império da Terra de Santa Cruz, a face do seu Imperador, e de todas as autoridades eclesiasticas e seculares, se apresentem homens leigos, casados, com filhos, denominados Missionários do Rio de Janeiro, enviados de New-York [the name is in English in the original] por outros taes como elles, protestantes, calvinistas, para pregar Jesus Christo aos Fluminenses?!

"Cousa incrivel! mas desgraçadamente certissima. Estes intitulados missionários estão há perto de dois annos entre nós procurando com a actividade dos demonios perverter os catholicos, abalando a sua fé, com pregações publicas na sua casa, com escolas semanarias e dominicaes, espalhando Biblias truncadas e sem notas, emfim convidando a uns e a outros para o Protestantismo e muito especialmente para abraçar a seita dos Methodistas, de todos os protestantes os mais turbulentos, os mais relaxados, fanaticas, hypocriticas e ignorantes."

The term "fluminense" has reference to a citizen of Rio de Janeiro, but with the connotations of distinction given in the translation above.
agent with the responsibility of caring for a very young baby, and he returned to the United States in 1840. Spaulding remained in Rio de Janeiro until 1842, but his departure at that time resulted in the closing of the Methodist mission to Brazil. However, some families in the capital city continued to regard themselves as Methodists, even though official Methodist missionary work was not to be re-opened in Brazil for nearly three decades.  

V. THE BEGINNING OF PERMANENT PROTESTANT MISSIONS IN BRAZIL

Congregational

Although the ministry of Bible colportage continued in some measure during the period after the closing of the Methodist mission in Rio de Janeiro, the first Protestant missionary work of a lasting nature started when Dr. Robert R. Kelley, a Scots physician who had previously served as a missionary on the Portuguese island of Madeira, arrived in

47 Kennedy, op. cit., p. 14. For an account of the re-establishment of Methodist missionary activity in Brazil, see pp. 55-59 of this paper.

48 The work of Fletcher (1851-1856) has already been mentioned (see p. 43 of this paper). Braga and Grubb, op. cit., p. 74, note also the arrival in 1856 of Mr. Richard Corfield, the first agent appointed to Brazil by the British and Foreign Bible Society, even though that Society had, for more than half a century, been providing portions of the Scriptures in Portuguese for distribution in Brazil.
Brazil's capital city on May 10, 1855. While Kalley was able to undertake missionary activities at once, having already acquired a knowledge of the Portuguese language, the harassment he had experienced at the hands of fanatical Roman Catholics on Madeira caused him to initiate his new ministry with extreme caution. A Brazilian Presbyterian historiographer, Boanerges Ribeiro, describes Kalley's methods as follows:

Chastened by the persecution which he suffered in Madeira, Kalley did not wish to call the attention of the padres to his newborn movement; his mission was clandestine, like a Protestant underground [the word is in English in the original]; his companions from Madeira found work where they could, and began to sound out their fellow employees. When they encountered a more approachable one, they began to indoctrinate him and, when the moment arrived, they invited him to the worship service, which was not held in special halls, or publicly, as one would imagine; it was a domestic service, in which the family and a few intimate friends met.50

Kalley baptized his first Brazilian convert in November of 1857 and, in July of the following year, he organized an independent Congregational church with fourteen members. One of his converts, J. M. Gonçalves dos Santos, was called to the ministry and graduated from Spurgeon's College in London before returning to Rio de Janeiro to assume the duties of first regular pastor of the Congregational church.


50Ibid., pp. 96, 97.
in 1875.\footnote{Braga and Grubb, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 55.} Kalley himself remained to further the missionary endeavor for nearly twenty years, returning in poor health in 1876 to his native Scotland; prior to his death in 1888, he founded the "Help for Brazil Mission," which succeeded in placing sixteen missionaries (six couples and four single women) in the states of Pernambuco, Minas Gerais, and Espírito Santo before the end of the Nineteenth Century.\footnote{Tucker, "Brazil," p. 78.}

The Reverend Ashbel Green Simonton, the first missionary appointed to Brazil by the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America (the northern Presbyterians), arrived in Rio de Janeiro on August 12, 1859.\footnote{George Hood, "South America," \textit{Historical Sketches of the Missions under the Care of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church} (Philadelphia: Women's Foreign Missionary Society of the Presbyterian Church, 1886), p. 84.} He taught English while learning Portuguese, and won friends among the business men of the city in that manner. Within a few days of his disembarkation, Simonton made the acquaintance of Kalley, but was not satisfied to conduct his evangelistic activities along the lines adopted by the Congregational missionary. Ribeiro, in writing of the vigorous spirit shown by the early Presbyterian missionaries, records this...
early disagreement over policy in the following words:

These North Americans, both youthful and aggressive in their plans, sons of a free land, were not able to understand the almost morbid precautions of Kalley, and his fear of arousing the attention of the clerics. Kalley, with his solid Scots slowness, his "horse sense,"[the words are in quotations and in English in the original]his experience in Catholic countries, his white hair and his fearfulness, was only tolerated by these imprudent youths. For their part, they considered with respect the past experiences, the faith, and the solidity of the pioneer, but decided to spread their propaganda as publicly as possible.

"Kalley insists that I work in secret, and thinks it wise that societies maintaining missions in papist lands should be organized in deepest secrecy...In this I cannot agree with him...My presence and my intentions cannot be hidden and, therefore, my hope is in the protection of God, and in the use of prudent means of defense," observed Simonton 19 days after he disembarked.54

Simonton's first religious service in Portuguese was a Sunday School session held on April 22, 1860, when he used texts from the Bible, a catechism of sacred history, and Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress in his teachings.55 After visiting São Paulo, he recommended that the Board of Foreign Missions of his denomination begin work in both of these large cities.56 Simonton was joined on July 25, 1860, by the

54 Ribeiro, op. cit., p. 99.
56 Braga and Grubb, op. cit., pp. 57, 58.
Reverend and Mrs. Alexander L. Blackford. The two men, brothers-in-law, worked together in Rio de Janeiro, and in January of 1862 the first Presbyterian church in Brazil was organized there. The following year Blackford went to São Paulo, and established a church in that city in February, 1865.

Simonton, meanwhile, returned to the United States in April, 1862, having received word that his mother's health was failing rapidly. In the spring of 1863 he married Helen Murdoch and returned to Brazil shortly afterward, arriving in Rio de Janeiro in July of that year, accompanied by his bride. Their happiness together was short-lived; in June, 1864, Mrs. Simonton died, a week after bearing their first child, and less than a year after she first saw the beautiful Guanabara Bay. Simonton's journal records the grief that he felt, and the loss may have contributed to his own demise soon afterward, in December, 1867, at the age of thirty-

57 Tucker, "Brazil," p. 79.
58 Hood, op. cit., p. 85.
59 Júlio Andrade Ferreira, História da Igreja Presbiteriana do Brasil (São Paulo: Casa Editora Presbiteriana, 1959), I, pp. 23-25. This valuable reference work, along with several others, was loaned by a Brazilian Presbyterian pastor for the purposes of this study.
60 See quotations from Simonton's journal, June 19 and 28, 1864, given in Waddell, op. cit., p. 340.
The death of this pioneer Presbyterian missionary couple made it necessary for Blackford to return to Rio de Janeiro to supervise the missionary work in the capital city, leaving his church in São Paulo in the care of the Reverend George W. Chamberlin, who had joined the Presbyterian mission in 1865.

The city of São Paulo was chosen by the early Presbyterian missionaries as the educational center for their work in Brazil. Chamberlin purchased land for a school there in 1865, and Mrs. Chamberlin, who joined the mission in 1868, started the class sessions shortly after her arrival in the city by gathering "a dozen or more children of church people in one of the rooms of her house. Native ladies were afterward employed as teachers, and the attendance increased." Chamberlin made a trip to the United States in 1874 and, with funds collected there, he was able to give a strong impetus to his school program in 1875 by constructing a preaching hall and appropriate buildings for the training school. The Reverend J. Beatty Howell was made the director of the educational project in 1874, and remained in São Paulo until

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[Footnotes]

61 Hood, op. cit., p. 86.
63 Ibid., p. 312. 64 Ibid.
a health problem necessitated his retirement from that work in 1884.65

The town of Brotas, 170 miles northwest of São Paulo, was occupied as a Presbyterian mission station by the Rever-end Robert Lenington in 1865. However, the real foundation for Protestant missionary work in that place had been laid by the Roman Catholic vicar of the parish, José Manoel da Conceição. Known as the "Protestant Padre" by his contemporaries in the Roman Catholic Church because he studied the Bible and preached what he found there,66 Conceição was shifted from one parish to another in the province of São Paulo by his ecclesiastical superiors, who feared the influence such preaching would have on the people, yet found no grounds for church disciplinary action in the priest's exemplary conduct. Conceição experienced conversion during a visit paid to him by Alexander Blackford in 1863, renounced his sacerdotal office in the Roman Catholic Church the fol-

65 Fletcher and Kidder, op. cit., p. 160, give this interesting footnote:

"The Emperor on a trip to São Paulo in September, 1878, visited the Protestant school under the direction of Rev. Mr. Howell, and his Majesty openly declared that it was the best school of its grade that he had ever seen."

Hood, op. cit., p. 91, adds that, on the occasion of this visit to Howell's school, the Emperor said that if the work of the institution were not so strongly "propaganda," the leaders might count on his hearty support.

66 Ribeiro, op. cit., pp. 54, 55.
lowing year, and was ordained by the Presbytery of Rio de Janeiro on December 16, 1865, the same day that the Presbytery, the first in Brazil, was organized. 67

The converted priest was not excommunicated from the Roman Catholic Church until nearly a year after his ordination as a Presbyterian minister, and he was still held in high regard by at least some of the Roman Catholic clergy. 68 Conceição gave the remaining years of his life to an itinerant ministry through the provinces of southern Brazil, "depending entirely upon the hospitality or inhospitality of the people for his support, preaching everywhere the Gospel as he understood it." 69 One brief biographical sketch of Concei-

67 Ibid., pp. 106, 109, 138-139.
68 Ibid., pp. 156, 157. The Brazilian Roman Catholic friar, Joaquim do Monte Carmelo, wrote the following impassioned defense of Conceição, as quoted in Ribeiro, op. cit., p. 137:

"'Padre José Manoel da Conceição wanted to get married,' his enemies have said, in order to escape the tremendous responsibility of his apostasy; 'He wanted to get rich,' others have said: and they do not remember that, if it were thus, in no other place would the unhappy man have been better able to realize such a desideratum than in the Catholic Church, where money can be made in everything, where the bishops themselves make no secret of their avarice and their incontinence! In the Catholic Church, where the pretended pastors of souls [emphasis in the text] enter so very poor, and at death will hundreds of thousands of reis to their sons and daughters, is where he can get rich! And the Padre José Manoel, Protestant or Catholic, demonstrated constantly to all who knew him the example of the most heroic personal disinterest."

69 Waddell, op. cit., p. 343.
Gão includes the following account of an incident from his colorful life:

Once he appeared as if by resurrection. On this occasion he was shoved off the market place and stoned to death, as his assailants believed, at the side of a little brook. Coming to, he washed the blood out of his eyes, got his staff, and returned to the market place to resume his preaching. With a shout, "He has come to life; he was surely dead!" the greater part of his audience fled, leaving him to preach to a half a dozen whose courage was sufficient to enable them to face the risen one.\footnote{Ibid., pp. 343, 344. On p. 345, Waddell gives the date of Conceição's death as 1873.}

Simonton, Blackford, and others among the early Presbyterian missionaries in Brazil served also as agents of the American Bible Society, just as the Methodists had done twenty years previously, and the 	extit{Bible Society Record} makes frequent mention of their activities. Simonton, in a letter to the Society in 1865, wrote:

Our three colporteurs continue faithfully at work. Their accounts of sales are not flattering; still there is encouraging progress. When I compare the present state of things with the aspect of the missionary and Bible work when I landed here little more than five years ago, I feel grateful for the past and confident for the future.\footnote{Ashbel Green Simonton, a letter to the American Bible Society, 	extit{Bible Society Record}, X, No. 2, February, 1865.}

A letter from Blackford, dated September 1, 1865, speaks in detail of the colportage work in São Paulo, and mentions the hiring of Chamberlin, who had just joined the
Presbyterian mission there, as an additional agent for the Bible Society,\(^\text{72}\) and seven months later an issue of the Bible Society Record stated that "the report from Rev. Messrs. Simonton, of Rio de Janeiro, and Blatchford [sic], of Sao Paulo [sic], is more favorable than we anticipated."\(^\text{73}\)

Simonton, shortly before his death in 1867, wrote that "...the colporteurs report that they find Bibles everywhere."\(^\text{74}\) The following editorial comment is found in the Bible Society Record later that year:

> From accounts received recently from Brazil, the Board is encouraged to hope for enlargement for the Bible work in that country, and at the urgent request of Rev. A. L. Blackford additional colporteurs have been authorized. These colporteurs are employed under authority by the missionaries of the Presbyterian Board, who supervise their labors, keep the accounts, and report to us. We hope to see a good work done there.\(^\text{75}\)

The Presbyterian Church in the U. S. (the southern Presbyterians) undertook a mission to Brazil in 1868.\(^\text{76}\) The Reverend Edward Lane and the Reverend G. Nash Morton began the work of that denomination at Campinas, some sixty miles

\(^\text{72}\)Alexander L. Blackford, a letter to the American Bible Society, Bible Society Record, X, No. 10(December, 1865).

\(^\text{73}\)Bible Society Record, XI, No. 4(April, 1866).

\(^\text{74}\)Bible Society Record, XII, No. 4(April, 1867). Simonton's death is noted in the March, 1868, issue (XIII, No. 3).

\(^\text{75}\)Bible Society Record, XII, No. 9(November, 1867).

\(^\text{76}\)Braga and Grubb, op. cit., p. 60.
from the city of São Paulo, with Morton, a schoolmaster, founding the Colégio Internacional there in 1869. Four years later, the Reverend William Leconte and the Reverend J Rockwell Smith began work for the same mission board in Recife, and were the first Protestant missionaries to settle in the Brazilian Northeast. In 1888 the two Presbyterian mission boards sponsored a union of their activities in Brazil, resulting in the formation of the Presbyterian Church of Brazil, a new organization made completely independent of the mother churches in the United States, with 2,600 members at the time of its organization.

Methodist

After the conclusion of the American Civil War, when many families in the South sought to relocate, some fairly large groups emigrated to Brazil and settled in the central part of the province of São Paulo—among the locations men-

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77 Ferreira, op. cit., p. 81. Ferreira quotes Erasmo Braga, an outstanding leader of Brazilian Presbyterianism, as saying that the Colégio Internacional was "the first of the great schools established by Evangelical missionaries in South America." In 1953, the author of this paper visited the Colégio Internacional, which for many years has been a center of study for missionaries learning the Portuguese language. Taught almost exclusively by Brazilians, the language classes are open to all Protestant missionaries at reasonable rates.

78 Braga and Grubb, op. cit., p. 60.

79 Waddell, op. cit., p. 345.
tioned are Santa Barbara and Vila Americana. The Reverend Junius W. Newman, commissioned as a worker for the Methodist Episcopal Church (South), accompanied a group of friends to Brazil in 1867, in connection with these migrations. He remained in Rio de Janeiro until April, 1869, but then moved to Saltinho, located between Limeira and Vila Americana, in São Paulo Province. After two years of work in the new site, Newman established the first Methodist church organized in Brazil, consisting of seven persons, besides his wife and himself, on the third Sunday in August, 1871.

The growing number of Methodists in Brazil, and the reports they sent back to the United States regarding the

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80A. R. Crabtree, *Baptists in Brazil* (Rio de Janeiro: Baptist Publishing House, 1953), p. 35. Crabtree says that the settlement at Santa Barbara was about equally divided into Methodists, Presbyterians, and Baptists. Each organized a church and held services in English in a union church building constructed by the immigrants. *Ibid.*, pp. 117, 118. Brigadier General Alexander T. Hawthorne, a Confederate brigade commander under Major General Thomas Churchill in Alabama at the end of the Civil War, visited the settlement at Santa Barbara, and his interest was so stirred that he presented the plight of the people of the South in an interview with Dom Pedro II. The Emperor opened the land of Brazil to any of the people of the Confederate states who wished to enter, and promised to help them settle in a region with a mild climate and a fertile soil. Braga and Grubb, *op. cit.*, p. 59. Other details of the migrations are given in Ferreira, *op. cit.*, pp. 73-76.


82Kennedy, *op. cit.*, p. 16.
spiritual needs of the people of that country, led the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church (South) at its 1874 session to act to establish a regular Mission to Brazil. The Reverend John J. Ransom was appointed to lead the work, and he arrived in Rio de Janeiro in 1876, where he began preaching in Portuguese about two years later. \(^{83}\) Included in the congregation established by Ransom were members of the Walker family, some of whom had also been part of the group led by Spaulding and Kidder thirty-five years earlier. \(^{84}\) With the building of the chapel of the *Egreja do Cattete* in Rio de Janeiro in 1882, the first Methodist church building in Brazil was placed in service. \(^{85}\)

Bishop J. C. Granbery visited the Brazilian Mission in 1886, and in September of that year he organized the first Brazilian annual conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church (South). The three charter members of the Conference were the Reverend Hugh C. Tucker, the Reverend James L. Kennedy, and the Reverend John W. Tarboux, all of whom continued as active leaders of Brazilian Methodism for nearly fifty years. \(^{86}\) In addition, Tucker served after September, 1887, as an agent and, later, in other official capacities,

\(^{83}\) Lewis, *loc. cit.*  
\(^{84}\) Kennedy, *op. cit.*, pp. 14, 15.  
\(^{85}\) Ibid., p. 28.  
\(^{86}\) Lewis, *loc. cit.*
with the American Bible Society. 87

One of the primary centers of Methodist activity in Brazil has been at Juiz de Fora, in the state of Minas Gerais, where missionary work was started by Kennedy in May, 1834. 88 Both Granbery College and the Colégio Mineiro Americano were founded in that city about 1889. 89 As in so many other places, the early days in Juiz de Fora saw the Methodist workers there hindered by the Roman Catholic clergy—a Brazilian Methodist evangelist tells the following story:

One night while we were preaching, a certain Roman padre, already half-drunk [see footnote], and personally commanding some thirty ne'er-do-wells, had them stone our house, interrupting the public service, and spreading real terror among those attending. The house had been full of listeners who gave complete attention. But immediately the families began to clear out, and soon all disappeared except the family of the pastor.

Infernal cries followed, and a shower of stones fell upon the house, many of them coming in through the door. The rioters, however, did not dare to enter, and thus we escaped their clutches.

The good people of Juiz de Fora were indignant over the procedure of the said padre, who had to flee before dawn; and the ruffians were notified to conduct themselves decently or they would be thrown in jail. From then on there was no more disturbance, and attendance grew constantly greater. 90

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87 Tucker, The Bible in Brazil, p. 33.
88 Kennedy, op. cit., p. 36.  89 Ibid., p. 365.
90 Quoted by Kennedy, op. cit., p. 37. The Portuguese words at this point in the account, which the author of this paper has translated "already half drunk," are "estando já na chuva." Literally, they mean "already standing in the rain;"
From the beginning of their missionary work in Brazil, the Methodists tended to emphasize education. In addition to the two institutions at Juiz de Fora, they started a school for girls at Petrópolis, and other schools at Piracicaba, Ribeirão Preto, Belo Horizonte, Rio de Janeiro, and Porto Alegre. Typical of the Roman Catholic attitude toward the Protestant mission schools was the prophetic comment of the schoolmaster priest, Lopez Gama, in 1842: "Soon, from these centers of heterodoxy, a lot of Socinians, Anabaptists, Presbyterians, Methodists, etc., will be leaving..." But another view of the role of these schools, probably the sort of report that inspired many of the early Protestant teachers to go to Brazil, was expressed by the Bible colporteur, William A. Cook. After observing at firsthand the completely insufficient educational facilities of the country, he wrote the following about 1900:

Probably thousands of earnest Christian teachers could maintain themselves teaching school in South America and do a noble work for God and the uplift of humanity. They could represent Christ and teach the Gospel besides teaching the other subjects usually taught in schools. Doubtless they would not become rich in purse, but they would become rich in

but this is a common Brazilian colloquialism, and might correctly be translated as the equivalent of the American expression, "three sheets to the wind."

Winter, op. cit., p. 300.

Freyre, Casa-Grande e Senzala, p. 448, citing Gama's O Carapuceiro.
Baptist

The first Baptist missionaries to enter Brazil did so in 1859. The Reverend and Mrs. T. J. Bowen were given permission by the Foreign Mission Board of the Southern Baptist Convention to open work there after the couple had been forced to retire from like service in Africa because of poor health. Following a brief time of service in their new location, however, their retirement was again necessitated by health reasons, and Baptist missionary work in Brazil was discontinued for more than twenty years.94

As in the case of the permanent Southern Methodist mission, the impetus for another Baptist attempt to undertake missionary work in Brazil came as a result of immigration from the southern United States after the Civil War. There were four principal places chosen by the North Americans for settlement: Santarém, on the Amazon River; Cannavieiras, on the coast of southern Bahia; Juquiá (or, Cananea), below Iguapé in southern São Paulo Province, and the Santa Barbara-Vila Americana area in central São Paulo. Attempts to grow cotton failed in both of the northern locations, while the

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93 Cook, op. cit., p. 310.
94 Crabtree, op. cit., p. 35.
settlement at Cananea was torn by dissension. Many of the newcomers became discouraged and soon returned to the United States, but Mr. Nevin Winter, who visited the Vila Americana region just before the fall of the Empire in 1889, reported that more than four hundred North Americans were still living in the immediate vicinity. Baptists among such settlers around the hamlet of Santa Barbara organized a church on September 10, 1871, and, in response to their request for a minister, the Reverend E. H. Quillen was sent to them in 1879.

