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Contemporary Preaching to a Non-contemporary Society: Nineteenth-Century Reformed Theology Comes to Non- nineteenth-Century Brazil

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To my beloved wife, Vera Lucia Patrocinio, and my two sons, Jorge Henrique and Andre Luiz Patrocinio. For their unconditional love and self-sacrifice. For putting their lives on hold and dreaming my dream. My heart goes with them always.

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ABSTRACT

Patrocinio, Jorge Luiz. "Contemporary Preaching to a Non-Contemporary Society: Nineteenth-Century Reformed Theology Comes to Non-Nineteenth-Century Brazil." Ph.D. diss., Concordia Seminary, 2009. 241 pp.

When Presbyterian missionaries came from America to nineteenth-century Brazil, they encountered a society strongly marked by a Roman Catholicism that was both tugged in several directions and also marked by a spirit more attuned to the later Middle Ages. In planting and then cultivating the Presbyterian Church, first the missionaries and then indigenous Brazilian pastors responded by spreading a message strongly rooted in Reformation theology, approaching their task almost as if the Reformation were unfolding again in Brazil. Under that "Reformation" label, the rhetoric would shift over time from a relatively mild, straightforward presentation to a more aggressive tone in that Catholic-dominated culture. This mission effort also imported elements of the past, reaching back as far as Puritan England with a strict approach to faith and blending this with other elements drawn from the American sending church, all combined to produce a Reformation-based theology that still colors the Presbyterian Church of Brazil today.

This all is reflected in the pages of one of the most important tools used to spread this theological message. Over the course of several years, *O Púlpito Evangélico*, a periodical supported by the Presbyterians in Brazil, published sermons by the American missionaries, Brazilian pastors, and selected outside preachers. These sermons, first available in the journal issues and then collected, were a way to multiply the influence of a relatively small number of preachers, broadcasting a theology that reflected the context and need, and that would hopefully shape the hearts and minds of readers and hearers in a direction the Reformation had set. Judging from the longevity of the sermon collection, there must have been a receptive audience. An analysis of these sermons both generally confirms the nature of the religious culture in which the

missionaries and pastors worked and gives a clear picture of the theological themes and accents they first introduced and then recast over several decades of working in nineteenth-century Brazil.

CHAPTER ONE

THE STATE OF THE QUESTION

The year of 1808 marked a watershed for Brazilian history and begins the discussion of the state of the question.¹ The arrival and settlement of the Portuguese imperial family closed the door on the colonial period and cast light onto the independence of Brazil. The initial launch of immigration followed by the arrival of several immigrant colonies changed definitively both the face and the destiny of the country. These political and social developments would, in the eyes of the Christian faithful, set the stage for a great drama where God, the great Artistic Creator and Director, used Brazilians as actors in playing out the story of the Church in this part of the New World.

More important, and certainly taking direct advantage of this setting, was the way the Gospel was brought into and spread throughout the country. Preaching, more than any other technique, became pivotal. Word spoken has been prominent in God's activity since Genesis 1 with creation *ex nihilo* accomplished by divine speaking. Proclamation of the Gospel is equally (more!) prominent—the *verbum evangelii vocale*, the spoken word of the Gospel, as the Reformation put it. In fact, it has been the church's communication since Acts 2 when Peter tried to connect with his audience, matching the truth of the message with the context in which those people found themselves. They were there at Jerusalem for the high festivals, but as Peter framed

¹ In the text and footnotes that follow there are English translations of Portuguese texts. Unless otherwise noted, all translations are my own.

things, God trumped their ideas with his own message first in the flesh in Jesus and now in the proclamation from Peter. Ever since then the church has tried to take theology into the context of people to proclaim and let the Spirit work.

American Presbyterian missionaries used that same well-honed and effective apostolic tool. They first came to Brazil in the second half of the nineteenth century and set the tone for the Presbyterian Church in the mission soil by forming indigenous pastors and publishing sermons for use in congregations and mission work in the interior of the country. According to some scholars, these missionaries were met by what were recognized both now and at the time as sixteenth-century European characteristics that dominated the society's life in the young free country.

This dissertation will analyze historically and theologically the preaching of both the missionaries and the early native pastors as reflected in their sermons and determine (and verify) the nature of the Brazilian context when the missionaries arrived. Was that context marked, in fact, by elements still holding over since the sixteenth century? If this is so, then the question is whether or to what extent the missionaries realized this and then either adapted or altered the theology that eventually would be adopted by the Presbyterian Church in Brazil.

The study will focus on the historical and theological elements of 132 sermons preached between 1859 and 1900 and published in the periodical *O Púlpito Evangélico* [The Evangelical Pulpit] between 1888 and 1900. To date, while references have been made to these sermons—and they are not unknown—they have yet to be analyzed in the way proposed, seeking to illustrate and understand the coming of then present-day (i.e., nineteenth-century) Reformed theology into a very different world.

In addition to this introductory chapter as well as a conclusion to bracket things, the bulk of the dissertation will be divided into two parts with two chapters in each. Part one will set the

foundation for the second and main part of the dissertation, namely, the historical and theological analysis of the sermons. A lot has been done in general when it comes to studying the social and religious context of Brazil in the nineteenth century, but few scholars have paused and specifically sought to understand the minds of these American missionaries and native pastors who lived and preached the Gospel in that society. Taking time for a closer look at the Brazilian society of the nineteenth century will provide our study with material that may shed light both on the sermons and on the outlook of the sermon writers and preachers.

Two important aspects will be developed in the first part of the dissertation. It will be important to sketch a picture of the Brazilian society in the nineteenth century and characterize the Reformed movement both in Europe and North America (with special emphasis on Puritanism and the theological education received by these American missionaries). The intent is to set a foundation for understanding how and why these missionaries as well as the native pastors preached what they preached.

Studying the nineteenth-century Brazilian society and finding even older traits that were still lingering and active is a bit like someone standing before a wall with a searchlight behind, casting a shadow at this wall. Although the shadow is not the person himself, its shape resembles him or her remarkably, and it has an inevitable effect on the wall. And within reason, one can fairly well describe the “thing” itself and know what was going on. This is pretty much what can be said about the parallel between the sixteenth-century European society and the nineteenth-century Brazilian society. The calendar has changed, but the shadow continues to stretch long and have an impact.

This is certainly the image behind the title of the dissertation: “Contemporary Preaching in a Non-contemporary Society: Nineteenth-Century Reformed Theology Comes to Non-Nineteenth-Century Brazil.” We call the Brazilian society of that time a non-contemporary

society because, while the calendar said “nineteenth century,” Brazil seemed to lag behind the chronological curve and still reflected vividly much of European society of the sixteenth century. Here we find one of the thesis’s questions, namely, whether such an awkward situation² forced the preachers, when they encountered these circumstances, to rethink their theological values and adapt them, or whether they largely stood firm and instead brought changes to the Brazilian society by preaching an American, non-Medieval, contemporary Protestantism.

There are several significant sources that lay out this Brazilian cultural background. The picture of this culture gap was first drawn in broad terms by Professor Émile G. Léonard, a French historian and professor who graduated from the famous *École des Chartes* in Sorbonne in 1919, and who lived in Brazil at the end of the first half of the twentieth century. His is the work others always cite, and for good reason.

Then it is worth comparing Léonard’s thesis with the Reverend Boanerges Ribeiro’s. Ribeiro (1919–2003) was a minister of the Presbyterian Church of Brazil, and he is also the author of several books that deal with the history of the Presbyterian Church on Brazilian soil. In his book *Protestantismo no Brasil Monárquico*³ [*Protestantism in Monarchical Brazil*], Ribeiro differs from Léonard by comparing the Brazilian society from the first half of nineteenth century to that of the second half and takes a larger view. This is important to our topic because Léonard’s thesis followed his analysis of the Reverend Daniel Parish Kidder’s *Sketches of Residence and Travels in Brazil*, written in 1845 and published in Philadelphia by the Reverend

² The term “awkward situation” is meant in the sense that these Reformed missionaries, coming from an American Presbyterianism that already had been redefined by the different American movements, now found themselves called upon to preach in a society with sixteenth-century characteristics.

³ Boanerges Ribeiro, *Protestantismo no Brasil Monárquico, 1822–1888* (São Paulo: Livraria Pioneira Editora, 1973).

James C. Fletcher in 1857. Kidder lived in Brazil from 1838 to 1840.⁴ While his assessment of the Brazilian society reaches back to depict the first four decades of the nineteenth century, compared to Léonard's view it obviously offers a shorter look or a smaller window. On the other hand, in his extended sweep, Boanerges Ribeiro is able to lay out a picture of the broader, longer struggle between three Catholic branches in Brazil in the nineteenth century: the Regal Catholicism, regulated by the King; the Catholicism of the people, strongly influenced by African religions; and the Tridentine Catholicism that praises the post-Reformation Catholicism. All three play a part in this study.

When it comes to sources, there is yet one more interesting voice to be heard. A colporteur of the American Bible Society will help us in this evaluation. Hugh C. Tucker served as a salesman-distributor for fourteen years from 1886 until 1900 and traveled extensively in Brazil. In 1902 he wrote *The Bible in Brazil—Colporteur Experiences*. His book is important because while Reverend Kidder's book gives an overview of the Brazilian society of the first four decades of the nineteenth century, Tucker gives the same kind of outlook but from the end of the century. There will be opportunity to compare Léonard's study and Ribeiro's book alongside the overview offered by Kidder and Tucker's book as well. Together these sources will help lay out the context in which the missionaries and then the native preachers worked.

The second purpose of this first part of this study is to analyze the importation and development of the Reformed theology as it came to Brazil. We might sub-title this part "Headwaters of Brazilian Presbyterianism" and trace its theological and historical tributaries back to Geneva in this sequence: "Brazil-United States-England-Geneva." The objective is to identify characteristics, if there are any, present in Brazilian Presbyterianism today that may be

⁴ George Egerton Strobridge, *Biography of the Rev. Daniel Parish Kidder, D. D., LL. D.* (New York: Hunt & Eaton, 1894) 91, 132.

the fruit of this historical heritage. The study in hand is not going to give a wide-ranging history or historiography of Calvinism, but it rather will target primarily those specific characteristics that are meaningful for our topic of the study of Brazilian Presbyterianism through the eyes of the American missionaries and native pastors.

The fact is that Brazilian Presbyterianism today seems to demonstrate a unique Puritan heritage not found in contemporary American Presbyterianism. This is one of the main points of Emilio Willems in his *Followers of the New Faith*. First, he observes that “the orientation of the American missionaries ... might be defined broadly as fundamentalist and puritanical.”⁵ Then he says that “the native clergy attempted to maintain the same Puritanism and fundamentalism.”⁶ Finally, he posits a step forward taken by Brazilian Protestantism regarding this Puritan heritage, as seen in the following statement:

The Protestant churches capitalized on existing “virtues” by strongly sanctioning them and thus promoting them to focal values of their emerging subculture ... To become a Protestant meant, among other things, to learn that such forms of behaviors were morally irreconcilable with each other and had to be purged of their inconsistencies.⁷

Part two of this study will analyze the sermons as they develop historically and offer insights to the thinking of the writers theologically. The ability to do this rests on the decision to publish sermons in the initial stages of Presbyterian work in Brazil, done as a means to provide quality theological materials for use in isolated congregations in the interior of the country, places that lacked full-time and very often even part-time pastoral assistance. This need has been noted in passing, but only now are we intentionally pausing to take a closer look at the efforts to

⁵ Emilio Willems, *Followers of the New Faith* (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 1967), 20.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 20.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 48.

introduce theology in this way into this mission context. More specifically, this part of the thesis will focus on *O Púlpito Evangélico* (1888–1900) [*The Evangelical Pulpit*], a Presbyterian periodical designed for the publication of sermons, issued by missionaries of the Southern Presbyterian Church of the United States (PCUS)—a rare homiletical resource that has yet to be unpacked in terms of the theology imported to Brazil. By undertaking a historical and theological analysis of the sermons themselves, the research also will serve to highlight the main traits of this invaluable periodical, providing a thematic classification of the 132 sermons it published, and marking the theological trail from the sixteenth-century Reformation.

The division suggested for this second half of the dissertation has resulted in the following structure. First, chapter four will lay out historical documents—diaries, books, letters, and other sermons—left by these American missionaries and native pastors that have survived to this day. It will certainly cast light onto the analysis of the sermons themselves. Then the fifth chapter will turn to the history and theology of the sermons from *O Púlpito Evangélico* and will also include a look at the history of the periodical itself. An analysis of the sermons from *O Púlpito Evangélico* suggests they fall rather naturally into three categories: practical sermons, theological and doctrinal sermons, and finally apologetic sermons. And within this three-part division I will sort these sermons again into three more groups: sermons from American missionaries, sermons delivered by native pastors, and sermons drawn from a wider field of non-Reformed American missionaries and pastors.

The first division or type—the practical sermons—will gather those texts that deal with the daily life of the church and those preached on special occasions or for commemorative dates. That group would include, for example, a sermon from July 1898 by the Reverend Samuel Rhea Gammon titled *O Fim e a Força Motora do Cristianismo* [The End and the Moving Force of Christianity]. The sermon was delivered at the annual meeting of the presbytery of Minas Gerais

for the occasion of the ordination of the seminarians Henrique Voge and Laudelino de Oliveira. Later in December of the same year the sermon was published by the periodical *O Púlpito Evangélico*. This study is interested in why the periodical's editor might have felt that a sermon preached for a specific occasion could be helpful for the church as a whole. That is, what practical theological lesson did it teach that made it worth the wider readership.

The second category—the theological and doctrinal sermons—are named or classified as such for obvious reasons: in these sermons, doctrine was especially in evidence on the preachers' agenda. Such doctrines as Christology, Sacraments, Ecclesiology, and Soteriology are the sort that are often more prominent in these sermons. I also am interested here in whether the modern scholars' current claim that “the role of the Protestant missionary in Latin America is more that of a reformer of a creed”⁸ is right or not, and whether the “evangelicalism”⁹ that is very much present in Brazilian Protestantism today had already become a focal point for these missionaries. In other words, is it possible to identify through the sermons whether the American missionaries saw nineteenth-century Brazilian society as a non-Christian or even pagan world, and would that society then need particularly doctrinally oriented sermons to teach and build up in a different direction?

In the third category—apologetic sermons—are found sermons that especially highlight disputes and target disagreements with other groups with which the Presbyterian Church struggled at the beginning of its formation, especially the Roman Catholic Church and the

⁸ Ibid., p. 5. Willems calls American missionaries “cultural innovators” and “reformers of a creed” because, according to him, “... the missionary ... shared common ground with Latin Americans in so far as these participate in the symbolic universe of Western Civilization, including, of course, Christianity. Such words as redemption, immortal soul, grace, sin, Christ, cross, Holy Spirit, heavens, and hell ring familiar to Latin Americans. Unlike his predecessors, the Jesuit fathers of the sixteenth century, the Protestant missionary does not have to grope for words to translate those concepts into native language.”

⁹ According to Willems, *Followers of the New Faith*, 6, “Evangelicalism was a theological emphasis upon the necessity or a conversion experience as the beginning point of a Christian life ... which was thought to be

Masons. Sermons in this category also illustrate the church's preaching against the "secular" lifestyle of the population. This study will show that these disagreements indeed escalated apologetically until the end of the nineteenth century and helped to form the contemporary puritanical profile still present in Brazilian Presbyterianism today. For instance, when one reads the sermons of the Reverend Ashbel Green Simonton, the first Presbyterian American missionary who arrived in Rio de Janeiro in 1859, particularly striking is his conciliatory tone and approach in not naming Brazilian Roman Catholicism specifically or directly in his attacks. Rather showing restraint compared to some, he simply refers to "a Christianity in which everything is easy" and "the false and dangerous maxim that the more the religion is followed, the safest it is."¹⁰ This conciliatory tone is abandoned by American missionaries and native pastors some decades later. For example, the Reverend Eduardo Carlos Pereira "understood to be obsolete the view that the north-American missions took on the evangelization of Latin America, with such view wrapped up by the indulgent position onto the Catholic Church."¹¹ In 1883 he founded the Brazilian Society of Evangelical Treatises, calling it "the sacred presage of the ecclesiastical independency."¹² In it Reverend Pereira openly criticized Catholicism. But his most vigorous attacks would come later during the second decade of the twentieth century. The World Missionary Conference in Edinburgh (1910)¹³ and the Ecumenical Latin-American Congress in

pronouncedly personal as well as emotional."

¹⁰ Ashbel Green Simonton, *Sermões Escolhidos* (New York: William B. Bodge, 1869), 16, 21.

¹¹ Antônio Gouvêa Mendonça, *O Celeste Porvir: A Inserção do Protestantismo no Brasil* (São Bernardo do Campo, Brasil: Editora IMS, 1995), p. 87. "... entendia ser distanciada a visão que as missões norte-americanas tinham sobre a evangelização na América Latina, visão essa involucrada pela posição de indulgência para com a Igreja Católica."

¹² *Ibid.*, 87. "O prenúncio sagrado da independência Ecclesiástica."

¹³ Ruth Rouse and Stephen Charles Neill, *A History of the Ecumenical Movement 1517–1948*, 4th ed. (Geneva and Philadelphia: World Council of Churches and Westminster Press, 1993), 355.

Parana, Brazil (1916)¹⁴ invited Anglo-Catholics to take part in the ecumenical discussion for the first time. There was an important shift in the ideological and ecclesiological understanding of the Protestant denominations toward the Christian role of Catholicism. As Ruth Rouse has pointed out, “the earlier meetings [prior Edinburgh in 1910] had been made up mainly of those who came out of the Evangelical Awakenings. They were emphatically Protestant and did not look with a friendly eye the ‘Catholic’ tradition.”¹⁵ Reverend Eduardo Carlos Pereira continued to regard the typical Latin American as a pagan, and as a result of his struggles with and preaching against Catholicism, in 1920 his *O Problema Religioso da América Latina* [*The Religious Problem of Latin America*] was published. Reverend Antônio Gouvêa Mendonça summed up Reverend Pereira’s main thesis in four points as follows:

(1) The Catholic Church deserves to be regarded as one of the branches of the Christianity for maintaining the Creeds ... and for her value as guardian of Christian “ideas” ... (2) However, she deviates for her fondness for the church tradition, for the new trinity: Jesus, Mary and Joseph, to her saints and their meritorious deeds, indulgences, priestly absolution, purgatory, mass, worship to the virgin Mary, clerical monopoly, magic use of the Sacraments (*ex opera operato*) and the Pope as the “corporeal-fication” of the Church. (3). For all of these, the Catholic Church disfigured the Christianity and became pagan. (4) For her aberrations, the Catholic Church fails in her civilizing mission ... Reverend Eduardo Carlos Pereira concluded that the great evil of Latin America was the Catholic Church.¹⁶

While studying these sermons in the different divisions or parts, we will compare these three categories: the sermons of American missionaries, the sermons of native pastors, and the sermons of non-Reformed American missionaries and pastors. The goal here is twofold. The first aim is to identify similarities and variations of the theology of the American missionaries and the native pastors. In other words, to what extent did the native pastors either echo or depart from the

¹⁴ Mendonça. *O Celeste Porvir*, 88–89.

¹⁵ Rouse and Neill, *A History of the Ecumenical Movement*, 360.

American missionaries in their theology? Second, was there any evident influence upon the native pastors' theology from the non-Reformed theology as explained in the 29 sermons preached by non-Presbyterian missionaries and pastors? I will also pay attention to the apologetic tone of these three groups. In fact, sermons preached by non-Reformed pastors and published by the periodical did not jeopardize the theology of the church since they were carefully chosen to serve practical and apologetic purposes. Still the danger of using sermons with theological approaches different from one's denomination was, and still is, well known. In addition, we also have to take into consideration the difference between the historical circumstances—educational, theological, social, technological differences—of the nineteenth century and those of today. It was a risk that they were willing to take, and to some extent it seems to have paid off, for while the Presbyterian Church of Brazil would face its first denominational division in 1903,¹⁷ it did not have problem with foreign-denominational theology. On the contrary, when the curtain came down on the nineteenth century, the church was theologically well prepared to face the challenges of Pentecostalism and, later on, Neo-Pentecostalism. The comparison of these sermons will help us also to better understand this picture.

A word is in order on the sources and the method or the procedure to be employed. The study of original texts is at the core. The periodical *O Púlpito Evangélico* is preserved in very good condition in the library of the Andrew Jumper Graduate School in São Paulo.

¹⁶ Mendonça, *O Celeste Porvir*, 89–90.

¹⁷ The Independent Presbyterian Church of Brazil began in 1903, presenting itself as a totally national denomination, without any ties to the American Church. The I. P. C. B. arose as a result of the nationalist project of the Reverend Eduardo Carlos Pereira (1856–1923), who was involved in a conflict with the synod of the Presbyterian Church of Brazil over missionary, education and masonry questions. In 1907 the I. P. C. B. had 56 churches and 4,200 members. It founded a seminary in São Paulo. In 1908 it installed its first regional synod, initially with three presbyteries. In 1957 it inaugurated its national synod with three regional synods. <http://pt.wikipedia.org/wiki/Igreja_Presbiteriana_Independente>.

Supplementary and background materials are readily available within the archives of the Presbyterian Church of Brazil, the library of Mackenzie University in São Paulo, Princeton Seminary's library in New Jersey, the Presbyterian Historical Society in Pennsylvania, and the National Library in Rio de Janeiro, which holds original manuscripts from the personal library of the Portuguese imperial family, brought from the Old World on the occasion of the transfer of its residency from Portugal to Brazil in 1808. Other historical information will be important to set the stage or context and as a means to understand the theological avenues taken by the American missionaries and native pastors. While it can be interesting to note how many pastors or sermons speak to this or that issue in certain ways, the dissertation is not out to generate charts, graphs, and tables of statistics. Instead a thorough reading and comparison of the sermons should highlight what the missionaries and pastors faced and how they proposed to meet those challenges with the theology preached. It is like listening to half of a telephone conversation, inferring a number of things: the situation and problems they perceived, the solutions they thought would work as laid out in the sermons' theology and suggested application, and the success or failure they saw based on how they returned to preach again on matters raised earlier. Of course there are obvious risks in hearing (or reading) only one side of pastoral, spiritual interaction, but that is not an uncommon problem in history. For example, preachers could totally misread their listeners and preach past, above, or beyond them. It is difficult to know whether that actually occurred. The congregation did not leave written feedback after Sunday services. At the same time, the fact that these sermons were collected and printed and reused suggests that at least the preachers found them helpful, and presumably they would not want something that did not connect with the people. Those are the kinds of issues that complicate this sort of study. The picture is not perfect, but there appear to be enough pieces left to give a good indication of what

was going on. So we take note of “caveat emptor” (or “caveat auditor/lector”) and then make a best effort at piecing the puzzle together.

The study will attempt to include and assess these additional areas or aspects and address these questions.

1. What was the audience for the missionary sermons? Put another way, what was nineteenth-century Brazilian society like? One can infer some of this from the sermons themselves. But since preachers can misread their circumstances and so miss the real target, it is important to look at the culture apart from the sermons.

2. What was the nature of the theological heritage of these missionaries with special attention to the theology of Princeton and Union Seminaries, where most of them studied and learned their theology? What assumptions, concepts, and understandings did the missionaries bring with them? What of this did the native pastors use? How did these mesh or clash with Brazilian society? Did the missionaries seem to realize this and adjust?

3. What influence did these American missionaries have on the first native Presbyterian pastors and consequently over the next generation? What was transferred and adopted or adapted by those who carried on the work? What new theological ideas or themes and what new rhetorical approaches were taken by the Brazilian-born pastors? Answering these will involve a search of the Presbyterian Church’s archives.

In the end, what do we hope to conclude or what outcomes might we find? Brazilian Presbyterianism today is different from American Presbyterianism. It retains a Puritan heritage that has not lost its Reformation-era beginnings while it fights arduously against other forms or influences that deviate from Protestantism, such as Roman Catholicism, Pentecostalism, and Neo-Pentecostalism. While Brazilian Presbyterianism respects and recognizes the values of other

traditional Protestant bodies, it nevertheless has tried to keep these at arm's length to preserve its own heritage.

The analysis of the sermons published in *O Púlpito Evangélico* will help to identify the roots of Presbyterianism in Brazil and to determine whether or not the American missionaries avoided compromising despite a larger national tendency toward medievalism that still hung on. And the study will also lay out a picture of the imported nineteenth-century American preaching that brought sixteenth-century Reformed thought to bear against the background of this Brazilian medievalism, creating in some sense a unique Puritanism in Brazil for the next generation.

CHAPTER TWO

SHADOWS OF THE LATE MEDIEVAL PERIOD

An Overview—Preliminary Remarks

The nineteenth century was arguably the zenith of the history of Brazil, a time of the “Brazilian Renaissance,”¹ whether we look in a scientific or scholarly direction²—social,

¹ Having hunted around for the term (even Google!) and found nothing, it appears I have coined the expression the “Brazilian Renaissance,” playing off Erasmo Braga’s statement that “the eighteenth century is considered the *Dark Age* in the colonial period of Brazil because the activities of inquisition were increased, and restrictive legislation reduced the industrial and agricultural pursuits of the country to a minimum.” In addition, “in 1720 a law was passed making it almost impossible for any person to land in Brazil who was not in the service of the Crown or the Church.” Erasmo Braga and Kenneth G. Grubb, *The Republic of Brazil: A Survey of the Religious Situation* (London: World Dominion Press, 1932), 47. Domingos Ribeiro in his book *Origens do Evangelismo Brasileiro* titles his fourth chapter “O Brasil Espiritualmente Desamparado” (“The Spiritually Forsaken Brazil”) in order to emphasize the situation he saw in the eighteenth century. Ribeiro wrote, “The eighteenth century in Brazil ... was the century of the sovereignty of the Inquisition and of the obscurantism, of the extravagant laws and wild moral disorder ... In the rolls of ‘the Acts of Faith’ found in Portugal, the Inquisition persecuted Brazil from 1704 to 1767. In 1713 66 farmers, being 33 women, were put to death ... Among the 25 sentenced (11 women), 2 were new Christians of sixty seven years of age ... In the same year, the widow of André Barros de Miranda, from Rio de Janeiro, died in jail with eighty one years old. In 1720 Teresa Paes de Jesus, with sixth-five years old, was burned alive. It is estimated that the number of the Brazilians put to death by the Inquisition in Lisbon comes to 540 people ...” Domingos Ribeiro, *Origem do Evangelismo Brasileiro: Esboço Histórico* (Rio de Janeiro: Biblioteca de Nelson Duílio Bordini Marino, 1937), 71–72. This “iron curtain” began to be torn down only with the arrival of the Portuguese royal family in Brazil in 1808. The Prince opened the country for international affairs, signing two treaties with England in 1810, the treaty of Commerce and Navigation and the treaty of Alliance and Friendship. These treaties were negotiated by the British diplomat in Rio, Lord Strangford, and so were commonly called the Treaties of Strangford <<http://www.britannica.com/eb/article-9069887>> and contained the embryonic principles of the liberal policy of Prince Regent Dom João VI. See Leslie Bethell, *The Abolition of the Brazilian Slave Trade* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), 8. Antônio Gouvêa de Mendonça, *O Celeste Porvir*, 26, notes that “[this Treaty] created an impasse with the Catholic hegemony since the religious intolerance would be a strong obstacle to the execution of such treaties as these with political consequences in the light of the Portuguese Crown’s dependence on Britain.”