A further interest in establishing missionary work in Brazil was aroused in the Southern Baptist Convention by the conversion and subsequent ministry of General Alexander T. Hawthorne, previously mentioned in this paper. After his interview with Emperor Dom Pedro II, Hawthorne decided to settle in the province of Bahia, but illness in his family forced him to return to the United States. The subsequent death of his only child led to Hawthorne's conversion and a

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95 Elliott, op. cit., p. 64.
96 Winter, op. cit., p. 138.
97 Crabtree, op. cit., p. 35.
98 Braga and Grubb, op. cit., p. 63, mention the sending of Quillen, but do not mention the mission board or church agency that sent him.
99 See p. 56, footnote 80.
firm decision to dedicate the balance of his life to the furtherance of foreign missions. It was Hawthorne's special interest in Brazil that was instrumental in the reaching of a decision to enter missionary service there on the part of the Reverend William Buck Bagby, Miss Anne Luther (who became Mrs. Bagby in 1880), and the Reverend and Mrs. Z. C. Taylor. These four volunteers were destined to be the real founders of a permanent Baptist missionary program in Brazil. 100

The Bagbys landed in Rio de Janeiro on March 2, 1881, and immediately began the study of Portuguese at Campinas. Two months later, Bagby accepted the pastorate of the Baptist church at Santa Barbara, where he was soon preaching in Portuguese as well as in English. The first Brazilian to become a Baptist under Bagby's ministry was Antônio Teixeira de Albuquerque, a former Roman Catholic priest who had left that group, married, and joined a Methodist church in São Paulo Province. Albuquerque's beliefs were more akin to those of the Baptists, however, and he found a spiritual home with the newer group. 101

The Bagbys and the Taylors moved to Salvador, the capital of Bahia Province, in 1882, taking Albuquerque with them. A church was organized there on October 15, 1882, with the five of them as charter members. Regardless of the

100 Crabtree, op. cit., pp. 36,37. 101 Ibid., pp. 39-42.
fact that the church at Santa Barbara had been in existence for more than ten years before the new one was organized in Salvador, the Southern Baptists consider the latter to be the first Brazilian Baptist church, because it was the first organized specifically for the evangelization of Brazilians. 102

Opposition to the Baptist missionaries, led by a Roman Catholic priest but not supported by the Brazilian press, came almost immediately after the work began in Salvador. Several newspapers defended the rights of the Protestants, and the Chief of Police promised to see that they received the full protection guaranteed by the Constitution. However, severe attacks followed in 1884, including the stoning of a house in a suburb of Salvador while Bagby was preaching. The missionary was struck on the forehead by a large stone, which knocked him unconscious and left a deep gash, resulting in a lifetime scar. 103 Shortly after this unpleasant incident, the Bagbys left Salvador to undertake Baptist work in Rio de Janeiro, where a church was organized in August of 1884. The missionaries made slow progress at first, but there were eighty-nine members of the new church five years later, when the Empire fell. 104

102 Ibid., pp. 44, 45. 103 Ibid., pp. 46, 49.
104 Ibid., pp. 50-52.
CHAPTER IV

PROTESTANTISM IN THE REPUBLIC OF BRAZIL FROM 1889 TO 1930: GROWING PAINS

I. SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE

Throughout the sixty-seven year period of the Empire in Brazil, the Roman Catholic Church continued to be recognized as the established religion of the State, but the close ties between ecclesiastical and political forces became increasingly irksome to both factions. Many a government official, whose thinking was colored more by French rationalism than by Protestant "heresy," regarded the ornate but largely inert State Church as a vestigial remnant of colonial subservience to an alien authority. And among the Roman Catholic churchmen it was not difficult to find advocates for a hierarchy which would no longer be subject to royal patronage and the Emperor's arbitrary suppression of papal decrees. However, despite the undercurrent of widespread dissatisfaction, there was no vehement agitation for disestablishment in Brazil until the bitter controversy over Freemasonry, which Meacham calls the one serious religious conflict in the history of the Empire.¹

¹Meacham, op. cit., p. 316. Meacham gives a full account of the struggle, pp. 316-321.
Pope Pius IX's condemnation of the Masonic order in 1870 was one of the papal decrees which Dom Pedro II, acting in accordance with his inherited right of patronato real, refused to permit to be published in Brazil. When the Roman Catholic Bishop of Rio de Janeiro suspended a priest in 1872 for refusing to renounce his Masonic relationship, the Emperor ordered the reinstatement of the priest. Soon afterward, the Bishops of Olinda [Pernambuco] and Pará, though aware of the previous royal action at the capital city, issued interdicts against religious communities in their respective dioceses that refused to punish priestly members who continued to be Masons. In response to an urgent appeal from many governmental authorities and civic groups, and especially from the Masons of Brazil, the Emperor declared the interdict lifted. When the two bishops refused to obey the Emperor's order countermanding the interdict, they were arrested and, after separate trials, sentenced in 1874 to imprisonment at hard labor.

The plight of the two learned clerics aroused public sympathy which soon swelled to as great proportions as the earlier indignation over the bishops' civil disobedience. The Emperor quickly commuted the bishops' sentences to

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simple imprisonment, then granted them amnesty in 1875, but nation-wide contention persisted. While a bill, calling for disestablishment of the Roman Catholic Church, was introduced in the Brazilian Parliament in 1879, and defeated only by the opposition of Dom Pedro himself, the issue of separation of Church and State continued to be a major national question and, perhaps second only to the issue of slavery, a reason behind the fall of the Empire and the declaration of the Republic of Brazil on November 15, 1889.4

Less than three months after the establishment of the Republic, bills were passed separating Church and State, abolishing patronage and the governmental subsidy for religion, and making the civil marriage ceremony compulsory.5 While the question of who would lead the Republic remained unsettled for a number of years, there was no lack of agreement on the need for a clearly enunciated governmental policy regarding religion. The following excerpts from the Constitution of the United States of Brazil, adopted in 1891, have often been referred to as a classic example of national policy on freedom of religion:

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3 Meacham, op. cit., pp. 320, 321.
4 Williams, op. cit., p. 185.
5 Meacham, op. cit., pp. 323, 324. This authority gives January 7, 1890, as the date of the passage of the bill of disestablishment.
Preliminary Provisions...Article 11. It is forbidden to the states, as well as to the Union:...
2. To establish, subsidize, or interfere with the exercise of religious worship.

Title IV, Section II, Declaration of Rights...
Section 3. All persons and religious confessions shall have the right to exercise their religion publicly and freely, to form associations for that purpose, and to acquire property, so long as they conform to the provisions of the ordinary law.

Section 5. The cemeteries shall possess a secular character, and shall be managed by the municipal authorities, but all religious denominations shall be free to use their respective rites therein, provided they do not offend public morals or violate the law.

Section 7. No church or worship shall be officially subsidized or made dependent upon, or be connected with, the government of the Union, or of the states.

Section 28. No Brazilian citizen shall be deprived of his civil or political rights, or exempted from the performance of any civil duty, on account of his religious belief or office.

The leaders of the Republic encouraged immigration, as the Emperor had done before them. In order to assure newcomers, a national decree on immigration and colonization

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6 Walter Fairleigh Dodd (ed.), Modern Constitutions (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1909), I, pp. 153, 172-175. For excerpts from the Legal Code of Brazil, adopted in 1890, regarding the practice of religion, see Appendix B of this paper.
was issued by the Government of Brazil on April 19, 1907, specifically guaranteeing the personal rights and liberties of immigrants, including freedom of religion, as expressed in the following words:

Article III. To immigrants who establish themselves in any part of the country, and devote themselves to any branch of agriculture, industry, or trade, or to any useful craft or profession, the following guarantees will be granted: complete liberty of action...; complete liberty of religious belief; and finally, civic rights, as enjoyed under the Constitution and laws by Brazilians themselves.7

The disestablishment of Roman Catholicism, the freedom of religion delineated in the Constitution of the Republic, and the religious and civil guarantees offered immigrants all served to stimulate a rapid expansion of Protestantism in Brazil. Volunteers swelled the ranks of the foreign missionaries entering that land, and Brazilian Protestants took an increasing interest in the evangelization of their own nation.

II. PROTESTANT PROGRESS IN SOUTHERN AND COASTAL BRAZIL

Nearly all of the Protestant missions which had begun work in Brazil under the reign of Dom Pedro II experienced substantial growth during the forty years following the adop-

tion of the "Constitution of 1891." In addition, many other denominations and religious organizations began missionary activities in various parts of the country, most of them entering the southern and coastal regions, which had already proved to be hospitable, in some measure, to Protestantism.

The Coming of Other Missionary Societies

The American Church Missionary Society of the Protestant Episcopal Church of America undertook a mission to Brazil in 1889, after abortive efforts in 1853 and 1859-1864, commissioning the Reverend James Watson Morris and

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8A notable exception to this growth is seen in the Congregational work begun by Dr. Kalley in 1855. By 1930 there were thirty-one Congregational churches in Brazil, with about four thousand communicants, but these figures indicate a much more limited expansion than that of the other missions established before 1889. Braga and Grubb, op. cit., p. 141. By 1900 the Brazilian Congregational churches had started their own missionary society, for work in both Brazil and Portugal, and in 1913 they united to form the Congregational Union of Brazil. See J. Merle Davis, How the Church Grows in Brazil (New York: International Missionary Council, 1943), p. 98. These churches have been built largely apart from the services of foreign missionaries or connections with Congregational groups in other countries, and some writers attribute the relative lack of growth of the Congregational denomination in Brazil to this lack of cooperation. For example, see Braga and Grubb, op. cit., p. 57.

9Braga and Grubb, op. cit., p. 139, give a list of thirty-five Protestant missionary societies active in Brazil in 1930.

10Latourette, op. cit., V, pp. 122, 123.
the Reverend Lucien Lee Kinsolving for a ministry in the state of Rio Grande do Sul. The Presbyterian missionaries at work in that state withdrew in favor of the Protestant Episcopal mission group, in the first inter-mission comity agreement reached in Brazil. Kinsolving was consecrated as the first Bishop of the Brazilian Episcopal Church in 1900, and a program for training a Brazilian clergy for that denomination was quickly inaugurated.\(^{11}\) The same year the German Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri began a ministry among the German-speaking people at Pelotas, in the state of Rio Grande do Sul, in response to the request of a resident of that state, and by 1930 there were ten thousand communicants in the Missouri Synod churches there.\(^{12}\)

The first missionaries of the Assemblies of God, the Reverend Gunnar Vingren and the Reverend Daniel Berg, "two Swedish Pentecostal ministers from Chicago," entered Brazil in 1910, establishing a church of that denomination in Belém, Pará, at the mouth of the Amazon River. Other Pentecostal missionaries, "mostly Scandanavians in the earlier years," opened stations in the major cities along the coast of Brazil, and national converts in turn carried the work of the

\(^{11}\)Braga and Grubb, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 65.

\(^{12}\)Ibid., p. 51. Hereafter, the city-state relationship will be expressed according to the common American and Brazilian usage; i.e., "Pelotas, Rio Grande do Sul."
denomination inland.\textsuperscript{13} Within two decades of the commencement of the Assemblies of God mission activity in Brazil, the number of their churches in that country increased to 119, with 13,511 members, led by twenty-five foreign missionaries and seventy-five Brazilian religious workers.\textsuperscript{14} The Assemblies of God church building in Belém, with a capacity of one thousand, was well attended, Braga and Grubb noted in 1930, and they refer to the Pentecostal activities in northern Brazil at that time as "the predominant evangelical movement in the Amazon Valley..."\textsuperscript{15}

The failure of the World Missions Conference, meeting in Edinburgh in June, 1910, to give proper consideration to South America as an area needing Protestant missionaries, is credited with arousing the concern of Protestant leaders in England and the United States for more effective evangelization of the "neglected continent."\textsuperscript{16} One outcome of this concern was the formation in 1911 of a new Protestant interdenominational mission, the Evangelical Union of South America, by the uniting of three small mission agencies, one of

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{13} (a pamphlet published by the Assemblies of God, Springfield, Missouri, no date), p. 4.
\item \textsuperscript{14} Braga and Grubb, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 141.
\item \textsuperscript{15} Ibid., pp. 101, 102.
\item \textsuperscript{16} Evangelical Union of South America Facts (a pamphlet published by the Evangelical Union of South America, Englewood, New Jersey, no date), referred to here-
which was the "Help for Brazil Mission," established some thirty years previously by Dr. Kalley, the Congregational pioneer. The new mission concentrated its efforts in the Brazilian Northeast, uniting the churches it established into an independent association, founding the Bethel Bible Institute at João Pessoa, Paraíba, for the training of young Brazilian women as Christian workers, and opening a mission hospital at Anápolis, Goiás. Some of the churches founded by the missionaries of the Evangelical Union of South America later affiliated themselves with the Congregational Union of Brazil, and the six churches which were related to the mission agency in 1930 numbered less than one thousand Brazilians as communicant members.

after as EUSA Facts, p. 1. This source states that the Edinburgh conference "came to the conclusion that South America did not need the Gospel, on the grounds that she had been taken care of by 'our sister church of Rome.'" The author of this paper has not been able to document this quotation. He notes, however, that the popular summary of the sessions at Edinburgh, an edition authorized by the Executive Committee of the conference, makes no reference to South America as a field for Protestant missionary work. See W. H. T. Gairdner, Echoes from Edinburgh 1910 (New York: Fleming H. Revell Co., no date).

17EUSA Facts, loc. cit.
18Ibid., "The EUSA in Brazil," The Neglected Continent, XXI (April, 1959), pp. 102, 103.
19Braga and Grubb, op. cit., p. 80.
20Ibid., pp. 70, 141.
Increased Independence for Brazilian Protestants

The new political and religious freedom in the Republic gave to Brazilian Protestants a strong national spirit, and the ambition to develop their churches apart from subservience to foreign missionary organizations. As stated above, the Congregational churches in Brazil were never closely associated with a foreign mission board. Typical of a similar spirit of independence among Brazilians in other Protestant denominations were the strong differences of opinion between the growing group of capable Brazilian Methodist leaders and the American missionaries in the country. Such differences presaged the necessity for the creation of an autonomous Methodist Church in Brazil, although the Brazilian annual conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church (South) remained under the leadership of a bishop resident in the United States until 1930.21

The Presbyterian Synod of Brazil, formed in 1888 by the amalgamation of the two Presbyterian missions then at work in the country, suffered a major schism in 1903 over the issue of Freemasonry in the churches.22 The large dissenting

21James E. Ellis, "The Autonomous Church in Brazil (The Methodist Church of Brazil)," a paper prepared for the Staff Retreat of the Division of World Missions of The Methodist Church, November, 1958, p. 1. (Mimeographed.)

22Ferreira, op. cit., pp. 316-320, 411-417. Ferreira points out that, while the concomitant issue of foreign missionary domination of the Brazilian Presbyterian churches
faction organized the Independent Presbyterian Church, which has remained ever since completely free from foreign missionary leadership, though cooperating to some extent with the older Presbyterian church group. Shortly after the division occurred, and on the occasion of the formation of a new presbytery uniting the churches still associated with the Presbyterian Synod of Brazil in the states of Bahia and Sergipe, a plan marking out the areas of service for both the foreign missionaries and the national workers of the Brazilian Presbyterian churches was put into operation. Copied in the main by other Protestant mission boards in Brazil, the "Brazil Plan" is summarized by W. A. Waddell, an active Presbyterian missionary of the time, in the following language:

The Mission proposed to the new presbytery a *modus operandi* along essentially the following lines: (1) The missionaries would not be members of the presbytery save as it might be necessary in the earlier days to maintain a quorum. (2) The field should be divided between the presbytery and the Mission on the basis of the Mission, as the older body, being responsible for the entire field save those portions which had been separated to the care of the presbytery. (3) All congregations, with the reasonable evangelistic districts surrounding them, which had passed to the care of national pastors, should constitute the presbytery's field. As fast as congre-

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was of great importance at the Synod of 1903, the actual schism came when the Synod refused to accept a motion condemning Freemasonry as incompatible with the fundamental teachings of the Gospel, and requiring the dismissal of all church members who persisted in retaining their Masonic affiliations.
gations were in shape to be put in the care of national ministers, they would be passed over to the presbytery. The Mission would assist at the time of this transfer to the extent of fifty per cent of the pastor's salary, diminishing this aid one tenth annually until extinction. The assistance was granted to the field and had nothing to do with the person of the pastor. It was suspended in case of vacancy. The Mission would not employ an ordained Brazilian in its work unless by a special arrangement with the presbytery for a definite service and a short period of time. Mutual assistance between the missionaries and Brazilian pastors would be governed by the ordinary customs of ministerial courtesy. The Mission would be represented by one of its members (without vote) at the meetings of the presbytery and similarly the presbytery at meetings of the Mission. In either case executive sessions for the treatment of personal questions might be held without the presence of the delegate. 23

The first steps toward the formation of a national organization of Brazilian Baptists were taken in 1894, when six Baptist churches formed a union in Rio de Janeiro. 24 The union was transformed into the Brazilian Baptist Convention in June, 1907, when eighty-four churches, having twenty-six Brazilian pastors and five thousand church members, associated. 25 The Convention at the time of its organization authorized the establishment of the Rio Baptist College and Seminary, a Home Mission Board to promote Baptist church work throughout Brazil, and a Foreign Mission Board, with author-

24Braga and Grubb, op. cit., p. 64.
25Crabtree, op. cit., pp. 61, 65, 121, 122.
ity to consider undertaking work in Portugal immediately. 26

The Expansion of Protestant Educational Facilities

The early emphasis placed by the Protestant missionaries on the training of a national clergy contributed greatly to the desire for independence which gripped the Brazilian Protestant church leaders. The separation of Church and State in 1890 broke the hold of the Roman Catholic clergy on the public educational system of Brazil, and encouraged the older Protestant missions to enlarge their educational facilities in order to train the youth of the land in both secular and religious matters. The Methodist school at Piracicaba, São Paulo, started in 1881 by Miss Martha Hite Watts, received national attention when Dr. Prudente Moraes, the first President of the Republic, enrolled his children there and designated the institution as a model for the new system of public schools authorized by the Constitution. 27

The Southern Baptists organized a seminary in Recife, Pernambuco, on April 1, 1902, the first Baptist institution in Brazil for theological training. Along with the seminary the Colégio Americano Gilreath was established for the purpose of teaching the children of missionaries, 28 but was

26 Ibid., pp. 122, 127.
27 George P. Howard, We Americans: North and South (New York: Friendship Press, 1951), hereafter referred to in this paper as We Americans, p. 60.
28 Crabtree, op. cit., p. 159.
later opened to Brazilian children as well, without regard to their religious affiliations. The Rio Baptist College and Seminary, proposed in 1907, was launched in 1908, with a normal school established as an integral department in 1916 for the primary purpose of training teachers for other Baptist schools in Vitória, São Paulo, Porto Alegre, Belo Horizonte, Salvador, and other cities. Braga and Grubb speak of the Rio Baptist College as one of the largest and most valuable buildings owned by Protestants in Brazil.

Enrollment in the educational institutions sponsored by the Methodists and Presbyterians in Brazil increased greatly throughout the first forty years of the Republic—by 1930 the totals in pupil attendance exceeded four thousand and 3,300, respectively. The training school begun by the Presbyterians in São Paulo in 1868, under the leadership of the Reverend and Mrs. George W. Chamberlin, and later the Reverend J. Beatty Howell, was incorporated in 1890 in order to receive a donation from Mr. John T. Mackenzie of New York City, and the name of the institution became Mackenzie

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29 Gilberto Freyre, the Brazilian social historian, was raised as a Roman Catholic, but received ten years of training in the Gilreath school in Recife. See Translator Putnam's footnote in Freyre, The Masters and the Slaves, p. 100.


31 Braga and Grubb, op. cit., p. 64.

32 Ibid., Appendix IV, Part 2, p. 144.
College, with control passing from the Presbyterian mission to a board of trustees in New York. The stipulations made in connection with the donation included one that the school was to be kept as an American-type institution. In 1925, Dr. W. A. Waddell, then President of "The Mackenzie," as Brazilians speak of it, summarized the status of the College in the following words:

...The degrees given are Bachelor of Literature, Bachelor of Science, Bachelor of Science in Civil Engineering, in Electrical Engineering, in Chemistry, in Architecture,—all five-year courses. There are also shorter courses in industrial chemistry and pedagogy. There are 175 college students... There are, at present, two high schools, commercial and preparatory, with 220 and 280 pupils, and a grade school of 700 pupils. The total enrollment in 1925 reached 1429 with a teaching force of 76 in all departments, with 15 in the office force.

...the schools have been able to contribute very substantially to the progress of public instruction, the grade school having furnished a model for the Sao Paulo school system, which is gradually being extended throughout Brazil. Each succeeding change in the plan of higher education adopts more of the methods of the Mackenzie. Some valuable scientific work has been done. All our graduates, some 260 engineers and 360 commercials, are employed and we have always many calls, often including requests from

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Ibid., pp. 76, 77. Ferreira, op. cit., p. 249, states that Mackenzie's gift totaled fifty thousand dollars, and that it represented the donor's lifetime desire to aid in the development of secular education in Brazil. Buildings costing forty-two thousand dollars were completed in 1896, and the college curriculum was inaugurated at that time. See Historical Sketches of the Missions under the Care of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church U.S.A., 1897 edition, p. 313.
the Government for men at good salaries. The national Government in 1922 gave the Engineering School equal rights with its own schools. The college has done much to mediate American ideas to the Brazilians. Reference can be made to all Americans who have a knowledge of its work in support of its claims. 34

Prior to his assuming the leadership of Mackenzie College in 1914, Waddell spent eight years in the Presbyterian work at Ponte Nova, Bahia, more than two hundred miles west of Salvador, in founding an evangelistic, educational, and agricultural mission center. 35 Dr. Robert E. Speer, Secretary of the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions, after a visit in 1925 to the 4,500 acre ranch on which the station was established, described the aim of the project as follows:

...to make this an industrial, self-supporting training school, to take the boys and girls of the interior churches who would profit by some additional training, to prepare the better girls to be teachers of village and ranch schools, to select

34 W. Reginald Wheeler, "Mackenzie College," Modern Missions in Chile and Brazil, pp. 247-249, quoting a statement by Waddell. Braga and Grubb, op. cit., p. 77, make the following comment regarding the special position before the Government of Brazil that the College obtained through the official recognition accorded it in 1922:

"Much controversy has raged around this institution in educational and government circles owing to the fact that the recognition of any institution sui juris raises many problems when every other educational institution is required to conform strictly to standards determined by the government regulations."

the best young men and send them on into the ministry, and send back the other boys and girls to their own homes not disqualified for their old life, but fitted to be good farmers and housekeepers.\textsuperscript{36}

With the arrival of Dr. W. Welcome Wood in 1917, the Ponte Nova station was enlarged to include medical facilities.\textsuperscript{37} Wood's reputation as a surgeon, and his willingness to treat the poor, caused his fame to spread throughout the hinterland of Bahia. Patients came from as much as five hundred miles away to receive treatment from the man whom they soon esteemed as a miracle worker. As late as 1940, Dr. Wood's hospital was the only one in the interior of the state of Bahia, which has an area twice that of California.\textsuperscript{38}

Continued Evangelism Despite Roman Catholic Intolerance

While many of the Protestant missionaries who labored in Brazil in the forty years after the foundation of the Republic served in institutional ministries, others were engaged in evangelizing portions of the coastal cities and nearby rural regions yet untouched by Protestantism. The

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{36}Ibid., pp. 298, 299, quoting Speer's report.
\item \textsuperscript{37}Ibid., p. 300.
\item \textsuperscript{38}Davis, op. cit., pp. 55-60. Davis also states that, by the time of his visit to Ponte Nova in 1940, the hospital had been enlarged to nine buildings, with a fifty-four bed capacity, and that the Presbyterian mission station at that time also included a secondary school, a large farm using the latest agricultural methods, which served as an example for the rural inhabitants of the region, and an evangelical church with a Brazilian pastor.
\end{itemize}
enmity of the Roman Catholic clergy toward the presence and activities of the Protestant evangelists was a constant threat to their freedom of worship and, on occasion, a danger to their very lives. The Baptist work in the state of Pernambuco was subjected to severe harassment in the years from 1893 to 1907, ranging in ferocity from denunciations in the newspapers to murderous assaults on members of the Baptist churches and wanton destruction of their places of worship.39 Governmental protection was dependent on the tolerance of the current governor of the state: at times armed soldiers were sent to guard the meetings of the Protestants, and to guarantee that there would be no abridgment of their Constitutional rights; on other occasions there was no intervention, and the Roman Catholic assailants understood that they could have a free hand in their depredations. Friar Celestino di Pedavoli organized a "League Against Protestantism" in Recife, and initiated a campaign of burning Bibles, destroying 214 portions of the Scriptures in that manner in a special celebration at Penha. When a second great Bible-burning was scheduled by Celestino, the intended conflagration was denounced by the newspapers of Recife, and later the whole

39 Pedro Tarsier, História das Perseguições Religiosas no Brasil (São Paulo: Cultura Moderna, no date), I, pp. 178, 179, gives details of the sufferings of the Brazilian Protestants in the Recife, Pernambuco area at this time.
program of the League was condemned by the Federal Congress in Rio de Janeiro. 40

Methodist missionaries in Salvador, Bahia, received the same reception from the Roman Catholic clergy as the Baptists in Pernambuco. Bibles distributed by Methodist colporteurs were burned in the public squares of the city without any effort on the part of the civil authorities to maintain order, 41 and despite the clear statement in the Legal Code of Brazil which specifically prohibited the desecration of the "religious objects" of any "cult." 42 Further opposition was experienced by Chamberlin, the veteran Presbyterian missionary who had founded the school in São Paulo, when he began to hold Gospel services in Feira de Santa Anna, a suburb of Salvador, in 1896. He furnished a wing of his house as a preaching hall, but few people had the courage to enter the building, thus braving the wrath of the padres. Chamberlin then attempted to hold open air meetings in the public square of the town, only to have the meetings broken up repeatedly by mobs instigated by a local Roman Catholic priest, with the police never arriving at the scene until after the meeting had been disrupted.

40Crabtree, op. cit., pp. 78-82.
41Oakenfull, op. cit., p. 87.
42See Appendix B of this paper for pertinent excerpts from the Legal Code of Brazil in force at the time.
Another hard blow came to this Protestant evangelistic effort when a school for the children of the community, organized by Chamberlin's daughter, was closed shortly after its inception because of the death of the young lady, a victim of yellow fever. The strength of the opposition to Chamberlin's work was not diminished until a time of famine swept the region, at which time the missionary provided food for hundreds of starving Bahians (he reported feeding as many as 150 in a single day), and held daily evangelistic services in his preaching hall for the recipients of his benevolence. A distinct change in the attitude of the populace toward the missionary resulted from his eleemosynary acts, and a permanent Presbyterian mission station was established in the town.  

The Reverend Hugh C. Tucker, a Methodist missionary, gives an account of a remarkable colportage tour he made about 1895 through Minas Gerais and Bahia, as an agent of the American Bible Society. The journey included a brief ministry in the town of Diamantina, Minas Gerais, where Tucker and his co-workers experienced organized and rigorous opposition from the Roman Catholic religious officials. Threatened with excommunication by the bishop resident in the town, no one would rent a hall or even provide lodging for

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43See the account of Chamberlin's ministry in Feira de Santa Anna given in Cook, op. cit., pp. 265-271.
the "heretics," but they were able to locate accommodations on a ranch nearby. The colporteurs then sought and received permission from the town council to use the town hall for a preaching service the next day, which was Sunday, and in addition they were granted authority to canvass the town without a license. Tucker noted that the attitude of the inhabitants of Diamantina was almost uniformly antagonistic to the Protestants throughout the morning preceding the scheduled evangelistic meeting, as the following excerpt from his account indicates:

A few persons came near and looked upon us, sneering and calling us "devils." Now and then we found one with whom we could converse a little. As we went about the streets, the people called us anti-Christ, and made the sign of the cross to protect themselves from the evil spirits which they supposed were in us: many turned their backs on us, others rushed in and shut their doors as we passed along the street. 44

Despite the seemingly overwhelming opposition, the colporteurs found more than four hundred people crowded into the town hall when they met for the preaching service at 1:00 P.M., and they were able to present the Gospel without interruption. No Bibles were sold that day, despite several requests, but during most of the following week the colporteurs made many sales of evangelical literature in the streets of the town, experiencing very little adverse reac-

44 Tucker, The Bible in Brazil, p. 132.
tion to their activities except from the Roman Catholic priests, whose indignation and openly expressed desire for violent action steadily increased. 45

As Tucker and his companions journeyed on toward Salvador, Bahia, they discovered that the bishop who had sought in vain to obstruct their ministry in Diamantina had likewise sent a messenger before the colporteurs to organize resistance to them in town after town along their route. Repeatedly they were met with stony silence, or by excited, armed mobs which were quieted by the peaceful words and manner of the colporteurs only after threatening such immediate slaughter that the men of the Book regarded their deliverance as the product of a miraculous intervention by God. 46 But the entire team arrived safely in Salvador, and the Bible agent summarized the results of his itinerary in the following way:

During this journey of six weeks we had travelled about 560 miles; visited twenty-eight towns and villages with many intervening settlements, scarcely any of which had ever before been visited by colporteur or missionary; and sold nearly 700 copies of the Scriptures, many of them to persons who had never before seen or scarcely heard of a Bible, and preached to hundreds for the first time... 47

The Southern Baptist work in the state of Espírito Santo was founded by Brazilian nationals, who requested the

help of North American missionaries in enlarging and strengthening their witness for Christ. In response to the call, the Reverend and Mrs. Loren M. Reno arrived at the port of Vitória in October, 1904, about a year after the organization of the first Baptist church there. 48

The ministry of the Renos in Espírito Santo has come to be regarded as a classic example of devoted Protestant missionary service in Brazil. This couple laid a foundation for later work, and gave a sense of permanency to their presence in Vitória, by holding open air meetings in a public park near their rented home for 105 consecutive nights, despite concerted opposition. When the noise makers drowned out Reno's first stumbling efforts to preach in Portuguese, his wife played the portable organ and the church members sang hymns until the music had quieted the crowd; then the preaching continued. A chronicler of their work says, "Their longsuffering and forbearance finally won the respect and admiration of the people of the city, and the scorners lost heart." 49

The Renos purchased property in Vitória, and gained favor by their friendly and upright dealings with government officials and the businessmen of the city, and their quick and sincere response to the needs of the poor and the dis-

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48 Crabtree, op. cit., p. 111. 49 Ibid.
tressed. Even a scurrilous tract broadcasting the accusation that Reno was a fugitive from American justice could not undermine the cordial relationships that the missionaries had built in the community. Typical of the approach taken to problems by Reno was the action which led to his victory over Roman Catholic intolerance in being permitted to purchase a lot in Vitória for a cemetery, described as follows by a Baptist historian:

There was a potters' field for victims of yellow fever, smallpox, and Protestants, but no decent burial ground for any but Catholics. After eleven months of request and pleading, the petition was finally granted, and a plot of ground 100 meters square was sold to the Baptists. The people were impressed by this consideration for the Protestants against much underhanded opposition. But Reno had merely demanded the recognition of a right, and persisted in his demand till the right was recognized and granted.⁵⁰

Reno established church schools and yet constantly promoted public education. He also worked out a means by which the Baptist churches of Espírito Santo could further the health and social welfare of their state by sponsoring a "visiting nurse" program. The Renos were both talented and prolific writers of pamphlets and periodical literature, and were especially successful in seeking out gifted young people and inspiring them to devote their lives to Christian service. When the Renos first came to Vitória, there were

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⁵⁰Ibid., pp. 111, 112.
three Baptist churches in the entire state of Espírito Santo, with about 150 members all told. By 1936, after these missionaries had served for more than thirty years in the region, Baptist work in the state had grown to sixty churches, with 7,136 members. Crabtree describes the reaction of the people of both the city of Vitória and the entire state to the news of Loren M. Reno's death, in itself an eloquent tribute to the devoted Protestant minister:

Among the friends who gathered to pay him their last respects were Catholics, Jews, and atheists, officials in high places and representatives of the humbler walks of life. At the time of his death the celebration of the carnival which was in full swing was called off by the Governor of the State. Friends from many religious groups, and even school children, contributed to the monument that was erected later at his grave, and now a street in the city of Vitória bears his name.51

III. MISSIONARY PIONEERS IN THE AMAZON JUNGLES

The Amazon Basin constitutes more than one million square miles of Brazil, nearly forty per cent of the total territory of the country. A few isolated cities, found along the larger watercourses, hemmed in by the tropical rain forest which continually threatens to engulf them, or at the edge of the plateau from which the Amazon tributaries descend, are the only outposts of civilization. The rest of

51Ibid., pp. 180-183.
this vast expanse is the habitat of small, commonly nomadic, and, as a rule, mutually incompatible, tribes of Indians.

Embittered by encounters with slave-hunting bandeirantes, Roman Catholic priests who regarded them as in the class of animals, and sadistic "sportsmen" who counted them as fair game, the primitive people cut themselves off from the white invaders. The Indians, unpredictable in behavior, have at times massacred small groups of Brazilians or foreigners who ventured into their domain, even after friendship ties had seemingly been established, then have faded into the dense green forest if punitive expeditions came. Except for the "reductions" of the Jesuits, which were disbanded by Pombal in the mid-Eighteenth Century, Roman Catholicism in Brazil has had little interest, and less success, in ministering to the spiritual welfare of these proud, defiant savages. Explorers, adventurers, and Protestant Bible colporteurs, among the latter William A. Cook and Hugh C. Tucker, estab-

52See Jack Looney, "We Are in the Land of Darkness and the Living Dead," The Message (periodical of the Association of Baptists for World Evangelism, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania), XXV, No. 2, February, 1959, p. 9, for details of a recent massacre of several Brazilian settlers by Indians along a tributary of the Amazon River.

53R. B. Clark, Bananal, or Among Pagan Indians in Brazil (São Paulo: Imprensa Methodista, 1923), pp. 93-95, gives the example of the Roman Catholic mission to the Cayapó Indians, established in 1897, with headquarters at Conceição, Pará, and generally conceded by 1922 to have been a failure.
lished brief contact with one tribe or another, but there was no organized Protestant missionary activity among the Indians of the Brazilian jungle before the present century. 54

Baptist Missions along the Lower Amazon River

The first Protestant religious work in the Amazon Valley started in a manner similar to that already mentioned in describing the foundation of Protestant activity in the state of São Paulo during the period of the Empire. Among the immigrants from the American Confederate states who settled at Santarém, Pará, located on the Amazon River some five hundred miles inland from Belém, was Robert Henry Ricker, formerly the president of a railway in the southern part of the United States, and well-to-do until the losses he incurred during the Civil War. Ricker brought his wife and two young sons with him, and established a Baptist congregation at Santarém in 1867. 55 His son, David Ricker, was the

54 Tucker, "Brazil," p. 87.

55 Henry Albert Phillips, Brazil: Bulwark of Inter-American Relations (New York: Hastings House, 1945), pp. 62-64. Phillips gives the family name as "Riker"; Kelsey, op. cit., pp. 222, 223, gives it as Ricker, and includes photographs, opposite p. 18, of David Ricker and two other settlers of the original immigrants, and she gives the date of their arrival in Brazil as 1865. This author has accepted Kelsey's spelling of the name because she gives the full name of the father. He has accepted the date of founding given by Phillips, 1867, as being more consonant with the facts al-
first to set up a rubber plantation in the Amazon Valley, planting twenty thousand trees in 1884. Tucker, in his travels as a Methodist colporteur and agent of the American Bible Society, records a visit he made to the American settlement at Santarém before the turn of the century, and he writes of being entertained there in the home of a Reverend R. T. Hennington, without making clear the denominational affiliation of his host. 56

The Reverend Erik Alfred Nelson, a missionary of the Southern Baptist Convention, entered Belém in the early 1890’s, and organized a Baptist church in that city in February, 1897. He then proceeded one thousand miles inland to Manaus, at that time the booming center of the Brazilian rubber industry, where he established a church in October, 1900. 57 Nelson continued to travel up and down the Amazon for a total of forty years, during most of which time he was the only Southern Baptist missionary working in the valley. 58

ready related in this paper concerning the immigrants in the São Paulo region. See pp. 55-57, 60-62.

56 Tucker, The Bible in Brazil, p. 231.

57 Crabtree, op. cit., pp. 85, 86. Crabtree also credits Nelson erroneously with the founding of the Baptist work at Santarém. Ibid., p. 87.

58 Ibid., p. 168.
Protestant Missions in Mato Grosso

Cuiabá, the frontier capital of the state of Mato Grosso, was the new site chosen by missionaries of the Presbyterian Church U.S.A. in 1913; the intrepid adventurer, Colonel Percy Harrison Fawcett, found them hard at work when he visited Mato Grosso in 1922, and he wrote of their ministry and surroundings as follows:

The foreign population of Cuyabá consisted of a drink-sodden English beachcomber—you find them everywhere—a few Italians, and two American missionaries with their wives.... The missionaries were full of zeal.  

The Presbyterian missionary complement at Cuiabá had increased to three couples by 1925, but the isolated condi-

59 Percy Harrison Fawcett, Lost Trails, Lost Cities (New York: Funk and Wagnalls Company, 1953), p. 239. Fawcett also described a Roman Catholic Easter procession held in Cuiabá during his visit (ibid., pp. 238, 239), as follows:

"It was headed by priests in robes and acolytes swinging censers... There was a Christ, horribly gory; and a Virgin Mary, bedecked in tinsel crown and spangled garments...

"As the procession crossed the stone bridge on the main road to the river the shadow of the Virgin's effigy was cast on the filthy surface of a little creek that carried the sewage away from the town. At once scores of eagerly waiting Negroes plunged in and greedily lapped up the foul water in the belief that their ailments would be miraculously cured."

Variations in the spelling of the names of Brazilian cities and states, as seen in this paper, are the result of the change in the orthography of Brazilian Portuguese, approved by the Brazilian Academy of Letters in 1943, and accepted as the national standard.
tions under which they served had not seen significant improvement. 60

Since the creation in 1910 of the *Servido para a Proteção dos Indios* (the Indian Protection Service) of the Government of Brazil, there has been a heroic and, not infrequently, fatal effort on the part of the agents of that Service to integrate the wild tribes into the economy of the nation. While no foreigner is allowed to live in Indian territory without specific governmental permission, the Service agents have usually welcomed the help of the Protestant missionaries in establishing friendly relations with the Indians. 61 In 1914, with the intent of evangelizing the savage tribes of the then largely unknown interior of South America, the Reverend Joseph A. Davies organized an interdenominational mission board, which is today incorporated as The South America Indian Mission. 62 After establishing

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60 Robert Gardner McGregor, "Cuyaba, A Mission Station in Matto Grosso, the Great Wilderness," *Modern Missions in Chile and Brazil*, p. 222.

61 Clark, *op. cit.*, p. 18, states that representatives of the Indian Protection Service made it clear to Christian and Missionary Alliance missionaries planning work in the jungles along the Araguaya River in the 1920's that the Service agents greatly preferred the work of the Protestant missionaries to that of the Roman Catholics. In the expressed opinion of the agents, the ministry of the former was of a more lasting nature, while they considered that the Roman Catholic missionaries tended to exploit the Indians.

62 Information about The South America Indian Mission (a pamphlet published by The South America Indian
stations in various jungle sites in Mato Grosso, the Mission in 1924 sent an expedition to the territory of the Nhambiquara Indians, northwest of Cuiabá. The following year the Reverend Arthur F. Tylee and Mr. William R. Hunrichs began missionary work among the Nhambiquara people.63

As the ministry progressed, Tylee was joined by his wife, and a child was born to them in the jungles. Other Protestant missionaries came to the station, including Miss Mildred P. Kratz, R. N., who sought to aid the Indians medically as well as spiritually. In 1930 a Nhambiquara man arrived at the Tylees' wilderness home seriously ill, and died there despite their every effort to preserve his life. The Indians held the missionaries accountable for the demise of their tribesman, and launched a vicious and totally unexpected attack on the mission station in the first days of November of that year. Tylee, his infant daughter, and Miss Kratz were massacred; Mrs. Tylee, bludgeoned and left for dead, was afterward found by other missionaries of The South America Indian Mission, and she recovered to continue to champion in the United States the cause of missionary work.

among the Amazon Valley Indians. Despite the loss of Tylee and Miss Kratz, the Mission continued its work among the Nhambiquaras and other tribes, and, by 1930, had established six churches in Mato Grosso, with 230 communicant members.

IV. BIBLE COLPORTEURS IN THE HEART OF BRAZIL

During the first forty years of the Republic, as Protestantism continued to spread inland from the large coastal cities of Brazil, the Bible colporteurs were usually at the forefront of the advance. Traveling in small teams, or singly in company with mule trains which in the early years of this century provided the only means for the shipment of goods through the interior regions of the country, these salesmen of the Word of God served with a singular dedication. They endured severe privation, the uncertainties of an itinerant existence, and recurrent harassment from religious fanatics, in the firm belief that the distribution and the subsequent reading of the Scriptures would in itself do much to produce a spiritual transformation in the lives of the readers. The Reverend William A. Cook, who journeyed extensively throughout Brazil about 1900, undoubtedly reflects accurately the spirit of the Bible colporteur in the

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64 Ibid., pp. 83-91
65 Braga and Grubb, op. cit., p. 141.
following excerpt, taken from his account of a trip through the inland state of Goiás:

Because the pack train marched slowly, I was enabled to turn aside here and there to visit the people in their dwellings, read the Scriptures to them and talk with them, and when possible, leave a copy of the sacred volume with them. On approaching a village, I usually went one or two days in advance of the train in order to have more time to spend there doing colporteur work and holding public meetings. I enjoyed this work exceedingly. I know of no higher or sweeter privilege in life than to carry the message of God’s love to people who have never heard it.*

The Protestant foreign missionaries who served as colporteurs varied considerably in educational background and denominational affiliation, but they were united in the conviction that the religious ministrations of the Roman Catholic clergy to the people of the Brazilian hinterland were totally inadequate, if not intrinsically harmful. Frederick C. Glass, an English agent of the American Bible Society, expressed such a view bluntly when recounting a conversation he had about 1925 with Antônio Santos, the defeated commander in one of the revolutions that marked the political unrest in the backlands of Brazil in the 1890’s:

Santos asked] "What is the need and object of your—er—Protestant sects carrying on their propaganda in such regions as these?"

"Senhor," I replied, "we do so because we are convinced that it is time that these people reverted to the Apostolic religion of their fathers, and

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66 Cook, op. cit., p. 33.
gave up the foolish and idolatrous innovations so much in vogue in the Roman Church."