² Much has been said regarding education, arts, abolition of slavery, as they relate to Europe and contact with the Old World. Often overlooked is another relationship highlighted by Richard Graham in his *Britain and the Onset of Modernization in Brazil, 1850–1914*, where Graham describes the impact the British industrial revolution had on Brazil. He begins his study with the observation that “the British presence in Brazil was not an isolated instance of British expansion, but part of a larger trend in that nation’s history. The steadily increasing flow of innovation, which goes hand-in-hand with rapid economic growth and the steady process of capital formation, is an identifying mark of modern economies.” Richard Graham, *Britain and the Onset of Modernization in Brazil, 1850–1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968), 1.

political, economic—or through the eyes of theologians looking at religious, ecclesiological, and missiological elements of Brazilian society. This chapter we will navigate in both “streams,” giving special attention to the latter currents in order to understand the theological, homiletic, and historical trends taken both by the American missionaries and by the native pastors in their preaching task and missionary enterprise during the first fifty years of the formation of Presbyterianism in Brazil. We will work with several assumptions and seek historical and empirical data to validate them. The first, which will become evident as a result of the historical documents investigated in this chapter, is that the zenith reached in the scientific realm, especially in the political scenario, became pivotal for the changes in the religious arena and for the arrival and dissemination of other religious bodies’ creeds. The second assumption, and certainly the most important, is that the nineteenth-century Brazilian society displayed characteristics tantamount to Europe of the sixteenth century. This is, in fact, corroborated by several scholars who specialize in the study of Brazilian Protestantism. Emilio Willems typifies this view when he says:

The role of the Protestant missionary in Latin America is more that of a reformer of a creed which, it is believed, has strayed from the truth as established by the Holy Writ. *A historical parallel with the European Reformation may not be inappropriate especially in view of the fact that toward the end of the nineteenth century the Roman Catholic Church had deteriorated to such an extent that a vast reform was carried out by Rome to bring clergy and laity back to the fold.*³

Already in 1932 Eramos Braga and Kenneth Grubb had set forth this view in an interesting book on Brazilian Protestantism. Looking back eighty years before their time they identified key elements of medievalism present in the Brazilian society.

The state of religion in the middle of nineteenth century ... has been described by a Catholic paper under the heading “Catholicism in Brazil”: In spite of everything Catholicism still persists in Brazil ... Apathy is the outstanding mark of the religious

³ Willems, *Followers of the New Faith*, 5. Italics mine.

situation ... The great torpor in which the Roman Catholic Church had left Brazil is now giving place to a new spirit. The Church in Brazil has reposed upon her old medieval traditions ... and has done nothing at all for the salvation of their [people's] souls.⁴

Even more enlightening for our purposes is the thesis presented by Antônio Gouvêa Mendonça where he not only sees the nineteenth century through that same prism, but he also asserts that the American missionaries and native pastors, who lived and worked back in that time, had already identified this medieval tenor or spirit present in the Brazilian society. He put it this way:

As it is seen, for the missionaries and native Protestant leaders, the Brazilian Catholicism presented the same aspect of the pre-Reformation Christianity aggravated by local practices that assimilated more with folklore than the true Christian religion. To the classical points of religious controversy of the sixteenth century, there added the popular festivals and ceremonies, derived from the local syncretism under the complacency of an external and careless religion, probably as a result of her absolute hegemony. Therefore, the dominant religion did nothing for the moral and material progress of the society. She did not carry out her task. From Christian, she had only the name.⁵

But of all who took note of this phenomenon, the picture of this culture gap was most persuasively drawn by Professor Émile G. Léonard,⁶ whose extensive study on the Brazilian Protestantism set the standard for a new understanding of that church, proposing that Brazil of the nineteenth century presented various characteristics of Europe of the sixteenth century, particularly in the area of church and theology. In fact, Léonard has become a key figure and main source for Brazilian scholars of the late twentieth century. His book was published by

⁴ Braga and Grubb, *The Republic of Brazil*, 34.

⁵ Mendonça, *O Celeste Porvir* (São Paulo: ASTE, 1995), 92.

⁶ Émile Guillaume Léonard was a French historian and professor who graduated from the famous *École des Chartes* in Sorbonne in 1919 and later became Director of Studies at *École Pratique des Hautes Études*. He lived in Brazil at the end of the first half of the twentieth century when he was invited to assume the position as a chairman of the history faculty at the University of Philosophy, Science, and Letters of São Paulo from 1948 to 1950. Professor Léonard is the author of many books, including *Histoire Generale du Protestantisme* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1961) and *Le Protestant français* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1955).

ASTE [*Associação de Seminários Teológicos Evangélicos*], with the first edition appearing in 1961, the second in 1963, and a third edition in 2002. Léonard's material first came into press in a format of small articles in 1951–52 in the *Revista de História* (Universidade de São Paulo, numbers 5–12). Because Léonard has been so influential, it is worth quoting at length his take on the situation.

The causes of the emergence of the Reformation in Europe, sought for a long time in the political and moral circumstances—the ambition of Protestant princes and the lust of sinful priests according to the opinion of Catholic historians; the conservative concern of the princes faithful to the traditional religion, corrupted custom of the clergy and of the Holy See, for the Protestant historians—are today ascribed to the religious needs experienced by the West at the end of Middle Ages, and to the failure of the traditional church before the religious aspirations that it originated but it did neither know nor was able to satisfy. Its motherly solicitude during fifteen centuries ended up by provoking in a quite large number of souls a profound spiritual thirst, which the theology's evolution and the circumstances of the period transformed many times in a true angst. The mysticism of the late fourteenth Century, and the fifteenth Century, in a reaction against the easiness and superficialities of the popular devotions, reestablished ... a conception of the Almighty, holy, pure God, but the indescribable, terrifying, and far-off One Whom the high Middle Ages had worshiped. We are at ... the time of suffering, extreme perversity and clever cruelty. Between a passionate God, excessively pure to see evil and a man who felt then his sin so profoundly, there was such an abyss that many souls cried out: "What must one do in order to be saved?" Up to that time the church had answered this appeal with her absolutions and the grace of her Sacraments. But at the moment that the churchgoers felt more acutely their need, half of this church had disappeared, especially in her hierarchy—from a Holy See, successively demoralized by the Great Schism, by the conciliatory crisis, by the over all political activity, and by the nearly always scandalous life of Popes in this period ... Let us also consider the extremely reduced number of secular priests, the disregard of the monks meddling in the secular life, the destruction of a huge number of churches, caused by wars, what resulted on the decreasing of religious rites and the impoverishment of the sacramental life that the priest is called to, and, if we may say, he pursues the monopoly of it. Therefore, the profound religious needs of that time should be satisfied in many cases without the priestly assistance, spontaneously, through devotions, books of prayers, which had been put in the churchgoers' disposal, especially to the family's households, but in such a control these priests did not intervene sufficiently. Thus it formed an individualist and lay piety which entertained itself in the domestic devotions feeding itself with the Bible, or at least with Bible fragments—establishing in pure myth the fact that the church has kept her followers apart from the Holy Scriptures. "In light of this, it was born, *before the Reformation*, a spiritual environment which should assure its success. *Analogous*

*circumstances and similar results did exist in Brazil, in the first half of the nineteenth Century. It is what one derives from the reading of itinerants' narratives who visited the country in this period, especially from the North American pastors ... who roamed Brazil during the minority of the Portuguese Prince, D. Pedro II, distributing Bibles and gathering information for his [book].*⁷

Professor Léonard's unique thesis is worth noting and is highly enlightening not only for the study of Brazilian Protestantism but also for our effort at identifying the social soil into which fell the seed of the Gospel sowed by the preaching of the American missionaries. Léonard divides the nineteenth century into two distinct parts and points out that the Brazilian society of the first half of that century resembled the European society of the late medieval period. Given that background, Léonard suggests that Protestant missionaries, who arrived in Brazil largely after 1850 (with few exceptions), were in effect in a role parallel to the sixteenth-century reformers.

As noted, Léonard's judgment has been corroborated subsequently by other historians, who also have studied the second half of the nineteenth century. In addition, Léonard seems in some instances to leave room also for variation or for a more eclectic interpretation when he writes this:

The characteristic of Protestantism consists in setting aside Tradition and History and retaking again all questions, as well as rethinking all sorts of problems every time that it [Protestantism] appears in a new land or creates a new denomination, as so say the Anglo-Saxons. *In this sense the Brazilian Protestantism in its more recent missionary fields [regions] is in the Age of the Reformation; in others it resembles the first post-Reformation ages, and in some other points that it has already aged, it approximates to the actual states of the European churches.*⁸

Professor Léonard is not conjuring up an assumption out of thin air. Rather he is working in his area of expertise, publishing in 1961 his three-volume *Histoire générale du*

⁷ Émile G. Léonard, *O Protestantismo Brasileiro*, trans. Lineu de Camargo Schützer (São Paulo: ASTE, 2002), 31–32.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 20.

protestantisme.⁹ Actually the third volume was not completely finished, the project having been interrupted by his sudden and tragic death in December of that same year. Still, the importance of this work is undeniable, especially the first volume that deals initially with the late medieval period. Léonard's work appeared in print some ten years after he first lectured on Brazilian Protestantism, introducing this late medieval theme in the same year that his *Protestantismo Brasileiro* was published in Brazil. Clearly both works were related to one another. It seems that Professor Léonard not only looked back to sixteenth-century European society to understand the nineteenth-century Brazilian society, but he also did the reverse. By analyzing Brazil of the nineteenth century in the light of the Reformation, he looked for a better understanding of the history of Protestantism. He himself highlights this double diagonal comparison:

... and this legitimates a comparison in diagonal that we just spoke of. This legitimacy yet allows a more profound conscience, a better understanding of *the current Brazilian phenomena* as well as *the former European phenomena*.¹⁰

The ascent of the Brazilian society as it moved toward the nineteenth-century apex is inseparably tied with the monarchy of the period, having had only three kings in its history: the father, Dom João VI (1808–1822); the son, Dom Pedro I (1822–1831); and the grandson, Dom Pedro II (1831–1889)—all in some way the masterminds for the development of the country. Because Professor Léonard was interested in studying mainly the dynamic of the Protestant movement in Brazil, he did not pay attention to earlier social and political factors that fertilized Brazil for the arrival of Protestantism. Reverend Boanerges Ribeiro, in his book *O Protestantismo no Brasil Monárquico*, fills this gap and complements Léonard's thesis. Ribeiro states the following about his own work:

⁹ Émile G. Léonard, *Histoire Générale du Protestantisme*. Léonard's study is also available in English as the *History of Protestantism*, trans. Joyce M. H. Reid, ed. H. H. Rowley (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1965).

¹⁰ Léonard, *O Protestantismo Brasileiro*, 21.

The current work, however, focuses on an angle little explored: the aspects of the Brazilian culture of nineteenth century that enabled, and even facilitated, the acceptance of the Presbyterianism. Émile G. Léonard, indeed, dedicated some of his pages in *O Protestantismo Brasileiro* to this question; but since he was dealing primarily with the Protestant movement and its dynamic, he did not spend much time ... within the analysis of the society that was to receive Protestantism. His suggestion that aspects of the Roman Catholic Church helped with the acceptance of Protestantism seemed to me to be worthy of analysis. Throughout this study, I found out that not only the Catholic Church, but also all social systems were compromised in the cultural circumstances propitious for the Protestant denominations' settlement in the country ... I mention in this work only the judicial, the religious, and the political systems.¹¹

The Making of the Nineteenth Century

It is imperative for our purpose to maintain both works—Léonard's and Ribeiro's—in connection or “conversation” with each other. It is also appropriate here to give an overview of the political development of the country. The transfer of the Portuguese Court from Portugal to Rio de Janeiro in 1807 precipitated developments of long-term consequence for both countries with a positive impact for Brazil. On one hand, it ignited a chaotic situation in Portugal. On November 29, 1807, the Portuguese fleet sailed into the open sea, leaving behind a desperate nation. It has been said that “various Portuguese nobles drowned when they tried to reach the already-crowded ships by swimming after them.”¹² By late afternoon of November 29 the ships had slipped over the horizon and the sails were no longer visible from the hills of Lisbon.¹³ In the course of 36 sailings or group departures, the Prince Regent, Dom João VI Alcântara de Bragança e Bourbon, and the royal family and his escort, estimated at fifteen thousand people,

¹¹ Boanerges Ribeiro, *O Protestantismo no Brasil Monárquico, 1811–1888* (São Paulo: Pioneira, 1972), 11–12.

¹² *Almanaque Abril: A Enciclopédia em Multimídia*, 2nd ed. (São Paulo: Abril Multimídia, [1995]), CD-ROM. See section “História – A Corte no Brasil.”

¹³ Henry H. Keith and S. F. Edwards, *Conflict and Continuity in Brazilian Society* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1969), 135.

brought along jewels, gold, silver pieces, and about half of the Portuguese currency that was circulating on the market. They clearly had left Portugal behind.

But these dark hours of the royal desertion from Lisbon were followed by the Morning Star of the imperial arrival on the shores of Brazil. After a brief stop-over in Bahia; where he promptly issued his *Carta Régia*¹⁴ opening the ports of Brazil for commercial trade with all friendly nations, despite the popular appeal of this ancient city for the royal retinue looking for a place to settle and establish the residence, the exiles sailed on to Rio de Janeiro in March 1808. Some historians have portrayed the departure of the Portuguese Court from the old European homeland as an unplanned action, undertaken on the spur of the moment.¹⁵ Others, however, have argued that it was a strategic and political action taken by the royal family and the Portuguese council.¹⁶ The latter view makes more sense given that this decision to relocate had been up for discussion in the Portuguese parliament for quite some time. In addition, some four years prior to the departure, D. Rodrigo de Sousa Coutinho audaciously suggested to the Crown that it could leave Lisbon and “create a powerful Empire in Brazil.”¹⁷ Transferring the Crown and Court was no small matter, so it is almost inconceivable that it would have been done without considerable forethought.

¹⁴ Leslie Bethell, *The Abolition of the Brazilian Slave Trade* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), 7.

¹⁵ John Edwin Fagg, *Latin America: A General History* (New York: Macmillan, 1963). Fagg writes on p. 149, “Late in 1807 a large French army led by Marshal Junot entered the peninsula and, with Spanish allies, overran Portugal. The mad queen, Maria I, her son, Prince Regent João, the rest of the royal court, and thousands of nobles gathered what they could and clambered on Portuguese ships just as Junot penetrated Lisbon.”

¹⁶ Alan K. Manchester, “The Transfer of the Portuguese Court to Rio de Janeiro,” in *Conflict and Continuity in Brazilian Society*, ed. Henry H. Keith and S. F. Edwards, 148–73.

¹⁷ Roderick J. Barman, *Brazil: Forging of a Nation, 1798–1852* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1988), 42.

The transfer also had a tremendous impact on the New World. In the words of Clarence Haring, “the change [the Court’s] was a great boon to Brazil.”¹⁸ A printing press was established. A national bank—the Bank of Brazil that still remains today the official bank of the federal Brazilian government¹⁹—was set up. Schools of fine arts, medicine, and military science were created. Leslie Bethell regards the establishment of the royal court in Rio as “the major stage in the revolution of Brazil.” He essentially echoes the nineteenth-century Portuguese historian J. P. Oliveira Martins, who had written of the events of 1807–08 that “Portugal was [now] the colony, Brazil the metropolis.”²⁰ It is easy to understand how the presence of the Court would provide a target closer at hand and so perhaps hasten or precipitate political and social changes that were to come as Brazil developed. The final blow to old Portugal’s prestige that resulted from this first phase of the settlement of the royal family took place in 1815 when the Crown constituted permanently the colony as the kingdom of Brazil, declaring it equal to and united with the kingdom of Portugal. On his accession to the throne after the death of the queen, Elizabeth, Dom John VI was proclaimed the king of the United Kingdom of Portugal, Brazil, and Algarve.²¹ At the same year, at the suggestion of the Conde da Barca, minister of Dom João VI, the king himself invited a French commission of artists—painters, sculptors, architects, and musicians—

¹⁸ Clarence H. Haring, *Empire in Brazil: New World Experiment with Monarchy* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1969), 3.

¹⁹ Harold B. Johnson Jr., “A Preliminary Inquiry into Money, Prices, and Wages in Rio de Janeiro, 1763–1823” in *Colonial Roots of Modern Brazil*, ed. Dauril Alden (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973), 231–83. Johnson explores the economic situation of Rio de Janeiro with the arrival of the royal family. He writes on p. 244, “After the arrival of the Portuguese Court in Rio, it was decided to facilitate royal finances by establishing a bank which would be licensed to issue paper money. These issues were, it would seem, moderate in amount from 1809 until 1813; but beginning in 1814 the temptation to finance government needs with paper money grew apace, and the issues from then on until 1824 were undoubtedly so large as to have inflationary effect.”

²⁰ Leslie Bethell, *Brazil Empire and Republic 1822–1830* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 17.

²¹ Braga and Grubb, *The Republic of Brazil*, 20.

to come to Rio de Janeiro and be the nucleus of the later Academy of Fine Arts.²² While the move to Brazil was premeditated, this particular political maneuver was not planned beforehand. In fact, Roderick Barman highlights that the “new status quo” was fashioned out of necessity.²³ Why was there not more forethought given to the particulars? In fact, as Barman goes on to say, “at the time of its departure from Lisbon, the Portuguese Crown did neither envisage leaving the city permanently nor altering the existing status of the country and its colonies. The decision to reside in the city of Rio de Janeiro until there would be a general peace was an emergency measure intended to last only as long as the crisis that compelled the move.”²⁴ Nevertheless, it became the trigger for the decision to open the country not simply for royal refugees but for broader, general immigration over the next fifty years and then also consequently for Protestant denominations. Therefore, the Crown’s decisions proved to be revolutionary for the long-term development of Brazil.

Meanwhile, back in Europe, things were moving quickly and unexpectedly. The year 1812 brought significant changes in the political affairs of Portugal. The final expulsion in 1811 of the French armies from Portugal and their defeat by the Anglo-Portuguese forces at Salamanca in 1812 resulted in a double effect of reducing (though not eliminating) British influence, as well as fueling a national desire for the return of the king. Then in 1820, the liberal elements, irritated by the continued bondage to “English regency,” demanded a constitution and the return of their king. Dom João found himself at a crossroad once more. If he returned to Portugal, it was clear enough that he might lose Brazil. If he remained in Brazil, he would certainly lose Portugal. In February 1821, the king was forced by political circumstances to approve the Portuguese

²² Haring, *Empire in Brazil*, 7.

²³ Barman, *Brazil: Forging of a Nation*, 44.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 45.

constitution, which was very patriotic and anti-Brazilian, and in April 24, having weighed his options, he boarded a warship and sailed for Europe. He left behind his son and heir, Dom Pedro I, as regent in his place. Clarence Haring explains the reason for Dom João VI's son staying in Brazil. "In a famous letter addressed to Dom Pedro he anticipated the secession of Brazil, and advised him to take the crown for himself before some adventurer seized it."²⁵ With this maneuver, the king, although he was able to keep both kingdoms under the dominion of the Braganza dynasty, in effect gave up for good his supremacy in Brazil affairs. Roderick Barman has stressed that this separation was well planned by Dom João VI, for in leaving his elder son in Brazil, he kept the colony in family hands even while he was also saving his own position as king of Portugal. Yet the distance an ocean apart assured that the tie would be a more formal one rather than a close working relationship. How ironic! As Barman says, "splitting the Portuguese nation in two and making Brazil independent came not from the radicals at Lisbon [and Brazil as well] but from the Crown itself."²⁶

On September 7, 1822, Dom Pedro I declared the independence of Brazil, inaugurating the second phase of the Brazilian Renaissance. He ruled for only nine years until 1831—a short and very agitated but also effective and important reign. The monarchy was, in effect, simply being realistic. As Clarence Haring has pointed out, "the Portuguese crown had never been interested in Brazilian administrative unity, only in government that facilitated the collection of revenues."²⁷ With the declaration of independence a year after his father's departure, Dom Pedro I himself met head-on the huge task of working through two problems left untouched by the king. The first challenge from him was stabilizing of the economy—but then the problem was

²⁵ Haring, *Empire in Brazil*, 13.

²⁶ Barman, *Brazil: Forging of a Nation*, 69.

²⁷ Haring, *Empire in Brazil*, 22.

certainly due much to his making. How so? When Dom João sailed back to Portugal in 1821, virtually all the banknotes were in his hands. By suddenly presenting them for redemption, he almost ruined the Bank of Brazil. This left Dom Pedro with a huge internal-economic debt at the beginning of his inexperienced guidance. The second problem he had to face was the unification of the states. At that time the current capital of Rio de Janeiro, the former capital of Bahia, and the key state for gold exploration, Minas Gerais, were all wrestling against one another to gain the dominant position in the national scene.

Dom Pedro's first task of national consolidation, one especially important for the study of religion, was to draft a constitution—actually we should say constitutions—and so he summoned the National Assembly for this purpose in June 1822. Roderick Barman says that “by convoking this constitution assembly, the government in Rio de Janeiro seemed to be offering to the *Pátrias* a decisive voice in the formation of the new state and so pledging that they would retain a large measure of autonomy.”²⁸ However, Dom Pedro I lacked the political ability or weight of a king, and in addition, as Clarence Haring observed, “he was really a victim of his family and temperamental inheritance.”²⁹ He found himself unable to manage the nationalistic and anti-Portuguese sentiments that flared up anew both in the Assembly and in the public press, the result of a draft constitution that had been born out of the best liberal constitution models of the time, but it was not “Brazilian” enough for their taste. Instead Dom Pedro suppressed and dissolved the parliament. He then convoked another constituent congress and a special commission to work on a draft that he himself would present, one twice as liberal as the first.³⁰ Two years later in March 1824, he imposed it upon the nation just as he had promised to do. This

²⁸ Barman, *Brazil: Forging of a Nation*, 57.

²⁹ Haring, *Empire in Brazil*, 28.

³⁰ John Armitage, *The History of Brazil from the Period of the Arrival of the Braganza Family in 1808 to the*

constitution, which lasted for sixty-five years until the fall of the monarchy in 1889, made slight but significant changes on the religious scenario for Brazil, for while it put the ecclesiastical authority in the hands of the emperor, it weakened the state of the religious inquisition. Yet as the curtain fell on the eighteenth century, Brazil was still living in the shadow of Portugal in all aspects of its society, especially in the religious realm. For instance, the decision to drive the Jesuits out of Brazil in 1759 was the natural extension of their being banished from Portugal under the political leadership of Marquis de Pombal. In the end, Dom Pedro's constitution inaugurated—and it is hard to say whether this was done intentionally or not—the definitive emancipation from Portugal, the domination by the emperor of the national religion, and the religion's emancipation (at least in theory) from Rome and the papacy.

Another problem that brought much stress upon the emperor and made the middle class's and politician parties' animosity grow was the economy. Portugal's recognition of the independence of Brazil would not come without a price. Dom Pedro, by means of a secret article, pledged that the Brazilian government would be responsible for a debt of £1,400,000 that Portugal owed Great Britain, and also would pay £600,000 to Dom João VI for the palaces and other royal properties left in Brazil.³¹ This political arrangement greatly inflamed the Brazilians, who thought they were under no circumstances obligated to carry these crushing debts from the king of Portugal, who not only had bolted from Brazil but on his way out had taken with him all the money from the Bank of Brazil's vault. By 1829, just two years before Dom Pedro's abdication, the country was bankrupted economically, and “the low state of public credit was

Abdication of Don Pedro the First in 1831, vol. 1 (New York: AMS Press, 1970), 138.

³¹ Haring, *Empire in Brazil*, 32.

reflected in a government loan of the same year, bearing 5 percent interest and sold to foreign bankers at 52.”³²

Dom Pedro’s government came prematurely to an end in 1831 after nine years of his famous and well-known “Cry of Independence” at the shore of the Ypiranga River in the province of São Paulo. As the French chargé d’affaires wrote,

[The Emperor] knew better how to abdicate than to reign ... on this unforgettable night the sovereign rose beyond himself, and revealed a presence of mind, a firmness and dignity, that declared what this unhappy prince might have been, with a better education, and if more noble examples had come before his eyes.³³

Due to political pressure and the growing popular dissatisfaction for his leadership, he decided to give up his throne in favor of his son, Dom Pedro II, and sail back for Europe. The abdication of Dom Pedro I “marked the elimination of the monarch as the center of power in the political order”³⁴ and gave the assembly a bigger role. When Dom Pedro I signed his renunciation in April 7, 1831, the new monarch was just a boy aged five years old. But Dom Pedro II was born to rule. His father once said about his education: “My brother Miguel and I will be the last ignoramuses of the Braganza family.”³⁵ And in 1840, at only the age of fourteen, Dom Pedro II put to an end his regency and appointed his first ministerial cabinet. It is said that he was less stubborn than his father and more politically moderate. Furthermore, as he stated, his ministers “were drawn from those who had made him of age.”³⁶ By doing this, he made sure that this group that would guide and shape the country for the next decades would be fully supportive

³² Ibid., 37.

³³ Manoel Oliveira Lima, *O Império Brasileiro, 1822–1889* (Brasília: Universidade de Brasília, 1986), 22.

³⁴ Barman, *Brazil: Forging of a Nation*, 160.

³⁵ Roderick Barman, *Citizen Emperor Pedro II and the Making of Brazil, 1825–91* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999), 15.

³⁶ Ibid., 76.

of him and, in turn, because of their support and loyalty, they would win the trust and support of the people.

The Three Heads of the Catholic Church in Brazil

Émile Léonard has suggested there are three facets of Catholicism that were acclimatized within regions and customs. But what Léonard only implies, Boanerges Ribeiro says aloud. Both agree that the Brazilian society of the nineteenth century presents three different facets of Catholicism—sometimes complementary but oftentimes in competition with one another. Here is Professor Léonard's assessment:

In this sense the Brazilian Protestantism in its more recent missionary fields [regions] is in the Age of the Reformation; in others it resembles the first post-Reformation ages, and in some other points in which it has already aged, it approximates to the actual states of the European churches.³⁷

In that same vein, Ribeiro³⁸ names the facets the regal Catholicism, Tridentine Catholicism, and popular Catholicism. It would seem then that the Brazilian Roman Catholicism in the nineteenth century was a deformed body with three heads, namely, the regal Catholicism controlled politically and administered ecclesiologically by the emperor, the Romanist Catholicism carried out by the leadership of the church in conformity with the theology and decisions of Rome and the Pope, and the popular or mystical Catholicism represented by the amalgamation of Indian fetishism, African-religion practices, and Catholicism itself.

Here I slightly differ from Ribeiro at least in nomenclature if not in meaning. While he terms the second facet Tridentine Catholicism, I simply call it Romanist Catholicism. By doing so, I want to preserve two important factors that generally are not stressed in the study of Brazilian Christianity. The first factor is that both the regal and the Romanist Catholicism claim

³⁷ Léonard, *O Protestantismo Brasileiro*, 20.

³⁸ Ribeiro, *O Protestantismo no Brasil Monárquico*.

to be followers of the Council of Trent. In fact, they seek refuge in the theology of Trent in their struggle against each other for supremacy and invoke Trent, even distorting its theology, as it best suits their view. Of course, this statement is not foreign for Ribeiro, for as he also comments,

[With the banishment of the Jesuits from Portugal in 1759] the Marquis de Pombal accentuated the political system's hegemony in the Lusitanian-Brazilian society and eliminated the principal agents of the Vatican that were employed for the hegemony of these religious and pedagogical systems. But he left intact the theological values, especially the religious, Roman Catholics, Tridentines, effective before his reform.³⁹

The second reason why I name the second head of the official religion in Brazil Romanist Catholicism rather than Tridentine Catholicism is that the leadership of the Church sought refuge in Rome when they were confronted by the regal Tridentine claims.

Regarding the third head of the Brazilian Catholicism, I also opt for a slightly different label, using the word “mystical” instead of “popular” as Ribeiro does, simply because I want to avoid the idea that the Catholicism of the laity was all contained in this category. Emilio Willems calls it “folk Catholicism.”⁴⁰ Nevertheless, from the testimony of such missionaries as the Reverend Daniel Kidder⁴¹ and the American Bible Society colporteur, the Reverend Hugh C. Tucker,⁴² who lived and worked in Brazil in the nineteenth century, we surmise that a small and

³⁹ Ibid., 27.

⁴⁰ Willems, *Followers of the New Faith*, 36.

⁴¹ Daniel Parish Kidder and J. C. Fletcher, *Brazil and the Brazilians* (Philadelphia: Childs & Peterson; New York: Sheldon, Blackman, 1857), 257. Kidder reports the effort of a local newspaper to stop the distribution of the Bible in 1845. “We were not disappointed in the opposition which was likely to be called forth by this manifestation of the popular desire for the Scriptures. A series of low and vile attacks were made upon us in a certain newspaper, corresponding in style with the well-known spirit and character of their authors.”