To the Bible colporteurs, the prime objective was not the obtaining of a satisfactory margin of profit in the sales of sacred literature, even though forced to maintain themselves on the money or barter they received, but rather the widest possible distribution of the Gospel message. While the price asked for the Scriptures sold was a mere fraction of the publication costs, it was believed best to sell such literature rather than give it away gratis, because the people regarded something received without cost as being of little value. In fact, it was discovered by the colporteurs, a Bible or New Testament which had been purchased was much more slowly surrendered to the representative of the Roman Catholic Church who frequently followed their footsteps and sought to obtain and destroy the Scripture portions. Glass

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67 Frederick C. Glass, Adventures with the Bible in Brazil (New York: Loizeaux Brothers, 1943), pp. 43, 44. Glass, in a brief autobiographical sketch, states that he went to Brazil from England in 1892, in the employ of a British railway company. Within a few months of his arrival, he changed his employment to service as the assay officer for "a large British gold-mining establishment in the state of Minas Geraes." As a result of his conversion on June 20, 1897, Glass resigned his position at the mine, and entered into an independent Gospel-preaching ministry in Brazil, shortly afterward accepting appointment as an agent of the American Bible Society, thus beginning his many years of service as a Bible colporteur. Ibid., p. 17.

68 Ibid., p. 123. Glass quotes the Brazilian proverb, "Livro dado é livro desprezado" (A book given is a book despised). The same reason for selling the Scripture portions is given by Cook, op. cit., p. 270.
describes one episode during a colportage venture in Goiás, in which his visit to a farmhouse near Santa Cruz, the sometime capital of the state, met with determined sales resistance on the part of the farmer's wife:

"Senhora," I began, "I have here a very excellent book, the Life of our Lord Jesus Christ--"

"Don't want it," she interrupted, and would have closed the door, if I had not casually interposed my foot.

"But you don't know what it is," I rejoined. "It is worth more than all your farm." 69

There followed a vigorous effort to overcome the prejudice of the lady, and to barter the New Testament for corn, beans, cheese, or sugar. An exchange was finally made for half a kilo (approximately one pound) of pork fat. A few weeks later, Glass received a written invitation from the farmer to pay another visit to their home, and the persistent colporteur tells of his return to the place of his earlier sale in the following words:

As I rode out a few days later I reflected on some of the difficulties that awaited me. I remembered the saints and superstitious relics I had noted on the walls, and I recalled the big rum-still in the back-yard. It will be difficult work, thought I, to make quite clear to them that these things must go--especially the latter, an expensive article which he could not conscientiously sell or give away.

On my arrival I was received with smiles by Farmer Bellarmino and his wife. The first thing I noted with surprise was that the objectionable saints had

69Ibid., pp. 122-125.
gone, and they told me that they had destroyed the lot—images, crucifixes, and all. The rum-still and the rolls of tobacco had gone, too. Most astonishing, thought I; where can they have learnt all this?

Then we had a long talk together about the Gospel, and the most attentive and appreciate listener was the wife [emphasis in the text]. How wonderfully they understood the Divine plan of Salvation! There seemed little I needed to explain which they had not already discovered from that New Testament. 70

The encounters made by the Bible colporteurs in their itinerations frequently resulted in the formation of a nucleus of Protestants and the establishment of permanent Protestant mission stations and churches. Such an event in the travels of the Reverend Z. C. Taylor, a Southern Baptist missionary, laid the foundation for the opening of the religious work of that denomination at a far interior location in the state of Piauí. Taylor's life was spared on one occasion by the intervention of a leading Brazilian citizen, Dr. Joaquim Noqueira Paranaguá, who frustrated the plans laid by the fanatical Roman Catholic padre, Júlio Maria Florentino, of Barra do Rio Grande, Bahia, when that priest attempted to have the Bible agent and his Brazilian co-worker thrown to the vicious piranhas in the São Francisco River. 71

70 Ibid. See Appendix C in this paper for a similar account given by Cook, in which he states succinctly certain doctrinal differences between Protestant and Roman Catholic teachings in Brazil.

71 Tarsier, op. cit., I, p. 173, gives the full name of the priest.
Paranaguá, a physician, sometime delegate to the Assembly which prepared the Constitution of the Republic, Representative and Senator to the National Congress, and Governor of Piauí, along with his equally illustrious brother, Benjamín, became concerned over the lack of educational facilities for the people of his state, and wrote to Taylor requesting help. The colporteur sent a consignment of Bibles and Scripture portions in response to the request, and the Paranaguás distributed them among the leading families of the town of Corrente, Piauí. The brothers and their families were converted through reading the Bible, and began preaching the truths they had learned. When the Baptist missionaries arrived in Corrente in 1920, they found a congregation already established by the Brazilians—the church in that town ten years later had more than one hundred baptized members, and was serving as a focal point for the evangelization of the southern portion of Piauí.

V. THE UNCONQUERED SERTÃO, A STRONGHOLD OF FANATICISM

The only civilized area of Brazil where Protestantism made little progress before 1930 was the Sertão, the wind-blowen, rock-strewn semidesert covering southern Ceará, west-

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73 Braga and Grubb, op. cit., p. 152.
ern Pernambuco, northern Bahia, and most of the interior portions of the states of Rio Grande do Norte and Paraíba.

The Sertão and Its Inhabitants

A fascinating region, parched by the searing tropical sun, where the highest and lowest annual temperatures are registered at the same time of the year, where violent tempests bring refreshing downpours that transform the slate-grey caatinga (scrub forest) into a verdant garden within a few hours, the Sertão is the habitat of men and fauna whose characteristics match the erratic fluctuations of its climate and terrain. The caranguejeira, a huge, hairy spider whose languid movements mask an agility sufficient to snare small birds, exemplifies the explosive transformations of temperament which are commonly observed in the people of the area as well. The Sertão, in many respects, has stood on the sidelines during Brazil's advancement as a nation, and educated visitors from the southern regions of the country are

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74 Ibid., p. 101. A chart prepared from Brazilian Protestant statistics in 1930 by Braga and Grubb shows about sixty per cent of the municipios (counties) in the Northeast unoccupied by any Protestant missionary agency. When the coastal municipios are deducted, the dearth of Protestant activity in the Sertão proper to that time is evident.

75 Euclides da Cunha, Rebellion in the Backlands, trans. Samuel Putnam (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1944), p. 22. The original title of this Brazilian classic, Os Sertões, uses the plural form of the name of the region, but the singular is the standard and common form.
startled by the way that the customs of the Sertão have remained largely unchanged since colonial days. Preponderantly illiterate, impoverished by recurrent, catastrophic droughts, the sertanejos have clung to their manner of life with the tenacity of desperation, and have resisted change in any respect with an intransigence that has been the despair of progressive Brazilians.

An integral part of the life of these people has been a medieval Roman Catholicism, replete with pageantry, ex-votos, disproportionately expensive cathedrals, an appalling ignorance of the Scriptures, and a constant expectation of the crassly miraculous in connection with religious rites. Such a religion at times gives birth to a fanaticism which it is later powerless to control, as is illustrated by the following account given by Euclides da Cunha:

In 1850 the Cariry backlands were alarmed by the depredations of the "Serene Ones" who practiced large-scale robbery. This was the name given to bands of "penitents," hot-headed fanatics who, at night, at the desert crossways, congregated about mysterious crucifixes to practice the macabre rites of flagellants, torturing themselves with hair-shirts, thorns, nettles, and other austere means of penance. One fine day these zealots suddenly sallied forth from the church of Crato [in southern Ceará] and scattered out in disorderly fashion over the countryside--the women in mourning, the men apprehensive, the children in tears--as they went in fulfillment of punishments which had been rigorously

imposed. Within the church, Roman Catholic missionaries who had recently arrived had prophesied the nearing end of the world. God had said it— in bad Portuguese, bad Italian, and bad Latin— he was fed up with the sins of the earth.

And so these deluded ones went about, begging alms, weeping, praying, and living in a most demoralizing state of idleness; and, inasmuch as the public charity was not able to care for them all, they ended by—turning robbers. This was the last straw. The instigators of the crime were sent to take the blight of their teachings to other regions, while the strong arm of the law with some difficulty repressed the incipient banditry. 77

Another product of the Sertão was Antônio Vicente Mendes Maciel, better known as Antônio Conselheiro, whose rebellion in northern Bahia, and Alamo-like resistance at the town of Canudos in the 1890's, made a mockery of the military forces of the newly-formed United States of Brazil. A strange mystic who became to the sertanejo "the unconditional arbiter in all misunderstandings and disputes, the favored Counselor in all decisions," 78 Antônio Conselheiro prophesied marvelous changes in the topography of Brazil and the politics of the world, preached against the Republic and its "anti-Catholic" Constitutional provisions for religious freedom, and gathered hundreds of followers, among them many notorious criminals, into a mud-walled fortress from which he defied the rest of the nation until his death, and the

77 da Cunha, op. cit., p. 117.
78 Ibid., p. 128.
destruction of his citadel by Brazilian troops, in 1897. 79

The Counselor's disciples sang of him as "Saint Anthony in the flesh," sent from Heaven by Jesus Christ, and joined him in the ceremony known as the "kissing of the images," which Euclides da Cunha describes as follows:

Pious Anthony, the altar boy, would take a crucifix, gaze fixedly upon it with the moist eye of a fakir in a trance, press it to his bosom, and make a deep obeisance; then he would imprint upon it a prolonged kiss and, with a slow and worshipful gesture, pass it on to his nearest neighbor, who would go through the same bit of reverent mimicry without variations.

Anthony would then raise aloft an image of the Blessed Virgin, and after that one of the Good Jesus, and the same acts would be repeated. Then came in succession all the saints, images, holy medals, and crosses, to be passed along from hand to hand, from mouth to mouth, from bosom to bosom, of the eager multitude. The dull smack of innumerable kisses could be heard and, rising in a crescendo above them, the indistinct drone of half-stammered exhortations, anguished mea culpa's torn from panting bosoms, and the first stifled exclamations of the throng, repressed as yet in order not to disturb the solemnity of the occasion. 80

The Strange Record of Padre Cicero

Of all the exotic religious figures which have emerged from the dusty reaches of the Brazilian Northeast, none has left a more permanent mark on the religious sensibilities of

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79Ibid., pp. 135, 136, 143, 160-164, 478. The book is written concerning the complex military operations which were necessary to clean out this den of thieves.

80Ibid., pp. 153, 159-160.
the sertanejos than Cícero Romão Batista, a Roman Catholic priest who "ruled" the southern portion of the state of Ceará for thirty years, and who is to this day regarded as on the plane of deity by many of the people of the backlands. Born on March 24, 1844, and ordained by the Roman Catholic Bishop of Ceará in 1870, Padre Cícero showed such pronounced tendencies toward mysticism, even in his days in training, that the rector of the seminary at Fortaleza opposed his consecration. Nevertheless, the unquestioned moral rectitude of the new priest, and his genuine compassion for the sufferings of the drought-stricken people in the vicinity of Juazeiro do Norte, Ceará, his first and only charge, won him the undying love and respect of his parishioners.

On the first Friday of March, 1889, in the little chapel of Nossa Senhora das Dores (Our Lady of Sorrows) in Juazeiro, as Padre Cícero officiated at a general communion, there occurred the first instance of the repeated "miracle" which caused the padre to become a figure of international fame.

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82 Lourenço Filho, op. cit., p. 62. Morel, op. cit., pp. 24, 25, states that Juazeiro was "a den of horse thieves, drunkards, and wantons" when Padre Cícero began his sacerdotal duties there, and this source describes the repentance of a notorious harlot which occurred when the new priest came to town, and which did much to establish his reputation for piety.
notoriety. The beata (holy woman), Maria de Araujo, twenty-nine years of age, in partaking of the communion wafer, was unable to swallow it because it had turned into a bloody substance. The phenomenon was repeated several times in the months following, but was kept a secret until 1891, when an official announcement made by another priest turned Juazeiro into a veritable Roman Catholic Mecca. One writer describes the influx of pilgrims as follows:

Thousands of families, in long pilgrimages, as though drawn by a magnetic force, raised clouds of dust on the open roads with their ox carts, headed for Padre Cicero's Juazeiro.

Paralytics in hammocks, sick people with a hope of being cured, blind with a longing to see again, mutes desiring to speak, they slept in the dew of the night and ate in the chicken coops on the long and exhausting journey. They came from afar—from the lower São Francisco, from upper Goiás, from Amazonas, from the Tocantins [River]—and, wherever they passed, they drew more people to the [valley of the] Cariri. The sad chants of praise to the Virgin [ladainhas] and benedictions echoed through the mountains and across the plowed fields, in a fervent supplication to the saint who had appeared in Juazeiro, whose fame had already run through the entire Northeast and was spreading toward the West..."Maria de Araujo is the new Our Lady; Padre Cicero, the new

83 Morel, op. cit., p. 33. The author of this paper accepts this date, rather than the one given by Lourenço Filho and those who have taken their information from his account of Padre Cicero's life, because of the more extensive documentation provided by Morel throughout his book.

84 Ibid. On p. 31, Morel describes a beato or beata (holy man or holy woman) as one who "makes a vow of chastity to God and promises to keep his thoughts pure and always turned toward celestial grandeur."
Dom Joaquim Vieira, then Roman Catholic Bishop of Ceará, sent a commission composed of priests and medical doctors to verify the "miracle." After close, personal examination, the commission submitted its first report, declaring that the case could have no natural explanation, and must be regarded as genuinely miraculous. The Bishop was not satisfied with the report of the commission, and sent them back to conduct a further investigation, which resulted in the presentation of a natural hypothesis for the phenomenon. But the uncertainties displayed in the conflicting reports, and the tragic circumstances which befell many of the members of the commission in later life, confirmed the followers of Padre Cícero in their belief that he was super-human, a wonder-worker who could, in some measure at least, alleviate their incessant sufferings.

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85 Ibid., pp. 33, 34.

86 Lourenço Filho, op. cit., pp. 86, 87. One of the physicians who served on the commission is quoted as declaring "that the blood into which the Host was transformed could be nothing but the blood of Our Lord Jesus Christ." Padre Cícero himself spoke of Juazeiro as the New Jerusalem, "where Christ, for the salvation of men, shed anew His precious blood." Ibid., p. 63.

87 Ibid., pp. 87-88. The same writer, on p. 56, records the following refrain, which he heard sung in Padre Cícero's home during a visit to Juazeiro in 1922:

"Nâo tenho capacidade
Mas sei que não diga a toa
In 1894, Padre Cicero received orders from Rome to leave Juazeiro within ten days, under the threat of excommunication. He conformed to the decree, then went in person to the Vatican in 1898 and obtained a reversal of the judgment against him. His triumphant return to Juazeiro gave new impetus to a mushrooming fanaticism, described by one author in the following terms:

...Joazeiro was a city of 20,000 devotees and a Mecca turbulent with the comings and goings of hundreds of pilgrims daily. As their first act on arrival, day or night, no matter what the weather, was to set off bombs and rockets before the church in gratitude and praise, the town appeared to be under permanent bombardment.

For the sacred privilege of receiving a word or glance from the Padrinho, pilgrims came on foot from all corners of Brazil, particularly—with the exception of Ceará itself—from this Northeast. Wretched, degraded, carrying the sick and dying, men, women, and children wound over the blistering plains, intoning litanies, marking stopping places with crosses on which they traced the sacred letters, P. C.—Padre Cicero....

When Maria de Araujo died, she became the patron

Padre Ciço é uma pessoa
Da Santíssima Trindade!...."

I do not have great ability
But I know that I do not speak carelessly:
Padre Cicero is a Person
Of the Holy Trinity.

Missionaries of the Baptist Mid-Missions board, who have a station in Juazeiro at the present time, report that it is not uncommon to hear the Persons of the Trinity stated there as God the Father, the Virgin Mary, and Padre Cicero.

saint of the blesseds and penitents, the two main groups into which the disciples were organized. The blesseds were celibates of real or professed chastity, living on charity or the exploitation of the credulous. Vagabonds, hypocrites, religious fanatics or bandits, they were identified by their long black cotton robes, a cross on their backs and a dozen rosaries, a hundred blessings and little sacks containing religious relics and powerful prayers about their necks.

The penitents, a more pronounced type of religious maniac, let their beards grow long and lived far from centers of population. At midnight, wrapped in shrouds, they gathered near cemeteries or wayside crosses to pray for the dead, and during intervals to flagellate themselves with chicotes, whips studded or hung with sharp brass tips...Among the most fervent blesseds and penitents were numbers of bandits, members of bands that harried the sertões during the early twentieth century.89

The governmental aspirations of Padre Cícero were kindled in 1913 by certain Brazilian politicians who plotted the deposition of the newly elected Governor of Ceará, Franco Rabelo. At their instigation, on December 9, 1913, the "patriarch" of Juazeiro ousted the local government offici­als, disarmed the police force of the community, and declared the new "Governor" of the state to be Dr. Floro Bartolomeu da Costa, a physician who had become the Padrinho's right-hand man and alter ego. The appointed "Governor" then declared that the capital of Ceará was by his decree moved from the coastal metropolis, Fortaleza, to the mud-walled shanty town, Juazeiro.

89Kelsey, op. cit, pp. 173-174.
Six days later, a battalion of troops, sent by Franco Rabelo to suppress the insurrection, arrived at Juazeiro, only to discover that in that brief period "Mecca" had been fortified. This remarkable feat, and the remainder of the sedition, are described briefly by Kelsey as follows:

...Fifty thousand men, women and children working "as one arm" with knives, axes, poles, buckets, pots and pans and fingernails, had erected a rampart three leagues [about ten miles] in circumference and six feet high about the entire town in six days! With sloping inner walls and regular loopholes, it had formed a perfect means of defense.

Two expeditions of state troops were unable to cross it, and the fanatics, triumphant in their success, assured that Our Lady of Sorrows had personally guaranteed Padre Cicero that all who fell in his defense would rise again in three days, performed fantastic feats of valor. Bandits flocked in from all directions with supplies and ammunition. And the troops, sons of the sertões themselves, impregnated with its superstitions, had little heart for battle, especially when their own munitions were insufficient and the winter rains fell steadily.

All Ceará was thus placed at the mercy of the "seditionists." On fire with the idea that this was a "Holy War," that a blow for the Padrinho was a star in the crown of their own salvation, free now to loose all their furious hates and ambitions, they set off for Fortaleza. On the way they sacked towns in their path, sparing only sacred images and family portraits. Unable to distinguish between family saint and portrait, they hung them all with flowers and charms and knelt before them.

Swelled now by thousands of bandits and vagabonds eager for pillage, the horde rushed on--to be stopped at the outskirts of the capital by Federal troops. Surrounding by fanatics and Federal troops and with

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warships in the harbor, Governor Rabelo, a copy of the Constitution under his arm, stepped out of the office and the Federal and state candidate stepped in. 91

An agreement was reached with a Federal mediator, 92 and Padre Cícero's forces withdrew in triumph to Juazeiro, where the priest maintained undisputed sovereignty until his death in 1934. The bandit chieftain, Virgolino Ferreira da Silva, known as "Lampeão" (Lightning), was commissioned as a "captain" of the forces of the Padrinho and, using Juazeiro as his headquarters, he burned and pillaged many towns throughout several states in the Brazilian Northeast, until he was trapped and killed by Federal troops in Pernambuco in 1938. 93

92 Lourenço Filho, op. cit., p. 138.
93 Morel, op. cit., pp. 135, 136. The date of the bandit chieftain's "permanent" death, after many false reports, is taken from Kelsey, op. cit., p. 167. The following paragraph, taken from The Ninety-fourth Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America (New York: Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A., 1931), p. 136, recounts the difficulties that some Protestant missionaries experienced because of the notorious outlaw:

"Rev. Frederick E. Johnson reports that the depredations of the famous bandit, Lampeão [sic], have made him change his itinerary at times. A Baptist missionary couple, itinerating in the state of Pernambuco, had the misfortune to meet Lampeão armed with a whip in one hand, and a revolver in the other. The whip, he said, was for women who had bobbed their hair and wore short skirts, the revolver for men who would not obey him. He relieved the missionaries of their money, took their horse and cart, and left them standing in the middle of the road."
Against such militantly entrenched fanaticism, Protestantism made no notable advances until after the death of Padre Cícero. Two Brazilian Bible colporteurs penetrated the domain of the "Saint of Juazeiro" about 1920, and reported that he raged against the Gospels they were selling, and that they were protected from lethal action on the part of the inhabitants of Juazeiro only because they were befriended by a leader in the bandit army, called "the Turk."^94 Frederick C. Glass, in an account of his own visit to the "New Jerusalem" in the 1920's, states that after his team of colporteurs had sold about twenty-five Bibles and New Testaments, and a number of copies of individual Gospels, they were ordered to leave the city within two hours. Glass reports that one official demanded, "How dare you sell these new-sect books in this holy city?"^95

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^94Glass, Adventures with the Bible in Brazil, pp. 151,155.

CHAPTER V

PROTESTANTISM IN PRESENT DAY BRAZIL: MATURITY
AND MULTIPLICATION

Protestantism in Brazil has had an unbroken record of advance during the past three decades. The various Protestant church organizations in the "Land of the True Cross," whether sponsored by foreign missionaries or under the leadership of Brazilian Protestants, have experienced a progress far greater than the comparative growth in the population as a whole, although such progress has not been accomplished without concerted opposition from the Roman Catholic Church, and frequent acts of aggressive bigotry incited by members of the Roman Catholic clergy in Brazil.

I. THE FAVORED POSITION OF ROMAN CATHOLICISM
DURING THE VARGAS REGIME

Brazilian Protestantism experienced increased tribulation after the overthrow of the Constitutional Government of the United States of Brazil in October of 1930. With the removal from office of President Washington Luiz Pereira de Souza and the recognition of Dr. Getúlio Vargas, Governor of the state of Rio Grande do Sul and the defeated candidate for President in the 1930 election, as Provisional President, a
new period in Brazilian history began. While constitutional government was re-established for three of the subsequent fifteen years, Vargas remained in undisputed control of the country until 1945. His regime exhibited a definite tendency toward favoritism for the Roman Catholic Church—perhaps emanating more from political expediency than from Vargas' personal religious convictions—which threatened to undermine much of the progress made by Protestantism in forty years under a republican form of government.

During the earlier widespread debate over the suggested amendments to the Brazilian Constitution, designed to give the Roman Catholic Church official recognition in Brazil and to permit the re-establishment of Government-sponsored religious education in the public school system, Vargas had

1 Munro, op. cit., pp. 297, 298.

2 The favored position given to the Roman Catholic Church by Vargas served as insurance against a possible counter-revolution, and it is probable that the advantages of such an alliance did not escape the notice of the ambitious Argentine army officer, Juan Perón. Vargas' appeal to the workingmen of Brazil was also imitated successfully by Perón in his profitable tie with the descamisados (shirtless ones) of Argentina.

3 Meacham, op. cit., p. 327, points out that the separation of Church and State in Brazil, which occurred when the Republic was established, broke the hold of the Roman Catholic clergy on the educational system of the country. Under the "Constitution of 1891," public instruction had to be laical. Religious instruction might be given in the public schools, but it had to be given after regular school hours, and the Government of Brazil would no longer pay the teachers.
declared publicly that he was not in favor of either proposition. In an interview given on August 29, 1925, he made the following statements:

The State, having as its principal, but not exclusive, functions, the maintenance of order and the distribution of justice, must not show preference in religious matters, because that would be an undue intervention in the realm of the individual conscience....The State must administer laical instruction, equipping the spirit of the pupil with the knowledge of those things which are indispensable in the struggle for life, fortifying him by civic culture and stimulating him to the practice of the virtues. There will remain a large field of action for religious instruction, which can be administered to the child by his parents in the shelter of the home, by the sacerdotes in the temples of their faith, or in the private schools scattered widely throughout the country.

Religious instruction, given on a voluntary basis in the regular public school classes, is not in essence contrary to the spirit of the regime [i.e., the Republic of Brazil]; it may, however, carry with it future difficulties, which we have no necessity to arouse. Religious instruction in the public schools, if it cannot be prohibited by the Government, must fall into one of these alternatives: either giving free access to the public school classes to the sacerdotes of all the religious sects that aspire to propagate their doctrines there, or giving preference to one of them; in the first case we shall have interminable scholastic discussions unwisely transferred into the classrooms, which would be prejudicial to the apprehension of scientific ideas; in the second, the fracture of the principle of the laicity of the State, by the acceptance of one official doctrine.

As to Amendment No. 10, stipulating that the Catholic Church is the church of almost all the Brazilian people, I regard...this affirmation as being very contestable. In order for anyone to call himself a Catholic it is required that he understand the doctrine [of the Roman Catholic Church], accepting all of
her dogmas, and that he practice it. Under these conditions, there is only an elite, a selected minority. High society adopts a very elegant, satiny Catholicism. And the great ignorant masses are in the fetishistic phase of the adoration of saints with various miraculous specialities.4

Because Vargas had declared himself as holding views which would not permit any reassertion of ecclesiastical domination over the individual in matters of personal religious freedom, Brazilian liberals strongly supported his successful bid for power, regardless of their religious convictions. But it soon became evident, even in the first days of the new regime, that the Roman Catholic Church looked upon the revolution as a repudiation of the policy of separation of Church and State, and regarded the political upheaval as an opportunity to regain ground lost to Protestantism during the period of constitutional government, especially in the matter of Government-sponsored religious education in the public schools. A Presbyterian missionary couple, the Reverend and Mrs. Ashmun C. Salley, stationed at Registro, Goiás, submitted to their mission board the following report, typical of conditions throughout Brazil by the end of 1930:

A Gospel that was taken to the public school, which is in the hands of the priests, was torn up in the presence of the children. Most virulent sermons are being preached against the Protestants.

The papers are full of articles in favor of the teaching of the Roman Catholic religion in all public schools of the country. In Sao Paulo the public school building in Ypiranga was a present to the state from a wealthy Roman Catholic. The state sends teachers to the institution and it is under state direction, but any child who is absent from mass Sunday morning is put out of the school the next day.  

Despite what one chronicler of the period describes as a "wave of protests" from "Masons, Spiritists, Protestants, Positivists, Freethinkers, and liberal Catholics," a decree introducing voluntary, Government-sponsored religious education in the public schools was issued by the Vargas regime on April 30, 1931. Little could be done by the opposition except to protest, for all federal, state, and local legislative bodies had been dissolved by the Provisional President, and constitutional guarantees had been suspended. A Constituent Assembly, while not convened until November, 1933, found itself under pressure from Roman Catholic authorities for the re-establishment of that faith as the official religion of Brazil. Sebastião Cardinal Leme, a Brazilian Roman Catholic prelate at the time, is quoted as declaring:

6 Tarsier, op. cit., II, pp. 96, 97.
7 Munro, op. cit., p. 298.
The decree regarding religious instruction cannot be considered as anything but a preliminary goal. What we demand is the placing of the Catholic Church in her rightful position. In the forthcoming Constituent Assembly we shall make Catholicism the religion officially taught in the schools, proclaimed in the various divisions. We shall tolerate the other cults, which shall be permitted, but the Catholic religion will be the official one. The State shall not be neutral.

Although the Roman Catholic members of the Constituent Assembly did not succeed in breaking down all the barriers erected against a union of Church and State in the "Constitution of 1891," the Brazilian historian Calogeras states that in the new Constitution, promulgated on July 16, 1934, "the influence of the Catholic hierarchy was seen in the prohibition of divorce and the fact that Church weddings were to have the status of civil marriages." The new document provided that religious instruction in the public schools should be continued on a voluntary basis, that the administration of the public cemeteries should remain in the hands of the secular authorities, and that "the free exercise of the religious cults" should be guaranteed. But local police officials were aware of the favoritism shown to the Roman

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8 Tarsier, op. cit., II, p. 100. An editorial in America, LXVIII, October 24, 1942, p. 60, speaks of the "patriotic and militant Catholicism" of Cardinal Leme.

9 Calogeras, op. cit., p. 344.

10 Tarsier, op. cit., II, pp. 103-105, giving excerpts from the "Constitution of 1934."
Catholic Church by the regime, and in many instances the more
fanatical priests, especially in the interior regions of
Brazil, had a free hand in their harassment of Protestants.
Pedro Tarsier, in relating several cases of physical assault
upon Protestant individuals and groups during the early days
of the Vargas regime, tells of one incident of militant in-
tolerance in the state of Espírito Santo—a screaming mob
disrupted a Protestant religious service, destroyed all the
furnishings and equipment of the church, and then piled the
broken objects in the street outside the building in order
to burn them.\(^{11}\)

Vargas set aside the "Constitution of 1934" in Novem-
ber of 1937, and, through his Estado Novo, which "made little
pretense of being republican in form,"\(^{12}\) controlled Brazil
until the army forced him to resign in October, 1945. Gener-
al Eurico Gaspar Dutra was elected President of Brazil in
January of the following year, and the "Constitution of
1946," still the basic constitutional document of the land,
"restored a normal republican form of government."\(^{13}\) The new
Constitution did not eliminate any of the features obtained
by the Roman Catholic Church in 1934, but after 1946 the
state and federal authorities were free to enforce the

\(^{11}\)Ibid., pp. 106-115. \(^{12}\)Munro, op. cit., p. 300.

\(^{13}\)Ibid., p. 302. See Appendix D in this paper for
excerpts from the "Constitution of 1946" which pertain to
this study.
provisions impartially, and thus Roman Catholicism today has no officially recognized position of privilege in Brazil.

II. THE INADEQUACY OF ROMAN CATHOLICISM IN MODERN BRAZIL

Despite ecclesiastical endeavors to portray the Roman Catholic Church as being adequate for a religious ministry to the present populace of Brazil, current religious statistics indicate that it does not meet all of the religious needs of the people. Hampered by a widespread lack of priests, and facing a general indifference, plus a loss of confidence in the integrity of the priesthood which is freely expressed by the average Brazilian layman, Roman Catholicism is unable to cope with many of the religious problems of the largest republic in South America.

The Shortage of Roman Catholic Priests

It has long been recognized by Roman Catholic writers and leaders in Brazil that the number of men which that faith has available to fill the sacerdotal office falls far short of being adequate to supply the Roman Catholic churches of the country. A Brazilian priest in 1936 called the shortage of both secular and ordered Roman Catholic clergy "the most pressing problem of Brazil," and calculated that three times as many priests as then available were needed to supply the
spiritual needs of "the faithful." According to the World Christian Handbook for 1952, citing official Roman Catholic sources, there were 6,676 Brazilian Roman Catholic priests and thirty-five priests of foreign nationality in Brazil at that time. This provided one priest for every 7,800 people in the country, or about one-twelfth the present ratio of priests to Roman Catholics in the United States. A North American missionary priest, who visited South America recently, drew a comparison between the Roman Catholic and Protestant training programs for religious workers in Brazil, and indicated that, in addition to one thousand Protestant foreign missionaries and 3,500 native-born ministers, there were 1,500 ministerial students in some thirty Protestant training schools, as compared to 1,200 "major seminarians for the diocesan clergy" in all of Brazil.


16Considine, op. cit., p. 246. The lack of Roman Catholic religious leadership, not only in Brazil but in all of Latin America, is recognized by Roman Catholic authorities as a matter demanding their fullest attention. The Conference of South American Cardinals, Archbishops, and Bishops, meeting during the Roman Catholic Eucharistic Congress in Rio de Janeiro in July, 1955, declared the "fundamental problem" facing Roman Catholicism in Latin America to be the shortage of priests. See the editorial, "Wanted:
Harry William Hutchinson, in a recent monograph on rural life in the state of Bahia, noted that there were only three ordained priests of the Franciscan order to care for the spiritual needs of fifteen thousand people throughout the five parishes in the region he studied. He further delineated the responsibilities of the three priests in the following words:

These include, in addition to the convent itself and the five parish churches, 30 smaller churches and chapels...scattered over a wide area accessible only by canoe, foot, and horseback. Of these many churches, the only one which has a daily mass is the Franciscan convent in the town of Vila Recôncavo, for there is always a priest there while the other two are traveling...Only one town in all five parishes has a scheduled monthly Mass.

The attitude of the priests toward conditions in their parishes is one of resignation. They realize it is physically impossible for them to take religion to all the people, or even a majority of them.

40,000 priests," America, XCIV (March 24, 1956), p. 680. And a Belgian sociologist, the Reverend Roger E. Vekemans, S. J., currently the Director of the School of Sociology at the Roman Catholic Pontifical University in Chile, wrote in January, 1960:

"We have 30,000 priests in Latin America for some 180 million people. To have here a sound proportion between priests and Catholic people (about one priest for 600 Catholics) as we have it almost all over the States and in many countries of Europe, we would need 200,000 more priests in Latin America." Quoted in "Lapsing Latin America," Time, LXXV, No. 3 (January 18, 1960), p. 50, citing the Roman Catholic weekly, Ave Maria.

The Religious Indifference of Brazilian Roman Catholics

The inadequacy of Roman Catholicism in Brazil, while clearly demonstrated by the inability of that faith to provide sufficient religious leaders for the people of the country, is expressed even more forcibly through the general attitude of Brazilian Roman Catholics toward their Church. The widespread spiritual indifference of the populace, already noted in the previous periods of the history of Brazil, continues to the present day, with more than ninety per cent of all Brazilians calling themselves Roman Catholics, but only a small minority partaking in religious activities. T. Lynn Smith quotes a Brazilian priest as writing in 1936, "...it is the opinion of many sacerdotes that in our country the general average of true Catholics does not exceed 10 per cent." More recently, the Reverend Albert J. Nevins, M. M., Associate Editor of *Maryknoll Magazine*, a Roman Catholic missionary periodical in the United States, listed Brazil as being among the countries of Latin America "where the Church is dying," and cited one Brazilian priest as estimating that he had only three per cent of the people of his parish attending Sunday masses.

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18 Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 707

According to Nevins, "by the most generous estimates," only
In the region of Bahia that Hutchinson studied, the reports of the Roman Catholic priests speak constantly of the "deplorable indifference" and the "religious coldness" of the people. And a North American priest, who recently visited several Latin American countries to study the religious situation there, was shocked by evidences of the ancient animistic worship of the Negro people in Salvador, Bahia, conducted in the name of Roman Catholicism. After seeing the performance of a "candomblé," he expressed his dismay as follows:

What can a missionary take away from such a shattering experience, I asked myself, other than a profound realization that after four centuries the Negro in Brazil still represents for World Christianity as well as for the Brazilian Church a great unfinished task?

Marvin Harris, in a sociological study similar to that conducted by Hutchinson, notes that Brazilian men generally regard Roman Catholicism as a religion for the women, and suggests that this attitude "is perhaps rooted in the symbol-

ten per cent of the population of Latin America "can be called practicing Catholics. The sad fact is that Catholicism in Latin America is nothing more than a tradition for the vast majority of people there." Ibid., p. 11.

20 Hutchinson, op. cit., p. 159.

21 Considine, op. cit., p. 51. The spectacle witnessed by Considine, more properly called a macumba, is a trance-like song and dance accompanied by drums, combining African animism and Roman Catholicism, usually performed by a Bahian Negress. In the strict sense, the term candomblé refers to "each of the great annual festivals of the Afro-Brazilian cult" in the Salvador area, according to the Pequeno Dicionário, p. 233.
ic structure of Catholicism." Harris elaborates on his view in the following observations:

Psychologically, Christ, the central figure in the pantheon, would appear to be of little use to the male in Minas Velhas. He represents qualities which in real behavior the culture classifies in a hundred ways as effeminate. His ministers are denied the male function....The role of the priest further reduces the ability of the menfolk to see the church as the center of their religious life. Rather than invest the priest with an air of holiness, the condition of celibacy only creates an air of suspicion. The men automatically associate duplicity with this requirement, and in many instances in the past their suspicions have been justified...The issue is greater than the priests who have come and gone in the community; an unfavorable stereotype exists from which it is difficult for the individual priest to escape. The stereotype is a man who is licentious, avaricious, and hypocritical.

III. THE PRESENT RELIGIOUS ACTIVITIES OF BRAZILIAN PROTESTANTS

The phenomenal growth of Protestantism in Brazil may be attributed in large measure to the emphasis on "indigenous church" methods of work which has characterized Protestant missionary activity in that land from the outset. Regardless of denominational affiliation, the foreign missionaries have generally recognized that Protestantism in Brazil, if it was to endure, needed to be controlled, financed, and propagated.

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23 Ibid., pp. 212-214.
primarily by Brazilians.24

Brazilian Protestants and Church Leadership

Each of the denominational mission boards which began work in Brazil before 1889 inaugurated some type of training program for the preparation of Brazilian nationals as Protestant leaders, often including secular education as well as religious instruction, and many of the more recently established missionary agencies have likewise sought to train their converts to assume eventually the leadership of their

24 The acknowledgment of the "indigenous church" program of missionary work as essential in the light of today's world-wide emphasis on national independence, and the concurrent necessity for foreign missionaries to exhibit a spirit of humility and a willingness to cooperate with national Protestant church leaders, was well expressed in the following comment by the Reverend Dr. Ralph E. Diffendorfer, Executive Secretary of the Board of Missions of The Methodist Church, in 1946:

"Every candidate for missionary service under the Board must answer the following questions concerning their racial attitudes: What is your attitude towards worship (a) in full partnership with Christian nationals of the country you wish to serve; (b) under the direction of such nationals? What is your attitude as to the relative capacity of different races?

"Be it to the credit of American youth today that there has not been one single rejection of a candidate due to inadequate or negative answers to these important inquiries." R. E. Diffendorfer, "Now!" being The Report of the Executive Secretary of the Division of Foreign Missions to the Seventh Annual Meeting of the Board of Missions and Church Extension of The Methodist Church, December 10-14, 1946 (New York: Board of Missions and Church Extension of The Methodist Church, 1946), p. 18.
own churches and religious activities. To the average Brazilian subordination to foreign authority is especially distasteful, as has been clearly demonstrated throughout the history of the country, from the determined resistance offered to the Dutch invaders in the Seventeenth Century to the controversy which has raged in the Brazilian press during the past decade concerning possible foreign exploitation of the nation's oil wealth. The frequent questioning of papal decrees in the days of the Empire, and the more recent formation of the Brazilian Catholic Church in rebellion against domination by the Vatican, are other evidences of this inherent spirit of independence.

The Brazilian Protestant, while unwavering in his gratitude to the foreign missionaries who brought the Gospel to him, nevertheless impatiently awaits the time when his church relationship will be fully brasileira. As previously noted in this study, the Brazilian Congregational churches never had foreign missionary supervision; a movement for independence was one cause of a permanent division of the

25 For example, a recent article by the Reverend Raymond B. Buker, Foreign Secretary of the Conservative Baptist Foreign Mission Society, one of the most recent Protestant missionary agencies to open work in Brazil, outlines the "indigenous church" methods now practiced by that Society in Brazil and elsewhere. See Raymond B. Buker, "The Methods of Missions," Bibliotheca Sacra (periodical of the Dallas Theological Seminary, Dallas Texas), CXI (July, 1954), pp. 248-260.
Presbyterian churches in Brazil in 1903; and four years later the Brazilian Baptist Convention was established as ostensibly independent, even though the foreign missionary members of the affiliated churches still provided much of the leadership. On the other hand, the churches founded by Methodist missionaries in Brazil, because of the episcopal form of government practiced in that denomination, remained subservient until 1930 to a bishop resident in the United States.

Increasing agitation on the part of well-trained and capable Brazilian Methodist churchmen in the 1920's, aided by the need for financial retrenchment which the Methodist Episcopal Church (South) faced in the latter years of that decade, resulted in the establishment of the autonomous Methodist Church of Brazil on September 2, 1930. Dr. John W. Tarboux, a former President of Granbery College and one of the original members of the first Brazilian Methodist annual conference, was elected as the Bishop of the new Church.

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26 James E. Ellis, "The Methodist Church of Brazil, Organization and Growth, 1930-1943," in "The Methodist Church of Brazil 1930-1943," Alfred W. Wasson, editor (New York: Board of Missions of The Methodist Church, no date), p. 1. (Mimeoographed.) Ellis gives a full account of the preliminary steps to the formation of the new organization in "The Autonomous Church in Brazil (The Methodist Church of Brazil)," previously cited in this paper, and he notes there his own embarrassment in serving as a translator when the Brazilian pastors felt the need to discuss intimate matters with the visiting bishop from the United States.

27 See p. 57 of this paper.
The organization of the Brazilian Methodists as an autonomous body proved especially timely, coming as it did only a few weeks before the revolution which raised Getúlio Vargas to power, and the subsequent progress of Methodism in Brazil can be attributed in part to this decision. At the expiration of Bishop Tarboux's first term in 1934, it was known that the veteran missionary would have to retire because of failing health. But he was so well-beloved by the Brazilian Methodist pastors that they took the unusual step of electing two bishops. They first chose the retiring pioneer by a unanimous vote, then elected a Brazilian, the Reverend Cesar Dacorso Filho, who was elected again in both 1938 and 1942. By 1956 the Methodist Church of Brazil had three active Brazilian bishops, all Methodist educational institutions in Brazil were controlled by Brazilians, and title to all Methodist properties in that country were held by Brazilian boards or associations.

Brazilian Protestants and the Propagation of Their Beliefs

The insistence by Brazilian Protestants on religious self-government has happily been linked with a concomitant sense of responsibility for the evangelization of their own country. With the notable exception of the German Lutherans

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29 Lewis, op. cit., p. 232.
in southern Brazil (who constitute by far the largest Protestant denomination in the country, yet have no program of missionary activity among any Brazilians but those of German descent), the various Protestant church groups in Brazil are actively engaged in evangelism and the establishment of new congregations in many previously unreached areas. The national Presbyterian, Methodist, Baptist, and Congregational denominations each has its own home missionary society—in 1953 the Home Mission Board of the Brazilian Baptist Convention alone was employing sixty Brazilians as missionaries, while maintaining eleven schools, a dispensary, an orphanage, and a Bible Institute for the training of more religious workers.  

The phenomenal growth of the Assemblies of God in Brazil, from 13,500 communicant members in 1930 to more than 200,000 in 1952, can be attributed largely to the activities of the hundreds of Brazilian pastors and laymen of that group who have assumed the responsibility of starting new congregations wherever they have had an opportunity to do so.

The policy of westward expansion, established by the Government of Brazil and substantiated by the construction of

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30 Crabtree, op. cit., p. 217. The Brazilian Baptist Convention also maintains a Foreign Mission Board, with work in Portugal and Bolivia.

31 Bingle and Grubb, op. cit., p. 220. The pamphlet, Brazil (Springfield, Missouri: Foreign Missions Department of the Assemblies of God, no date), p. 10, gives the number of members in Brazilian Assemblies of God churches as 307,525.
the new capital, Brasília, six hundred miles inland from Rio de Janeiro, coupled with the periodic droughts which have devastated great areas of the Brazilian Northeast, has resulted in large-scale migration throughout the country. J. Merle Davis, after studying the remarkably rapid development of Protestantism in Brazil in recent years, concluded that migration was "without question one of the most active sources of the extraordinary spread of the Church." He describes the manner in which Brazilian Protestants have carried their beliefs into new regions of Brazil in the following words:

The moving of Protestant farmers to the hinterlands of old towns has resulted in the backwash of the Evangelical movement from country congregations to old centers of population. Pioneer families have discovered other Evangelical settlers in the scattered forest clearings, and in the course of time groups of families have banded together for worship and fellowship, and these have become the nuclei of congregations. Such forest churches exist in many parts of Brazil. Finally, the Gospel has been carried from the hills down to the market town on the trips of the farmers for disposing of their produce. Sometimes this process has been assisted by the visit of a pastor or missionary, but as frequently it has happened spontaneously through the initiative of the people themselves.