⁴² Hugh C. Tucker, *The Bible in Brazil: Colporteur Experiences* (New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1902), 88. In one of his many stories about his experiences in Brazil as colporteur of the American Bible Society in 1886, Tucker recounts how a small group along with some authorities supported the persecution of the Protestant missionaries launched by the priests. “[W]e met with no special difficulties, but just as soon as it was known to the priests and the more *fanatical devotees* of the Roman Church that we were offering the Scriptures to the Brazilians, then opposition began to manifest itself.”

uneducated part of the Catholic population supported the priests and persecuted the Protestant missionaries. In fact, Tucker highlights that the aversion and persecution usually ceased when the missionaries presented their cause in written statement, and he adds that “Brazilians are always easily convinced by reading things, readily believing whatever they see in print.”⁴³ This vividly demonstrates the reason why the clergy, especially from the last three decades of the century when Catholicism became more Romanist than regalist, wanted to keep the population with no access to the Bible, so that the Romanist Catholicism could profit and explore the mystical Catholicism as it pleased.

The identification of this colored, multifaceted Catholicism is pivotal for our original endeavor of identifying the sixteenth-century European characteristics in that society. Having said that, let us bear in mind, then, that the official Catholicism is under the control of the Crown throughout almost the entire century, from 1808, with the arrival of the royal family at Rio de Janeiro, until 1889, with the proclamation of the republic. But it became more accentuated after 1831 under the reign of Dom Pedro II. Indeed, it was he who authorized the establishment of other denominations not because of his sympathy to their cause but rather he wanted to defeat the Romanist Catholicism at all cost. The government even submitted a petition to the Assembly in 1832 to bring two Moravians families⁴⁴ from Switzerland to catechize the Indians. The petition, although it did not pass in the Assembly, made very clear the emperor’s dissatisfaction with Rome. The Portuguese royal family had a history of dictatorship on matters of religion, and Dom Pedro II carried on this legacy with proud and determination. As Dornas Filho points out,

Dom Pedro II was an impenetrable regalist, sincere and fundamentally, by family tradition, by personal conviction, by the exercise of power. In his spirit, the bishops’

⁴³ Ibid., 140.

⁴⁴ João Dornas Filho, *O Padroado e a Igreja Brasileira* (São Paulo: Companhia Editorial Nacional, 1938), 95.

resistance figured as a threefold offense: to the national sovereignty, to the majesty of the Empire, and to the Emperor's dignity ... And the Council of State ... was also an inexpugnable haven of the impermeable regalism to any condescension, finding in the bishops' rebellion the attempt to an intolerable power's usurpation stimulated by the hand of a foreign government inside the uncontrollable jurisdiction of the Empire.⁴⁵

On the other hand, the Romanist Catholicism used the ignorance of the mystical Catholicism to persecute the missionaries, try to stop the preaching of the Gospel, and keep the hegemony of Rome. The missionaries were able to see this divergence and take advantage of it by getting, for instance, official or legal authorization to preach the Gospel and disseminate their message. They were very skillful in playing this game and maintaining this tension over power and authority in order to gain ground for the spread of the Gospel. The following passages, written by Hugh Tucker in 1886, picture this dispute in vivid terms. The first passage shows the confrontation between the Romanist Catholicism, represented by priests and bishops, and the mystical Catholicism, represented by the population.

We reached the place early in the afternoon, and began at once a canvass of the town. In a very few minutes the whole place seemed wild with excitement, and there was every indication that the people intended doing some violence to us. A great crowd gathered in the public square, and had we been disposed to try to get away, escape would have been impossible. The two colporteurs stood firm and showed wonderful courage in the midst of so many threats. Presently the priest came out and began to speak ... He then read a letter from the Bishop of Diamantina, in which he warned the people against us and our false Bibles, and said we ought not to be allowed to stop in the place. This added fuel to the fire and the people began to cry, "Away with these heretics, kill them, kill them." Many armed themselves with sticks and stones and guns ... Just then one of the colporteurs asked for a word more before they proceeded to put us to death. He said ... he wished to show them that our Bible was not false, and he challenged the priest, who ought to have a true Bible, to bring his out and compare it with ours. It appeared that the priest did not have a Bible. The colporteurs then took from my saddle-bags a small Coimbra Testament, approved by the Roman Church, and offered to prove by that that our Bible was the same. The priest cried out, "that also is a work of devil, and of the Protestants." One or two men

⁴⁵ Ibid., 268.

who could read were standing near: they took the Testament and read the introduction, showing it to be approved by the bishops and Pope ... These men at once began to say “*the priest is rejecting a book authorized by his own Church;*” ... In a few minutes they cried out against the priest, who was compelled to turn his back and retire from the field of battle. Then one after another said, “I want one of your books.”⁴⁶

The second passage from Hugh Tucker illustrates the dispute between the regal and Romanist Catholicism.

When I had concluded my sermon, the public school teacher of the place arose and asked permission to speak ... He began by saying that the Bible of these Protestants was false and that we wished to show to the audience wherein it was false ... he asked for the statutes of the American Bible Society, and said the Society was not authorized to distribute Bibles in Brazil. I then handed him a copy of the constitution and bylaws of the Society and a copy of a resolution of the Brazilian government, which I had had printed in pamphlet form for circulation ... My adversary was greatly taken aback by such documents and the audience looked on and listened with amazement. He was compelled from the documentary evidence to admit the existence of such an institution as the American Bible Society and that it was not contrary to the constitution and laws of the Empire.⁴⁷

The first Brazilian constitution, sanctioned on March 5, 1824, brought imperceptible, but vital, changes regarding the freedom of religion. It says:

Article 5: The Catholic Apostolic Roman religion *will continue* to be the official religion of the empire. All other religions will be allowed with their domestic or private worship in houses set for this purpose, without any exterior form of temple.⁴⁸

In 1938, João Dornas Filho wrote *O Padroado e a Igreja Brasileira*.⁴⁹ This short but rich and enlightening book colorfully pictures the struggle of the regal against the Romanist Catholicism under the dominion of Dom Pedro II. Two incidents would mark the tone of this war

⁴⁶ Tucker, *The Bible in Brazil: Colporteur Experiences*, 139–40.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 99–100.

⁴⁸ The full Portuguese language original text of the Constitution of 1824 is available online at the following website address: <<http://www.unificado.com.br/calendario/03/const.htm>>. There is also a translation of Article 5 in Tucker, *The Bible in Brazil: Colporteur Experiences*, 99.

⁴⁹ Filho, *O Padroado e a Igreja Brasileira*.

of religions, call the Brazilian Congress for an emergent political reflection on Article 5, and show how the regal Catholicism, in its decadent course, declined drastically and lost ground for the Romanist Catholicism at the end of the nineteenth century.

The first incident, which lasted for a decade, shows the fight of the regal Catholicism against the Vatican. Its main protagonist was Antônio Diogo Feijó, a Catholic priest and member of the Brazilian House of Representatives. On the occasion of the nomination of Rio de Janeiro's bishop in 1827, Feijó introduced to the Congress a document about clergy celibacy and launched a campaign that would heat up the Congress and bring so much pain for political and religious authorities, especially for himself as representative of both groups. He wanted congressional permission, or at least tolerance, for allowing priests to marry. He argued that the constitution of each country can make the necessary reform in this subject, giving at least four reasons.

(1) It is primarily the competency of the temporal power to establish impediments of matrimony as well as to exempt from or revoke them; (2) because of the origin of clergy celibacy; (3) for the sake of the priests themselves; (4) for the right and obligation that the Brazil General Congress has to raise similar prohibition. These arguments are derived from the Tridentine definition of the matrimony that considered it as a legitimate contract between man and woman that God himself had established for the purpose of the multiplication of human race.⁵⁰

A year later he would issue a pamphlet titled *Demonstration*, in which he attacked his adversaries and made an enthusiastic appeal to the Brazilian Assembly.

August and noble Sirs, representatives of the Nation: To whomever, besides you, friends of the country, protectors of the public freedoms, diligent defenders of the rights of Brazilian citizens, should I dedicate this limited offering, child of my respect to the justice, of my Religious veneration, and of my love for the Humanity? ... The entire Brazil knows the need for the abolition of a law that was not, is not, and will never be obeyed. Brazil is a witness of the evils that its transgressors' immorality causes to society.⁵¹

⁵⁰ Ibid., 53.

⁵¹ Ibid., 63.

After this polished introduction, he then held forth on history, sociology, and philosophy and showed that abrogating clergy celibacy actually rested on solid ground not only in the field of sociology, but also, and most importantly, in the theology and history of the Roman Catholic Church. Starting from St. Paul, who asserted that the “overseer must be ... the husband of but one wife,”⁵² Feijó mentioned the Council of Nicaea, Pope Pius II, Jean Gerson, and others. Then, calling the testimony of the Council of Trent that had stated that “clergy celibacy is not an apostolic or dogmatic requirement, but simply disciplinary,” he finished his plea by offering this final opinion:

It is, therefore, my opinion: (1) That it authorizes the government to obtain from his Holiness the revocation of the spiritual penalties imposed upon the clergy who marries; letting the Holy Father know the need of such practice, since the Assembly can not stop revoking the law of celibacy; (2) That the same government sets an exact deadline in which it must receive from the Holy See the approval of such a request; (3) That in the case that the Holy See refuses such a request, this autonomous political power declares to his Holiness very clearly and positively, that this House of Representatives will not revoke the law of celibacy but it will suspend the approbation of all ecclesiastic-disciplinary laws that might be in opposition to its decrees; and that the government will do anything to maintain the public tranquility and quietude by all means that are in its power.⁵³

On June 30, 1829, he headed to São Paulo to meet with the local politicians and the diocesan bishop. He convinced them that “abolishing the celibacy would be serving religion and state, legitimating unlawful unions, striking the scandals, and rehabilitating the priesthood.”⁵⁴

This then ignited the most important confrontation between the political and religious powers in Brazil’s history that would either consolidate or destroy the young Brazilian Regalism. In February 1834, Scipione Fabbrini, the Holy See representative, questioned the government in a confidential memorandum:

⁵² 1 Timothy 3:2.

⁵³ Filho, *O Padroado e a Igreja Brasileira*, 44.

Sir Minister: “O Correio Official” [The government periodical] has just published that the provincial Council of São Paulo decided the following resolutions: (1) That the bishops in their dioceses have the same rights that the Holy Father does in the whole Catholic Church; (2) That the law of celibacy is simply disciplinary. In sum: the Bishops will be able to dispense the disciplinary canons of the General Councils and allow the matrimony of clergy in their dioceses. It was called to my attention that the bishop of São Paulo and the General Council of the province submitted this document to the Government’s judgment, and I, as the Holy See delegate, take the liberty to address to your honor this confidential letter in order to know the Government opinion to this matter.⁵⁵

The answer, as very astonishing as it might seem, also came in format of a memorandum signed by Aureliano de Sousa e Oliveira Coutinho, the Empire’s Minister of Foreign Relations.

Answering your note on the eighteenth of this month, in which you manifested the desire of knowing the opinion of the Government about the question of the clergy celibacy agitated in São Paulo, I have the honor to inform you that the Government of His Majesty is convinced that the priest celibacy constitutes a disciplinary question that the Sovereigns, in their States, can alter at their discretion, to the usefulness of their subjects. The government knows that the clergy celibacy in Brazil does not truly exist, and these states of things collaborate enormously to the public immorality. It has, therefore, to take energetic and appropriate measures to the circumstances. And since the affair is very serious, the Government will not make known to the public your opinion, but it will send it to the House of Representatives with that desire of always marching in concord and in the hope that it will find a remedy to cure the evil that much damage causes to the Church.⁵⁶

The situation got even more complicated when in 1833 the Pope denied the confirmation of the emperor’s nominee, Father José Maria de Moura, for the diocese of Rio de Janeiro. A war of pamphlets and declarations was launched. The Assembly and the Senate said respectively: “[We] regret the colliding state in which the Imperial Government is placed with the Holy See ... [And] ... it is painful to the Senate to know that a delicate conscience of the Holy See does not allow sanctioning the indication of the Bishop of this diocese.”⁵⁷ João Dornas Filho points out that “the

⁵⁴ Ibid., 68.

⁵⁵ Ibid., 69.

⁵⁶ Ibid., 70.

⁵⁷ Ibid., 90.

impression one has today from the facts that we have studied is that the Brazilian Government wanted to break the friendly ties with the Holy See.”⁵⁸ But the Vatican stood resolute in its purpose of overcoming the political interference in the Brazilian Church.

Brazil was now on the verge of a separation from Rome. Would it be the case that Brazil would follow sixteenth-century England’s steps? Would Dom Pedro II have Henry VIII’s courage to declare himself the Protector of the Church? In fact, the Government wrote to Rome in a threatening tone: “First of all, the Brazilian Church is from now on separated from the Roman Church; and secondly, the supreme priesthood is included in the government.”⁵⁹ But the emperor and the congress would not dare to push forward and put the threat into practice, and as Dornas Filho has stressed, “... it was an indecisive politics [emperor’s] of advance and regress, which demonstrated vacillation and apprehension.”⁶⁰ How so? There were two pivotal differences between Brazil and England that made the Brazilian government step back in its intent to separate the Brazilian Church from Rome. First, the social environment was different. Until the end of eighteenth century, Portugal had been able to keep the colony society untouched by the Reformation. So there was not the larger ferment like the sixteenth century saw in a number of lands of northern Europe. It is true that a French mission, led by pastors from Geneva, had come to Rio de Janeiro in 1555. But things went badly for them. Some of them ended up being killed, and others were driven out of the country some five years later. There was a more well-settled Protestant mission later in the seventeenth century led by Dutch immigrants. “For fifteen years (1630–1645) Pernambuco and other areas of the Brazilian Northeast were

⁵⁸ Ibid., 84.

⁵⁹ Ibid., 91.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

Protestant.”⁶¹ But the eighteenth century became the era of the Inquisition in Brazil, and by the time the royal family arrived in Rio in 1808, there was no sign of such religious groups as the Lollards or any hint of Lutheran circles as were found in the early stages of England’s Reformation.⁶² In the second place, Brazil did not have such theologians as Tyndale, Latimer, Cranmer, and others, who were willing to preach, write, accept and use high office as a platform for influence, and, if necessary, even embrace martyrdom for the cause. At the end, the regal threats of breaking with Rome and going it alone were no more than a political bluff that did not work out as they had calculated. It is also true that there are some important figures in Brazil who could have followed the steps of the English giants of faith. But they either were too political to lead the Church, such as Antônio Feijó, or too faithful to Rome to support the emperor, such as Dom Vital. Dornas Filho has summed up this incident as follows:

It was a remarkable battle in which Feijó left it deadly wounded ... Only the retreat of Diogo Feijó from the imperial regency, and a little after, his resignation and Moura’s from the diocesans for which they had been nominated, were able to open a way for the solution of the incident that had assumed the cloudy character of a schism with all its procession of horrors.⁶³

The second attempt of the regal Catholicism to take control over the Church took place in the 1870s with the controversy between the bishops and Freemasonry. On December 27, 1870, Dom Vital Maria Gonçalves de Oliveira, Bishop of Olinda, gave orders to the vicar of his parish in São Antônio do Recife to urge Dr. Costa Ribeiro, a mason and also a member of the Church’s fraternity *O Santíssimo Sacramento*, to renounce Freemasonry as a sect condemned by the Roman Church and especially by Pope Pius IX in his famous “Syllabus of Errors” issued just a few years earlier. Then, the bishop added, “[I]f he does not want to obey, then may he be

⁶¹ Mendonça, *O Celeste Porvir*, 24.

⁶² Arthur G. Dickens, *The English Reformation* (New York: Schocken Books, 1964), 22, 68.

⁶³ Filho, *O Padroado e a Igreja Brasileira*, 102.

expelled from the membership of the Church's fraternity."⁶⁴ A confrontation was once more launched between the secular and the spiritual or ecclesiastical powers—no small problem especially because as in so many late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century societies, many political figures were masons. Among those in Brazil were Visconde do Rio Branco, who was both the head of the Freemasonry there as well as the leader of the national Government,⁶⁵ not to mention Dom Pedro II's father, who had been elected Grand Master of Brazilian Freemasonry back in 1822. On February 2, 1872, Dom Vital published a pastoral letter in which he attacked the Brazilian government authority on ecclesiastical grounds. The tone is unequivocal.

The heretical doctrine of *placet* has been for many times wounded for anathema by many *summos pontífices* such as Innocence XX, Alexander II, Clement XI, Clement XIII, Leon X, Benedict XIV, and many others. On November 3rd, 1855 the current pontiff declared false, perverse, sinister, and clearly in opposition to the Holy decrees, as well as already condemned the opinion that teaches that the *placito regio* is necessary—*pro rebus spiritualibus et ecclesiasticis negotiis ...* [Furthermore] The Great Pontiff said: “we condemn and reprove—*damnamus ac reprobamos*—the doctrine of those who state that the Church's government has neither power nor value unless when it is confirmed by the secular *beneplacito*.”⁶⁶

The imperial government decided in favor of overturning and ignoring the bishop's decision and instead reinstating those members of the Church fraternity that had been expelled from its membership. Then from the pen of Nabuco de Araújo came the official interpretation of Article 5 of the Constitution of 1824. He says:

Article 5 of the Constitution of the Empire does not say that the Roman Catholic Apostolic Religion will be the religion of the State, but that it will continue to be the religion of the State. This word shows that by continuing to be the religion of the State means the way it has been since then. That is, a Catholic Religion with its dogmas, with received Canons, with its respective Portuguese laws. In this presumption, we inherited the *placet* from Portugal, unlimited as it was, the recourse

⁶⁴ Ibid., 112.

⁶⁵ Ibid., 109.

⁶⁶ Ibid., 111.

to the Crown, the royal patronage, the law that excludes the Jesuits, the law of amortization, and all others that establish the *circa sacra*.⁶⁷

Dom Vital responded to the government decision: “I have sworn to obey the constitution of the Brazilian empire, but only while it is not in contradiction with God’s laws that are the Holy Catholic Church’s.”⁶⁸ The Brazilian government, before the bishop’s stubborn decision, had imprisoned him for three years and had sent a representative to make a deal with Rome. The Pope became outraged by the news about the Brazilian bishop’s imprisonment, but he was willing to negotiate as long as he could maintain the Brazilian Church under the Vatican’s dominion. The emperor, on the other hand, did not want to concede to Rome the place he thought was his by family and by royal right. The two powers—secular and ecclesiastical—continued to maintain this posture and perpetuated this tension for some twenty years. In the end, the emperor lost the battle and resigned. This second confrontation would come to an end only with the fall of the monarchy in 1890. On January 7, 1890, Rui Barbosa wrote the decree number 119-A issued by the first House of Representatives in Brazil after the proclamation of the Republic that finally decided for the legal separation between Church and State:

Article (1) It is prohibited to the federal authority, as well as to the confederating States, to issue laws, regulations, or administrative acts, establishing or vetting any religion, and to create differences between the country habitants, or in the services financially supported by the Government budget, for reasons of beliefs, or philosophical and religious opinions; Article (2) To all religious Creeds having equal rights in the faculty of exerting their worship, ruled according to their faith, they are not to be frustrated in their private and public acts that concern the practice of this decree. Article (3) The freedom here instituted includes not only the individuals in their individual acts, but also Churches, associations and institutes in which they are enrolled; having all the right to establish them and live collectively according to their creed and discipline without the intervention of the public power. Article (4) It is here extinct the royal patronage with all its institutions, recourses, and prerogative. Article (5) To all Churches and religious Confessions, it is recognized the judicial

⁶⁷ Ibid., 127.

⁶⁸ Ibid., 139.

personality for the acquisition and administration of assets under the limits of the law.⁶⁹

In this battle between the regal and Romanist Catholicism, there were no winners and only losers. The emperor and most of the politicians who supported “regalism” lost their posts. The Roman Church, on the other hand, entered into a long period of stagnation and lost the theological and political influence on the population. The only one that gained something out of the struggle and standoff was the Protestant Church and the Protestant missionaries, who could take advantage of the situation. At the end of the first half of the century, the emperor, still resentful at Rome’s attempt to control from afar, helped those missionaries by authorizing their preaching. At the end of the century, the Romanist Catholicism (one of those three heads) helped the Protestant Church by putting pressure on the Assembly to issue the decree 119-A. By the time the House of Representatives approved a measure in 1890 that “all religious Creeds having equal rights in the faculty of exerting their worship [are to be] ruled according to their faith,” the Protestant Church was small but healthy, now well rooted in the country. This decree nominally gave the Brazilian Catholicism back to Rome, but it took from the Vatican the right to rule the hearts and minds of the people. For Catholicism, the damage was done, and the country would from now on be opened for the Gospel preached according to the Protestant beliefs. In the words of Alderi Matos, “[W]ith the proclamation of Republic, the separation between church and state took place; that is, the Roman Catholic Church lost her position as the official religion of Brazil, and the Brazilian protestants reached their so-well aspired freedom of worship.”⁷⁰

From what has been said so far, it has become clear that there was a definite shift from the first to the second half of the nineteenth century in Brazilian society, especially in regard to

⁶⁹ Ibid., 238.

⁷⁰ Alderi Souza de Matos, “As Atividades Literárias dos Presbiterianos no Brasil,” *Fides Reformata* 12, no. 2

religion. The regal Catholicism so powerful at the beginning crumbled into ruins and arrived at the dawn of the twentieth century as a dead institution. The Romanist Catholicism, on the other hand, experienced many challenges and changes, but it survived.

In order to acquire a precise picture of that changing society and its characteristics, it is strategically important to compare testimonies of people who lived in different decades in Brazil in the nineteenth century. Two of these eyewitnesses, the Reverend Daniel Parish Kidder and the Reverend Hugh C. Tucker, deserve closer attention because they portray nineteenth-century Brazilian society in two different epochs: the regal and the Romanist Catholicism epochs. Daniel Kidder was a Methodist missionary who arrived in Brazil on January 10, 1838,⁷¹ and worked distributing Bibles until 1840, when he returned to the United States on May 9.⁷² In 1845 with his impressions still fresh in his mind, he wrote his two-volume *Sketches of Residence and Travels in Brazil*, in which he gives detailed information about Brazil and his missionary experience.⁷³ Hugh C. Tucker arrived in Brazil on July 4, 1886, and worked for fourteen years as an American Bible Society colporteur. His work is documented in his book, *The Bible in Brazil*. The literary legacy of these two men helps characterize Brazil in that era.

Late Medieval Characteristics in Nineteenth-Century Brazilian Society

Four points stand out in regard to the late medieval characteristics incorporated by the Brazilian society of the nineteenth century.

(2007): 46.

⁷¹ George G. Strobbridge, *Biography of Reverend Daniel Parish Kidder* (New York: Hunt & Eaton, 1894), 91.

⁷² *Ibid.*, 132.

⁷³ Daniel Parish Kidder, *Sketches of Residence and Travels in Brazil*, 2 vols. (Philadelphia: Sorin & Ball, 1845).

The Need and the Eagerness for the Bible

Brazilian Protestantism owes a deep debt of gratitude for the priceless service rendered by the British and American Bible Societies.⁷⁴ Domingos Ribeiro observed that “the time has come that the Brazilian evangelism should pay its respect to these Bible societies,”⁷⁵ and for good reason: by 1876 they had distributed over two million copies of the Scriptures in Brazil. One of the best descriptions of the impact of the spread of the Scriptures on Brazilian society was given by Hugh C. Tucker:

I feel that we are on the eve of a great outpouring of the Holy Spirit, for men and women are being stirred up to perceive the real truth of things in a manner which needs some other explanation besides that of the Protestant missions in Brazil. What I have seen and what the people tell me leaves me no doubt that the circulation of the Scriptures is a big factor in this coming revolution of ideas, and that the Word of God is being especially blessed to open the eyes of the blind, and to be light unto these benighted people.⁷⁶

Indeed, the missionaries and the British Bible Society’s volunteer colporteurs give us plenty of testimony about the excitement felt by the population with the Bible distribution. S. R. McKay, an English merchant who settled in Rio de Janeiro, wrote in January 1826 to the British Bible Society requesting copies of the Scriptures, saying, “I have all reason to believe that not few are those who earnestly desire for the Scriptures.”⁷⁷ More, in the same record is reported the following: “A letter was read from Mr. E. R. Fletcher, dated on [Recife] Pernambuco, May 11, 1822, mentioning that the residents representing all classes of that place are eager to receive the Scriptures and that the government allows its distribution free of customs taxes.”⁷⁸ Daniel Kidder

⁷⁴ The British Bible Society began its work as soon as 1822, establishing an agency in Rio de Janeiro in 1856. The American Bible Society also started its efforts a little after 1822, opening its branch in 1876.

⁷⁵ Ribeiro, *Origem do Evangelismo Brasileiro*, 89.

⁷⁶ Tucker, *The Bible in Brazil: Colporteur Experiences*, 104–5.

⁷⁷ Duncan Alexander Reily, *História Documental do Protestantismo no Brasil* (São Paulo: ASTE, 2003), 85.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 86.

told us that “several hundred copies of Bibles and Testaments, from British and American Bible Societies, had been previously introduced by means of consignments to gentlemen engage in mercantile affairs,”⁷⁹ and “copies [were] exposed for sale, and advertised in the [local] newspapers.”⁸⁰ He also mentioned a distribution of two hundred copies of the Bible in just three days.⁸¹ But his most powerful testimony came in his own words:

At the mission-house many copies were distributed gratuitously; and on several occasions there was what might be called a rush of applicants for the sacred volume. One of these occurred soon after my arrival. It was known that a supply of books had been received, and our house was literally thronged with persons of all ages and conditions of life—from the gray-headed man to prattling child—from the gentleman in high life to the poor slave. Most of the children and servants came as messengers, bringing notes from their parents or masters ... Several were from poor widows, who had no money to buy books for their children, but who desired Testaments for them read at school. Another was from one of the ministers of the imperial government, asking for a supply for an entire school out of the city.⁸²

Some forty years later, Tucker followed the same itinerary, working as a Bible colporteur, and he gave the same sort of testimony about the eagerness of the people for the Scriptures. In one of his visits to the interior of the country he targeted places that had not yet been visited by colporteur or missionary, and “within fifteen days he sold three hundred and eighty three

⁷⁹ Kidder, *Sketches of Residence and Travels in Brazil*, 1:137.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 1:138. Duncan Alexander Reily also quotes in his *História Documental do Protestantismo Brasileiro*, 87, a newspaper advertisement announcing Bibles available for purchase: “For sale, of 1\$000 M., at the 114 Direita Street, the New Testament of our Lord Jesus Christ, translated ... by Reverend priest Antônio Pereira de Figueiredo; this book is very recommended to all teachers and principals of classes and schools of the Brazil Empire to adopt It [sic] as educational book for all students because it is found in it the most precious treasury that man can claim in this life; It is the fountain of light, the fountain of ethic, the fountain of virtue, and the fountain of wisdom. It is included in It everything that is needed to make man wise and ready for all deeds; this book is the foundation of instruction [in Protestant Countries, prosperous and advanced].” *Jornal do Comércio* (December 12, 1837): 4.

⁸¹ Kidder, *Sketches of Residence and Travels in Brazil*, 1:139.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 1:138.

copies.”⁸³ Domingos Ribeiro estimates that ten million of copies—the Bible and New Testaments—had been distributed in Brazil up by 1936.⁸⁴

In the light of these testimonies, a question is almost immediately raised: How are we to explain such avidity for the Word of God in a country that had just lowered the curtain on a century of inquisition and persecution, and that did not have any Protestant catechization prior that time? Of course, the answer from the historical vantage point is multifaceted and drawn from the testimony of those who lived and died for this cause. First of all, one must take into consideration the fact that Brazil did not have the anti-Reformation or Counter-Reformation activity that sixteenth-century Europe experienced in Catholic areas and later in some Protestant regions. Reverend Kidder wrote this:

The Roman Catholicism in Brazil was introduced contemporaneously with the first settlement of Brazil as a colony, and for three hundred years has been left to a perfectly free and untrammelled course. It has had the opportunity of exerting its very best influences on the minds of the people, and of arriving at its highest degree of perfection ... Yet it is my firm conviction, that there is not a Roman Catholic country on the globe where there prevails a greater degree of toleration, or a greater liberality of feeling, towards Protestants.⁸⁵

Second, there was [and still is] a high degree of curiosity in the Brazilian culture itself, including an interest in things religious, and the Brazilian people were [and are] very open to experiments with new things. S. R. McKay observed that already in 1822 when he offered his own observation:

I have seen a great avidity among the people to own the Bible, but I think that in the majority of the cases this is not born from the love of its blessed content; it rather

⁸³ Tucker, *The Bible in Brazil: Colporteur Experiences*, 109.

⁸⁴ Ribeiro, *Origem do Evangelismo Brasileiro*, 89.