Although some foreign Protestant missionary agencies are still contributing heavily to the maintenance of Mission-sponsored educational and medical institutions, the burden of financing the local Protestant churches, supporting their

\[^{32}\text{Davis, op. cit., p. 72.} \quad ^{33}\text{Ibid.}\]
pastors, and sustaining the efforts of the national evangelists has in many instances been accepted by the Brazilians themselves. An outstanding example of the interest taken by Brazilian laymen in the organized propagation of their faith is the men's missionary society of the Congregational church located in Campina Grande, Paraíba. When Davis visited this independent and completely indigenous church in the summer of 1942, he found that 110 laymen of the congregation had banded together to evangelize their state, and in six years had been responsible for the establishment of seven organized churches and eighteen other congregations, each of the latter with the aim of eventual organization as a church.34 Davis gives the following summary of the activities of this conspicuously successful Brazilian Protestant lay missionary project:

I attended the monthly business meeting of the missionary society. One hundred men, the backbone of the church, were present. The chairman was a leading provision merchant; the secretary, a cotton broker. The reports of each of the seven field missionaries were read by the secretary. These were submitted on a printed form and recorded the places

34Ibid., pp. 79, 80. Davis on p. 80 gives the number of new congregations as twenty-eight, and as eighteen on p. 101. The author of this paper has accepted the more conservative figure. Under the continued leadership of its talented and widely respected pastor, the Reverend João C. Ximenes, the membership of the mother church at Campina Grande, which Davis gives as seven hundred in 1942, had increased to more than one thousand in 1952, and Pastor Ximenes was being asked by foreign missionaries and Brazilian Protestant leaders to counsel with them regarding methods of strengthening the indigenous emphasis in the Protestant churches in neighboring states.
visited, meetings held, calls made, families visited, Bibles sold, and literature distributed.

The numbers of enquirers and baptisms and the amount of church collections were tabulated, and special problems and successes were reported. The missionaries are paid each 250 mr. a month and expenses, which include mule upkeep, railroad and bus fare, and living costs. This was no ordinary meeting. As each report was received, it was analyzed and criticized. These men examined the record of their missionaries with the same careful appraisal that they would apply to the reports of their own salesmen. They expected adequate returns for their investment and were eager that their missionary project should accomplish what they had put their hands to—i.e., the evangelization of their state. No foreign mission board had given these men their vision; it was their own, born of the conviction that Christ could save their fellow countrymen as He had saved them.35

After more than a century of independent operation, the American Bible Society and the British and Foreign Bible Society, which had provided Brazilians with millions of Bibles and other portions of the Holy Scriptures in the Portuguese language, united their work in Brazil on May 31, 1942, forming Sociedades Bíblicas Unidas, the United Bible Societies. Brazilian Protestant leaders from the Baptist, Methodist, Anglican, Episcopal, Presbyterian, and Congregational denominations participated in the "service of commemoration," as did the respective Executive Secretaries of the two foreign Bible Societies and Dr. Hugh C. Tucker, who had served as Secretary of the American Bible Society in Brazil

from 1887 to 1934.\textsuperscript{36}

The formation of the United Bible Societies proved to be a preliminary step in the establishment, on June 12, 1948, of the Sociedade Bíblica do Brasil (Bible Society of Brazil), when the parent societies gave over their work to Brazilian Protestant leaders. Cesar Dacorso Filho, Bishop of the Methodist Church of Brazil, was chosen as the first President of the new organization, and the Reverend Egmont Machado Krischke, a minister of the Episcopal Church of Brazil, was elected as the first Secretary. Dr. Charles W. Turner, the former Executive Secretary of the American Bible Society's work in Brazil, gave on this occasion the following summary of the work of the Bible Societies in their first century of service in Brazil:

...first, an adequate Biblical text in the Portuguese language had by constant study and revision been maintained; second, the continuous distribution of Scriptures had stimulated multitudes to read and study the Bible and to advance literacy; third, the uninterrupted work of the Societies had compelled other religious groups, notably the Roman Church, to recognize the value of translating, publishing, distributing, and using the Bible; fourth, the growth of the indigenous Churches of Brazil had been stimulated; fifth, a constant increase has been maintained in distribution, centering in the Rio Bible House; and sixth, a thoroughly cooperative program has been

developed with all the evangelical forces of Brazil.  

More than 35,000 Brazilians had joined the Bible Society of Brazil by 1955, and ten million portions of the Scriptures were distributed to the people of Brazil during the first seven years of the Society's existence. In keeping with its aim to place a portion of the Word of God in every Brazilian home, the Society continues to employ colporteurs to reach the isolated frontier regions of the country. The following account of one Bible colporteur's activities in 1952 shows that the methods and experiences of such men have not changed significantly in over one hundred years of work as distributors of the Scriptures in Brazil:

At the beginning of the year colporteur Trindade made a trip by canoe in a vast region of the lower Amazon. As he stopped at out-of-the-way settlements, at homes situated by the river banks, he found men hungry for the Bread of Life. Many aged persons who had never seen a copy of the Holy Scriptures or heard it read wept with joy on hearing for the first time the reading of the Scriptures. At one straw shack, after hearing the reading of the Word, a man purchased a Bible. The next day he followed the colporteur a distance of six hours' paddling in order that he might hear the Word read and explained again. As the people heard, they longed to purchase the Book; but time and again there was no money. This, however, was no barrier; and when the colporteur returned to his home, after having sold over 3,000 copies of the Scriptures, he brought with him, among other things,

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480 lbs. of fine rubber, 240 lbs. of coarse rubber, 550 lbs. of salt fish, 20 wild pigskins, 25 of various kinds of tortoise, 100 hens, 10 ducks, 400 eggs, 35 baskets of meal and 30 baskets of mandioca flour.39

Brazilian Protestants and Social Relationships

As citizens of a republic in which miscegenation has been practiced since colonial days, and where more than 4,600,000 immigrants settled in the years from 1820 to 1940,40 Brazilian Protestants represent a cross-section of the cosmopolitan population. Inter-racial genealogies are characteristic, as seen in the following sample given by Davis:

A racial picture typical of many Brazilian middle class families is that of a church leader in São Paulo who described his own family's racial structure: his father was an Italian of French descent; his mother was a Brazilian, i.e., Portuguese-Indian-Negro; he married a Brazilian woman of part-German blood; his oldest brother married a Brazilian of Portuguese ancestry; his second brother married a French girl; his third brother married an Italian girl; his oldest sister married a Uruguayan; his second sister married an Austrian; his third sister married a full-blooded Indian; his oldest son married a part-Negro girl; his second son married a German girl; his oldest daughter married a part-Italian; and his second daughter married a German Negro youth.41

39 Bible Society Record, XCVIII (April, 1953), p. 53.

40 Davis, op. cit., p. 15, citing Bolêtim do Servîco Imigração e Colonização (São Paulo: Department of Agriculture, Industry, and Commerce, October, 1940), graph No. 2.

41 Davis, op. cit., pp. 16, 17.
St. Paul, commenting on the social class of First Century Christianity in his letter to the church at Corinth, wrote as follows:

Simply consider your own call, brothers, how there are not many wise, humanly speaking, nor many mighty, nor many of nobility; but God has chosen the world's simpletons to shame the learned...God also has chosen the world's no-accounts and contemptibles and nobodies...42

The same statement could be made regarding Protestantism in Brazil; the most effective appeal has been to the poorer and lower middle classes, with a marked lack of response to the Evangelical message on the part of the upper class Brazilians. Even in the older, larger, and more socially acceptable city churches of southern Brazil a distinct cleavage in class relationships and activities is discernible. Davis, from his survey of Brazilian Protestantism in 1942, gives the following statements from Protestant leaders in diverse regions of the country as illustrative of the difficulties encountered in attempting to evangelize all classes of Brazilians:

The pastor of one of the largest churches in Rio de Janeiro spoke of the social problems of his church:

"We have very different groups in our membership. They work together but do not mix socially. The social structure of Brazil is not easy to understand.

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The intellectuals and professional people are clearly defined from the workers and the poor. Sometimes in a mixed meeting of the congregation the workers' group takes control and asserts itself, and the intellectuals, who are a small minority, are offended.

"The race question is a delicate matter too. However, there is more race discrimination in the north than here in Rio. Fifty per cent of our members are predominantly Negro, and 75 to 80 per cent are either Negro or part-Negro. Negro leadership tends to attract Negroes. One-fifth of all our Baptist pastors are Negroes. Our hope of solving class and race problems is in our young people. They mix far better than the older members. The leader of our large young people's society is a Negro, and several of our Sunday school teachers and church club leaders are of African descent."

In speaking of social and class distinctions in the churches, a missionary of the Evangelical Union of South America in northern Brazil said:

"Upper class Brazilians are reluctant to identify themselves with the average Evangelical constituency. These people simply will not enter our churches along with our poor members. The upper classes demand a higher type of palaver than the uneducated members frequently use in speaking in our churches. The humble, unlettered people say the same thing over and over--the uneducated do not mind it, but the cultivated people will not stand it. Our Bible women go from house to house to talk and read with the people. The poor homes welcome our workers, but the upper class home is closed or cold to them. The upper class Brazilian home does not welcome an approach of this kind any more than would a North American home of culture." ¹⁴³

A ministry to the poor in any land involves more than a simple proclamation of the Gospel to the unconverted. Protestant foreign missionary agencies at work in Brazil have a great variance in their established policies regarding a

¹⁴³Davis, op. cit., pp. 138, 139.
social ministry, but even those that consider extensive social service as being beyond the scope of both their calling and their financial resources have, nevertheless, frequently recognized the necessity of providing occasional medical assistance in emergencies, as well as giving food, clothing, and shelter to the needy populace in times of acute regional distress. Other Protestant missions, notably the Methodists, have not hesitated to engage in efforts for social improvement as well as religious rectification. An outstanding illustration of social missionary work is the Instituto Central do Povo (People's Central Institute), started in 1906 by Dr. Hugh C. Tucker in Rio de Janeiro in an endeavor to aid the inhabitants of the notorious slums of that city, and continued today under the leadership of Brazilian Protestants. The activities of the Institute in 1956 are described as follows:

The social center now offers a kindergarten, a grade school, a night and afternoon high school, night classes in adult education, boys' and girls' clubs, a mothers' club, classes in handwork, ceramics, and cooking, sports activities and in cooperation with the city health department, free dental services.

The author of this paper and his wife served as missionaries in the Brazilian Northeast during one of the occurrences of the flagelo da seca, the "dry whip" that periodically scourges the Sertão, or backlands, and they vividly recall the numbers of starving sertanejos that came to the coastal region and went from house to house, begging their daily sustenance. Such entreaties cannot be lightly ignored by those who serve as ambassadors of the compassionate Christ.
and medical clinics. The Tucker Building was erected in 1951 and serves as a center for the kindergarten, library, sewing, cooking, and club work as well as social service. The Allie Cobb Buyers Memorial Educational Building was opened December, 1954. In addition to eleven classrooms, office space, a bookstore, and a canteen, there are four comfortable apartments for missionary workers. During 1954 an old pavilion was remodeled as an assembly hall and gymnasium. Industrial training is given in a fully equipped carpentry shop with aid from the Point Four program. Also opened in 1954 was the Ruby Frazer silk screen studio. Enrollment in 1955 was 854.  

By 1952, according to a Protestant authority, there were more Protestants in Brazil than in France, Belgium, Italy, Spain, and Portugal combined, and the influence of Protestantism in Brazil is greater than indicated by the statistics given by the various denominations there. While most Brazilian Protestant churches keep their membership rolls closely up-to-date, there are many Brazilians who regard themselves as Protestants although their names do not appear on the church rolls. For instance, 27,000 people in the state of Rio Grande do Sul gave their denomination as Methodist in the national census of 1950, despite the fact that the Methodist churches in the state had less than five thousand members enrolled at that time.  

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45 Lewis, op. cit., pp. 233, 234.  
46 Lewis M. Bratcher, "Good News from Brazil," Bible Society Record, XCVIII (April, 1953), p. 53.  
47 Ellis, in Wasson, op. cit., p. 2.
in Brazil, João Del Nero, describing in the following words the concern being shown by well-informed Roman Catholic authorities in Brazil over the increasing influence of Protestantism there:

Roman Catholic Bishop Agnello Rossi said recently that the rapid growth of Protestantism in this country is viewed with "serious apprehension" by the Brazilian hierarchy. Considered a "specialist" on Protestantism...Bishop Rossi warned that if the present trend continues, Brazil ("the greatest Catholic country in the world") may find itself within a few decades "a great Protestant country...."

Since Bishop Rossi is acknowledged as an expert on Protestantism in this country, some of the figures he gives are interesting. In 1954, he says, Brazil had 2 million Protestants, but today...it would not be an exaggeration to say that between 4 and 5 million Brazilians are "under Protestant influence, directly or indirectly." In no other country in the world has Protestantism made such advances in the past 20 years.48

Dr. Howard W. Yoder, Executive Secretary of the Committee on Cooperation in Latin America, recently made the following comments on the present influential activities of Brazilian Protestants:

The Evangelical Church in Brazil has advanced so far that it has acquired an air of confidence and even aggressiveness. It can raise its voice in protest against discriminatory actions of the government officials in which the Catholic Church is given preference. Such was the case at the close of the recent Eucharistic Congress of the Roman Church, when the Vice-President of the Senate, in the name of the Senate and the Brazilian people, dedicated the republic to the Sacred Heart of Jesus. A telegram was sent by a denominational leader to the Vice-President

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protesting in these words:

"In the name of the thousands of Brazilian citizens who are members of the Presbyterian National Church, I protest respectfully your sectarian gesture of dedicating Brazil to the Sacred Heart of Jesus. There is no record that Congress delegated that authority to you. It is not authorized to delegate that authority. It is the duty of the Senate, as well as yours, to observe the complete separation of church and state according to the national constitution."

During the recent elections in Brazil, the National Evangelical Council prepared a questionnaire and sent it to each of the four presidential candidates, advising them that their answers would be published. Each candidate answered in detail, expressing his position in regard to religious liberty and other vital matters, all of which was given wide publicity under the name of the Council....

The battle is not won, by any means, but the minority group of Evangelical forces has influence far beyond its numbers because it stands for democracy, tolerance, and freedom. These principles appeal to the fairminded statesman regardless of his religious beliefs.49

IV. THE PRESENT MINISTRY OF PROTESTANT FOREIGN MISSIONARIES IN BRAZIL

The rapid advancement of Brazilian Protestantism has been seen by the foreign mission boards as a "token for good"

which calls for larger efforts, and the total number of Protestant foreign missionaries engaged in service in Brazil has nearly doubled in the past thirty years, rising from 563 in 1930\textsuperscript{50} to approximately one thousand in 1960. While the increased missionary ranks may be partly accounted for by the presence of several foreign missionary organizations which had no religious work in Brazil prior to 1930, the mission boards with many years of experience in the country still find an extensive ministry for their missionaries. In 1956, The Methodist Church listed ninety-six North American missionaries of that denomination in Brazil,\textsuperscript{51} and the Foreign Mission Board of the Southern Baptist Convention, in its annual report for 1959, stated the total missionary complement on its three Brazilian fields to be 189.\textsuperscript{52}

From his extensive travels throughout the area of Brazil occupied by Protestant churches, Davis reported that Brazilian pastors and leaders consistently re-echoed the call for more foreign missionaries who could (1) penetrate into frontier areas which the Brazilian churches find it difficult

\textsuperscript{50}Braga and Grubb, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 140.

\textsuperscript{51}Lewis, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 278.

to reach because of inadequate financial resources, (2) come as specialists, "needed to enlarge the content and the inner life of the Brazilian churches," and (3), by personal attractiveness and thorough mastery of Brazilian Portuguese, minister to the upper class Brazilians, hitherto largely un-evangelized.53

Foreign Missionaries in the Principal Cities of Brazil

Brazilian Protestants, especially in the large, progressive cities, recognize a need for assistance from foreign missionaries in the many facets of religious ministry which call for extensive, specialized training, such as religious education, youth work, music, drama, moving pictures, and the production of religious literature. In addition, many North American missionaries are engaged in evangelism, as well as in domestic science instruction, health and sanitation programs, and other social services. While the great majority of the foreign missionaries who are associated with the older Protestant mission boards in Brazil are to be found today in the larger cities of the southern or coastal areas of the country, some of the more recently established mission agencies also have centers there, with an emphasis on radio work and the production of literature. In 1955 a radio series entitled "The Evangelical Voice of the Assemblies of

God" was begun by that denomination in Rio de Janeiro, and has drawn what its sponsors regard as an excellent response, the widespread use of short-wave radio receivers providing a potential audience in many remote regions of the country. 54

São Paulo, now the second largest city in Latin America, has seen an astonishing growth in population from 200,000 to 3,200,000 during the past fifty years, with the influx of settlers (at times more than one thousand new residents a day) tending to overwhelm the evangelizing capabilities of the Brazilian Protestant churches in the city. 55 To cope with this need for spiritual leadership, some Protestant foreign mission agencies have opened evangelistic programs in the burgeoning metropolis, seeking to establish congregations in sections of the city where no Protestant church, and often no Roman Catholic church, is located. The Association of Baptists for World Evangelism, an independent mission board, began such a program in 1952, holding religious services in a large tent (and later, a portable aluminum tabernacle) until each new congregation was organized as a church. In 1957

54 , Brazil(Springfield, Missouri: Foreign Missions Department of the Assemblies of God, no date), p. 9.

55 In December, 1953, the author of this paper had occasion to witness a part of the transformation that São Paulo is achieving. From the observation tower of an edifice in the business district of the city he could see thirty-eight major office or apartment buildings in various stages of construction, with many more noticed during his brief visit to what is now Brazil's largest city.
this mission agency opened the Baptist Bible Seminary and Institute in São Paulo, under the leadership of the Reverend Donald J. Hare, as a center for the training of Brazilian pastors to lead the new churches, the class sessions being held in the evenings for students who supported themselves by means of employment in some of the many business establishments in the city; more recently, a full daytime curriculum has been inaugurated.

**Foreign Missionary Activities in Rural Brazil**

Although there is much work still awaiting properly trained Protestant foreign missionaries in the large cities of Brazil, many smaller towns have yet to experience the initial impact of Protestant evangelistic efforts, even in the regions where the mission boards have been active for periods approaching the century mark. Hutchinson's recent study of a rural area in the state of Bahia includes the following example of a town untouched by missionary endeavor:

Protestantism has made no entry in Vila Recôncavo. This is a minor point of pride among the residents, who have heard of Protestantism, but know nothing about it. In other areas of the Recôncavo there have been converts, but as yet there are no Protestant churches, chapels, or house groups in Vila Recôncavo [a pseudonym for the town studied, having a population |

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of about one thousand]. In other communities, traveling ministers hold services in small private houses of the adherents. Just as with the African cults, there always are many onlookers standing outside who discuss the merits of the sermon and of the Bible readings and hymn-singing. Those who are sufficiently impressed sometimes join, but as yet there is considerable resistance to another organized religion. 57

Some Brazilian Protestant church leaders have expressed concern over the concentration of foreign missionaries in metropolitan projects, to the detriment of the unreached rural portions of the country. Such concern may be

Hutchinson, op. cit., p. 178. The singing of hymns in the Protestant churches of Brazil has always been an important means for attracting interest and winning converts among the groups that customarily gather in the darkness to watch the Protestant worship services. The smaller rural churches usually conduct their meetings with both windows and doors wide open, so that all who wish to hear may do so. The following testimony to the power of Evangelical hymnody comes from the Reverend Cyrus B. Dawsey, a Methodist missionary who spent many years in pioneer church work in Brazil:

"Music is a key to many hearts. The singing of our beautiful hymns has a wonderful attraction. I once had as a member of my congregation a man who, years before, had gone one night in company with two companions to the church for the purpose of killing the preacher, because he believed that Protestantism was a great evil which had come into their neighborhood.

"When they got to the door, the pastor was reading the Bible, so they decided to go in and hear what the 'guy' had to say. They could kill him after the meeting was over. They went in and took a seat. The minister finished reading and announced a hymn: 'Down at the cross where I first saw the light.' 'And when the congregation finished singing that hymn,' said the would-be assassin, 'I was a converted man! After the close of the service, I followed the preacher into the little room behind the pulpit and told him I wanted to be baptized into that religion.'" Cyrus B. Dawsey, "Methods and Experiences of a Vanguard Missionary," in Wasson, op. cit., p. 28.
seen in the following call for workers, issued in 1942 by Bishop Dacorso Filho of the Methodist Church of Brazil:

We want more missionaries for church work; men of health, faith, desire to work, inflamed with evangelistic zeal, ready to go to any place in the country, to travel on mule-back if necessary, to share in all the hardships of the people, to be one of us. We do not want men who will become fascinated with Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo, Porto Alegre, or Belo Horizonte, and do not wish to leave. In our vast and needy interior, in large circuits, we have many places for those who want to spend their life in the best of all Causes, while they are young, strong, and can be of service. Men like this may be sent by tens and even by hundreds; we will welcome them as our brothers and colleagues....