⁸⁵ Kidder, *Sketches of Residence and Travels in Brazil*, 1:142–43.

comes out of the curiosity of knowing something that was hidden from their eyes for so long time.⁸⁶

Finally, there was also an idealistic feeling of freedom in a young, emancipated country that captured and nurtured the heart of the population. Reverend Kidder told of an interesting conversation he had with some individuals after a local Catholic newspaper published an attack on the distribution of the Bible. Kidder said,

This species of opposition almost always had the effect to awaken greater inquiry after the Bible, and many were the individuals who on coming to procure the Scriptures, said their attention was first called to the subject by the unreasonable and fanatical attempts of certain priests to hinder their circulation ... *They wished it, and if for no other reason, that they might show that they possessed religious liberty, and were determined to enjoy it.*⁸⁷

The Decadent State of Affairs with the Priesthood

Theological, hierarchical, social, and moral problems in the life and ministry of priests and bishops are hardly modern phenomena within Christendom. In fact, the Reformation, and more precisely Martin Luther himself, launched a campaign to tear down the walls of separation between clergy and lay ministry in part because the priesthood had become a business matter, even as clerics claimed their calling was above and beyond anything found in the common world. Indeed, by naming his attack on Rome “the Babylon Captivity,” Luther made clear the magnitude of the deterioration in the Church’s leadership. Sacraments as Rome defined and practiced them had become an instrument of control, not to mention sure-fire money makers. Historian Geoffrey Barraclough stressed that “the spirituality of the dying middle ages—inspired largely by the piety of the middle classes—is remarkable in all its aspects, its cults, devotions, charitable practices, its saints and mystics, its edifying literature and prayer and mental

⁸⁶ Reily, *História Documental do Protestantismo no Brasil*, 84.

⁸⁷ Kidder, *Sketches of Residence and Travels in Brazil*, 1:140–41.

turmoil.”⁸⁸ But this lay spirituality was an orphan or at least an unwelcome stepchild as far as the Church’s leadership was concerned. Lewis W. Spitz highlights “the great irony”⁸⁹ that arose as a result of the contrast between a time of increased religious fervor created by the success of such popular preachers as Johann Geiler von Kaisersberg (d. 1510) right on the eve of the Reformation and the Church’s impotency to provide inspiring leadership for it or to channel more effectively the desire and energy for reform. The Brazilian clergy of the nineteenth century relived the same dark trail that created so much revulsion on the Reformers of the sixteenth century.

The historical data is overwhelming and significant for the identification of the clergy situation in Brazil. The priest Antônio Feijó, while still Minister of Justice and regent of the minor emperor, wrote in 1832 to church leaders, expressing his thorough discontentment: “Dear Sir, ... the principal cause for the lack of religiosity that, with the grief of the true Christians, is seen in the entire Empire is due to the bad choice of the religious ministers.”⁹⁰

The problem was like a plague that manifested in multiple outbreaks arising from many different types of viruses that caused a complex problem. First, there was an insufficient number of priests to serve a vast area with a disproportional quantity of parishes. When Reverend Kidder traveled to the northeast of Brazil, although he was optimistic about the state of religion (for he said that “of the state of ecclesiastical affairs, I must say that they could scarcely be in a worse condition than they are.”⁹¹), he reported on a sorry situation in the city of Piauí that depicted very well the scarcity of the clergy. “The province contains thirteen parishes connected with the

⁸⁸ Geoffrey Barraclough, *The Medieval Papacy* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1979), 194.

⁸⁹ Lewis W. Spitz, *The Renaissance and Reformation Movements*, vol. 2: *The Reformation* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1987), 312.

⁹⁰ Filho, *O Padroado e a Igreja Brasileira*, 21.

⁹¹ Kidder, *Sketches of Residence and Travels in Brazil*, 2:233.

bishopric of Maranhão. Six of these only are supplied with regular vicars, of whom three are unable to exercise their functions through old age and infirmity.”⁹²

In Pará, another northeast city, Kidder also witnessed the same state of decadency. He was careful to note that even the official documents hardly painted a rosy picture. Wrote Kidder, “The recent reports of the presidents of this province have been quite full and explicit. They exhibit, however, a most gloomy picture of the state of morals, education, and religion ... Out of the ninety parishes, only thirty-seven were supplied with parish priests.”⁹³

In 1843 the minister of justice and ecclesiastical affairs addressed the imperial legislature and gave an official report no more optimistic than those we have seen so far. He wrote this:

In the province of Pará 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 ... In the 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 São Paulo affirms the same thing respecting vacant churches in his diocese, and it is no uncommon experience elsewhere ... In Rio de Janeiro most of the churches are supplied with pastors, but a great number of them only temporarily. This diocese embraces four provinces, but during nine years past no more than five or six priests have been ordained per year.⁹⁴

Second, because the priests were employees of the government,⁹⁵ the already overburdened majority of the scarce number of priests further divided their time serving in other lines of work.

⁹² Ibid., 2:233.

⁹³ Ibid., 2:320.

⁹⁴ Ibid., 2:399–400.

⁹⁵ Ibid., 2:401. Rev. Kidder analyzes it this way: “The regulations under which the clergy of Brazil are now suffering were established as far back as 1752. By a royal decree of that date, all the tithes of the Portuguese ultra marine possessions were secularized, being made payable to the state, while the state became responsible for the support of the clergy. The obvious reason for this regulation was the discovery that the state could support the church much cheaper than the church could support itself, while the tithes remained at the disposal of the priesthood. This was too fine an opportunity for speculation to be neglected by government crippled and degraded for lack of funds, and, at the same time, having the power to exercise its pleasure. The arrangements proved no less profitable than convenient; and once being established, could not be changed. The government put the priest on short allowance, and fixed their salaries at fifty, eighty, and one hundred milreis sums which have been lessening ever since, by a depreciation of the currency.”

The minister of justice's report made a point to say that "among those [priests] ordained, few devote themselves to the pastoral work. They either turn their attention to secular pursuits, as means of securing greater conveniences, emoluments, and respect, or they look out for chaplainries, and other situations, which offer equal or superior inducements."⁹⁶

These handicaps—the shortage of clergy and low income—were both reflected in and compounded by the low educational level and rather weak spiritual life of the priests. Kidder reported having heard a priest say, "I have no relish for books; I like gaming better."⁹⁷ Diogo Antônio Feijó, himself a priest, knew perfectly well the state of Brazilian priesthood and hoped to bolster morale and swell the ranks when he launched a campaign against celibacy. He argued, "The priest can not marry even though the fifteen centuries experience have proved that the yoke of celibacy is difficult, and that similar law is the cause of concubinage, of scandals, of demoralization, and of disgrace of many."⁹⁸ In fact, the situation seemed to get worse as the century progressed. Hugh Tucker wrote that in 1899, opposition against the distribution of the Bible was stirred into action by a priest with a very bad reputation. Tucker said,

I learned that he had a very bad name in the community; for besides being the father of several illegitimate children, he had married one of his sons to one of his daughters, and when the people complained about it, his answer was that they had different mothers.⁹⁹

Finally, there was the cultural difficulty that arose with efforts to acclimatize for foreign priests. In his interesting survey, Émile Léonard found that there were some 2,000 expatriate priests out of a total of 3,419 working in Brazil at the end of the nineteenth century. Léonard said, "Therefore, more important than the trails of customs frequently invoked, seems to us to be

⁹⁶ Ibid., 2:400.

⁹⁷ Ibid., 2:397.

⁹⁸ Filho, *O Padroado e a Igreja Brasileira*, 66.

⁹⁹ Tucker, *The Bible in Brazil: Colporteur Experiences*, 106.

the fact that the clergy, in its majority, were of foreign nationality, [and] it had become, in its more precise reactions, spiritually foreign to the population that surrounds them.”¹⁰⁰ He goes on to say, “The foreign priest brings with him, just like the Protestant missionary, a religious mentality and customs that disturb the Indians; nevertheless, it happens to be [the case] that at present, while the Protestant clergyman *abrasileira*¹⁰¹ himself, it is the Catholic cleric who, more and more, is provoking local nationalistic reactions.”¹⁰²

The Idolatry and Mysticism of the People That Made Brazil a Mission Field

When the Protestant missionaries arrived in Brazil, they did not have to start from scratch and grope for such words as redemption, immortal soul, grace, sin, Christ, and cross to translate their concepts into native language, for those rang familiar in the ears of the Brazilian population. Moreover, Catholicism and all its practices also were also not foreign to these missionaries. As children of the Reformation, they were prepared to preach the Gospel in a country whose population thought highly of itself and claimed the title “Christian,” proud of its own inherent religiosity that supposedly existed without any propping up from the outside. So the House of Deputies saw Brazil’s religious submission to Rome as a continued vestige of the colonial regime,¹⁰³ and the Parliament session of 1836 was opened with a motion introduced by the deputies themselves against Rome’s interferences: “Brazil does not need aliens [the Pope and Vatican] to come to exercise ecclesiastical jurisdiction in its midst; it has capable priests for this task.”¹⁰⁴ Therefore, one would expect that the Protestant missionaries, who also owed no outside

¹⁰⁰ Léonard, *O Protestantismo Brasileiro*, 230.

¹⁰¹ “*Abrasileirar*” is the ability to adopt the Brazilian ways and manners. The word is a Brazilian expression similar to the American term “Americanized.”

¹⁰² Léonard, *O Protestantismo Brasileiro*, 231.

¹⁰³ Filho, *O Padroado e a Igreja Brasileira*, 48.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 99.

allegiance nor looked to Europe, and the Brazilian population would easily come to an agreement—a meeting of kindred spirits. However, the blending of Catholicism, Indian practices, and African religious customs created a mystical Catholicism heavily loaded with idolatry and superstition that had never before been seen by these missionaries. Emilio Willems observed that “Brazilian ... peasants [lived] ... in an enchanted world of evil spirits, magical powers, and powerful saints.”¹⁰⁵ Daniel Kidder gave an extensive report on religious practice in Brazil, especially about the link between holidays and Catholic saints,¹⁰⁶ and Hugh Tucker noted that the well-known nickname of the city of Bahia was the “Africa of Brazil.” He went so far to say that “thousands of these blacks are worshipping the fetishes and wearing the charms which they and their ancestors brought over from Africa.”¹⁰⁷ Yet, Emilio Willems said,

...the recent development of various sects emphasizing thaumaturgy or the direct intervention of the supernatural in human affairs seems to suggest ... cultural continuity between Folk Catholicism and such groups as the Spiritualists, Umbanda (which is a variation of voodoo practice), and Pentecostal sects.¹⁰⁸

The systematic, and more theoretical theology of the North [America] would now be tested by the practical way of life of the South. What made the Brazilian society unique (and so posed a problem) was its openness to experiment with new practices and even to show respect for all kinds of religious manifestations, not just those traditionally Christian.

The Need for a Savior and for Salvation

The beauty of Christianity, different from all other religious, is that even when it becomes deformed in such monstrous shape as seen in late medieval Catholicism—at least as the

¹⁰⁵ Willems, *Followers of the New Faith*, 36.

¹⁰⁶ Kidder, *Sketches of Residence and Travels in Brazil*, 1:140–45.

¹⁰⁷ Tucker, *The Bible in Brazil: Colporteur Experiences*, 147.

¹⁰⁸ Willems, *Followers of the New Faith*, 37.

Reformers saw things—in one way or another, its waves keep coming back to flood people’s consciences in a spiritual process of awakening. When Luther felt and later on shared the ache of his conscience—“Though I lived as a monk without reproach, I felt that I was a sinner before God with an extremely disturbed conscience”¹⁰⁹—he was, in fact, epitomizing the outcry of the late medieval church, that is, the cry not just of clergy but also of the people, who could not find a satisfactory answer to this question: What shall I do to be saved? Luther found himself hopeless even when he moved from lay to clerical ranks and took up intensive study of theology coupled with the piety of the monk. Instead he found refuge in the Bible alone with its message of the promises of God, who gives righteousness:

Nevertheless, I beat importunately upon Paul at that place, most ardently desiring to know what St. Paul wanted. At last, by the mercy of God, meditating day and night, I gave heed to the context of the words, namely, “In it the righteousness of God is revealed, as it is written, ‘He who through faith is righteous shall live.’” There I began to understand that the righteousness of God is that by which the righteous lives by a gift of God, namely by faith. And this is the meaning: the righteousness of God is revealed by the Gospel.¹¹⁰

Brazilian society of the nineteenth century lived that same anguish of Europe felt in the sixteenth century while seeking atonement. It is remarkable that up to 1855 there was no sign of Protestantism in Brazil, except for the presence of the immigrant colonies that had a self-contained and locked faith. And then by 1888, just twenty-nine years after the first Presbyterian missionary arrived in Rio de Janeiro, the Presbyterian Church had fifty parishes spread throughout the country. By 1895, thirty thousand people already called themselves Protestants, and in 1940 the Protestant Church counted in its membership over a million churchgoers.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁹ Martin Luther, *Luther’s Works*, vol. 34: *Career of the Reformer*, ed. Jaroslav J. Pelikan, Hilton C. Oswald, and Hartmut T. Lehman (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1960), 336.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 337.

¹¹¹ Léonard, *O Protestantismo Brasileiro*, 95.

Historians have often stressed that this enormous growth was not due only to the work of the missionaries. And simplistic, single-cause answers are often misleading and mistaken. Still, it should be noted that the number of missionaries working in the first eighty-five years of Brazilian Protestantism was always far inferior to the need of the Church. In fact, something was taking place out of the control and the work of these missionaries. Daniel Kidder witnessed the impact of Bible distribution and showed how the Bible traveled from hand to hand, from one place to another, even before the colporteurs arrived:

While subsequently traveling in distant provinces, I found that the sacred volumes put in circulation at Rio de Janeiro had sometimes gone before me, and wherever they went, an interest had been awakened which led the people to seek for more.¹¹²

Distributing the Scriptures was certainly important, for the mission message ran up against well entrenched popular false beliefs. Yet in a strange way, the Bible, which would counter this culture, was actually welcomed into the mix. It seems that the popular factor, related to the Brazilian folklore that was an blend of Indian, African, and Portuguese customs and practices, played a pivotal role in this phenomenon. From the Indians, there were fables and tales whose heroes are animals from forests. From the Africans came music, dances, and the culinary arts (for communal celebrations). And the Portuguese contributed the language, popular sayings from European literature, and most importantly the religious practices and holidays. Indeed, this blending folklore somehow pointed to the Bible. Émile Léonard called it the “the autonomous popular piety”¹¹³ with a profound biblical foundation. He quotes the *Revista do Arquivo Municipal* [*The Municipal Archive Magazine*] and shows how the native folklore became inextricably bound up with Bible stories.¹¹⁴

¹¹² Kidder, *Sketches of Residence and Travels in Brazil*, 1:142.

¹¹³ Léonard, *O Protestantismo Brasileiro*, 95.

¹¹⁴ That is an interesting statement since we have seen that mystical Catholicism is heavily influenced by

There is one [folkloric historian] who describes the “*Festa do Santo Rei*” [*The Holy King Holiday*] or the “*Três Reis Magos*” [*The Three Magi Kings*] in Gaxupé City. A company of ten people go throughout the region asking gifts on behalf of the Kings. The Ambassador sings (and his companions repeat) a Christmas song, which is the pure and simple recitation of the Gospel text without any insertion with “Catholic” doctrine, and they finish by making an appeal for the people to give their life to Jesus. Theology and sentiment exclusively Biblical ... Even more remarkable and significant is the existence of the “*cururu bíblico*” that was revealed ... by the noteworthy studies of João Chiarini. One has learned that literary and musical gender of the *cururu*, or “challenge,” was inherited by the people of old debate between the balladists, but it is not paid attention that the most difficult, and more ranking, *cururu*, the one that only the masters devote themselves, developed Biblical themes in such a way that the author [Chiarini] identifies a Christian origin and characteristic rather than an African one in this game.¹¹⁵

It is appropriate here to quote a folklore ballad about the *cururu* to illustrate how the popular stories actually could prepare the population to hear the Gospel. “The Sevek Skins of the Cururu” begins like this:

Once upon a time we were told that the Cururu was *the son of the King*. And the King and the Cururu decided to believe it. Then, *it was just one step for the rest of the world to welcome the new Prince*: the trumpeter, flutist, true poet, the girl from the balcony, the girl of the jars, and the old lady across the river. However, when the Cururu arrived at the Palace, the King asked him to take off his seven skins that made him a frog. The Cururu said: “Certainly,” and started removing them. After the seventh skin the Cururu remained a frog. The King, with a sad voice, said that the Cururu was not his son because his son lived under seven skins of Cururu due to a curse from an evil spirit that had passed by the city long time ago. Then, the Cururu opened the eyes widely and said: “Why doesn’t your honor take off your seven robes that make you a King?” So that His Majesty disrobed himself. And in the seventh robe the King became a frog. Immediately everyone who was around, took off the “seven skins” that covered them: some monkeys became jaguars; some jaguars became monkeys; the trumpeter played flute; the flutist played trumpet; a flower transformed into a butterfly, and *the whole world became what he always wanted without nobody knowing*.¹¹⁶

African religions and customs.

¹¹⁵ Léonard, O Protestantismo Brasileiro, 96.

¹¹⁶ <<http://www.secrel.com.br/jpoesia/estoriasdecururu.html>> .

The point is that popular culture sometimes provided a niche for the Bible's message, which sometimes took root and could then supplant the old stories.

In short, the same medieval European need for salvation and a Savior was present in Brazil of the nineteenth century. But while in Europe it was a result of, or cry to, the accumulation of the Church's demands and the problems people perceived, in Brazil it represented the result of a cultural preparation with the native folklore being one of these factors.

In sum, it was no coincidence that when the Protestant missionaries arrived in Brazil in the nineteenth century, they were able to introduce their work into the country successfully. The factors mentioned in this chapter prepared the soil for them, while they benefited from the three heads all trying to guide Brazilian Catholicism. From regal Catholicism, the Protestants got official authorization to preach the Gospel. Then they took advantage of the Romanist Catholicism at the end of the century to gain their clear independence from the secular ruling power. And from the mystical Catholicism, they found openings in the characteristics well established in society to spread the Good News, taking advantage even of folklore practices. At the end of the century, the Protestant Church had accomplished its goal. That is, to spread the Gospel in a Protestant fashion.

CHAPTER THREE

HEADWATERS OF BRAZILIAN CALVINISM

An Overview—Preliminary Remarks

We have portrayed the social and religious picture of nineteenth-century Brazilian society and have stressed that such unexpected and revolutionary happenings in the social realm as the arrival of the Portuguese royal family in Rio de Janeiro in 1808 and the abolition of slavery in the 1850s were pivotal for the success of the missionary enterprise. The struggle between the three divided heads of Catholicism—Regal, Romanist, and mystical—that ran throughout the century also turned out to be handy for the propagation of the Gospel and for the spread of the work of Protestant denominations. Finally we saw that the century seemed to have a line drawn unusually right through the middle of it with its first half demonstrating Medieval European characteristics and the second being challenged as new ideas arrived. We even suggested that a Brazilian Renaissance took place at the dawn of the century, similar to but not as profound as the European Renaissance where so many things in the scientific or scholarly realm helped shape the religious movements. In other words, while the beginning of the nineteenth century was the zenith of Brazilian history with the characteristics shown to that point, by the second half of the nineteenth century—borrowing the Apostle Paul’s words here—“the fullness of time had come.”¹ By organizing things this way, we suggested that the American missionaries, who began

¹ Galatians 4:4.

to arrive in 1859, became (looking back) throwbacks to the sixteenth-century Reformers. That was what we saw in chapter two

In this third chapter we will attempt to trace the theological trail of the Presbyterian Church of Brazil all the way back to Geneva by following a historical-doctrinal thread: Brazil-United States-England-Geneva. We are not going to give a wide-ranging history or trace the historiography of Calvinism, for that is not necessary for the study at hand. Rather we will primarily sketch those specific characteristics that have meaning for our topic, which is the study of Brazilian Presbyterianism through the eyes of the American missionaries and native pastors. The fact is that Brazilian Presbyterianism today has a Puritan heritage that is more entrenched and more readily evident than that found within American Presbyterianism. We will begin and work backward to demonstrate that, keeping in mind three major assumptions. First, Calvinism, and/or the Reformed theology, has the ability to accommodate² and reshape itself when it travels from one culture to another, from one generation to the next. Of course this feature is not unique to John Calvin. For instance, one may wonder why and how Calvin was able to maintain an irenic relationship with both Phillip Melancthon, who was Luther's colleague and successor, and Heinrich Bullinger, who was Zwingli's successor in Zurich, even while disagreeing with them in some important theological questions. Second, American Presbyterianism, strongly influenced by different sources—Geneva, England, Scotland, and Holland—developed this natural variation and presented Latin America with a Puritan legacy through the preaching of the American missionaries, who transposed it into the mission field. Third, Brazilian Calvinism not only adopted and developed these Puritan characteristics, it maintained them, and in fact, carried

² I want to emphasize that by “accommodation,” I do not mean the syncretistic ability to amalgamate with the culture in which one is working, but rather I mean the capacity to “read” the culture and put more weight or emphasis on different aspects of the theology according to the cultural needs—trying to communicate as did St. Paul, who said he tried to be all things to all people.

them forward with unique emphasis throughout the decades that followed. In so doing, it departed slightly from American Presbyterianism and had a unique theological flavor due to its application of the cultural expressions found within its country. So Brazilian Calvinism was indeed the child of American Calvinism and grandchild of English Puritanism. Having reached back that far to America, it would be worth tracing this route all the way back to Geneva in order to understand the kind of theology the American missionaries brought to Brazil.

The Development of Calvinist Theology

William Bouwsma begins his biography *John Calvin: A Sixteenth Century Portrait* by warning that “the Calvin with whom most of us are acquainted is chiefly an artifact of later Calvinism.”³ Bouwsma continues by observing that this “demonstrates our very human tendency to invent the fathers we need; even if it means making very sure that they cannot rise up to contradict us.”⁴ To be sure, Bouwsma’s primary intent is to focus on Calvin himself rather than the Calvinist movement, but his statement obligates us to define terms, especially when we target the movement in such a multicolored country, culturally speaking, as Brazil. The task is complicated because the Calvinist umbrella there stretches wide and has attracted a great variety of definitions with unique characteristics and emphasis. In that same line of thought, Alister E. McGrath’s *A Life of John Calvin* also is relevant to our study. He spends a good deal of time on a sub-topic called “From Calvin to Calvinism.” His purpose is, in fact, to highlight that this move, or change, from source to product has a positive factor and impact, rather than the natural negativism Bouwsma’s statement implied. The ecumenical character of the theology of John Calvin, the social culture or atmosphere of the city where he worked, and even the geographical

³ William Bouwsma, *John Calvin: A Sixteenth Century Portrait* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 2.

⁴ *Ibid.*

location of Geneva all contributed to Calvin being the chief leader of a second generation of reformers. Having the theology of Luther, Zwingli, Erasmus, and especially the French humanist Jacques Lefèvre D'Étaples available to him, coupled with his acquaintance with classical learning through humanism, combine to have an impact on the theology of Calvin, making it a “not-sealed-scroll” for Calvinism itself. There is a huge didactical and instructional distance, not to mention the theological and historical difference, between Calvinism and Lutheranism. A key point of distinction is this: from the date of Luther's death to publication of the Book of Concord, Lutheranism struggled arduously to define its theological and ecclesiological identity. Eventually that movement was able to overcome efforts to import foreign ideas into Luther's theology, and it held to its original source, even as it addressed topics that arose after Luther's time, answering later problems in the spirit and the principles that guided Luther. Calvinism, on the other hand, did not struggle inside Geneva's walls with domestic disagreements. Rather its battles were waged outside during efforts to maintain the legacy of Calvin's thought. Despite that, since the very beginning of Calvinism the movement began to show theological variations. For example, the two foremost pupils of Calvin and the leaders responsible for continuing Calvin's legacy were Theodore Beza and John Knox. The former, fighting Arminianism, developed Calvin's theology by going beyond the master in the matter of predestination. The latter, who spent time in Geneva as an enthusiastic listener to the great Calvin and became the chief figure of the Scottish Reformation, applied in his own country the principles of faith and discipline which he had learned in Geneva but did so with a unique and personal slant on political ideals not developed by Calvin. It is also ironic that even with the *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, Calvin never thought of his theology as a systematic system,⁵ for “speaking of Calvin as a

⁵ Ibid., 5.

theological systematizer is to imply a degree of affinity with medieval scholasticism which contradicts his known attitudes.”⁶ Furthermore, even more ironic is the fact that the TULIP, the five points of the Calvinism, were written some fifty years after Calvin’s death, offering a catchy mnemonic emphasizing motifs that are not absent but also not quite so dominant in Calvin himself. In fact, Brian Gerrish in his article “John Calvin on Luther” says that “Calvin wishes to claim for his reformation a continuity with the reformation of Martin Luther. But the claim of continuity is a claim of legitimate development, not of formal identity.”⁷ In other words, Calvin, in Gerrish’s view, saw himself as the heir and proper conclusion to the direction Luther had set. It is as if Luther, had he lived that long, would have been where Calvin was. Debatable as a fact, but there is no arguing about what Calvin thought. In 1550 he wrote a treatise *Concerning Scandals* in which he looked back on the disputations between Luther and Zwingli on the Lord’s Supper. Calvin sought a conciliatory position and showed an ecumenical mind by stressing that “they were all in remarkable agreement about the whole substance of faith.”⁸ The importance of this treatise is Calvin’s suggestion that the Reformation was a movement in a progressive motion. Here is what he wrote:

Some pretend that they are offended because they did not see everything all at once and because such a difficult task was not brought to absolute perfection on the first day ... For it is exactly if someone finds fault with us because at the first streak of dawn we do not yet see the midday sun. Of course, those who speak that either begrudge the servants of God their success or are annoyed that the Kingdom of Christ is being advanced to a better state.⁹

⁶ Alister E. McGrath, *A Life of John Calvin* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1990), 148.

⁷ Brian Gerrish, “John Calvin on Luther,” in *Interpreters of Luther*, ed. Jaroslav J. Pelikan (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1968), 86.

⁸ John Calvin, *Concerning Scandals*, trans. John W. Fraser (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1978), 81.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 83.

Therefore, if Gerrish is correct—and we certainly believe he is—then it is reasonable to suggest that Calvin, who thought “he was not a Calvinist but an Evangelical,”¹⁰ ought to be open as well to further development of his own theology. The point we want to stress is that in traveling overseas and throughout the next generations, Calvinism developed ideas and outlooks that went far beyond the recommendations emanating from Geneva. A word of caution needs to be said here, namely, that we are not suggesting that later Calvinism distorted or deliberately twisted the views of its founder. Rather, we acknowledge that the only way to answer Bouwsma’s statement is to admit that, first of all, the character of Calvin’s theology and work left room for further progress, so that the next generations moved in a direction they thought proper and acceptable. And second, we also draw attention to the variety of sources upon which later Calvinism felt able to draw.

The Expansion of Genevan Calvinism

If Calvin’s arrival and stay in Geneva took place almost by accident—he was passing through on his way to Strasbourg, going a roundabout route¹¹—the exportation of his theology was by no means an accident, simply conveyed willy-nilly throughout Europe. Any number of factors can be regarded as responsible for the internationalization and successful expansion of Geneva’s movement. It suffices to mention three of them that can be put into the theological-historical frame of Europe-United States-Latin America. The first of these is the impact resulting

¹⁰ Gerrish, “John Calvin on Luther,” 86.

¹¹ Calvin himself wrote in his *Commentary on the Psalms* that “Farel, who burned with an extraordinary zeal to advance the gospel, immediately strained every nerve to detain me. And after having learned that my heart was set upon devoting myself to private studies for which I wished to keep myself free from other pursuits, and finding that he gained nothing by entreaties, he proceeded to utter an imprecation that God would curse my retirement, and the tranquility of the studies which I sought, if I should withdraw and refuse to give assistance . . . By this imprecation I was so stricken with terror that I desisted from the journey which I had undertaken.” John Calvin, *Commentary on the Psalms*, vol. 1, trans. James Anderson (Albany: Books for the Ages, AGES Software, Version 1.0 1998), 31.

from Calvin's writings and correspondence. As a matter of example, from 1536, the year of the first edition of the *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, to 1599 and the last, over fifty-two¹² editions had been published in Latin, French, Dutch, English, German, and Spanish. McGrath has pointed out that "throughout the 1530s and 1540s, Calvin was closely in touch with a circle of middle-class professionals—such as lawyers, students, and teachers—who kept him informed about the turbulent religious situation in his native land."¹³ Calvin took in the reports and responded accordingly, writing new treatises and revising and expanding the *Institutes* over those years.

Second, Calvin's theological development of the doctrine of predestination and church polity through the covenantal relationship between God and man gave hope and voice to the refugees especially when they returned from exile to their home land. His interpretation of election contributed directly to building of a vigorous morality, and his view of ecclesiology, derived, as Calvin saw it, from the New Testament and implemented in the Genevan Republic, with a mixture of aristocracy and democracy. It made the laity play a more important and authoritative role in church government.

In the third place, Calvin was able to attract to himself not only refugees but also many admirers and transform them into an army of agents and colporteurs that would spread his theology with zeal and passion. By the time of Luther's death in 1546, Geneva had already become a chief city of refuge for suffering Protestants, especially after Charles V's victory over the Schmalkaldic League (1547), and the imposition of Lutheranism at Strasbourg (1548) that ended the phase during which the city had acted as the main center of residence and cross-fertilization for many streams of opinion among the Reformers. During their period of exile, the

¹² McGrath, *A Life of John Calvin*, 141–42.

refugees often absorbed Calvin's outlook and, upon their return to their native lands, proceeded to propagate Calvinism. Geoffrey Elton has summarized things this way:

In the ten years after 1549, some five thousand refugees reached Geneva, all of course ardent Protestants escaping from the persecution which was the order of the day in France (1547–59), England (1553–58), and Scotland (1546–58). Even those refugee communities which established themselves in other tolerant cities, as at Frankfurt or Zurich, were in touch with Geneva and came under its influence. Calvin's Geneva rapidly replaced Luther's Wittenberg and Bucer's Strasbourg as the high citadel of Protestantism.¹⁴

Nevertheless, it was the opening of the Academy of Geneva in 1559 that crowned the movement and sealed its destiny with an international character and range. Jean Cardier points out that "by the foundation of this Academy Calvin began to make Geneva the intellectual center of the French-speaking Reformation."¹⁵ The rector's book of the Academy from 1559, says Cardier, contains the names of people from all districts of France and from several European countries. Among those mentioned is Olevianus, one of the authors of the Heidelberg Catechism. Also in the list were Marnix de Sainte-Aldegonde, one of the leaders in the Low Countries; Thomas Bodley, a future founder of the famous Bodleian Library at Oxford; and John Knox, the Scottish Reformer.¹⁶ By the year of Calvin's death, 1564, the Academy had approximately fifteen hundred students, the majority of them from abroad.¹⁷

Calvinist writers became more sensitive to their intellectual environment and responded more efficaciously to the academic demand as well as popular need. Thus, for example, when Thomas Becon wrote that his only work was "to teach the people to know ... their salvation

¹³ Ibid., 143.

¹⁴ Geoffrey Elton, *Reformation Europe, 1517–1559* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1999), 168.

¹⁵ Jean Cadier, *The Man God Mastered: A Brief Biography of John Calvin*, trans. O. J. Johnston (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1960), 167.

¹⁶ Ibid., 167.

¹⁷ Wulfert de Greef, *The Writings of John Calvin: An Introductory Guide*, trans. Lyle D. Bierma (Grand

through the blood of Jesus Christ”¹⁸, he was echoing the desire of the Puritans and Calvinists. John Murray is right when he says that “Calvin, Dort, and Westminster exhibit distinguishing features appropriate to their respective contexts and to the demands these contexts exacted.”¹⁹ As a matter of fact, “some shifts were inevitable,” says McGrath, “as they responded to specific needs, situations, and opportunities.”²⁰ Therefore, it is necessary to underscore the Calvinist movement’s effect as a historical force and to consider the gravitation between the moral and social deposit of faith shaped by the theological legacy of Calvin himself and those whom the movement reached. Note the words of McGrath:

Development, it must be stressed, is an historical concept, devoid of value judgment. No movement of the caliber and dynamism of international Calvinism could survive, let alone prosper, without modifying itself at least to some extent, in the face of the specific situation it faced ... The crude denial of any such shifts is, however, historically untenable.²¹

The English Calvinism and Puritanism

In England, the Reformation took a different shape from that on the Continent, in Germany, and in Switzerland. The two movements were separated by more than the English Channel. They were grounded in different principles and, therefore, reached different goals. Doctrinal, theological, and ethical problems troubled Luther and Calvin and moved them into action, while political and liturgical aspects became secondary, though neither ignored nor neglected, for their reform work. For Henry VIII, on the other hand, the latter became cardinal

Rapids: Baker Book House, 1994), 56.

¹⁸ A. G. Dickens, *The English Reformation* (New York: Schocken Books, 1964), 225.

¹⁹ Peter Ymen De Jong, *Crisis in the Reformed Churches: Essays in Commemoration of the Great Synod of Dort, 1618–1619* (Grand Rapids: Reformed Fellowship, 1968), 159.

²⁰ McGrath, *A Life of John Calvin*, 205.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 205–6.

reasons by which he ignited the movement.²² A reformulation of Catholic doctrine was certainly not what Henry intended by him, nor did he reject any part of Catholic teaching, except for the papal claim to universal authority. The “Six Articles” of 1539 reflecting Catholic dogma made that clear. It was more of what Henry had written against Luther in 1521 when he earned from Pope Leo X the coveted title of Defender of the Faith.²³ As Lewis Spitz pointed out, “Henry VIII seemed to have believed it possible to dissolve the ties to Rome without changing the doctrine and worship of the church.”²⁴ Moreover, it was political motives that compelled Henry to enter, only later on, into friendly relations with the Protestant princes of Germany. This is reflected in the Ten Articles of 1536, which emphasized justification by faith and affirmed only three Sacraments.

Upon the accession of Edward VI in 1547, the government came under the aegis of the Protestant party. Although Henry died believing he was a Catholic without Rome, it was as if he realized a new day was dawning, for he intentionally appointed a regency council for his son, Edward, that bypassed Catholic supporters, such as John Gardiner, and left power firmly in the hands of active Protestants. Thus once Henry had passed from the scene, the way was clear for the Evangelicals, and Thomas Cranmer (1489–1556), the Archbishop of Canterbury, became the principal theological figure, working on the Book of Common Prayer and the Forty-two Articles

²² I am not suggesting here that the Reformation in England took place only on the strength of the political arm of the king. It is a historical fact that politicians, theologians, and laypeople all played a part in this process. As a matter of fact, even such historians with opposing views and approaches to the English Reformation as A. G. Dickens, *The English Reformation* (New York: Schocken Books, 1964) and Christopher Haigh, *English Reformation* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993) agree that these three groups contributed uniquely to carrying out the Reformation. There certainly was a part of England’s Reformation that was initiated by the crown on account of “the King’s Great Matter” of needing a male heir. But what I am stating here is that the process itself happened differently than in the German lands, where the movement began especially with the theologians and received support of the secular authorities later.

²³ Adrian Hastings, *A World History of Christianity* (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1999), 252. Spitz, *The Renaissance and Reformation Movements*, vol. 2: *The Reformation*, 450.

²⁴ Spitz, *The Renaissance and Reformation Movements*, vol. 2: *The Reformation*, 457.

that would emphasize those theological ideas on which the continental reformers agreed. But the sick boy-king Edward died prematurely, and from 1553 to 1558 a black cloud of inquisition and persecution came under the guidance of Queen Mary Tudor, known as Bloody Mary. Then with the enthronement of Elizabeth in 1558, a more harmonious position, Evangelical though not Puritan, was achieved.

Calvinism and/or Puritanism advanced and became a national movement by the end of the sixteenth century. But, yet, most of what was embraced as Calvinism, and took shape as Puritanism, was an amalgamation of the influence of Calvin, Bullinger, Bucer, and John Knox. Here two factors in the Puritan movement and in English-Scottish Calvinism had an important and direct bearing on furnishing to a greater or lesser degree the Presbyterianism throughout the centuries. As a result, we deliberately opt for the word “Calvinism” over “Presbyterianism” because, as we have seen, English Calvinism-Puritanism did not confine itself within the framework of Presbyterianism alone. On the contrary, other denominations also drew some theological aspects from Calvinism and liturgical elements from Puritanism.²⁵

The first contributing factor was the publication of such theological and confessional documents as chiefly represented by the Synod of Dort, 1618–19, and the Westminster Assembly, 1643–49. The former overcame the threat of the Arminian theology and systematized Calvin’s theology into five theological arteries: (1) that election is founded on God’s purpose before the foundation of the world; (2) that the efficacy of Christ’s atonement extends to the elect only; (3) that the Fall has left man in a state of corruption and helplessness: his gleams of natural light are of no value for salvation; (4) that regeneration is an inward renewal of the soul and of

²⁵ Robert T. Handy, *A Christian America: Protestant Hopes and Historical Realities* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1971), 15. Handy points out that such non-Reformed groups as “English Baptists and Quakers, German Mennonites and Sectaries were descendants respectively of the radical wing of Puritanism and the left wing of the Reformation.”

the will and is wholly a work of God—powerful, delightful, astonishing, mysterious, and ineffable; (5) that God so preserves the elect, ever renewing their repentance, patience, humility, gratitude, and good works, that despite their sins, they do not finally fall away from grace.²⁶ So the spotlight falls on the five doctrinal points—unconditional election, limited atonement, total depravity, irresistible grace, and the perseverance of the saints—that would comprise the TULIP mnemonic and transform Calvin into a Calvinist. The last point concentrating on the high conduct of the Christian life was especially important to the English Puritans, who interpreted Calvin’s theology through the lens of the covenantal pact between God and man and gave to subsequent generations a purposeful life to go with the confessional documents.

The second factor came in the fields of liturgy (worship) and ecclesiology (church administration). John Tulloch has pointed out that “the connection between Puritanism and Calvinism was due to their ecclesiastical, still more peculiarly than a doctrinal, sympathy for one another.”²⁷ Moreover, this not only helps us to understand the theological variation between England and Geneva as well as the Swedish impact on English social affairs and moral behaviors, but it also highlights the fact that these social behaviors and ecclesiological practices became the orbit in which all Puritans gravitated toward the same target. Dr. William Barker²⁸ in his *Puritan Profiles* gives a biographical sketch of fifty-four influential Puritans at the time the Westminster Confession of Faith was written. The importance of this work is that Dr. Barker finds Puritans with different flavor on ecclesiology and worship—Episcopalians, Erastians, and Independents—but with similar theology. “There were,” however, says Dr. Barker, “some

²⁶ Thomas Scott, trans., *The Articles of the Synod of Dort* (Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication, 1841); Henry Petersen, *The Canons of Dort: A Study Guide* (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House), 1968.

²⁷ John Tulloch, *English Puritanism and Its Leaders* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons, 1861), 5.

²⁸ William S. Barker, *Puritan Profiles: 54 Influential Puritans at the Time When the Westminster Confession of Faith Was Written* (Fearn [Ross-Shire], Scotland: Mentor—Christian Focus Publications, 1999).

Independents (even some, like John Goodwin, who get called ‘Puritan’) and several Episcopalians who were not involved in the Westminster Assembly that were Arminian in their theology.”²⁹

In the last half of the sixteenth century the Puritan movement began as an agitation within the Church of England as Puritans stood for the conviction that the Church should be restored to the simplicity and purity of the first-century fellowship, and that reforms in England were thus far inadequate. They saw the observance of Christmas and the use of the cross and priestly vestments as innovations of Romanism which were to be abhorred. The chief ambassador of this enterprise was John Hooper,³⁰ who had spent eight years in Zurich and become a great admirer of Bullinger. One of the foremost examples to inspire and guide Puritanism was John Bunyan’s *Pilgrim’s Progress*. In it, the high moral style of life is pictured as being the way by which Christians could bear witness to their faith as shown in the following passage:

By an experimental confession of his faith in Christ ... By a life answerable to that confession; to wit, a life of holiness, heart-holiness, family-holiness (if he has a family), and by conversation-holiness in the world.³¹

Because the Puritans would not conform to the state church, they were considered heretics and causes of divisions. Bunyan was indicted in 1661, charged with being a disturber who refused to cooperate with the established religion. *The Pilgrim’s Progress* also bears the mark of this tension between Christian and society:

When the time was come they were brought before their enemies and arraigned. The judge’s name was Lord Hate-good. Their indictment was one and the same in substance, though somewhat varying in form; the contents whereof were this; That they were enemies to and disturbers of their trade; that they had made commotions

²⁹ The comment comes from an interview conducted with Dr. William Barker on March 21, 2006.

³⁰ McNeill, *The History and Character of Calvinism*, 9–10.

³¹ John Bunyan, *The Annotated Pilgrim’s Progress*, ed. Warren Wiersbe (Chicago: Moody Press, 1980), 104.

and divisions in the down in the town, and had won a party to their own most dangerous opinions, in contempt of the law of their prince.³²

James I. Packer said that “Bunyan’s *Pilgrim’s Progress* serves as a kind of gazetteer to the contents of the Puritans’ sermons.”³³ He also says that it reflects the fact that they were great warriors:

The Puritan saw the Christian callings as, from one standpoint, an unending fight against the world, the flesh, and the devil ... They fought for truth against error, for personal holiness against temptations to sin, for ordered wisdom against chaotic folly, for church purity and national righteousness against corruption and hostility in both areas.³⁴

Of what we have seen so far, it has become clear that those Puritans, who traveled overseas to America in the seventeenth century to be recast into their different denominational shapes and down to South America in the nineteenth century in Presbyterian form, brought along three characteristics of the English movement: the confessional documents, the fight for a holy life against a state church, and the sensibility to respond to the new cultural milieu with a malleable application of their theology.

Calvinism, Puritanism, and Prebyterianism in New England

There are three distinct phases in the history of the Presbyterian Church in New England that need to be stressed as they gave to Presbyterianism the theological outlook brought into the mission field of South America in the nineteenth century. We are here concerned with the historical development of the denomination only until the end of the nineteenth century, during which time the American missionaries, whose sermons will be subject of our inquiry, were sent to Brazil from 1859 until 1900. The three periods are these: first, the colonial period, which runs

³² Ibid., 109–10.

³³ James I. Packer, *A Quest for Godliness: The Puritan Vision of the Christian Life* (Wheaton, IL: Crossway Books, 1990), 286.

from the beginning of colonization until the end of the seventeenth century; second, the official beginning of the Presbyterian Church in the United States with the organization of the first Presbytery in 1706 until the end of the eighteenth century; and third, the nineteenth century with the Western expansion, the advent of the Second Great Awakening, and the great missionary movement.

Regarding the history of the Presbyterian Church of the United States (PCUSA), the Church's official website includes this on its roots and founding years:

Martin Luther, a German priest and professor, started the movement known as the Protestant Reformation when he posted a list of 95 grievances against the Roman Catholic Church on a church door in Wittenberg, Germany in 1517. Some 20 years later... John Calvin further refined the reformers' new way of thinking about the nature of God and God's relationship with humanity in what came to be known as Reformed theology. John Knox, a Scotsman who studied with Calvin in Geneva, Switzerland, took Calvin's teachings back to Scotland. Other Reformed communities developed in England, Holland and France. The Presbyterian Church traces its ancestry back primarily to Scotland and England. Presbyterians have featured prominently in United States history. The Rev. Francis Makemie, who arrived in the U.S. from Ireland in 1683, helped to organize the first American Presbytery at Philadelphia in 1706. In 1726, the Rev. William Tennent founded a ministerial 'log college' in Pennsylvania. Twenty years later, the College of New Jersey (now known as Princeton University) was established. Other Presbyterian ministers, such as the Rev. Jonathan Edwards and the Rev. Gilbert Tennent, were driving forces in the so-called "Great Awakening," a revivalist movement in the early 18th century.³⁵

From this official account we conclude simply that Presbyterianism in the United States traces the beginning of its Reformation with the work of Martin Luther in Germany, and John Calvin in Switzerland, and it draws its heritage primarily from its expansion in France, the Lowlands, Scotland, and England from whence it was carried to the colonies. We are not interested here in undertaking an exhaustive historical look at the denomination. The aim rather is simply to identify the theological outlook as expressed throughout the life of the church in its

³⁴ Ibid., 334–35.

theological, ecclesiological, and practical manifestations that became distinguishable in the Presbyterian Church of Brazil. But before proceeding to analyze these three phases on the colonial period, it is worth noting Clifton Olmstead's insights on American Calvinism:

The theology of the New England Puritans was basically the modified Calvinism of the English dissenters; it was expressed through such standards as the Westminster Confession, adopted by the Cambridge Synod in 1648, and the Savoy Confession, adopted by a synod of the churches in 1679. Its roots were in the Bible, especially as it was expounded by Augustine and Calvin. At the center of this theology stood a God who controlled all events according to His eternal arbitrary purpose. Every circumstance of life, however nonsensical from man's purview, was decreed by God. All that man needed to know about the divine will was revealed in the Bible, a book of law [that is] authoritative not only for the religious life but for the social and political order. His duty, as a follower of law, was to promote its observance in society through exhortation and, if necessary, by force.³⁶

The first phase of the establishment of Calvinism in the United States is directly related to the arrival and settlement of immigrants in Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay colonies. The so-called Calvinist-Congregationalist Separatists, who by 1608 were living in asylum in Amsterdam, looked at New England as the safe haven for their Puritan religious practices. Finally in November 1620 the Pilgrims boarded the *Mayflower* and sailed toward their dream land. Their pastor, John Robinson, remained behind hoping to join the vanguard in a later date. Unfortunately he would never have the chance to come to New England, for he would die in the Netherlands in 1626. But the dozen years under his leadership in Amsterdam would be enough time for him to imprint his strong Calvinist beliefs in the heart and soul of the refugees. As John McNeill has pointed out, "Robinson was a great defender of the ultra-Calvinist doctrines of the Synod of Dort."³⁷ He continues by quoting R. G. Usher, who said that the Plymouth colony "no

³⁵ <<http://www.pcusa.org/101/101-history.htm>> .

³⁶ Clifton E. Olmstead, *Religion in America: Past and Present* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1961), 23.

³⁷ McNeill, *The History and Character of Calvinism*, 335.

doubt followed Robinson in his espousal of conservative Calvinism, accepting fully the doctrine of the Elect, of Predestination, and all that they involved.³⁸

By the 1630s another, and far larger, group of Calvinist Puritans arrived in New England and began a colony in Massachusetts Bay. They had not been exiled from England, nor had they any intent to separate from the official Church. It is certainly true that they had been made very uncomfortable in their home country with the absolutism of the king and his anti-Puritan zeal, and the struggle with Anglicanism. But the real desire of these Pilgrims is well pictured by Francis F. Bremer:

The men and women [some twenty thousand settlers by the 1640s] who came to Massachusetts during the 1630s hoped to do more than merely escape from persecution: they wished to strike a blow for the true faith by erecting a model Christian community ... The erection of a City on a hill.³⁹

These two colonies—Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay—soon began to develop a friendly relationship, and in 1691 they created a legal basis of government by which they were merged into one.⁴⁰ This political and more important religious association was pivotal to create the foundation of the American Calvinism that later would be influenced by other immigrant movements. In fact, these two Puritan colonies were theologically Calvinistic, but in the matter of Church polity they were Congregationalists. The only difference was that the Pilgrims in Plymouth Colony were separatist Congregationalist while Massachusetts Bay Colony was Congregationalist of a non-separating sort, reforming types who had hoped to purify the Anglican Church from within. So it came to be that New England was almost totally Congregational Puritan.

³⁸ Ibid., 335.

³⁹ Francis J. Bremer, *The Puritan Experiment: New England Society from Bradford to Edwards* (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1995), 55.

⁴⁰ Clifton E. Olmstead, *History of Religion in the United States* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, Inc.,

Clifton Olmstead has said that “American Presbyterianism was the natural child of English Puritanism and Scottish Presbyterianism, modified and reshaped in the colonial environment.”⁴¹ In turn, many characteristics of this colonial Calvinism that emerged from this time reverberated throughout the following centuries and put their stamp on the work of American missionaries in South America. We will highlight two of them in particular.

First, in the matter of church polity, this colonial Calvinism made the Presbyterian Church more congregationalist than its Genevan ancestors in the sense that the laity played a substantial role with the right to vote and elect its leadership. Clifton Olmstead stressed this congregational character, giving two possibilities for showing the slight but significant variation of the American Calvinism. He says:

For many years it was held that the Puritan Church in Massachusetts was originally Presbyterian in its government, changing to a Congregational pattern only after establishing contact with the Plymouth separatists ... Professor Perry Miller ... has shown that both the Puritans and Pilgrims were Congregationalists upon their arrival in America, the difference being that the former were non-Separatists.⁴²

In 1541 Calvin drew up his “Ecclesiastical Ordinances,” a written church order that would become the official document for the church of Geneva.⁴³ The importance of the document was that Calvin created a form of church government that eliminated the episcopal hierarchy. Lewis W. Spitz termed it “Calvin’s major contribution to Protestantism.”⁴⁴ At first glance, it deals with structure, but, in fact, it could not have been formulated as it was—pastor, teacher, elder, deacon being the necessary offices set forth by the New Testament—without a theological underpinning.

1960), 66.

⁴¹ Ibid., 144.

⁴² Ibid., 70.

⁴³ J. K. S. Reid, ed., *Calvin’s Theological Treatises*, The Library of Christian Classics, vol. 22 (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1954), 58–66.

⁴⁴ Lewis W. Spitz, *The Protestant Reformation: Major Documents* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House,

From this start, Calvin then could move on to other changes. He pressed to bring the consistory, which was made up of the ministers and twelve elders, into an independent status that was supposed to function free from ties to from the city council on religious matters and church discipline. However, this consistory in Geneva continued to be chosen by the city councils and presided over by a syndic-elder. (Calvin was hardly the autocrat of the caricatures.) This original Calvinism would undergo an alteration when it left Geneva and traveled to England, for while in Geneva it was both the majority position and the state religion, while in England under the Puritan label, it remained a minority movement, except for a short period when it was favored and seemed to be on its way to becoming the official position under King Edward VI's ruling, at least till the crown passed to Mary. According to the plan Calvin offered, the consistory, or the church session, was to be elected by the local assembly that was made up of the communicant members of the congregation. Today this people-authority type of church polity is evident in the Presbyterian Church of Brazil, found there certainly to a greater degree than within American Presbyterianism. Let us take as an example the election and ordination of ruling elders and deacons in the Presbyterian Church. The Book of Church Order of the Presbyterian Church in American (PCA)⁴⁵ prescribes this:

Every church shall elect persons to the offices of ruling elder and deacon in the following manner: At such times as determined by the Session, communicant members of the congregation may submit names to the Session, keeping in mind that each prospective officer should be an active male member who meets the qualifications set forth in 1 Timothy 3 and Titus 1. After the close of the nomination period nominees for the office of ruling elder and/or deacon shall receive instruction

1997), 123.

⁴⁵ Here I am comparing the Presbyterian Church of Brazil with the Presbyterian Church in America (PCA). I am aware that the PCA is only one of several Presbyterian denominations in the United States. For instance, The Presbyterian Church in the United States of America (PCUSA) might be considered the main Presbyterian denomination, being about eight times larger than the PCA. The PCA, however, is generally considered more orthodox or conservative and consistent with the tradition I am tracing from Calvin through the Puritans to the missionaries to Brazil.

in the qualifications and work of the office ... If there are candidates eligible for the election, the Session shall report to the congregation those eligible, giving at least thirty days prior notice of the time and place of a congregational meeting for elections.⁴⁶

The Presbyterian Manual of the Presbyterian Church of Brazil states pretty much the same thing, although it is more superficial than the Book of Church Order of the Presbyterian Church in America. Here is what it says: “The authority of those who are governed is accomplished by the people gathered in assembly for: ‘(1) to elect pastors and church officials [elders and deacons] ...’ ”⁴⁷

The difference between the Presbyterian Church in America and the Presbyterian Church of Brazil on how the church proceeds with the election of ruling elders and deacons is that in the former, the local assembly elects the officials out of a list of names sent and examined by the church session prior to the congregational meeting. In the latter, on the other hand, the local assembly elects officials among the communicant members and indicates them to be examined by the church session. The difference may seem to be almost unnoticeable, but it is very significant because by holding the election the way the Presbyterian Church of Brazil does, it approximates itself more to the colonial Puritanism of the American Pilgrims. That is, the congregation has a stronger participation on the election itself. It is a fact that in Brazil the local session has the authority to reject any name elected by the congregational meeting in case one is found to be unfit for the position. But in practice this rarely happens, leaving then the local session with the task to prepare the elected ones for the position rather than testing potential candidates.

⁴⁶ *The Book of Church Order of The Presbyterian Church in America*, 6th ed., published by The Office of the Stated Clerk of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in America (Lawrenceville, GA: The Committee for Christian Education and Publications, 2007). Chapter 24: “Election, Ordination and Installation of Ruling Elders and Deacons.”

⁴⁷ *Manual Presbiteriano, Igreja Presbiteriana do Brasil* (São Paulo: Casa editora Presbiteriana, 1987), 9.

A second characteristic of the colonial Calvinism that influenced Latin American Presbyterianism was the rethinking and redefining of the Sacraments, especially in the matter of church discipline and partaking of the Lord's Supper. The Puritans, a minority in their homeland, rejected the rituals of the Anglican Church and the episcopal system but considered themselves to be part of the Church of England. Nevertheless, it did not take long after they became the majority in New England until they began to face the old problems related to the status, duties, and privileges of those who were members of both the state and the church. The Puritans had taught for many years that church membership was not automatic due to citizenship, but it was rather a privilege only for those who could give proof of their regeneration and for their children, who automatically entered into a covenantal relationship with God. By the 1650s, when the second generation of the Puritans, who did not have the same faith and godly commitment of their parents, grew up, the church was challenged by the question of whether or not the people could fully partake of the Sacraments by being admitted to the Lord's Supper and bringing their children to Baptism. In 1662 the Ministerial Convention created the so-called Half-Way Covenant⁴⁸ that provided that unregenerate members might transmit church membership and Baptism to their children, but their descendants could neither partake of the Lord's Supper nor participate in church elections. Regarding the children's participation in the Sacraments, John Calvin himself had differentiated between the Sacrament of Baptism and the Lord's Supper.⁴⁹ But only with the next generation of the Puritans of New England did the problem become acute. The Presbyterian Church of Brazil today still reflects this trait or mark of the colonial Calvinism more than does the American Presbyterian Church. In the matter of their confessional

⁴⁸ Peter George Mode, *Sourcebook and Bibliographical Guide for American Church History* (Menasha, WI: George Banta Publishing Company, 1921), 82–85.

⁴⁹ John Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, Library of Christian Classics, vols. 20–21, trans. Ford Lewis Battles, ed. John T. McNeill (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1960), 20:1352–53.

documents, both denominations have pretty much the same statement. The Book of Church Order of the Presbyterian Church in America (PCA), in its chapter 57—The Admission of Persons to Sealing Ordinances—states:

Believers' children within the Visible Church, and especially those dedicated to God in Baptism, are non-communing members under the care of the Church. They are to be taught to love God, and to obey and serve the Lord Jesus Christ. When they are able to understand the Gospel, they should be earnestly reminded that they are members of the Church by birthright, and that it is their duty and privilege personally to accept Christ, to confess Him before men, and to seek admission to the Lord's Supper.⁵⁰

The Book of Church Order, or Presbyterian Manual, of the Presbyterian Church of Brazil, in its Liturgy Principles, in chapters 5 (Baptism of Children), 6 (Profession of Faith and Admission to the Full Communion with the Church), and 7 (Administration of the Lord's Supper), says this:

Art. 11. The members of the Presbyterian Church of Brazil must present their children to Baptism, they not being allowed to neglect this ordinance ... Art. 12. All those who seek Church membership will be previously examined in their faith in Christ, their acquaintance with the Word of God, and their Christian experience ... Art. 13. The Holy Communion or the Lord's Supper must be administered with frequency and it is the competence of the Session ... to decide the occasion in which it should be administered ... Art. 14. The Session must oversee the members so that they might not neglect the table of the Lord.⁵¹

Theoretically both documents present the same view. But the Presbyterian Church of Brazil is more puritanical in two ways: First, regarding the admission of baptized Catholics who seek membership with the Presbyterian Church, the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Brazil in its meeting of March 2005 stated as follows:

Considering that the Roman Catholic Church has her doctrinal position as Tridentine and believes the Baptism as "means of salvation." which is anti-biblical: [The

⁵⁰ *The Book of Church Order of The Presbyterian Church in America*, Chapter 25: "The Admission of Persons to Sealing Ordinances." Available online: <<http://www.pcanet.org/BCO/BCO56-63.htm>> .