Farming missions. Among the methods used by Protestant foreign missionaries in rural Brazil is that of farming missions, conducted by various groups at scattered points, mostly in the southern states. The extensive project operated by the Presbyterians at Ponte Nova, in the interior region of Bahia, involving educational and medical work as well as agricultural, has already been discussed. The Seventh-Day Adventists have for many years, in conjunction with their Training College located twelve miles south of the city of São Paulo, run a large farm whose produce is known for its quality throughout the country--the farm employs all the students who attend the school, and each student is


59 See pp. 79-80 of this paper.
taught a trade or a line of agriculture in addition to his theological instruction. The Methodist Church of Brazil opened a somewhat similar institution in 1946, the Instituto Rural Evangelico at Itapina, in the Rio Doce Valley, "the first distinctly rural institution" sponsored by that denomination—the following brief description is given of the present activities there:

A large farm in the Rio Doce Valley offers a means by which all students work to help pay their school expenses. The farm also provides training in more modern agricultural methods than normally are used at the students' homes. The combination work and study program offers education on a primary level with special instruction for every student in agriculture, home economics, health, and evangelism. A special training course, started in 1953, trains young men for the rural pastorate and young women for rural church and educational work. A day school, partially supported by the state, offers a primary education to children of the neighborhood...

A new interdenominational farming mission, known as

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60 Davis, op. cit., pp. 62-64.

61 Lewis, op. cit., p. 239. As Braga and Grubb, op. cit., pp. 94-96, pointed out nearly thirty years ago, the policy of establishing educational institutions for the general public, as practiced by the Presbyterian, Methodist, and Southern Baptist mission agencies in Brazil, has been the subject of serious debate. Advocates point to the favorable disposition of the populace toward Protestantism in areas where the leaders of the community have been educated in Mission-sponsored schools. Opponents reply that the spiritual emphasis in such institutions is frequently relegated to a place distinctly secondary to that of scholarship, and that there has been an alarming tendency toward secularization in these Christian institutions. This latter tendency is regarded as having hurt both the institutional personnel and the witness to the Christian distinctives among outsiders.
the "Colaborers," organized by Maurice Sand, a Lutheran layman in the United States, recently began activities in the frontier state of Paraná. In a project reminiscent of the establishment of North American settlements in Brazil a century ago, five families from the United States, the first of some two hundred that have bought acreage in the planned mission area, started to clear land in August, 1958, and within five months built sixty-three cabins and a combination schoolhouse-church building for the new community. Hundreds of Brazilians are reported to be attending the religious services held by the immigrant missionaries, who use Portuguese Bibles and hymnbooks in their meetings, and show filmstrips while they engage in the study of the Portuguese language.62

Penetration of the Sertão. While some Protestant foreign missionary work was accomplished in interior portions of the Brazilian Northeast in the years prior to 1934, the rabid fanaticism of the inhabitants of the Sertão, aroused in connection with the "miraculous" activities of Padre Cícero Romão Batista at Juazeiro, Ceará, remained largely unchallenged until the priest's death in that year ended his two decades of unquestioned political and religious domination of

the region. In the autumn of 1936 the Reverend E. Guy McLain, the first Protestant missionary to attempt a permanent ministry among the superstition-ridden sertanejos of Ceará, established residence in Juazeiro, despite repeated warnings from fellow missionaries and multiplied threats from many Roman Catholic spokesmen. As the first missionary to Brazil under the auspices of Baptist Mid-Missions, a large independent mission board, McLain commenced no overt religious activity in the "Mecca" of the backlands for several months, but won the friendship of some of the young men of the city by conducting English language classes for them. The missionary's first convert, Sr. Pedro Mitoso, a product of the classes and a subsequent study of the English Bible, was forced to leave Juazeiro when his conversion became known, but continued in his new faith, and in recent years has served as a lay leader in a small Baptist church in Fortaleza, the coastal capital of Ceará.

The Baptist Mid-Missions work in Juazeiro and throughout Ceará has become well established, with twenty-five

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63 See pp. 104-112 of this paper.

64 E. Guy McLain, São Paulo, in a letter, December, 1959, to the author of this paper. McLain relates that one Protestant missionary with years of experience in another part of the Sertão, upon hearing of his plans to enter this focus of fanaticism, said bluntly, "I'll give you three months in Juazeiro. You will come out under showers of stones, or else in a box."

65 Ibid.
missionaries engaged in service there, despite continued opposition from the politically powerful Roman Catholic officials, and not-infrequent acts of bigotry on the part of the fanatical segment of the populace. A primary school and a Bible Institute are located in Juazeiro itself, several Baptist churches have been founded in that city and other centers of population in the state, an airplane minis-

66 The author of this paper visited Juazeiro in 1952, and found the main road into the city closed off by a police barricade, erected so that no one would pass beneath a newly-constructed archway until it had been properly dedicated by Nossa Senhora de Fátima (Our Lady of Fatima), a large image imported from Portugal by the Roman Catholic Church. He learned later that the road remained closed for many months thereafter, with all traffic using a narrow alley as a detour, because the image was dropped and broken during a tour of the city of Fortaleza, and had to be returned to Europe for repairs before arriving at Juazeiro for the dedication ceremony.

67 The town of Missão Velha, located a few miles from Juazeiro, was the scene of barbarous religious intolerance in 1952. A young Protestant foreign missionary couple was driven from their home in a mob action incited by the local Roman Catholic priest. The author of this paper, passing through the town a few days later, found the following pronunciamentos painted in large letters on a wall at the entrance to the town:

"M. Velha é irmã de Barbalha na defesa da fé e desde garota que foi evangelizada; não queremos protestantes." (Old Mission is a sister of Barbalha [a nearby town notorious for its religious fanaticism] in the defense of the Faith, and from its youth was evangelized; we don't want Protestants.)

"M. Velha tem as portas fechadas para vocês protestantes." (Old Mission has its doors shut to you Protestants.)

As far as the author of this paper has been able to determine, there has been no further attempt to establish a Protestant congregation in Missão Velha.
try of evangelism has been maintained for the past eight years, and a language school for new missionaries and a home for missionary children have been established in Fortaleza. 68

Some sertanejos still make long and arduous pilgrimages to the life-sized statue of the dead priest in Juazeiro, and sing the praises of their Padrinho as a member of the Holy Trinity, 69 but freedom of worship has now been established in this former stronghold of fanaticism. Since the bandit armies which plagued the Sertão in the 1930's have been broken up by Federal troops, one may now travel securely on the public highways of the Brazilian Northeast. Protestant foreign missionaries now find the enervating climate to be a greater obstacle to their ministry than religious intolerance. 70 The Government of Brazil, by an increasingly firm

68"Baptist Mid-Missions in Central Brazil," Field Surveys (Cleveland: Baptist Mid-Missions, 1959), pages not numbered.

69 See pp. 107-108, footnote 87, of this paper. Missionaries stationed in Juazeiro have affirmed to this author that the blasphemous exaltation of Padre Cicero is still common among the pilgrims to his shrine.

70 This is not to say that all Roman Catholic harassment of Protestant foreign missionaries and Brazilian Protestants has ceased in the Sertão. The author of this paper participated in one series of meetings in 1952 in Caicó, Rio Grande do Norte, and observed the efforts of the Roman Catholic clergy to disrupt the services. They held a special outdoor service in the immediate vicinity of the open air meeting conducted one night by the Protestant missionaries, and the next evening they led a mob (composed mostly of children and adolescents) to the Baptist church building, stood in the darkness outside the open windows, and sang a
insistence on an elementary education for the people of the backlands, is breaking the hold of fanaticism—newly literate Brazilians have a great interest in reading Evangelical leaflets distributed by the missionaries, and the twin evils of ignorance and idolatry are retreating before this program of enlightenment.

Foreign Missionaries in the Brazilian Jungles

While the great majority of Protestant foreign missionaries now ministering in Brazil are to be found in the urban and civilized rural regions of the country, where more than ninety-eight per cent of all Brazilians live, a relatively small but devoted number continue to minister to the isolated Brazilian river settlements along the Amazon River and its tributaries, as well as to the scattered Indian tribes. Typical of the high cost of this religious pioneering was the martyrdom in 1935 of the "Three Freds," missionary...
aries of the Unevangelized Fields Mission, who were slain on a tributary of the Xingu River by the Cayapó Indians they had sought to evangelize. Another missionary couple, the Reverend and Mrs. Angus Cunningham, sent out by the same mission board a few years later, have given an account of the sheer savagery of the Cayapó people, yet with it an expression of the concern which they felt for the spiritual welfare of these Indians, as the following excerpt indicates:

The spirit world was real to them; but it was the world of evil spirits who came to terrify them at night with strange noises, to chase them when they were alone, to make them sick, to haunt them when someone died, even to kill them by strange diseases and maladies. They have no word for peace, pardon, love, or salvation, and no comprehension of their need of a Saviour. Brazilians call these creatures animals. Can it be that Christ's salvation is for such a people?

Did God not make the wild animals of the forest for their meat, the trees which drop Brazil nuts and the rivers of fish for their food, the tall palms from which fronds are cut to make shelter from sun and rain, the trees from which strong bows are cut, and the bamboo from which arrows are made? If He has provided all these things for them, is it not evident that He cares for their souls?

There where God's sun wraps day in gold, where God's moon wraps night in silver, surely there also

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72 Basil Miller, Twenty Missionary Stories from Latin America (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Zondervan Publishing House, 1951), pp. 52-55. The last names of the men were Roberts, Dawson, and Wright. Light and Life (periodical of the Unevangelized Fields Mission, Easton, Pennsylvania), XXII, No. 1 (First Quarter, 1960), p. 14, gives the names of more than eighty missionaries now serving in Brazil under this mission board.
His Spirit calls them to His love. And He (Christ) said..."Go ye into all the world and preach the Gospel to every creature..."73

A successful ministry in the jungles of the Amazon Valley calls for a rare combination of inventive genius, pioneering skill, unrelenting tenacity, and spiritual fervor, characteristics clearly illustrated in the missionary work of the Reverend John Schlener and the Reverend Paul Schlener at the "Port of Two Brothers," a tiny enclave carved from the jungle on the north bank of the Amazon River some 1500 miles inland from Belém. The Schlener brothers, accompanied by their wives and children, began their missionary venture in August, 1951, under the auspices of the Association of Baptists for World Evangelism, an independent mission board which now has fifty missionaries serving in widely scattered locations in Brazil. Despite severe illness and frequent privations, the men have built two missionary residences, two guest houses, and a shop for overhauling their boat and motors, while their converts have constructed a church building, a small elementary school, and a brick factory. The Schleners' busy medical ministry, predicated upon a brief course of training in missionary medicine and developed by the necessity for action in the face of continual emergencies, has been helpful in winning the confidence and friend-

ship of both nearby Brazilian settlers and the Ticuna tribe of Indians.

These missionaries have not as yet experienced any adverse reaction from the pagan Indians, and have had few encounters with any representatives of Roman Catholicism in their isolated outpost. Paul Schlener, writing in 1956, told of Bible burnings conducted by Roman Catholic priests in the summer of that year at Manaus, about five hundred miles downstream from his jungle home, and then gave the following account of an errand of mercy involving Roman Catholic religious workers in the vicinity of the "Port of Two Brothers":

A Roman Catholic priest came to our front porch a couple of weeks ago. He said that the director of their school down river, an elderly Nun, was dying with lock jaw. The slow river boat in which they were taking her to the doctor wouldn't arrive until the next day, at least 22 hours later. He asked me the favor of taking her up in our boat which would get her there within 5 1/2 hrs. At 12 noon I left with the dying Nun and another Nun to care for her on the trip. At 5:30 P.M. we arrived at the hospital. Three other men and myself carried her up the long hill to the hospital. The doctor asked me if I was a Catholic missionary—which of course gave me opportunity to testify to him as to how a believer in Christ is to treat his enemies according to Romans 12:21.75

74 John and Paul Schlener, letters, August, 1956 - January, 1960, to the author of this paper.

75 Ibid. The passage of Holy Scripture referred to by Schlener, and its context, Romans 12:17-21, is, in part, as follows:

"In no case paying back evil for evil, determine on the noblest ways in dealing with all people....Do not revenge
The South America Indian Mission continues its extensive ministry to the Indians of Brazil, with thirty-one missionaries occupying ten stations among as many tribes in the state of Mato Grosso, and a Bible Institute for the training of Indian pastors and evangelists, located at Aquidauana, Mato Grosso. Among the most recent advances made by this mission board have been the placing of a missionary couple with the notorious Chavante Indians, and tentative efforts to establish contact with the Xicão tribe, in cooperation with the Indian Protection Service of the Government of Brazil.

A Protestant foreign missionary organization working in an even closer relationship with the Government of Brazil is the Wycliffe Bible Translators, known in Brazil as the Summer Institute of Linguistics, under whose sponsorship more than forty translators are working in thirteen Indian tribes, preparing alphabets and grammars for previously unwritten languages, and translating portions of the Scriptures into yourselves...Instead, if your enemy is hungry, feed him; in case he is thirsty, give him drink; for doing so you will pile burning coals on his head. Be not overpowered with evil, but master evil with good." Berkeley Version.

Information: S. A. I. M., pp. 6, 7. For the earlier missionary efforts of this organization, see pp. 93-95 of this paper.

Robert and Helen Crump, "Xicão, Waura, and Chavante," Amazon Valley Indian (periodical of the South America Indian Mission, West Palm Beach, Florida), LIV, No. 8 (November, 1959).
those languages. The translators are regarded primarily as linguistic technicians by the Government, and the unique contract arrangements are described as follows by James Wilson, Associate Director for Brazil of the Summer Institute of Linguistics:

We have been urged by government officials to go first to those tribes which are in contact—either constant or intermittent—with the outside world but we have had no restrictions put on our choice of tribes and there are at least 186 to reach. No request to the Indian Protective [sic] Service for permission to enter a certain field has been turned down....

Our responsibility to the Brazilian government has been formalized both in our registration as a Brazilian organization and in our contract with the National Museum. Our contract includes the following points:

a. Complete and describe studies of Indian languages—reducing them to written form.

b. Practical and educational service to the tribes in cooperation with governmental agencies.

c. Translate books of high moral and civic value including parts of the Bible.

d. Promote interest in the study of Indian tongues and Indian culture.

We have agreed verbally to try to place workers in each of the major linguistic families in the country before we overlap to any great degree—a point which is to our advantage to follow.78

There is still a great need for medical missions in

78 James Wilson, letter, December 3, 1959, to the author of this paper. The Summer Institute of Linguistics is a recognized linguistic study program in the United States, affiliated with the University of Oklahoma and the University of North Dakota.
the Amazon Valley, despite the extensive work of the Seventh Day Adventists under the leadership of Mr. and Mrs. Leo Halliwell, who first began to operate a medical launch there in 1930. The Halliwells, without formal medical training, gave first aid and emergency treatment, buying their own medicines and equipment until physicians and pharmaceutical houses in the United States recognized the value of their efforts and undertook to contribute needed supplies. By 1956 the program had enlarged to such an extent that nine launches were in full-time service, treating more than 27,000 patients annually. The Halliwells' efforts toward the prevention of malaria proved so successful that their example led to the establishment of the Servico Especial de Saúde Pública (Special Public Health Service), a nation-wide program of malaria control sponsored jointly by Brazil and the United States. In addition to a forty-bed hospital in Belém, an outgrowth of the clinic opened there by Halliwell in 1942, the results of the medical mission include twenty-two Adventist churches with three thousand members, and fifteen elementary schools with a total enrollment of more than one thousand pupils.

79 Clarence W. Hall, "Medicine Man on the Amazon," Reader's Digest, LXIX (October, 1956), pp. 103-108.
CHAPTER VI

THE ATTITUDE OF SOME LEADING NON-PROTESTANT BRAZILIANS TOWARD PROTESTANT FOREIGN MISSIONARIES IN BRAZIL

Derogatory statements concerning the activities of Protestant foreign missionaries in Central and South America, as illustrated in the first chapter of this paper, continue to be made by Roman Catholic spokesmen in the United States, and to be published by the North American Roman Catholic press. While a full review of Latin American opinion on this subject is beyond the scope and purpose of this paper, it is not difficult to show that many non-Protestant Brazilian civic and governmental leaders have indicated, by both word and deed, that they would not concur with such general denunciations, especially as they pertain to Protestant missionaries in Brazil.

I. OPINIONS EXPRESSED BY NON-PROTESTANT BRAZILIANS REGARDING PROTESTANT FOREIGN MISSIONARIES IN BRAZIL

Many of Brazil's foremost citizens, while continuing to consider themselves Roman Catholics, have been outspoken in their praise of the work done in their homeland by Protestant foreign missionaries during the past century. Dr. George P. Howard, an Argentine citizen born of North American
parents, who has spent most of his life in various Latin American republics as a Methodist missionary to Spanish-speaking intellectuals, has recorded interviews he had with several Brazilian leaders, in which they declared themselves favorable to the continuance of Protestant foreign missionary activities in Brazil. One of the men that Howard interviewed was Dr. Hélio Lobo, a member of the Brazilian Academy of Letters and of the Historical and Geographical Institute of Brazil, who has served as Consul-General of Brazil in both London and New York, and as Brazilian Minister Plenipotentiary to Uruguay and, later, the Netherlands. Dr. Lobo was the Secretary-General of the Brazilian delegation to the Paris Peace Conference of 1918-1919, and afterwards served in the International Labor Office at Geneva. Howard gives the following illuminating account of his conversation with this outstanding Brazilian statesman:

"Are American missionaries an obstacle to the Good Neighbor policy?" I asked him.

"Not at all. Those missionaries can only help that policy, as they are, in fact, doing. They preach the gospel, whose predominant note is that of the brotherhood of all men. It is absurd to think that

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2 George P. Howard, *We Americans: North and South* (New York: Friendship Press, 1951), hereafter referred to in this paper as *We Americans*, pp. 56-57.
they do not collaborate in a policy that has as its objective a fraternal relation between the peoples of America."

"Should Latin America be declared a closed continent, permitting only the Roman Catholic religion?" I asked next.

"Certainly not. It would offend the liberal sentiment of Brazil. Discrimination against religious beliefs, such as we have witnessed in other countries, has always been repugnant to us. We would not tolerate any such thing in our country."

"What is your opinion of Protestantism in Brazil?"

"Protestant missionary work in Brazil deserves our warmest encouragement and praise of what it has done in favor of education, health, and social welfare, especially of the humbler classes of our people.... Whoever travels into the interior of our country cannot help but admire the dedication, the self-abnegation, and the humanitarian aims of the Protestant missionaries. They have founded schools, raised hospitals, and given helpful instruction—and accomplished all this in the face of great obstacles and without any applause. It is to be regretted that this good work is not better known."3

Another prominent Brazilian, Dr. Manuel Carlos Ferraz, at that time President of the Court of Appeals of the State of São Paulo, repudiated the accusation that the activities of Protestant foreign missionaries in Brazil were deleterious to good relations between that country and the United States. Dr. Ferraz credited the missionaries with making "a most valuable contribution to the moral and cultural development of our country," and went on to say that Protestantism "has given Brazil upright and honest men who have

3 Ibid., pp. 57-58.
been of great service to our country."⁴

Many well-known and respected Brazilian civic leaders speak in glowing terms of the work done by the Protestant missionaries from the United States. In a public address on the subject, "American Contribution to Education," Dr. Francisco Venâncio Filho, an ex-president of the Brazilian Educational Association and a professor at the University of Brazil, made the following statement:

Granbery College (founded by Methodist missionaries) has greatly served the cause of secondary education, according to the standards established by Brazilian legislation. Up to the present, ten thousand Brazilian young people have taken its courses of studies. This school has pioneered in the preparation of secondary (high school grade) teachers in Brazil. A comprehensive view of the educational work of American Protestants in Brazil, carried out under the inspiration of the ideals of Christianity, cannot fail to mention the initiative along the line of popular education of a most praiseworthy type accomplished by the People's Central Institute of Rio de Janeiro, likewise organized by missionaries, as a work of love, of dedication, of abnegation and sacrifice.⁵

On another occasion, in answer to questions regarding the wisdom of permitting Protestant foreign missionaries to enter Brazil, Venâncio Filho expressed his approval of their coming in these words:

Missionaries have never offended us by their presence in our country. On the contrary, I believe that the activities of North American missionaries and educators, because of their innumerable and

⁴Howard, Religious Liberty?, pp. 69-70.
⁵Howard, We Americans, p. 55.
beneficial services to society, have been immensely helpful, not only in Brazil, but in the other countries of South America.

The suggestion that South America should become a closed continent to every faith except Roman Catholicism is absurd. First of all it would be proof of an intolerance that is incompatible with the degree of civilization that we have achieved. Then it would carry us back to a period previous to our constitution of 1824, which established religious tolerance....

If it be true that in the colonial period, due to certain historical circumstances, the Roman Catholic Church was a factor favorable to Brazilian unity, it is absolutely unnecessary in our day to try to strengthen this unity by limiting the freedom with which other religious faiths would function. The state, which in a democracy should be essentially secular, must see to it that these several faiths carry on their activities on the high plane of teaching and service to the community in its social needs.

It is to be expected that many officials of the Roman Catholic Church in Brazil would not favor the presence of Protestant foreign missionaries there, and that such officials, even though confronted with indisputable evidence of the benefits the Protestant missionaries have given to Brazil, would say nothing favorable about the envoys of groups regarded by their Church as heretical sects. This is not always so, however, and the following statement, attributed by Howard to Dom Carlos Duarte Costa, Roman Catholic Church...

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6 See Freyre, Casa-Grande e Senzala, p. 43, where Roman Catholicism is called the "cement of our [Brazilian colonial] unity."

7 Howard, We Americans, pp. 58-59.
Bishop of Maura, then resident in Rio de Janeiro, is all the more significant:

I do not consider that the coming of Protestant missionaries prejudices the work of Pan-Americanism and the Good Neighbor policy... The clergy which comes here does not come with the purpose of carrying on a work of espionage or of realizing efforts contrary to the interests of Brazil. I have never known of any American missionary who was arrested as a spy. What I do know from trustworthy reports, is that their educational work is highly esteemed in our country. These are the reasons why I am of the opinion that there is no harm in the coming of missionaries to our country.