⁵¹ *Manual Presbiteriano, Igreja Presbiteriana do Brasil*, 111–13.

Assembly] resolves ... (2) To recommend the official position of the Presbyterian Church of Brazil, that the Roman Catholic Church is not an Evangelical Church ... (7) **We do not re-baptize** Catholics in the Anabaptist sense. **We baptize** Catholics. We do not baptize *crentes*⁵². We baptize Catholics because we believe that the Baptism administered by the Roman Catholic Church is not biblical.⁵³

Second, regarding the age of the baptized children who seek full membership of the Church by way of their public profession of faith, the Presbyterian Church of Brazil delays their acceptance until they turn fifteen or sixteen years old, and sometimes even further, while the Presbyterian Church in America accepts them when they turn nine, ten, or eleven years old. Interestingly both denominations use the same premise to reach different conclusion. The Presbyterian Church of Brazil (PCB) does not admit to the Lord's Table children under fifteen years old, because they are not considered mature enough to give proof of their faith. The Presbyterian Church in America (PCA), on the other hand, admits them because the Church considers the age of 10 years old to be mature enough to give proof of their faith. It would seem that these practices and attitudes in Brazilian Presbyterianism resemble more closely those of colonial Puritanism. Two important comments need to be mentioned here. First, regarding the position of the Presbyterian Church of Brazil, it has to be taken into consideration that many of these families who bring children to the Sacrament of Baptism are not traditional Protestant families, and they come from Catholicism, where the tie to the church is often more nominal than highly active. Thus these families have not been raised with strong Christian values. In fact, a phenomenon often happens, and that is, that some parents, after participating actively in the Protestant Church, leave the denomination, but their children remain in it. This type of situation

⁵² "Crentes" is a Portuguese word applied to differentiate Evangelicals and Catholics.

⁵³ "Ata Oficial da Reunião Ordinária da Comissão Executiva do Supremo Concílio da Igreja Presbiteriana do Brasil Março de 2005," Instituto Presbiteriano Mackenzie, CE-SC/IPB-2004 - DOC. XXXVIII, 7. [The bold type is in the original document.]

makes the church delay children's acceptance to the Lord's Table until they are able to give proof of their faith without the participation of their parents. The second observation pertains to the Presbyterian Church in America. American Presbyterianism would have the time and opportunity to think about and to work through the controversy about the Sacraments in the post-colonial centuries that followed. In the nineteenth century there was a prolonged controversy over Baptism between Charles Hodge and James Healy Thornwell. Hodge, a professor at Princeton Seminary in New Jersey, believed that Roman Catholic Baptism was valid since it was done in the name of the Trinity. Thornwell, on the other hand, opposed recognizing that Baptism because the Roman Church was, he insisted, apostate. The Presbyterian Church in America today has split the difference, or, better put, stayed sitting on the fence, giving its congregations a "local option" with regard to accepting or denying Roman Catholic Baptism. The session of the local church can decide according to the circumstances of the individual case. Regarding the admission of children to the Lord's Table, the General Assembly again left the age of admission to the discretion of the local session according to the individual circumstances. Although there is no standard age, it is not uncommon in the Presbyterian Church in America to admit children not yet ten who can give a good testimony to the elders. The Presbyterian Church of Brazil did not have the same controversy and, therefore, maintained a more restrictive polity that can be identified with or traced to this colonial standard.

The second phase of Presbyterianism in America is identified with the official organization of the denomination led by Francis Makemie (1658–1708) and William Tennent (1673–1746) and with the expansion and progress sparked by the Reverends Gilbert Tennent and Jonathan Edwards (1704–58). By the end of the first half of the seventeenth century, a tremendous wave of Scottish-Irish emigrants swamped New England. In addition, as Edwin Scott Gaustad has noted, most Scottish and Scotch-Irish immigrants settled in the Middle Colonies of New Jersey

and Pennsylvania, swelling the Calvinist influence.⁵⁴ Olmstead has pointed out that “it has been estimated that by 1641, 100,000 Scots had settled in the United States; most of them were Presbyterians.”⁵⁵ This early immigration trend would continue for the next one hundred years, so that in 1729 James Logan would comment, “It looks as if Ireland is to send all its inhabitants hither for last week not less than six ships arrived.”⁵⁶ Such a shift in the population mix would change considerably the outlook of the Puritans from Massachusetts Bay and Separatists (who went beyond Puritans in making a formal break) from Plymouth, with the newcomers assimilating some of their Puritan practices, cultivating their Calvinist theology, and exercising their Presbyterian Church polity. In fact, Gaustad⁵⁷ regards this affiliation of the New England Puritans and the Scotch immigrants as significant contribution to the later organization of American Presbyterianism.

By the beginning of the eighteenth century there was a widespread call within the denomination about the need for an organized forum in which the local Presbyterian churches could converge their ideals. This response was led by Francis Makemie, who could be regarded as “the father of American Presbyterianism.”⁵⁸ In 1706 Makemie summoned Presbyterian leaders to meet with him in Philadelphia where he organized the first presbytery. Thus a line was drawn that would separate the two wings of the American colonial Puritanism: the congregational and the Presbyterian wings. In fact, many of the Puritan clergy in New York and New Jersey did not

⁵⁴ Edwin Scott Gaustad, *Historical Atlas of Religion in America* (New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1962), 19.

⁵⁵ Olmstead, *History of Religion in the United States*, 145.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 146.

⁵⁷ Gaustad, *Historical Atlas of Religion in America*, 19.

⁵⁸ Boyd Stanley Schlenther, *The Life and Writings of Francis Makemie, Father of American Presbyterianism, 1658–1708* (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 1999).

affiliate with the presbytery.⁵⁹ On the other hand, three more men would become key figures for the expansion of the denomination. William Tennent and his son Gilbert Tennent founded the Log College that eventually would become Princeton University, making available in the Upper Atlantic colonies an outlet for both Presbyterian zeal and the humanistic stripe from historic Calvinism, providing for both theological and secular education. The Log College would become the gateway and noteworthy impetus for the Presbyterian revival that swept colonial America as part of the Great Awakening under the leadership of Jonathan Edwards, yet another key figure of second phase of the American Presbyterianism. It is not without reason that the official documents of the Presbyterian Church of the United States of America (PCUSA) today places Jonathan Edwards as one of the “driving forces in the so-called Great Awakening of the eighteenth century.”⁶⁰ His historical importance and contribution lies mainly in his theological outlook that stressed a rigid Calvinism in a period of a great flow of Arminianism in New England. Clifton E. Olmstead pays a tribute to Edwards with the following summary:

Jonathan Edwards was more than the leader of a revival; he was a philosopher and theologian in his own right and one of the most brilliant America has produced. In some respects he was a Puritan mystic who loved to speak of “sweetly conversing with Christ” or “being wrapt and swallowed up in God.” He was never satisfied with a moralistic conception of piety. Religion to him was not so much morality as an experience of the reality of God, a feeling of divine joy and happiness ... Thus in Edwards’ thought we find a combination of the immanent God who illumines the heart of man, and the transcendent God who strikes down the sinner.⁶¹

C. P. Smith also wrote highly of Edwards and his contribution. As Snow put it,

Standing on his lonely pinnacle, with the Antinomians screaming at him from one side and the Arminians sneering at him from the other, both biding the moment to crucify him, Edwards, more than any other person, portrayed in his life and his expressions that delicate line of Truth, running between Emotion and Reason, which

⁵⁹ Olmstead, *History of Religion in the United States*, 147.

⁶⁰ <<http://www.pcusa.org/101/101-history.htm>> .

⁶¹ Olmstead, *History of Religion in the United States*, 165–66.

is Puritanism.⁶²

This second phase of the Puritan Presbyterianism bore characteristics and effects that can be foremost identified today in the Presbyterian Church of Brazil, though with less intensity. First, this period was responsible, especially with the Great Awakening, for the establishment of an evangelistic pattern with an emphasis on winning converts. For the first time American Puritanism fully realized the ideal theocentric society, the so-called “a city on a hill”⁶³ that should be “reordered in relation to the reign of the sovereign God in the New World.”⁶⁴ Though sought by the Pilgrims, it was far from being accomplished. The Great Awakening launched, though naturally, a campaign to draw many nominal adherents of the Anglican Church into the fellowship of the evangelical denominations. The result was a great increase in membership in almost all denominations. This emphasis on conversion seems to be more present in the Presbyterian Church in Brazil than in American Presbyterianism today. The weekly agenda of the church is usually, and almost nationally, prepared with a day for a prayer meeting (on Fridays), Bible studies (on Wednesdays), catechization (in Sunday school), and evangelistic worship service (on Sunday evenings). The Sunday night worship service is an evangelistic-driven service in which the church draws her attention toward winning new converts. Pastors usually exhort the members of their congregation to bring visitors to the Sunday night worship service. The sermons are also evangelistic sermons, being most often accompanied with a direct appeal to the audience. By way of example, the Presbyterian Church of Aracruz (Brazil) gives a colorful picture of this colonial aggressive style. The church is a young, twenty-one-year-old congregation with a thousand members. Five other churches that have been born out of the

⁶² Jacob T. Hoogstra, *American Puritanism: A Survey* (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1957), 20.

⁶³ Bremer, *The Puritan Experiment*, 55.

⁶⁴ Douglas F. Ottati, *Reforming Protestantism: Christian Commitment in Today's World* (Louisville:

mother church are geographically located around her in a twenty-mile range. Together they count for twenty-two hundred members. This means the increasing of membership of over 100 new members per year for twenty straight years. It is a kind of ongoing Awakening.

There was also in the American Great Awakening a heavy stress on the inseparability of morals from religion. The quality of the religious experiences and the level of public morals showed signs of elevation, according to the report of Thomas Prince, the assistant pastor of Old South Church, Boston:

In this year 1741, the very face of the town seemed to be strangely altered. Some, who had not been here since the fall before, have told me their great surprise at the change in the general look and carriage of people, as soon as they landed ... And one of our worthy gentlemen expressing his wonder at the remarkable change, informed me, that whereas he used with others on Saturday evenings to visit the taverns, in order to clear them of town inhabitants, they were wont to find many there, and meet with trouble to get them away; but now, having gone at those seasons again, he found them empty of all but lodgers.⁶⁵

The Presbyterian Church of Brazil has paid a great deal of attention to the quality of morals of the church's members. Such social practices as dancing, drinking, and smoking are not only strongly discouraged but also are routinely attacked directly and are often forbidden. Emilio Willems points out that for the Latin American Church, "to become a Protestant means, among other things, to learn that such forms of behavior were morally irreconcilable with each other and had to be purged of their inconsistencies."⁶⁶ In small congregations located in the interior of the country, the strict observance of Sunday as the day of the Lord and the avoidance of social entertaining events are recommended.

Westminster John Knox Press, 1995), 4.

⁶⁵ Mode, *Sourcebook and Bibliographical Guide*, 221.

⁶⁶ Willems, *Followers of the New Faith*, 48.

The third phase of the American Calvinism-Puritanism-Presbyterianism, which impacted directly on the formation of the Presbyterian Church of Brazil, happened early in the nineteenth century and involved such occurrences as the Western expansion over the Appalachian Mountains, the advent of the Second Great Awakening marked by the Cane Ridge revivals, and the great missionary movement to the frontier. When the curtain was raised on the nineteenth century, the situation of the church in America did not look as promising as had been envisioned or at least hoped for at the time of the First Great Awakening. The American Revolution (1776–83) fractured many congregations and also had often devastated church property along the way. The philosophy of the Enlightenment movement, with its deistic ideas of God, its moralism, and its preferences for natural rather than revealed religion with its law, made traditional Christian claims appear antiquated to many, especially among the educated. Religion began to be transformed into a matter of social necessity, and the English Puritan religious zeal was quickly transformed into an American social construction. For some, the Enlightenment led into the espousal of a new faith, Deism. As Crane Brinton has put it, “there arose in our society what seems to me clearly to be a new religion, certainly related to, descended from, and by many reconciled with, Christianity. I call this religion simply Enlightenment with a capital E.”⁶⁷ And Robert T. Handy has indicated that by 1800 “probably less than 10 percent of the population of the United States was church members.”⁶⁸ The acquaintance with Christianity was greater, and the attachment to a Christian heritage was certainly there and acknowledged, but the actual percentage of active, regular church-goers was really quite small and, in fact, had been shrinking.

But then things began to change again, and suddenly churches started paying more attention to a confessional agenda. The old idea of making the “New World” a Christian society

⁶⁷ Crane Brinton, “Many Mansions,” *American Historical Review* 69, no. 2 (1964): 315.

began to emerge, and as Robert Handy points out, “religious leaders labored both for the advancement of religion and for the improvement of civilization.”⁶⁹ The psychological and ethical platform of the Enlightenment gave way to the church’s historical and confessional milieu as the pendulum swung. A great missionary enterprise, along with the so-called Second Great Awakening, took place and pressed the Church into action to the expansion of the American frontiers. Clifton Olmstead⁷⁰ noted highlights that from 1798, with the formation of the Missionary Society of Connecticut, to 1826, with the founding of the American Home Missionary Society, some ten small missionary agencies were created in the United States. But the Western expansion was by no means limited to these agencies’ endeavors, and the mission agencies did not only look westward. Emilio Willems correctly asserts that “the early South American missions may be conceived of as an extension of the [American] frontier.”⁷¹ In fact, the majority of the American missionaries who went to Brazil in the nineteenth century saw themselves as part of this American expansionist enterprise and the Christianizing of that part of the world. These missionaries and mission efforts were also a direct product of the second Great Awakening, and as such they were strongly formed by the traditional Calvinist theology. The vast majority of those who headed south had graduated either from Princeton Seminary in New Jersey or from Union Theological Seminary in New York. Different from the First Great Awakening, the Second Great Awakening had a more eclectic leadership with many different denominational bodies playing an equal role in the national scenario. Among the Presbyterians, the first half of the nineteenth century also was a turbulent era marked by the rise of efforts to

⁶⁸ Handy, *A Christian America: Protestant Hopes and Historical Realities*, 27.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 33.

⁷⁰ Olmstead, *History of Religion in the United States*, 266–67.

⁷¹ Willems, *Followers of the New Faith*, 10.

modify traditional Calvinism. To name but a few, William Taylor (1786–1858), William Ellery Channing (1780–1842), and Charles G. Finney (1792–1875) became key figures in this endeavor. Princeton Seminary stood up to put forth the national clarion call and became the best-known center of the conservative American Calvinism. The convictions of the seminary’s first professor, Archibald Alexander (1772–1851), and his pupil and colleague Charles Hodge (1797–1878) defined the emphasis of this theology. As Mark A. Noll has pointed out,

Alexander was a man of deep personal piety whose formal theology combined emphases from European Calvinism (Calvin, Westminster Confession, and François Turretin) and an anti-Catholic defense of Scripture ... Hodge extended this theological viewpoint into a powerful system of thought during his fifty-six years as a Princeton professor ... Hodge’s formula, “the Bible is to the theologian what nature is to the man of science,” was used to preserve traditional Calvinism.⁷²

So it was that among some of the theological characteristics of these children of Princeton who went to Brazil, at least one of them is especially noteworthy as the missionary influence became part of the puritanical heritage of the Presbyterian Church of Brazil. We are speaking of the spirit of old anti-Catholic British Puritanism. Antônio Gouvêa Mendonça pointed this out:

The American Protestantism is a Protestantism of settlement; that is, it was formed as the European Protestants moved into British colonies looking for a better living condition ... The Catholic presence ... will take place in the nineteenth century when an intense immigration of French, Irish and German Catholics provoke a great ... increasing of the Catholic Church. Therefore, the American Catholicism is an immigrant Catholicism.⁷³

In 1789 there were about 35,000 Roman Catholics in America, with roughly 60 percent of these in Maryland. By 1830 that total number of Catholics had grown to at least over 300,000, and Robert Handy has estimated this number could have been up to 600,000.⁷⁴ Suddenly the

⁷² Mark A. Noll, *A History of Christianity of the United States and Canada* (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1992), 235–36.

⁷³ Mendonça, *O Celeste Porvir*, 48.

⁷⁴ Handy, *A Christian America*, 58.

Puritan dream of a Christian (read: Protestant) society seemed jeopardized, and the result was the launch of vehement anti-Catholic propaganda nationwide. In 1829 Reverend J. Van Vecten, a pastor in the Dutch Reformed Church, called for missionary cooperation from all denominations and said: “Every friend of his country, as well as every friend of religion, should therefore engage in this work.”⁷⁵ And of course, this missionary campaign implied vividly the struggle against the non-Protestant denominations. In reaction to the Roman Catholic threat, the Interdenominational American Protestant Association was formed in 1842.⁷⁶ As late as 1856 this voice was still reverberating throughout the country. Undoubtedly the most important work to date on the subject of the anti-Catholic movement is Ray Allen Billington’s *The Protestant Crusade, 1800–1860: A Study of the Origins of American Nativism*, published in 1938.⁷⁷ Billington provides a comprehensive historical account of all facets of anti-Catholicism during this period and identifies three primary themes of anti-Catholic discourse: (1) that Catholicism as a system was anti-democratic, (2) that Catholicism was not truly Christian, and (3) that Catholicism was immoral.

By the time these American missionaries began their missionary work in Brazil—from 1859 to 1900—the American society was embroiled with religious disputes, with arguments over two ways of seeing Roman Catholicism: there were those who regarded Catholicism as part of the Christian tradition, and there were also those who leaned toward American nativism and put Catholicism, despite its size and history, into the category of a sect. In 1909 when the American missionary Samuel Rhea Gammon wrote his book *The Evangelical Invasion of Brazil*, he clearly traced these two lines of thought and consciously opted for the latter. He wrote:

⁷⁵ Mode, *Sourcebook and Bibliographical Guide*, 426.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 59.

⁷⁷ Ray Allen Billington, *The Protestant Crusade, 1800–1860: A Study of the Origins of American Nativism*

Many worthy people seriously question the propriety of sending Protestant missionaries to papal land. Brazil being a Roman Catholic country, these good people say, the Brazilians have a form of Christianity, and they think it unwise, if not uncharitable and unchristian, to be prosecuting missionary work among them.⁷⁸

At first he disagreed with this view by pointing out the deviation Brazilian Catholicism had taken from Christianity:

“By their fruits ye shall know them,” the Savior said. For four hundred years, Romanism has had full sway in Brazil, and, unhindered by other influences, it has developed according to his own genius and principles. Here, we should expect to find it in its full flower and fruitage; and Romanism as seen in Brazil, is not the religion of Christ.⁷⁹

But eventually Gammon came to the same conclusion that Ray Allen Billington would reach some thirty years later, and he pointed out that the problem and deviation of Catholicism was not a Brazilian or local phenomenon, but rather it was an institutional one. Regarding the fact that Roman Catholicism as a system was anti-democratic, he said,

It was clearly proved that Romanism is not a religion, but a political organization, and that, too, the most vicious, the most unscrupulous, and the most destructive of all political system. For century, the Jesuit Order has been considered the enemy of civil liberty and of popular institutions.⁸⁰

He also identified Catholicism as something that was not truly Christian:

The truth of our present thesis, namely, that papal Rome is, as to its form, a modern paganism, will be still further emphasized by a comparison of it with the religion of the old pagan Aztecs of Mexico. The Roman Catholic Church has borrowed from paganism saints' days, incense, lustrations, consecrations of sacred place.⁸¹

Finally, he tried to make the case that Catholicism was immoral:

(New York: Rinehart & Company, 1938).

⁷⁸ Samuel Rhea Gammon, *The Evangelical Invasion of Brazil or a Half Century of Evangelical Missions in the Land of Southern Cross* (Richmond, VA: Presbyterian Committee of Publications, 1910), 69.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 69.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 75.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 89, 90.

The man who studies moral conditions in Romish countries will be at once impressed with the fact that a lower state of morals prevails than in countries where evangelical religion makes its influence felt.⁸²

This anti-Catholic characteristic remains more strongly present in the Presbyterian Church of Brazil today than it does in American Presbyterianism. One of the best examples to illustrate this contemporary anti-Catholic approach of the Presbyterian Church of Brazil is the reaction that came after an April 1, 2006, interview of Billy Graham on the CNN American television program *Larry King Live*, where Graham discussed his personal relationship with Pope John Paul II. Let us first quote the original transcript of the interview:

REV. BILLY GRAHAM, EVANGELISTIC ASSOCIATION: I had the privilege of seeing the pope on several occasions at the Vatican. And tonight, I have a very strange feeling of loss. I almost feel as though one of my family members has gone. I loved him very much and had the opportunity of discussing so many things with him. And we wrote each other several times during the years.

KING: Did he actually say to you once, “We are brothers”?

GRAHAM: That's correct. He certainly did. He held my hand the first time that I met him about 19— [and] he's just been Pope for two years when I saw him first. Because when he was elevated to the papacy, I was preaching in his cathedral in Krakow that very day. And we had thousands of people in the streets. And watching the television today of Krakow has brought back many memories.

KING: You said that he was an Evangelist.

GRAHAM: He was, indeed. He traveled throughout the world to bring his Christian message to the world. And we see tonight the outpouring from the world that he touched. And I think he touched almost everybody in the whole world.

KING: What, Billy, in your thoughts—you said you feel like it's a personal loss. What in the human sense was so special about him?

GRAHAM: I think it was his background in Poland. And I had finished preaching all over Poland, gotten to know many people, and I knew a little bit about where he came from. And he was a suffering pope, too. He suffered as much as anybody you could ever imagine. His mother died when he was young. And he had that terrible assassination attack. And through it all, he taught us how to suffer. And I think in recent days he's taught us how to die.

KING: There is no question in your mind that he is with God now?

GRAHAM: Oh, no. There may be a question about my own, but I don't think Cardinal Wojtyla, or the pope—I think he's with the Lord, because he believed. He believed in the cross. That was his focus throughout his ministry, the cross, no matter

⁸² Ibid., 80.

if you were talking to him of a personal issue or an ethical problem; he felt that there was the answer to all of our problems, the cross and the resurrection. And he was a strong believer.⁸³

The Brazilian Presbyterian reaction to Billy Graham's comments to Larry King about the pope came from all over the country. The church-run Brazilian newspaper, *Brasil Presbiteriano*, for June 2006 offered "Reactions to the Words of Billy Graham About the Pope John Paul II," an extended essay reacting to the program.⁸⁴ In the article, the newspaper openly asserted the institutional position that the pope is the Antichrist. It started the essay by quoting the Westminster Confession of Faith—Chapter 25 on the church—which says that "there is no other head of the Church but the Lord Jesus Christ: nor can the Pope of Rome in any sense be head thereof; but is that Antichrist, that man of sin and son of perdition, that exalteth himself in the Church against Christ, and all that is called God."⁸⁵ There was little, if any, room for discussion. In the same vein were reactions from Brazilian Presbyterian pastors published by the Brazilian Presbyterian newspaper:

Disastrous interview, lamentable departure of the orthodoxy by a dear and longing faithful evangelist. That God have mercy on him!⁸⁶

I cannot agree with Billy Graham, whom I have learned to admire, for he seems to be with the syndrome of the old Salomon. If Satan himself can masquerade as an angel of light to deceive of the naïve people (2 Corinthians 11:14–15 and Galatians 1:8–10), it is not difficult that the chief of a great and powerful system hybrid of paganism and Christianity, twisted, is able to deceive those who, instead of going after sinners to preach the Gospel to them like Billy Graham does, take time to pay

⁸³ <<http://transcripts.cnn.com/TRANSCRIPTS/0604/01/lk1.01.html>> .

⁸⁴ *Brasil Presbiteriano* 49, no. 621 (June 2006): 6–7. *Brasil Presbiteriano* is the official newspaper organ of the Presbyterian Church of Brazil.

⁸⁵ <http://www.reformed.org/documents/index.html?mainframe=http://www.reformed.org/documents/westminster_conf_of_faith.html> .

⁸⁶ Comment cited from Josafá Vasconcelos, Pastor of the Presbyterian Church of Reformed Heritage in Salvador, Bahia (Brazil).

attention to great leaders of the world that are in general compromised with politics and everything else.⁸⁷

Billy Graham exaggerated, confusing the charisma and sympathy of the pope before the media with the work of an evangelist and with the largest influence that he supposedly had for morality and peace in one hundred years (We have not learned any positive fruit reached with the result of his speeches) and declaring a certainty of salvation for John Paul II that even for himself he does not dare to affirm (Such statement is not unusual coming from an Arminian theologian).⁸⁸

I disagree with his [Billy Graham] idea about the Pope ... in my opinion John Paul II had as principal goal in his trips the consolidation of Roman Catholicism with all its incongruities. The crowds who acclaimed him felt more revitalized in their faith, making it even more difficult for them to open their eyes for the Gospel.⁸⁹

All these negative reactions against Billy Graham's remarks on Pope John Paul II reflect a spirit that really was nothing new. The anti-Catholic feeling that the Presbyterian Church of Brazil still nurtures today has deep roots. There is little doubt that such feeling is inherited from the nineteenth-century American Presbyterianism brought in by the American missionaries and developed by the indigenous pastors. Furthermore, this independent-minded critical feeling was, in fact, a characteristic of Calvinism, one that ended up by finding fertile soil in Brazilian Protestantism. The native pastors, faithful to Calvinist forefathers, led the Presbyterian Church to a path distant from, and even opposite to, a Catholicism that others elsewhere would retain.

Such were the characteristics and feelings planted in nineteenth-century Brazil. It is time now to look at how those were brought and spread with an examination of the preachers and their sermons—the focus of the second part of this study.

⁸⁷ Comment cited from Odayr Olivetti, Presbyterian pastor and former Professor of Systematic Theology at the Presbyterian Seminary in Campinas, São Paulo.

⁸⁸ Comment cited from Marco Antônio Ferreira, Senior Pastor of the Presbyterian Church of Campos dos Goytacazes, Rio de Janeiro.

⁸⁹ Comment cited from Marconi de Oliveira Holanda, ruling elder of the Second Presbyterian Church of Teresina, PI, Brazil.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE PREACHERS AGAINST THEMSELVES

An Overview—Preliminary Remarks

From what has been said so far, it has become clear that the nineteenth century was the fullness of time for the arrival and settlement of Protestantism in Brazilian society due to social, political, and religious factors that ignited the country under the spark of the American missionaries' work. It has also been noted that the Presbyterianism of Brazil presents characteristics drawn from the development of Presbyterianism of America and Europe over several centuries favoring the more recent American strain. Three factors were blended together in the formation of Brazilian Presbyterianism: the theology of the American missionaries, the majority of whom were the product of an American orthodox Presbyterianism; Calvin's emphasis on morality, which was well-fitted for preaching against the Brazilian lifestyle that emphasized social practices not accepted by the Evangelical standard; and the personal characteristics of Brazilian pastors, who stressed even more their disagreement with Roman Catholicism. In sum, the Presbyterian Church decided consciously to hold to the puritanical heritage by emphasizing the Westminster Confession of faith of the eighteenth century, echoing much but also departing slightly from the Presbyterian Church in the United States. While the sermons published in *O Púlpito Evangélico*, which will be subject of our analysis in chapter five of this dissertation, will give us a clear picture of these missionaries' and native pastors' theology, other materials such as books, letters, and journals also will help to identify whether or

not these pioneers recognized a kind of medievalism present in the Brazilian society, and whether they made use of that knowledge. Therefore, the primary goal of this chapter is to broaden an understanding and appreciation of the sermons' theology through a consideration of other materials. However, this chapter will not survey thoroughly the historical background and theological works of these missionaries and pastors. It will only sketch their theological formation and their theological views in order to advance the analysis of their sermons printed by *O Púlpito Evangélico*, the ultimate focus of this study.

The Preachers' Theological Formation

Nothing more appropriately portrays the arrival and development of Presbyterianism in Brazil than the title of Samuel Gammon's book *The Evangelical Invasion of Brazil*.¹ Other materials dovetail well with Gammon and reinforce the image his title evokes. There was, in fact, not only the flood of Protestant immigration to Brazil from all over Europe but also a great invasion of predominantly American missionaries into the country at the second half of the nineteenth century. Alderi Matos points out that from the arrival of the first missionary in 1859 until the end of the century, thirty-seven American missionaries from the Northern Mission (tied to the PCUSA) and forty-two from the Southern Branch (linked to the PCUS) had sailed for Brazil.² They did not all come at once but were spread out over three decades. These numbers give us on average approximately two new missionaries and their families coming to Brazil every year for forty straight years. In 1837 the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America (PCUSA) created the Board of Foreign Missions, located in New York, and began to send missionaries all over the world. Brazil was the sixth country to receive their missionaries.

¹ Gammon, *The Evangelical Invasion of Brazil*. We will make more use of the book in the next section of this chapter. For now, the title is enough to set the tone.

² Alderi S. Matos, *Os Pioneiros Presbiterianos do Brasil (1859–1900)* (São Paulo: Editora Cultura Cristã,

As David Calhoun has highlighted,³ the 1830s were a time of great theological controversy that resulted in the formation of the Old and the New Schools within the United States.

Presbyterianism was hardly unique or exempt from the sectional struggles that marked many denominations in America prior to its Civil War (1861–65). These years also preceded decades of a great religious revival, including activity in the area of missions. Calhoun writes that between “1844 and 1859, about eighty percent of all the Princeton Seminary students became member of the Society of Inquiry on Missions of the Seminary.”⁴ They may not have gone themselves, but they saw the importance of the work and were supporters of mission outreach. But many, in fact, did go. Calhoun notes that “one out of every three students leaving Princeton Seminary during its first fifty years went out to preach the gospel on missionary ground.”⁵ In the first decade, following the arrival of Ashbel Green Simonton in 1859, six missionaries with their families came to Brazil: Alexander L. Blackford, Francis J. Schneider, George W. Chamberlain, Emanuel N. Pires, Hugh Ware McKee, and Robert Lenington.⁶ Then with the eruption of the American Civil War in 1861,⁷ the American Presbyterian Church split into two, creating the Presbyterian Church of the United States (PCUS), also known as the Southern Branch.⁸ This new denomination created a missionary agency located in Nashville and called it the Committee of Foreign Missions. After the war, with the coming of American immigrants to Brazil, that

2004), 526–33.

³ David B. Calhoun, *Princeton Seminary*, vol. 1: *Faith and Learning 1812–1868* (Carlisle, PA: Banner of Truth Trust, 1994), 213–14.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 372

⁵ *Ibid.*, 406.

⁶ Matos, *Os Pioneiros Presbiterianos do Brasil*, 11.

⁷ <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/American_Civil_War> .

⁸ <<http://www.pcusa.org/101/101-history.htm>> .

committee located in Nashville initiated its own missionary efforts in the country.⁹ A decade after the arrival of Simonton, the first missionaries of the Southern Church came: Edward Lane and George N. Morton.¹⁰ Initially, however, in the first decade only missionaries from the Northern Church worked in Brazil. But after 1869, the sending of missionaries from the Southern Church brought new energy into the field and inaugurated a new period of great expansion and evangelical growth in Brazil.

The Presbyterian Church of Brazil was a direct product of orthodox American Presbyterianism, active no matter on which side of the sectional divide it found itself. A majority of the missionaries that formed the church body were graduates of Princeton and Western Seminaries in the northern United States, and of Union (Richmond) and Columbia in the south. Regardless of the source or school, the church emphasized Westminster-style orthodoxy and piety and often taught the Shorter Catechism to adults as well as to children. As Paul Everett Pierson points out, “one of the first theological works translated and published in Portuguese was A. A. Hodge’s ‘Commentary on the Confession of Faith,’ while the theologians most quoted were Charles Hodge, J. H. Thornwell, and R. L. Dabney, all champions of the Old School orthodoxy.”¹¹ As we shall see, examination of the preaching and teaching of these missionaries and native pastors will reveal a positive, Christocentric emphasis along with a strongly moral and an anti-Roman Catholic approach.

⁹ Robert Leonard McIntire, *Portrait of Half a Century: Fifty Years of Presbyterianism in Brazil, 1859–1910* (Cuernavaca, Mexico: CIDOC—Centro Intercultural de Documentacion, 1969).

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 3–7.

¹¹ Paul Everett Pierson, *A Young Church in Search of Maturity: Presbyterianism in Brazil from 1910 to 1959* (San Antonio: Trinity University Press, 1974), 95.

The Imprensa Evangélica

O Púlpito Evangélico was not the first periodical issued by the Presbyterian Church of Brazil in the nineteenth century. In fact, just five years after the arrival of Simonton and Blackford in Rio de Janeiro, the Church began to publish the *Imprensa Evangélica* [*The Evangelical Press*] (1864–89). The launching of the *Imprensa Evangélica* is regarded as the second great victory of the Protestant Church in its first season on Brazilian soil.¹² (The first victory was the ordination of José Manoel da Conceição, the first native Catholic priest converted to Protestantism.) Indeed, on October 26, 1864, a little more than a week after its first publication, Simonton recorded in his journal his desires about the future of the periodical:

Yesterday morning Santos Neves de Quintano came up to our house to receive the original for the first number of the *Imprensa Evangélica*, a weekly paper we have resolved to undertake. I feel more the responsibility that attaches to this step than anything else that has yet been undertaken. We first knelt in prayer and committed our enterprise and ourselves to divine control and directions. The way seems to be prepared and we can only go forward boldly.¹³

The *Imprensa Evangélica* was born in the midst of a heated disputation between the two Roman Catholic parties—the Ultramontanes and the liberals—and had a twofold purpose. First, it was intended mainly to be a vehicle for the propagation of the Gospel, serving as a way to take the Gospel into places beyond the personal reach of the missionaries. In July 10, 1866, Simonton wrote in the records of the Presbyterian Church in Rio de Janeiro that the periodical was issued “as means to bring those who did not want to attend the worship service to the acknowledgment of Christ.”¹⁴ Second, the periodical aimed also to make an impression upon the aristocracy within

¹² McIntire, *Portrait of Half a Century*, 4–41.

¹³ Ashbel Green Simonton, *Diário 1852–1867*, trans. D. R. de Moraes Barros, (São Paulo: Casa Editora Presbiteriana, 1982), 194.

¹⁴ Modesto Perestrello Barros de Carvalhosa, *Coleções de Carvalhosa: Relatórios Pastorais (1866–1875)*, 6. This is an unpublished collection, available in the Presbyterian Historical Archive, located at Rua Demóstenes, nº 866, Bairro Campo Belo, São Paulo; phone: (11) 5561-4559.

society. David Guerreiro Vieira, quoting from Simonton's personal correspondence, points out that the publishers decided to launch the *Imprensa Evangélica* because they were "impressed to see so many Brazilian statesmen thinking and writing about religious subjects."¹⁵ The Brazilian Church did not want to let that opening or opportunity pass by. So the *Imprensa Evangélica* became a powerful tool to face the challenges of Catholicism as well as a vehicle for the propagation of the Protestant faith. The first edition of the periodical was printed on November 5, 1864, and it proved to be such success that it lasted for twenty-five years. A decade later the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States would mention in its annual report the great progress of the *Imprensa Evangélica*:

The Press continues a great agency for good. The *Imprensa Evangélica* is regularly published. It is one of our best means of doing good. Its influence extends far and wide. It does much where it goes to prepare the way for other modes of work ... Thousands of volumes have been sent out from the book department at Rio de Janeiro, which have gone all over the Empire.¹⁶

Although it aimed at the same public as the later *Púlpito Evangélico*, the *Imprensa Evangélica* had a broader scope in its subject matter. It was dedicated mainly to religious subjects, the publication of sermons, poetry and religious happenings around the world. It also had a small section for political and social news that related in one way or another to the church's life, and, in its last section, a published sermon. Two important figures who contributed sermons for publication in the *Imprensa Evangélica* were Dr. Robert Reid Kalley (1808–88)¹⁷ and the Reverend José Manoel da Conceição (1822–73).¹⁸ They are worthy of mention, at least

¹⁵ David Guerreiros Vieira, *O Protestantism, a Maçonaria e a Questão Religiosa no Brasil*, 2nd ed. (Brasília, Universidade de Brasília, 1980), 148.

¹⁶ The Thirty-Eighth Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America (New York, Mission House, 1875), 20.

¹⁷ João Gomes da Rocha, *Lembranças do Passado* (Rio de Janeiro: Centro Brasileiro de Publicações Ltda, 1941).

¹⁸ Vicente Themudo Lessa, *Annaes da Primeira Igreja Presbyteriana de São Paulo, (1863–1903)*, Edições da

briefly, because they were truly pioneers in the propagation of the Gospel in Brazil. The *Púlpito Evangélico* did not publish any of their sermons. But the *Imprensa Evangélica* did, and by doing so, this periodical became one of the most important sources to help scholars understand the formation of Protestantism in Brazil. Kalley, who began as a medical doctor by profession, also developed a successful pastoral ministry in Rio de Janeiro that spanned thirty-three years. He and his wife arrived in May 10, 1855, and soon initiated the Fluminense Evangelical Church. When Simonton, the first Presbyterian missionary, arrived in 1859, Kalley and his followers were the only Protestant voices in the country, and they were also the first Protestant group to experience religious persecution.¹⁹ The second and, most certainly, pivotal figure was the Reverend José Manoel da Conceição, a former Catholic priest who has been called the “the Saint Francis of Brazil”²⁰ and, for his spiritual struggles and ecclesiastical changes, “the Brazilian Luther.”²¹ Conceição renounced his Catholic vows and was admitted to the Presbyterian Church in October 23, 1864. On December 16, 1865, he was ordained as the first native Protestant minister at the Presbyterian Church in Rio de Janeiro.²² He immediately began to help Simonton and Blackford with the publication of the *Imprensa Evangélica*. His profound knowledge of the Catholic faith and personal experience with Brazilian Catholicism became instrumental in the periodical’s endeavor to challenge what had been until then the unchallengeable religion of the state. In fact, the *Imprensa Evangélica* quickly became the rival of two Ultramontane journals in Rio de Janeiro: the *Cruzeiro do Brasil* and the *Apóstolo*. On

1ª Igreja Independente de São Paulo (São Paulo: Edições da 1ª Igreja Independente de São Paulo, 1938), 108–10.

¹⁹ David Guerreiros Vieira, *O Protestantismo, a Maçonaria e a Questão Religiosa no Brasil* (Brasília: Editora UNB, 1980), 124–25.

²⁰ Agnelo Rossi, *Diretório Protestante no Brasil* (Campinas: Tipografia Paulista, 1938), 58.

²¹ Boanerges Ribeiro, *O Padre Protestante* (São Paulo: Casa Editora Presbiteriana), 1950.

²² Vieira, *O Protestantismo*, 144.

November 6, 1864, the *Cruzeiro* raised the first alarm when it published a report that a Protestant periodical had appeared in the city and asked the provincial Vicar of Rio to investigate and take the necessary actions.²³ In 1866 the *Apóstolo* launched an open campaign, mounting an attack against the *Imprensa Evangélica* in response to an article the *Imprensa* had published with the title “The Worship of Images.”²⁴ The *Imprensa* also had published articles on social subjects such as civil marriage,²⁵ as well as theological and doctrinal ones. The analysis of the *Imprensa Evangélica* is important for several reasons. First, the periodical was published during a critical period for the emancipation of the country and the formation of the Presbyterian Church. Ironically the end of the *Imprensa Evangélica* in 1889 coincided with the fall of the monarchy. Second, almost all of its publishers and contributors, with exception of Conceição, had some of their sermons published also by the *Púlpito Evangélico*. In the light of this connection, the analysis of sermons and articles in the former will certainly cast light upon the interpretation of the sermons in the latter. Finally, since the *Imprensa Evangélica* did not only focus on the publication of sermons but also aimed articles at social and political subjects, we should expect to find more direct quotations and therefore more direct source material in it than in the sermons of the *Púlpito Evangélico*, especially regarding social issues and the confrontation with Catholicism. From the analysis of a number of statements in the *Imprensa Evangélica* dating from 1865, 1866, and 1883, we may highlight some religious subjects and also some social and political issues with which the periodical dealt.

²³ *O Cruzeiro do Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro, November 4, 1864). Quoted by Vieira, *O Protestantismo*, 148.

²⁴ “O Culto de Imagens Defendido pelo Apóstolo, Folha Religiosa,” *A Imprensa Evangélica* 11, no. 15 (Rio de Janeiro, August 4, 1866): 1.

²⁵ “O Casamento Civil,” *A Imprensa Evangélica* 11, no. 11 (Rio de Janeiro, June 2, 1866): 83.

The Religious Enterprise

One of the characteristics of American missionaries that made a tremendous difference in the propagation of the Gospel and expansion of Protestantism was their missiological engagement with the culture and the Brazilian society. It seems that the *Imprensa* kept this missiological preoccupation clearly in view throughout its years as pivotal outlet for the publication of such articles. Two articles colorfully illustrate this emphasis. First, in January 1881 the *Imprensa* published “The Proper Means to Plant the Kingdom of Jesus Christ in Brazil,”²⁶ a piece that originally had been presented more than a decade prior its publication in the annual meeting of the Presbytery of Rio de Janeiro in July 16, 1867. In the introductory part of the article, we take note especially of the way the *Imprensa* urged the church body to carry out its evangelistic task:

We intend to make the Gospel known and bring the people of Brazil to the submission of Jesus as their only Savior and King. In other words, we envision the evangelization of Brazil [and the bringing of] peace, which is the result of the passion, death and intercession of Jesus Christ, so that all its inhabitants come to believe in Him for their salvation. This work can be seen through the *human* side and also through the *divine* side. And it is even necessary to consider all work done in this sense as in part our work and also God’s work. The Gospel that we have preached is a divine revelation. It is from the Word of God that we take all material for our preaching. But, yet, the efficacious force to labor the conversion of those who listen to us comes from the Holy Spirit. When the regeneration of the soul is at stake, God is everything, and man is nothing.²⁷

This quotation demonstrates clearly Simonton’s missiological understanding. He wanted to keep a balance—almost a tension—between God’s sovereignty and human responsibility. By pointing out the “human side” of the work of the preaching of the Gospel, he was, in fact, calling Christians to shoulder the personal responsibility of being God’s witnesses among the heathen.

²⁶ “The Proper Means to Plant the Kingdom of Jesus Christ in Brazil,” *A Imprensa Evangélica* 17, no. 1 (São Paulo, January 25, 1881): 6.

²⁷ Ibid.

Simonton went on to say, “It is that way the Gospel gets propagated. Each believer must engage with his or her neighbor on what he or she has received until the entire society gets transformed.”²⁸ We will see this emphasis stressed again and again in Simonton’s writings.

Another important article was published in March 1881 under the title “Some Considerations on the Obstacles to the Progress of the Gospel in Brazil.”²⁹

The second article illustrating the *Imprensa*’s missiological interest had originally been preached as a sermon by Alexander Blackford in July 1867. Among the obstacles facing the missionary, Blackford cited the religiosity (or lack thereof) found among the people, including their superstitions, vices, and wont for human conveniences. By “conveniences” he meant that people placed family values and social positions over the call to conform to true religion.

Simonton’s and Blackford’s articles were both first presented in the same congress. But while Simonton developed his theme in a more positive way, Blackford chose to develop his in a more negative manner. Simonton’s later recasting of things in a positive vein suggests he thought such an approach would likely gain more readers and supporters. The problems doubtless remained the same.

In February 18, 1865, the *Imprensa Evangélica* published an article against the *Syllabus of Errors* that had been issued by Pope Pius IX in 1864. The publication of such an article, which was polemical in its nature, reveals that the periodical aimed indeed at the Brazilian aristocracy, especially the liberal Catholic party, since the church was in its very early infancy. The publishers begin the article with a challenging and certainly inflammatory statement: “Everyone

²⁸ Ibid., 7.

²⁹ “Some Considerations on the Obstacles to the Progress of the Gospel in Brazil,” *A Imprensa Evangélica* 16, no. 3 (São Paulo, 1881): 70.

marches forward, except Rome”³⁰ The article did not enumerate all errors pointed by the *Syllabus*, but it concluded that the *Syllabus* validated the “war” that had been going on between the modern civilization and the papacy since the medieval period. And here for the first time the publishers seemed to imply that medieval characteristics were also present in nineteenth-century Brazilian society. They wrote, “If this [the list of condemnations in the *Syllabus*] is a legitimate pretension, the world is on trial and the only possible civilization for our people is the civilization of the Middle Ages.”³¹ The article also attacked the *Syllabus* for its contradictory rejection of one most pivotal pillars of the American missionaries’ work, namely, education. The publishers stressed that for Pius IX and his *Syllabus*, “thinking is the closest step to sinning,”³² and, therefore, it was false to assume that civil guarantees for the liberty of worship and of the press would promote the moral corruption and propagate indifference,³³ as the *Syllabus* had opined. At the end of the article the publishers wrote, “We are not at the eleventh century anymore when nobody could dare to go so far as to complain [against Rome].”³⁴ At the end of 1865, the periodical began to publish a series of articles titled “Christianity and Its Essence, or How the Christian Differs from Those Who Are Not Christians.” In it three questions were posed. First, in what does the essence of Christianity consist? Next, how does the Christian necessarily differ himself from those who are not Christians? And finally, if one desires to call himself Christian, what is the reasonable ground upon which to do so? The publishers began by depicting what they called “the religious portrait of the country” and stressed the practical

³⁰ “A Carta Encyclica do Papa perante o Século,” *A Imprensa Evangélica* 1, no. 8 (Rio de Janeiro, February 18, 1865): 3.

³¹ *Ibid.*

³² *Ibid.*

³³ *Ibid.*, 4.

³⁴ *Ibid.*

negativism of the Catholic faith. They said, “Innumerable voices would shout: We have not stolen, we have not murdered, we have not committed adultery, we have not given false testimony against our neighbor, and therefore we are the best Christians ever.”³⁵ They also challenged the rigor of the Catholic “dogmatism” and the “nullification” of the individual in favor of the collectivity. They wrote, “Some would be satisfied with the sign of the cross, with the Baptism which was received when he was a child, with the Lord’s Prayer, with the Hail Mary and many imperfect versions of the Ten Commandments.”³⁶ And they would go on to say this:

Almost everything that is written or spoken in the interest of religion today is about questions related to the Church or to the society in general. For each word addressed to the individual in order to explain to him or her the remedy for the disease which suffers his or her soul, a thousand words are used to address the society, the government, and the world in order to show the utility of certain marks of Christianity.³⁷

At one point, they followed in the steps of Martin Luther’s teaching of the two kingdoms when they complained that “since Constantine declared himself the exterior Bishop of the Church, the fusion between the temporal and spiritual power, still increasing today, began.”³⁸ Finally they answered the three main propositions with a christological tone: On the essence of Christianity, they wrote the following:

The Christian religion seen as a doctrine, or a body of doctrine, is the revelation of the way by which Jesus Christ was able to unite with God those who accept Him as their Savior. All doctrine that does not make itself an integral part of the whole, in which Jesus Christ is the Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the end, can be regarded as foreign to Christianity.³⁹

³⁵ “O Christianismo em sua essencia ou como o Christão deffere daquele que não o é,” *A Imprensa Evangélica* 1, no. 22 (Rio de Janeiro, September 16, 1865): 1.

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ Ibid., 2

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ “O Christianismo em sua essencia ou como o Christão deffere daquele que não o é,” *A Imprensa Evangélica* 1, no. 23 (Rio de Janeiro, October 7, 1865): 1.

The second question was also answered by stressing the person and work of Jesus: “Every Christian, through Jesus Christ, becomes united with God and lives in His presence.”⁴⁰ In the third question the publishers sought to understand the nature and the conditions of this union between man and God. They pointed out that this union is made available only by the preaching of the Gospel. The conditions, according to them, were nothing else but justification by faith.

The communion that takes place between God and man who unites himself with Jesus Christ by faith is not only *reconciliation* ... By a direct and supernatural act the Spirit of God takes possession of the heart of all believers, and by His presence and operation this communion between creature and Creator becomes effective. The conditions on behalf of man are *repentance* and *faith in Christ*. When the sinner repents and believes, coming to be united with God from whom he had lived apart, this is called *conversion*.⁴¹

Another article that deserves to be mentioned was published in 1866 under the title “The True Church.”⁴² The article was a compelling attack on the Roman Catholic definition of “church,” followed by an orthodox Protestant explanation of the church. In the article the publishers set down six marks they thought described the true Church. The first mark is the universality of the church: “The true Church is composed of all believers in Jesus Christ, of all chosen ones by God, of all true believers.”⁴³ The second mark is its homogeneity brought by signs and Sacraments rather than dogmas and declarations: “Their members are all reborn by the Holy Spirit, have the repentance before God and faith in Jesus Christ, and have holiness in their lives and behavior ... They are all built upon one foundation and have the same and only one book, the Bible.”⁴⁴ The third mark is that the true Church is fundamentally Christocentric: “It is a church that does not depend on any minister on earth. Their lives do not absolutely depend on

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Ibid., 2.

⁴² “A Verdadeira Igreja,” *A Imprensa Evangélica* 2, no. 8 (Rio de Janeiro, April 21, 1866): 58–60.

⁴³ Ibid., 58.

being in communion with the visible church ... This Church has just one head—only one pastor, one universal bishop—Jesus Christ.”⁴⁵ The fourth mark is its catholicity, and the fifth is its apostolicity. Finally, the sixth mark is its eternal destiny: “This is the only church that has the certainty that is going to last until the end ... This is the church in which not a single member can perish.”⁴⁶

Apostolic Tone

The *Imprensa Evangélica* presented a strong apologetic tone on behalf of the Protestant faith against, especially, Roman Catholicism and Spiritualism. The first years of the periodical, while still in Rio de Janeiro under the editorship of Simonton and Blackford, were characterized by a direct confrontation with the two Catholic periodicals that circulated in the capital city at that same time. In May 5, 1866, the *Imprensa Evangélica* published an article titled “The Question of Religious Liberty in Brazil.” This article launched a paper war, precipitating a pamphlet exchange with the *Apóstolo*, the Roman Catholic periodical that attacked and protested vehemently against the *Imprensa* article. The *Imprensa* was not cowed. In its next issue of May 19, 1866, the *Imprensa* published the first of its responses with “The *Apóstolo* against the *Imprensa Evangélica*.” In it the publishers once more pointed out the medievalism evident in Brazilian Catholicism. They said, “The *Apóstolo* wants to establish a thesis according to the scholastic style by developing abstract and philosophic arguments, as it used to be in the Middle Ages at the feet of Thomas Aquinas.”⁴⁷ When the periodical was transferred to São Paulo, after Simonton’s death in 1868, the new editors continued to pursue their aggressive apologetics

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Ibid., 59.

⁴⁷ “O Apóstolo contra a Imprensa Evangélica,” *A Imprensa Evangélica* 2, no. 10 (Rio de Janeiro, May 19,

against Catholicism. However, they did so with a broader, less personal tone and a more moderate manner as had been used at the beginning of the *Imprensa*. In this second phase the periodical also became a vehicle for the denunciation of religious persecution. In 1881 it published the article “Threats against the Non-Catholics”⁴⁸ in which it appeals to the laws of the Brazilian Empire over against the persecution launched by the “devotees of the Pope’s religion.” It also attacked some Roman Catholic doctrines such as the mass⁴⁹ and purgatory.⁵⁰

Another group or trend that the *Imprensa* targeted was spiritualist religion. In October 1881, there appeared a new publication in São Paulo, a periodical called the *Espiritismo*, addressed to the followers of such a religion. In December of the same year, the *Imprensa* published its first article attacking Spiritualism. What is interesting in this attack is that the *Imprensa* does not use Bible passages in its response but rather relies on rhetorical arguments. To support its points, its authors raised the following questions: “Has any serious problem been solved by the use of Spiritism? Has it made any important discovery? Has Spiritism done anything good for science or for humanity?”⁵¹ Similarly, the last paragraph of the article particularly stood out for its different tone: “We apologize to the publishers of the periodical the *Espiritismo* for the manner we address the doctrines that they have defended, and we thank them for the periodical volumes they have sent to us.”⁵² This quotation calls our attention back to the fact that in the nineteenth century, the apologetic style of a confrontation about any subject, especially religion, followed a medieval style that was less personal and instead focused more on

1866): 79.

⁴⁸ “O Apóstolo contra a Imprensa Evangélica,” *A Imprensa Evangélica* 17, no. 8 (São Paulo, August 1881): 225.

⁴⁹ “O Apóstolo contra a Imprensa Evangélica,” *A Imprensa Evangélica* 2, no. 11 (Rio de Janeiro, 1881): 328.

⁵⁰ “O Purgatório,” *A Imprensa Evangélica* 2, no. 10 (São Paulo, 1881): 15.

⁵¹ “O Espiritismo,” *A Imprensa Evangélica* 17, no. 12 (São Paulo, 1881): 368.

ideas and theories. Adolpho Machado Corrêa, the biographer of Christian journalist Eduardo Carlos Pereira, corroborates this interpretation of the Brazilian culture when Corrêa writes that “the Christian journalist does not get himself involved with questions that discredit the human being, for his fight is [waged] on the ground of ideas, [and] his polemics revolve around doctrines and ideals that have God’s approval, which involves plans more sublime that promote the well being of the individual, family, society, country, and humanity.”⁵³

Political and Social Issues

The dissemination of Protestantism in Brazil forced Brazilian society to rethink many social practices that had never been addressed by the religion of the state. As a matter of fact, the questions of civil marriage and the use of cemeteries for the burial of Protestants became, without doubt, the two most important social issues that were contested. In 1810, the emperor had signed the Commerce and Navigation Agreement with the English king, which led the country to be part of a large-scale immigration movement in the next decades, with people moving from European countries that were mainly Protestant. This trend forced the Emperor himself to take the social issues of Protestantism more seriously and to consider seeking a resolution for them, something he subsequently did.

The report in 1844 from Pastor João Ehlers about the German colony of São Leopoldo, South Brazil, gives a clear example of the different style of life adopted by the immigrants and of the Roman Catholic tolerance of them in counter distinction to the native population:

This colony is a particular phenomenon in Brazil. As soon we get in the area, everything shows itself completely different from the Brazilian population: We feel as if we were suddenly transported to Germany ... We hear the German language

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ Adolpho Machado Corrêa, *Eduardo Carlos Pereira: Seu Apostolado no Brasil* (São Paulo: Livraria e Editora Pendão Real, 1983), 59.

almost exclusively; we see only German faces, language, clothes, habits, and customs ... A little more than one third of the population belongs to the Evangelical Church and the remaining one third to the Roman Catholic Church ... The Evangelical Church has done many good things already, although it has faced many disturbances and oppression ... The Catholics consider the Protestants as good Christian friends; recognize that they have many particular qualities in comparison with the Catholic Church; live with them in good friendship; marry them; and let the children of these inter-confessional matrimones be baptized either in the Protestant Church or in the Catholic Church ... The Church is not the reason for disagreements anymore.⁵⁴

However, the king's regulations for the building of cemeteries and the performance of civil ceremonies of Protestant couples did not take into consideration the potential reaction of the native Brazilian population. When some of the fellow Roman Catholics began to leave the religion of the state and join different Protestant denominations, the population rebelled against the king's tolerant policies and once more forced the social issues to an acute impasse. To compound the problem, Roman Catholic clergy began taking advantage of the impasse as an opportunity for recovering the Catholic losses and regaining the churchgoers back to the flock. Alexander Reily, quoting from original documents, highlighted the struggles that the members of Dr. Kalley's congregation had in Rio de Janeiro and had this to say:

The sad turmoil of the year 1857 may be known to all members of the congregation, [turmoil] caused by the declaration of the annulment of the Protestant marriage [ceremony] of Johann Schopp and Margareth Kerth, [an annulment] declared by the Bishop of Rio de Janeiro ... The memory of this, which seriously threatened the marriage of the non-Catholics when it came to religious matters as well as to civil affairs, was, with the passing of time, very much obscured [i.e., seemed to have faded from memory]; nevertheless, the dangers for the Protestant congregations in Brazil, as some recent events in Espírito Santo have shown, have not disappeared. By his own authority a local Catholic priest annulled two Protestant civil ceremonies, and after the conversion of the two women to the Catholic faith, he allowed them to contract a second marriage with other men.⁵⁵

⁵⁴ Alexander Duncan Reily, *História Documental do Protestantismo no Brasil* (São Paulo: ASTE, 2003), 64–65.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 69.