II. CIVIC HONORS BESTOWED ON PROTESTANT FOREIGN MISSIONARIES IN BRAZIL

In addition to frequent laudatory statements, the Government of Brazil and various non-Protestant state officials, educators, and social leaders have bestowed numerous civic honors on Protestant foreign missionaries who have served in that land. From the warm praise given by Emperor Dom Pedro II to the fledgling Presbyterian school in São Paulo which later became Mackenzie University, to the action
of the Government of Brazil in 1959, recognizing the Baptist high school in Fortaleza as a model school, a constant stream of citations for excellence has gone to the educational institutions established by Protestant missionaries in Brazil. While the same can be said of numerous social and medical accomplishments, the personal honors conferred by the people of Brazil upon individual Protestant foreign missionaries are the clearest expression of Brazilian gratitude and respect for their sacrificial labors. Howard, in cataloging such specific honors as part of his defense of Protestant missions in Latin America, notes the following examples:

The Brazilians of the city of Lavras, Minas, would not have unveiled in the public square a bust of Dr. Samuel Gammon, thus honoring the memory of this great educator and Presbyterian missionary, if they resented the presence of missionaries in their country. The name of a missionary, Dr. J. M. Lander, was given to one of the streets in the city of Juiz de Fora. In São Paulo a street was given the name of one of the great missionary women sent to Brazil, Dona Marcia Browne. She molded a generation of teachers who gave glory and prestige to the teaching profession in the state of São Paulo.

Some missionaries in Brazil have received extraordinary honors, among them Dr. Hugh C. Tucker, who, in addition to his valiant ministry as a Bible colporteur and his more than fifty years of labor in establishing Methodist churches

10 Means, op. cit., p. 27.
11 Howard, We Americans, pp. 54-55.
in his adopted land, is remembered by Brazilians for bringing Dr. Walter Reed's investigations of yellow fever in Cuba to the attention of Dr. Oswaldo Cruz, President of the Public Health Department of Rio de Janeiro in 1901. Tucker then served as interpreter in the correspondence between the two great medical pioneers which laid the foundation for the eradication of the dreaded scourge from Brazil's capital. In 1906 the same missionary established the People's Central Institute, a social training center on the Hill of Thieves, one of the worst of the cortigos ("beehives"), the spectacular slums that cling to the precipitous granite spurs rising in the midst of Rio de Janeiro—the institution has served as a model for educational and social reform measures in the city. In 1911, keenly conscious of the lack of recreational facilities for the children of Rio de Janeiro, Tucker approached the city authorities with plans for a public playground, "an entirely new idea to South Americans," and by October 12 of that year he saw the first playground opened. In recognition of such varied, extended, and faithful

12 Alva dee Hutton Adams, A Good Neighbor in Brazil (New York: The Methodist Church, no date); pages not numbered in this pamphlet on the life of Dr. Tucker.

13 Davis, op. cit., pp. 135-136. For a description of the present activities of the Instituto Central do Povo, see pp. 139-140 of this paper.

service, the Government of Brazil in 1943 awarded the eighty-six-year-old Protestant missionary the "Order of the Southern Cross," the nation's highest decoration.\(^\text{15}\)

The Brazilian Northeast, the last civilized region of the country to be opened to Protestant evangelistic activities, was recently the scene of a civic celebration honoring yet another Protestant foreign missionary. The Reverend Carleton F. Matthews, serving with the Association of Baptists for World Evangelism, was made an honorary citizen of Natal, the capital city of Rio Grande do Norte, on September 10, 1957, in a special ceremony attended by the Mayor, the Governor's aide-de-camp, the State Secretary of Education, and many other civic and military dignitaries.\(^\text{16}\) A fellow missionary who participated in the program states in the following words the reasons cited for the bestowal of this honorary title:

The second speaker told us exactly why this honor was being conferred upon Carl. He stated that Mr. Matthews conducts himself just as the best citizen of Natal would be expected to act; that he is always a friend to Brazilians; that he is a real "Natalense" in his manner of dress, his customs, and his gestures. We were reminded of the service Carl had rendered at the Air Base during World War II, during which time he helped build good relationships between the United

\(^{15}\) Howard, Religious Liberty?, p. 72.

States and Brazil. His work in supervising the construction of the ABWE [Association of Baptists for World Evangelism] Bible Institute buildings and missionary residences was listed as being beneficial to the city of Natal. His activities as Examiner in English for the Law School of Natal and as vice-president of the Brazil-United States Cultural Society were also mentioned. The speaker made much of the fact that Carl had been in Brazil twenty-five years, nineteen of which had been spent in the vicinity of Natal. It was stated that he dedicates himself to the activities of his calling with wisdom, respect, tolerance, and understanding.17

Typical of the average United States citizen's lack of correct information regarding the attitude of the people toward Protestant foreign missionaries was the comment of a "Mr. Taylor," present at this celebration, who engaged in the following conversation with Matthews:

"Say, Carl, aren't there any Catholics in this town?" asked Mr. Taylor, the newly-arrived American in charge of the Brazil-United States Cultural Center.

"What do you think all these people here are!" answered Carl, glancing around the room.

"Why, I shouldn't think Catholics would come to such a gathering as this!" exclaimed the surprised Mr. Taylor.18

Rio Grande do Norte, for the most part, lies in the area known as the Sertão, and the spontaneous warmth of the people of Natal at the ceremony honoring Matthews contrasted sharply with the fanaticism that he encountered in his first

17Ibid.  
18Ibid.
days in the state only two decades before. The transformed attitude of the people of the Northeast indicates the attainment of a level of religious tolerance long maintained by the other civilized portions of the country, but the absence of rancor cannot easily be explained to those North Americans who have heard only the Roman Catholic viewpoint regarding Protestant foreign missionaries in Brazil.

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19 In 1951, in a conversation with the author of this paper, Matthews recounted his early experiences in Rio Grande do Norte, including his imprisonment in the tiny jail in the town of São José de Mipibú, some twenty-five miles from Natal, for preaching in the town square in defiance of the illegal restrictions established by the local Roman Catholic priest. Matthews continued his sermon from the window of the jail, won the confidence of the people of the town, and subsequently built his home and organized a Baptist church there.
CHAPTER VII

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

I. SUMMARY

In the early days of Brazil's establishment as a colony of Portugal, the populace manifested a widespread indifference to Christian morality, and to the practice of Roman Catholicism, their avowed religion. Their priests were usually content to indulge in a relaxed and voluptuous existence, providing the outward religious trappings desired by the colonists, but ignoring the fundamental tenets of practical Christianity. French Huguenot efforts to found a Protestant settlement in Brazil in the Sixteenth Century collapsed largely as a result of internal strife, as did the abortive attempts of the Dutch Calvinists a hundred years later, and throughout the rest of the colonial epoch Roman Catholicism diligently stifled all religious competition, but did little to alleviate its own stagnation.

A significant change in the colonial policy of social, economic, and religious isolation came when the Portuguese monarch, driven from Lisbon by Napoleonic forces, established his residence in Rio de Janeiro in the early years of the Nineteenth Century, and brought to Brazil a new spirit of international cooperation and religious tolerance. The sub-
sequent attainment of national independence in 1822 only served to increase the new emphasis on religious emancipation from Roman Catholic domination, as much-sought immigrants received constitutional guarantees of freedom of worship. Roman Catholicism in Brazil achieved no self-reformation in the Nineteenth Century, and opposed the activities of the first Protestant foreign missionaries so bitterly that permanent Protestant church groups of Portuguese-speaking Brazilians were not established until 1858. While the prestige of the Roman Catholic Church in Brazil was severely damaged after 1870 by internal conflicts over Freemasonry, foreign missionaries from several Protestant denominations obtained a foothold in the country in the latter half of the period of the Empire, and were well established in the southern provinces of Brazil before the Republic came into being in 1889.

The promulgation of the Constitution of the United States of Brazil in 1891, clearly defining the separation of Church and State, and guaranteeing religious liberty, stimulated a rapid growth of Protestantism. Evangelistic efforts were multiplied in the southern states and the major coastal cities. Extensive educational programs were inaugurated, providing high academic standards, and serving as models for the public school system of the nation. Earnest attempts by the Protestant foreign missionaries to supply the medical and
social needs of the people won the admiration of many Brazilians, while intrepid Bible colporteurs ranged across the interior civilized regions of the country, and other Protestant missionaries entered the jungle fastnesses of the Amazon Valley and the highlands of Mato Grosso, holding forth the Word of Life to isolated Brazilian settlers and nomadic Indian tribes. In all of Brazil the Protestant missionary pioneers found a heartening response to their ministrations except in the sun-scorched Sertão, the interior portions of the states which comprise the Brazilian Northeast, where Roman Catholic fetichism and superstition had given birth to a fantastic fanaticism which the Roman Catholic Church at times repudiated but was powerless to control.

The establishment of the Vargas regime in 1930 was regarded by Roman Catholic leaders in Brazil as an opportunity to regain the privileged position which their Church had lost under the republican form of government. Apart from the reinstatement of voluntary religious instruction in the public schools, however, their accomplishments were minor, while the renewed harassment of Protestants likewise proved ineffectual. The most recent statements on the condition of Roman Catholicism in Brazil, given by well-informed Roman Catholic authorities, uniformly present a picture of clerical insufficiency and laical indifference. On the other hand, Brazilian Protestants constitute the fastest growing Protes-
tant minority of any nation in the world, and are bearing much of the responsibility for carrying their beliefs into the farthest reaches of their homeland, including in recent years the long-closed Sertão. The subsequent elevation of educational, medical, agricultural, and social standards throughout the nation has brought highest praise for the work of the Protestant foreign missionaries from many Brazilian governmental and civic leaders, most of them still nominal Roman Catholics.

II. CONCLUSION

It is the conclusion of the author of this paper that the claims of Roman Catholicism to a spiritual monopoly in Brazil are based upon gratuitous assumptions, and have never had the firm foundation of a consistent practice of Roman Catholic doctrines by a majority of Brazilians. The charge made by the Roman Catholic hierarchy in the United States, that Protestant foreign missionaries in Central and South America are undermining Pan-American solidarity, has been demonstrated to be unfounded, so far as it pertains to Brazil, the largest and most populous of all the Latin American Republics. In the light of the evidence presented in this study, it can be stated unequivocably that the achievements of the Protestant foreign missionaries in Brazil
have been most helpful in strengthening amicable relations between that nation and the United States; and it is not beyond reason to suggest that the Protestant religious movement in Brazil has actually served to strengthen Roman Catholicism there, by alerting the leaders of that faith to their failure to assume, in an adequate measure, the responsibility of nurturing Brazilian Roman Catholics.
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Recounts the latest attempts to contact these unevangelized Indian tribes in Mato Grosso.

An account of preparations for the celebration of the centennial of Presbyterian missions in Brazil. Contains comments from Roman Catholic Bishop Agnello Rossi on the growth of Protestant influence in Brazil.

An attack on Protestant missionary activity in South America, written by the noted novelist, an Episcopalian.

An account of a Protestant farming mission in Pará-ná, under the leadership of a Lutheran layman.

Hall, Clarence W. "Medicine Man on the Amazon," Reader's Digest, LXIX (October, 1956), pp. 103-108.
A description of the Seventh Day Adventist medical mission on the Amazon River, under the leadership of Mr. and Mrs. Leo Halliwell.

A leading Roman Catholic priest recognizes the laxity of religious interest among Roman Catholics in Latin America, and calls for many more priests to serve there.

One of the latest of many articles in the American Roman Catholic press condemning Protestant missionary work in Latin America.

An unusually frank exposition of the weakness of Roman Catholicism in Latin America, written by the Associate Editor of the Roman Catholic "Maryknoll Magazine."

The Bible Society of Brazil celebrates the distribu-
tion of ten million portions of Holy Scripture in less than seven years of existence.

"The EUSA in Brazil," The Neglected Continent (Evangelical Union of South America, Englewood, New Jersey), XXI (April, 1959), pp. 102-103.

A Brief account of the history and present activities of this interdenominational mission agency in Brazil.


An editorial calling for forty thousand more priests for Latin America.


An inflammatory article denouncing Protestant missionary work in Latin America, written by a "Protestant" newsman.

"Yankee Seminarians," Time, LXXIV, No. 16 (October 19, 1959), pp. 74, 76.

An article on the North American Pontifical College in Rome. Contains information on Gaetano Cardinal Bedini, noting the uproar which occurred when he visited the United States, some time after he had caused a similar disturbance in Brazil.

E. UNPUBLISHED MATERIALS


A description of the activities of the Methodist Church of Brazil, by the first Brazilian bishop of that denomination. Includes a call for pioneer missionaries.


A short description of an evangelistic missionary's activities. Includes references to the power of the Protestant hymns.
Ellis, James E. "The Autonomous Church in Brazil (The Methodist Church of Brazil)." New York: Board of Missions of The Methodist Church, 1958. (Mimeographed.)

An explanation of the autonomous structure of the Methodist Church of Brazil, by a missionary of long experience in that mission field.


Careful research covering the first fifty years of Presbyterian missionary activities in Brazil, and the church life of Brazilian Presbyterians.


A brief account of the growth and present strength of Protestantism in Brazil, as seen in its influence in that country's presidential election in 1955.

F. NEWSPAPERS

The New York Times, November 15, 1942. Contains the text of the manifesto entitled "Victory and Peace," issued by the Administrative Board of the National Catholic Welfare Conference, in the name of all the Roman Catholic archbishops and bishops of the United States, obliquely condemning Protestant missionary work in Latin America.
APPENDIX
APPENDIX A

PARTIAL TRANSLATION OF THE REPORT FOR 1843 OF THE
MINISTER OF JUSTICE AND ECCLESIASTICAL AFFAIRS
OF THE EMPIRE OF BRAZIL

The state of regression into which our clergy are falling is notorious. The necessity of adopting measures to remedy such an evil is also evident. On the 9th of September, 1842, the government addressed inquiries on this subject to the bishop and the capitular vicars. Although complete answers have not been received from all of them, yet the following particulars are certified.

The lack of priests who will dedicate themselves to the cure of souls, or who even offer themselves as candidates, is surprising. In the province of Para there are parishes which, for twelve years and upwards, have had no pastor. The district of the river Negro, containing some fourteen settlements, has but one priest; while that of the river Solimoens is in similar circumstances. In the three comarcas of Belem, the Upper and the Lower Amazon, there are thirty-six vacant parishes. In Maranhão twenty-five churches have, at different times, been advertised as open for applications, without securing the offer of a single candidate.

The bishop of S. Paulo affirms the same thing respecting vacant churches in his diocese, and it is no uncommon experience elsewhere. In the diocese of Cuyaba, not a single church is provided with a settled curate, and those priests who officiate as state supplies, treat the bishop's efforts to instruct and improve them with great indifference.

In the bishopric of Rio de Janeiro most of the churches are supplied with pastors, but a great number of them only

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temporarily. This diocese embraces four provinces, but
during nine years past not more than five or six priests
have been ordained per year.

It may be observed, that the numerical ratio of those
priests who die, or become incompetent through age and in-
firmity, is two to one of those who receive ordination. Even
among those who are ordained, few devote themselves to the
pastoral work. They either turn their attention to secular
pursuits, as a means of securing greater conveniences, emolu-
ments, and respect, or they look out for chaplaincies, and
other situations, which offer equal or superior inducements,
without subjecting them to the literary tests, the trouble
and the expense necessary to secure an ecclesiastical bene-

This is not the place to investigate the causes of
such a state of things, but certain it is, that no persons of
standing devote their sons to the priesthood. Most of those
who seek the sacred office are indigent persons, who, by
their poverty, are often prevented from pursuing the requi-
site studies. Without a doubt a principal reason why so few
devote themselves to ecclesiastical pursuits is to be found
in the small income allowed them. Moreover, the perquisites
established as the remuneration of certain clerical services,
have resumed the voluntary character which they had in primiti-
tive times, and the priest who attempts to coerce his parish-
ioners into the payment of them almost always renders himself
odious, and gets little or nothing for his trouble.
APPENDIX B

EXCERPTS FROM THE LEGAL CODE OF THE UNITED STATES OF BRAZIL, ADOPTED IN 1890, CONCERNING THE PRACTICE OF RELIGION

Title IV

Chapter II - Concerning crimes against personal liberty.

Art. 179 - The persecution of any one for a religious or political reason: Penalty - imprisonment for one to six months, in addition to whatever other penalty he may incur.

Chapter III - Concerning crimes against the free exercise of the cults.

Art. 185 - The insulting of any religious confession whatever, vilifying any act or sacred object of the cult, desecrating or profaning its symbols publicly: Penalty - imprisonment for one to six months.

Art. 186 - The hindrance, by whatever means, of the celebration of religious ceremonies, solemnities, and rites of any religious confession whatever, or the disturbance of the practice of the cult: Penalty - imprisonment for two months to one year.

Art. 187 - The use of threats or injurious actions against the ministers of any religious confession whatever, in the exercise of their functions: Penalty - imprisonment for six months to one year.

1, Annuario Commercial do Estado de Sao Paulo (Sao Paulo: Duprat e Companhia, 1904), pp. lxviii, lxix.
APPENDIX C

A TYPICAL INCIDENT IN THE MINISTRY OF A PROTESTANT BIBLE COLPORTEUR IN BRAZIL

During one of William A. Cook's colportage journeys, accompanying a mule train through the state of Goiás, he arrived one evening at a village where the people were afraid to offer the normal overnight hospitality, because Cook was both a stranger and a foreigner. At last, one old man opened his home for the night, and Cook gives the following account of his conversation with the man:

When he discovered that he was sheltering a "protestant," the very opposite from an "angel," as he believed, he became very much alarmed; and when I showed him a Bible, he became greatly excited and inquired with trembling if it was a "false Bible."

"I have one of those Bibles that are changed and falsified and teach against Mary, Most Holy," said he, and going to a drawer he disinterred a large Bible printed by the British and Foreign Bible Society, upon the fly-leaf of which he had written that he had bought the Book nineteen years before from a colporteur, supposing it to be a "good book;" but, discovering that it was "falsified" and "altered," and that it "taught against his religion," he determined to bury it from his sight, and had written thus on the fly-leaf as a testimonial of his innocence, and entombed it as an atonement for the crime he had committed in purchasing so dangerous a book. It seems that after purchasing the volume, he examined it, confidently expecting to find in it a full and divine setting forth of the peculiar beliefs and superstitions that had been taught him from his childhood. Failing to find these, or even any trace of them, he concluded that they must have been wickedly expunged...I tried to impress upon him the fact that the Bible he had was true and good, and how unfortunate it was that he had suffered this glorious lamp of life eternal to lie entombed all these years.

"But," said he, questioning me, "you have no images in

1Cook, op. cit., pp. 34-40.
"Yes," I replied, "we have a great many images in our church. But our images do not come from the carpenter shop, nor from the quarry, nor from the brass works, nor from the lithographer. Our images are living men and women who have had Christ formed within them, and who go about imitating Him in their daily lives."

"Well, you have no saints in your church," said he again.

"Yes, we have also many saints--saints, too, that can be seen in flesh and blood. They are not deified dead, but living men and women who have been saved, sanctified and transformed by the blood and by the Spirit of Jesus."

"You never go to confession, do you?"

"Yes, we confess; though not once a month or once a year to a dissolute man, but daily to God, Most Holy, Omniscient."

"But, you cannot be absolved from sin, for you have no priest."

"'The Blood of Jesus...cleanseth us from all sin;' and as for a priest, we indeed have One who is 'holy, guileless, undefiled, separate from sinners, and made higher than the heavens,' and 'able to save to the uttermost them that draw nigh unto God through him, seeing he ever liveth to make intercession for them."

My generous host gradually became calm and thoughtful, and indeed was much puzzled at finding me so different from what he had expected; and I left him reading the Book of the Law of the God of Heaven that he had despised for nineteen years.
APPENDIX D

EXCERPTS FROM THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES OF BRAZIL, PROMULGATED ON SEPTEMBER 18, 1946

Art. 141 - The Constitution ensures to Brazilians and foreigners residing in the country the inviolability of rights concerning life, liberty, individual security, and property, in the following terms:

7. Freedom of conscience and belief is inviolable, and the free exercise of religious sects is assured, as long as they are not contrary to public order or good morals. Religious associations shall acquire juridical personality according to civil law.

8. No one shall be deprived of his rights by reason of religious, philosophic, or political convictions, unless he shall invoke them in order to exempt himself from any obligation, duty, or service required by law of Brazilians in general, or shall refuse those which the same law establishes as substitutes for those duties in order to meet a conscientious objection.

10. Cemeteries shall be secular in character and shall be administered by the municipal authority. All religious confessions shall be permitted to practice their rites there-in. Religious associations may maintain private cemeteries, according to law.

11. All may meet, without arms, without any intervention on the part of police except to ensure public order. With this object in view, the police may designate a place for the meeting, with the understanding that, by so proceeding, the meeting is not frustrated or rendered impossible.

Art. 163 - The family is constituted by marriage that cannot be dissolved [i.e., no divorce permitted] and shall have the right to special protection by the State.

1. Marriage shall be civil and its celebration free of charge. Religious marriage shall be equivalent to civil marriage, if performed with observance of the impediments established by law and according to its provisions, and if requested by the celebrant or other interested party, provided that the act is recorded in the public registry.

2. A religious marriage celebrated without the formalities indicated in this article shall have civil effects if, at the request of the betrothed, it is recorded in the public registry after ratification before competent authority.

Art. 168 - Teaching legislation shall adopt the following principles:

V. Religious instruction shall be a part of the teaching schedule of public schools, matriculation therein shall be optional, and the instruction shall be provided in accordance with the religious confession of the pupil, manifested by him if legally capable, or by his legal representative or person responsible for him...
BRAZIL
SHOWING PRINCIPAL PLACES MENTIONED IN THIS PAPER