Through the two quotations, we conclusively observe a strong difference between the situation of the immigrants and that of the native population. While the immigrants in South Brazil were enjoying a comfortable social position in 1844, the native converts in Rio de Janeiro were still struggling with the ecclesiastical authorities more than two decades later. But it was the fight between the Regal Catholicism and the Catholicism of Rome, along with the political pressure of the immigrant's settlements, that brought the most positive result to the conflict and broke the impasse. The report went on to say this:

The Imperial Delegation of Germany ... recommended to the Brazilian government a regulation for the situation that would protect Protestant marriages. These recommendations had good results and the Brazilian government, according to the decision of the State Board in May 18, 1873, and sanctioned by His Majesty the Emperor of Brazil in June 25, 1873, determined that the women who contracted the second matrimony without canceling the first one and the Catholic priest who performed the ceremonies should be both subject to [the sanctions] of the Articles 147 and 149 of the Brazilian Penal Code. These decisions obviously would allow Protestant marriages to be safer in the future.⁵⁶

The *Imprensa* did not sit out this dispute. On the contrary, by June 1866 the first article, "The Civil Marriage," was published.⁵⁷ Fifteen years later, it published the second article, "The Civil Marriage in Brazil,"⁵⁸ and in 1885 the third, "The Civil Marriage" came off the press.⁵⁹ Revisiting the topic over some twenty years suggests this continued to be a problem. An analysis of these three articles shows a different approach was taken in the first one, published in 1866, when compared to the last two published in 1881 and 1885. As has been mentioned, until 1869 the *Imprensa* was under the aegis of Simonton and Blackford in Rio de Janeiro. The first article, which represents the first phase of the periodical, did not approach the subject in a political

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ "O Casamento Civil," *A Imprensa Evangélica* 2, no. 11 (Rio de Janeiro, June 2, 1866): 83.

⁵⁸ "O Casamento Civil no Brasil," *A Imprensa Evangélica* 17, no. 11 (São Paulo, November 1881): 328.

⁵⁹ "O Casamento Civil no Brasil," *A Imprensa Evangélica* 21, no. 3 (São Paulo, February 7, 1885): 39.

manner but rather with the *Imprensa's* theological perspective. The publishers analyzed two important documents and placed them against each other in order to lay down the Protestant theological understanding of marriage. The first document was presented by a Brazilian and Catholic representative named Burlamaque, who stressed that “the validity of the marriage depends on its sacramental character, and therefore, by lacking this indispensable condition the civil marriage is not valid.”⁶⁰ He went on to say that “the current Legislation of Brazil is very liberal to grant the foreign and the native *dissidents* (meaning those who left the Catholic Church) the constitution of family.”⁶¹ The second document was a judicial record issued by the priest and public notary of Rio de Janeiro, José Antônio Rodriguez, on January 15, 1866, granting a marriage license to a Roman Catholic woman and a Lutheran man. The publishers used the following rhetorical argument:

Is it the case that this mixed marriage, authorized by the *capitular* vicar, was a sacrament? We cannot affirm that, since a Lutheran cannot receive any sacrament from the Roman church. However, it is valid because administered by the declaration of the church's authorities. Here there is a dilemma ... if, as Mr. Burlamaque stressed in his speech, the sacrament is what constitutes the validation of marriage, the municipal vicar and the ecclesiastical Board are practicing scandals and abuses that require the intervention of the civil authorities ... If this marriage, however, is valid, then it follows that the sacrament is not the essence of marriage, and that the civil marriages are appropriate and do not offend any law.⁶²

On the other hand, the second and third articles, which represented the second phase of the periodical, are more polemical. The second denounced the bishop's excesses and persecution as well as his willingness to allow immorality in the name of protecting matrimony as a Catholic sacrament. For the publishers, the denial of marriage for non-Catholic people would mean that they were living an unlawful matrimonial life. And the third article advocated the use of current

⁶⁰ “O Casamento Civil no Brasil,” *A Imprensa Evangélica* 2, no. 11 (Rio de Janeiro, June 2, 1866): 85.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 84.

⁶² *Ibid.*

civil law and raised the question of immigration. It is noteworthy to mention that although the immigration question had been resolved by 1885, the periodical invoked it anyway. This somewhat anachronistic usage can be explained in two ways. First, it is possible that the publishers used the immigration question because they had some local incidents in mind that had not been documented. Second, they might also be showing here their own conclusion that such Roman Catholic pressure can obstruct the immigration process regardless of what officially might have been the case. Whatever they had in mind, we can fairly conclude that the two missionary enterprises in Brazil, although they had two distinct goals, strategies, and audiences, helped each other especially in the question of civil marriage.⁶³

The *Imprensa* summarized the issue this way:

The bishop of Rio de Janeiro interposes in the way of those who desire to form a legal and canonical family, and it has become ordinary in the Rio's diocese for those who intend to marry to face these difficulties ... We cannot conceive how a Bishop harmonizes in his conscience the promotion of the immorality in his flock by presenting obstacles to the young couples ... There is no doubt that the question of marriage in Brazil requires the most serious consideration and action by the government.⁶⁴

The government cannot interfere, nor the parliament to decree anything, related to the business of human conscience. The legislative power has nothing to do with the beliefs of the engaged couple. Its action is limited to the contract of the marriage and its civil effects, leaving to the liberty of conscience the religious ceremony that their respective religions require. The legislative power, decreeing the civil marriage, does not prohibit, and it cannot do so, the celebration of the religious ceremony, which is a sacrament for the Catholics and for the Protestants, an evocation asking for the blessings of the invisible and supreme power ... This pernicious mistake in a country

⁶³ In order to study and understand satisfactorily the missionary work and the development of Protestantism in Brazil, one must inevitably begin by sorting the work into two categories, namely, "missions by immigration and settlement" and "missions by proclamation and evangelism." The former was accomplished by many immigrant European groups that, attracted by the availability of abundant land for agriculture, moved to Brazil in the nineteenth century. One of the pioneering denominations in this type of missions was the Lutheran Church. The "missions by proclamation and evangelism" type of work began to take place concomitantly in the 1810s through the work of laity English colporteurs and in the 1840s through the work of American missionaries.

⁶⁴ "O Casamento Civil no Brasil," *A Imprensa Evangélica* 17, no. 11 (São Paulo, November, 1881): 328.

that lacks immigrants duplicates the legislative fussiness of the Portuguese parliament.⁶⁵

The *Imprensa* also addressed other social issues such as drunkenness, dancing, and gambling. And by doing so, the publishers outlined the clear differences between the Protestant and Catholic lifestyles. It has been highlighted in previous chapters that the Roman Catholic Church promoted holidays and national festivals, and many of them were conducted in the recreation facilities and courtyard of a local church, drawing in the wider church community. Thus the attack on these festivals meant also attacking the habits and customs of the Catholic population. In November 1881, the *Imprensa* published an article titled “The Believer and His Relations with the Society.”⁶⁶ The puritanical tone of the article is set in its first paragraph as the authors wrote that “the believer must exhibit himself firm, logical, and intransigent.” The publishers call the Brazilian society a “polished” and “semi-Christian” society, and by doing so they acknowledge the thin line that separated right and wrong in the Christian interaction with the secular life. They said, “[T]oday ... the society is found to a large degree to be Christianized; the customs are less corrupted, and the line that divides the precepts of Christianity and the world values disappears sometime in the shades of the *universal moral*.”⁶⁷ They argued for two main principles. First, the morality or immorality of any fact was determined not only by its immediate consequence, or by its immediate influence on us or others, but also, and most important, by the examination of the fact at the light of the moral law. Second, it was the rigorous duty of the believer not only to prevent himself from practicing immoral things—that is, against the moral or

⁶⁵ “O Casamento Civil no Brasil,” *A Imprensa Evangélica* 21, no. 3 (São Paulo, February 7, 1885): 39.

⁶⁶ “O Casamento Civil no Brasil,” *A Imprensa Evangélica* 17, no. 11 (São Paulo, November 1881): 323–24.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 323.

the evangelical precepts—but also to condemn them by all means available to him.⁶⁸ Guided by these two principles, the publishers closed the article by laying down some practical examples:

We are invited to a social meeting, a party, for example. Before accepting the invitation, let us consider the case. Is such a meeting moral or immoral ...? Does it not offend the rigorous precepts of the moral law? Should it be legal that the person who gives the party spends money and time without any benefit to the glory of God, or even for the good of society? Is it allowed to the believer to alter his health, or at least, to excuse himself from working in the days the following the unrestful nights of the parties? Finally, could such a meeting not exert upon him bad influences? ... Do these dancing meetings not develop principally the “cravings of sinful man, the lust of his eyes, and the boasting of what he has and does?”⁶⁹

In January 1881, the *Imprensa* attacked directly the gambling industry in Brazil, calling it “moral, financial and political suicide.” The publishers argued that “a family man, by setting his house on fire where his wife and children take shelter, does not appear crazier than the government and patriots that sanction this immoral game.”⁷⁰ In May 1885, another article was published, now taking the issue more directly to the Christians themselves: “Any means employed for the acquisition of money, with disdain to the divine precept to work, is a crime.”⁷¹ The Calvinist principle here is simple: “The true wealth consists of man be content with what the divine providence has granted him, and of knowing how to wait patiently for that which is yet to come.”⁷²

It is very easy to rush to judgment about the puritanical way the publishers approached the subject in the nineteenth-century Brazilian society, but we should be reminded that they were dealing with a society that did not have the theological baggage and practical lifestyle that Protestantism accumulated since the Reformation. Therefore, it is reasonable to understand that

⁶⁸ Ibid., 324.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ “O Casamento Civil no Brasil,” *A Imprensa Evangélica* 17, no. 1 (São Paulo, January 25, 1881): 3.

⁷¹ “O Casamento Civil no Brasil,” *A Imprensa Evangélica* 21, no. 9 (São Paulo, May 2, 1885).

radical measures were needed for a radical time and extreme worldly practices. So they resorted to blunt rhetoric that may seem overblown today but which seemed appropriate to those editors at the time.

In sum, the *Imprensa Evangélica* made a priceless contribution for the formation of Protestantism in Brazil as we have seen. Calvin's Geneva would have recognized the goals, the approach, and the tone, with so many of the issues and so much of the rhetoric seeming to reach back to a bygone era that was not so bygone in Brazil of that day. But this was not all that was said. There were other materials also produced in the nineteenth century that will help us even more in our analysis of the nineteenth-century Brazilian Presbyterianism.

Personal Correspondence and Various Other Documents

The Correspondence of Antônio Pedro de Cerqueira Leite

Although Antônio Cerqueira Leite (1845–83)⁷³ died prematurely at age thirty-eight, he had operated a prodigious ministry that had lasting results. He served as a local pastor and an itinerant missionary, a Bible colporteur, musician, teacher, and writer. He belonged to the firstfruits of the Protestant harvest in Brazil, studying at the first seminary opened in Rio de Janeiro in 1868 under the guidance of Simonton and Blackford. He traveled extensively throughout the interior of the country sharing the Gospel with his fellow citizens, and because he was on the road as a youth, he wrote many letters to his mother and friends back home. Not one to go half throttle, a month before his death, Leite would say to a friend, “my field of activity keeps expanding more and more.”⁷⁴ It is true his health was precarious due mainly to his

⁷² Ibid., 66.

⁷³ Matos, *Os Pioneiros Presbiterianos do Brasil*, 324–30; Lessa, *Annaes da Primeira Igreja Presbiteriana de São Paulo*, 219–23.

⁷⁴ Antônio Pereira Cerqueira Leite, *Cartas de Cerqueira Leite* (Campinas, July 23, 1883). A copy of this unpublished collection is in the Presbyterian Historical Archive in São Paulo.

extensive travels on horseback, but by the time he passed away, he was considering doing mission work as far way as Paraná in South Brazil. The body of his personal correspondence has been well maintained in the archive of the Rev. Vicente Themudo Lessa in São Paulo. In the collection are seventeen letters written from 1866 to 1883 that are important to the topic of this paper.

Leite's approach and attitude add still more to the mix we have already seen. The first characteristic we find important in Leite's correspondence is the natural openness for the Gospel and eagerness for the Bible he encountered in the population. Daniel Kidder⁷⁵ and Hugh Tucker⁷⁶ have stressed this trend in their books, but the importance of Leite's comments lies in the fact that he was not writing a book but rather sharing with a friend his own experience. Therefore, his testimony does not follow any particular theological and apologetic structure like we have found in the minds of those writing books for public consumptions. Leite's is a private, personal voice. In 1866, just seven years after the first missionary arrived, Leite wrote this: "Everybody showed interest for the Gospel, and I gave a Bible to all of them ... I left fifteen Bibles in Sant'Anna, and I sold twelve Bibles and ten New Testament copies in Pouso Alegre."⁷⁷ He goes on to say that "it is precious that a preacher could go to Sant'Anna because everybody there has desire to hear, and I think that the Gospel will be very much embraced."⁷⁸ Leite could be unique or idiosyncratic, but his views dovetail with the observation of others. For example, we might note the impact of the Bible on the population apart from any missionary work, similar to the idea put

⁷⁵ Kidder, *Sketches of Residence and Travels in Brazil*, 1:137.

⁷⁶ Tucker, *The Bible in Brazil: Colporteur Experiences*, 109.

⁷⁷ Leite, *Cartas de Cerqueira Leite* (Campinas, July 23, 1883).

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

forth in Emile G. Léonard's theory, an "autonomous popular piety."⁷⁹ Leite also speaks of popular, spontaneous response. In 1883, he wrote, "In [Tietê city] there is a rich farmer who, only by the reading of the Bible, has converted to Christianity ... I conducted a worship service there and everyone already had his Bible in hand."⁸⁰ More: "The Gospel keeps growing and gaining a lot of acceptance in that city. When I visited it, the meetings were attended by well over one hundred and fifty people."⁸¹

There was also an open dissatisfaction with local Roman Catholicism that was due mainly to the poor lifestyle of the clergy, concomitant with an increasing interest in the Protestant faith. In 1866 he wrote this: "Mr. France became resolutely Protestant, and we left Bible pamphlets with him; and he preached to all people who arrived there and said that they were deluded with the Catholic religion, and that there was no religion like the Protestants'."⁸² And he went on to say, "They charge \$200 for a wedding ceremony ... It is said that a certain vicar named Camillo has done even more preposterous things. Sometimes he gets angry in church and says that someday he is going to kill someone right there in the temple [i.e., church building]. When I got there, he had gone to the capital city to answer a written complain about him that they had sent to the Bishop."⁸³ Seventeen years later, Leite would write again and comment on the state of affair of the local clergy:

The carnival, which had a lot of influence, ended yesterday here. Among the various groups a car (pulled by horses) showed up bringing two monks and a nun. One of the monks was very astute and played perfectly his role. When passing by our house, he stood up in the car and started preaching a sermon full of excitement. He waved like

⁷⁹ See Chapter 1, footnote 116.

⁸⁰ Leite, *Cartas de Cerqueira Leite* (Campinas, February 7, 1883).

⁸¹ *Ibid.*

⁸² Leite, *Cartas de Cerqueira Leite* (Campinas, October 1, 1866).

⁸³ *Ibid.*

a possessed man, and addressing us, he screamed if we did not confess and not make ourselves Catholics, we would all go to hell.⁸⁴

The third important observation is Leite's view that Roman Catholicism was some sort of halfway version of Protestantism. It is similar to the idea of the *Imprensa's* publishers when they called Catholicism "semi-Christian." And addressing this semi-Christianity, Leite said, "The province of Minas is vast, as you well know, and its people are not prejudicial as the São Paulo's population is, when it comes to religion. And this makes me to sure of a good work from the sowing of Gospel seed. According to my own view, the question is surrounded on this: how to make people give up the error on behalf of the truth because on the matter of religious background, they have it."⁸⁵

The Carvalhosa Collection: Pastoral Reports (1866–75)⁸⁶

Modesto Perestrello Barros de Carvalhosa (1849–1917) was, without doubt, one of the giants of the pioneering Brazilian Presbyterianism. He studied at the so-called "Primitive Seminary," which had been organized in Rio de Janeiro by the first American missionary, Ashbel Green Simonton, and became the first ordained native pastor who had regularly attended theological classes. In his forty-year ministry, the list of his accomplishments was extensive, as he was simultaneously a local pastor, missionary, writer, and teacher. He also contributed to the *Imprensa Evangélica* and the *Púlpito Evangélico* and served as the president of the Book of

⁸⁴ Leite, Cartas de Cerqueira Leite, (Campinas, February 7, 1883).

⁸⁵ Leite, Cartas de Cerqueira Leite,(Campinas, March 1, 1883).

⁸⁶ The Carvalhosa Collection is an unpublished work that assembles in one volume all copies of the hand-written pastoral reports presented by the American missionaries and native pastors to the Presbytery of Rio de Janeiro from 1866 to 1875. In it are the following pastoral reports: Ashbel Green Simonton (1866 and 1867), Alexander Blackford (1866, 1867, 1868, 1869, 1871, 1872, 1873, and 1875), José Manoel da Conceição (1866 and 1868), George Chamberlain (1866, 1871, 1872, 1873, and 1875), Francis J. C. Schneider (1867, 1868, 1869, 1871, 1872, and 1875), Hugh Ware McKee (1869), Robert Lenington (1869, 1870, 1871, and 1872), João Fernandes Dagama (1872, 1873, 1874, and 1874), Modesto Carvalhosa (1873 and 1875), Emanuel Vanorden (1873 and 1875), John Beatty Howell (1875). A copy of this unpublished collection is in the Presbyterian Historical Archive in São Paulo.

Order Committee that was responsible for the translation and revision of the Westminster Directory for the Public Worship Service. The material was incorporated later as part of the Worship Service Manual of the Presbyterian Church of Brazil that is still being followed today. Among his contributions, Carvalhosa prepared a bound copy of the pastoral reports presented by the American missionaries and natives pastors in the annual meeting of the Presbytery of Rio de Janeiro from 1866 to 1875. The importance of the collection lies in the fact that in it the first pastors had the opportunity to tell their side of the story regarding the progress of the Gospel in Brazil.

The first important observation from the collection is that there was no reference to adult Baptism among the former Catholic believers, who joined Brazilian Presbyterianism, with the exception of Robert Lenington's report of 1867 when he said, "In these seventeen months I have traveled by horse for over two thousand miles and have baptized thirty-four adults and forty-seven children."⁸⁷ In 1867 Ashbel Simonton wrote: "Since my last report, fourteen people were received to our communion."⁸⁸ Alexander Blackford's report of 1868 highlighted that "twelve people professed their faith ... and twelve children were baptized."⁸⁹ In 1869 Blackford also reported that the Church's membership was ninety-eight members, twelve adults had professed their faith, and six children were baptized.⁹⁰ In the same year the Lenington's report mentioned this: "We have received eight new members and baptized ten children."⁹¹ He also reported to have organized the church in the city of Pouso Alegre where "fourteen people professed their

⁸⁷ Carvalhosa Collection, Pastoral Report of 1869, 30.

⁸⁸ Ibid., Pastoral Report of 1867, 28.

⁸⁹ Ibid., Pastoral Report of 1868, 5.

⁹⁰ Ibid., Pastoral Report of 1869, 11.

⁹¹ Ibid., 25.

faith and twenty children were baptized.”⁹² Sometimes the expression “profession of faith” in the reports seems to be used only to stress the formal decision by visitors to join the Protestant church. This seems to be the case for Lenington’s report in 1871 when he said that “six people professed their faith on Sunday when I celebrated the Lord’s Supper”⁹³ and “the attendance in the service has been very regular. In the months of May and June, twenty-five new people professed their faith.”⁹⁴ On other occasions, however, the expression seems to indicate that these new adult believers who were migrating from the Roman Catholicism were not rebaptized by the missionaries. This approach makes sense if one is willing to work with Simonton’s own opinion that the question of the validity of Roman Catholic Baptism should be left to the conscience of the individual who was to be baptized. (Not all today in wider Christendom would argue that but instead would say a trinitarian Baptism is valid in any case. However, the point here is not to debate today the doctrine or practice per se but to note what happened given the views and practices of some in nineteenth-century Brazil.) When Simonton first arrived in Rio de Janeiro, he met Kalley, the founder of the Fluminense Evangelical Church. Simonton recounted Kalley’s views on Roman Catholic Baptism as follows: “He was anxious that I should adopt his view on Roman Baptism. He regards it as invalid in all counts: matter, meaning, and mode.”⁹⁵ Simonton was not convinced by Dr. Kalley’s opinion, and, in fact, he himself mentioned that he did not follow it at first. On January 14, 1862, Simonton wrote this in his diary about the first conversions of his missionary work: “On Sunday, the 12, we celebrated the Lord’s Supper and received for profession of faith Henry E. Milford and Cordoso Camillo do Jesus Mr.

⁹² Ibid., 28.

⁹³ Ibid., Pastoral Report of 1871, 21

⁹⁴ Ibid., 23.

⁹⁵ Philip S. Landes, Ashbel Green Simonton: Model Pioneer Missionary of the Presbyterian Church of Brazil (Fort Worth: Don Cowan, 1956), 24.

Cordoso, by his own request and also according to what we think to be the best judgment, after many thoughts and hesitation, was baptized.”⁹⁶ Boanerges Ribeiro noted that Simonton would later come to an agreement or understanding with the other missionaries. He said that “there seems to be an agreement among we who are missionaries, to offer the sacrament to those who convert to Protestantism; but in the case they don’t want to be baptized, we abstain from troubling their consciences.”⁹⁷ In the Presbyterian Church of Brazil today it has become not only a general custom to rebaptize converts coming from Romanism but also actually an official position of the national Assembly of the Church.⁹⁸ While the practice differs elsewhere in Christendom, in Brazil there are long roots for such a position calling for the rebaptism of the Catholic converts, a position fostered for two reasons. The first was the native converts’ own decision to submit to Baptism in part to indicate their total rupture with the old religion. The second reason was the theological urging of the new generation of the indigenous pastors toward the end of the century.

The second observation to be stressed in the report is the progress made by the preaching of the Gospel, and the increasing of the population’s desire to hear the Word of God concurrent with the decrease of religious persecution. In 1867 Manoel da Conceição would say this: “Just ten years ago nobody would believe to be possible the free preaching of the Gospel among us as we have today.”⁹⁹ Blackford also gave an account of Pires’s missionary work in Campinas in 1867 and highlighted the decrease of persecution with the following words: “Mr. Pires went to

⁹⁶ Ashbel G. Simonton, *Diário, 1852–1867*, trans. D. R. De Moraes Barros (São Paulo: Casa Editora Presbyteriana, 1982), 176.

⁹⁷ Ribeiro, *Protestantismo e Cultura Brasileira*, 25.

⁹⁸ <http://www.ipb.org.br/documentos_oficiais/index.php3>. (SC-IPB-2006 Doc. XCVIII–Quanto ao Doc. 047, 40.)

⁹⁹ Carvalhosa Collection, Pastoral Report of 1867, 55.

Campinas where he preached with a great expectation some four times. In this trip he also began to preach in a hotel in Jundiay. However, he was interrupted and forced to give up by some infamous men. I believe this to be one the only example of interruption, and it seems that the people of that city did not have part of it.”¹⁰⁰ Lenington also testified to the population’s increasing desire to hear the Gospel. In his report of 1867 it is said: “We met the people with a great desire to hear the Gospel, not only the believers but also many others. They gathered in their shack, sat on the floor, giving all attention to God’s truth. We visited house by house on the mountains and valleys and found the same desire to hear the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ.”¹⁰¹

Finally, the third characteristic in the work of the Presbyterian preachers in Brazil highlighted by the pastoral report was the additional work they often did as colporteurs. The distribution of the Bible and evangelistic pamphlets was both highly recommended and very effective. It has been noted that the Methodist missionary Daniel Parish Kidder¹⁰² and the Baptist colporteur Hugh C. Tucker¹⁰³ had become pivotal figures for the success of Bible distribution in Brazil in the nineteenth century. However, the Presbyterian pastors also took advantage of the colportage to launch their missionary work with more effectiveness and amplitude. Also, it was hard to argue against Bible distribution. In 1871 Francis Schneider reported that the Presbyterian Church of Brazil was sending colporteur as far as Bahia, Northeast of Brazil. That is the case of José Freitas Guimarães, who arrived in Bahia in June 13, 1871, to work under the guidance of

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., 44.

¹⁰¹ Ibid., 25–26.

¹⁰² Kidder, *Brazil and the Brazilians*, vol. 1.

¹⁰³ Tucker, *The Bible in Brazil: Colporteur Experiences*.

Francis Schneider.¹⁰⁴ Clearly the mission workers displayed a confidence in the Reformation emphasis on the Word (and Spirit) generating faith.

An Analysis of Two Books

In this section we will analyze two books that are directly related to our subject. They are *The Evangelical Invasion of Brazil*, written by the American missionary Samuel R. Gammon in 1910, and *The Religious Problem of the Latin America*, written by the native pastor Eduardo Carlos Pereira in 1924. These two works are important for several reasons. First, they represent the two main schools of thought and the two main sources of energy and of the workers that we are dealing with in analyzing the sermons: American Presbyterian missionaries and native Presbyterian pastors. Second, Gammon and Pereira became major figures in the formation of Presbyterianism in Brazil, especially with their work on education. In short, the two books epitomize the formation of the Presbyterian Church of Brazil at its peak in the nineteenth century.

Samuel Rhea Gammon and *The Evangelical Invasion of Brazil*

Samuel Rhea Gammon (1865–1928) deserves the title given to him by Alderi Matos: “the great evangelist and educator of Lavras, Minas Gerais.”¹⁰⁵ He served thirty-nine years as a missionary in Brazil, of which thirty-five were spent in Lavras, and he made a number of outstanding contributions as an educator. Matos¹⁰⁶ gives a thorough biography of his many accomplishments, but it will suffice here to say that like an apostle, he made Protestantism known among the people in Lavras and in a vast area of northeast Brazil at a time when

¹⁰⁴ Carvalhosa Collection, Pastoral Report of 1867, 8.

¹⁰⁵ Matos, *Os Pioneiros Presbiterianos do Brasil*, 237.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 237–47.

Protestant work there was still in its infancy. Gammon began his educational work in Brazil with the teaching of his first class of seven boys in January 27, 1890, in São Paulo. Two years later he transferred the school to Lavras due to the epidemic of yellow fever that swept the capital city. Especially during the rainy season when travel was difficult and at times nearly impossible, he dedicated himself to writing. From his pen came a catechism for new believers, a primer that was successfully distributed in eight successive editions, and he authored Bible commentaries in various epistles—Peter, Jude and James. In the school, he taught psychology, logic, history of philosophy, Greek, and some Bible classes. In the secular school, he taught pedagogy. He had a special inclination of talent for civil engineering and became known in the region for his ability as an architect. It has been said that many people in the cities and neighboring areas asked him to plan their houses, and when the houses were finished they would invite him to be their first guest. In 1893, he opened a school for girls and in 1904, a school for boys. In 1908 he opened the *Escola Superior de Agricultura*, a kind of college-level school with programs in agriculture. In 1910 came the *Escola Normal*, a school for public instruction that clearly operated on a Protestant intellectual foundation and reflected a solid Protestant viewpoint.

As an evangelist, Gammon traveled tirelessly throughout the whole west of Minas Gerais preaching the Gospel and opening churches. He had a horse named “Souza” that remarkably carried him for some twenty years of missionary work. Matos sums up Gammon’s evangelistic effort with the following statement:

Gammon used to go on the railroad from West of Minas Gerais as far as Pitangui, and then he continued by horse through many places until the headwaters of the São Francisco river. Besides Cana Verde and Nepomuceno, he visited many other places such as Congonha, Carrancas, Três Pontas, Perdões, Campo Belo, Candeias, Formiga, Arvos, Porto Real, Pains, Pimenta, Piumhi, and Bambuí, arriving finally at

the Serra da Canastra and Mata da Corda. He was known everywhere in that vast region.¹⁰⁷

In 1908 the secretaries of the mission boards of the Southern Presbyterian Church in America pleaded with Gammon to write a thorough account of the mission work in Brazil. And as the saying goes, if you want something done, give it to a busy man. Despite overwhelming evangelistic and educational duties, he took up the task with vigor and started what eventually would become *the Evangelical Invasion of Brazil*, published in 1910. In the words of the editor for the publishing company, Gammon's book was a source that "furnished for student of missions a much needed textbook about Missions in Brazil."¹⁰⁸ As we seek supplementary material from the pens of those missionaries, who published sermons in the *Púlpito Evangélico*, Gammon's book stands out as a "must read" that has to be evaluated, for in the book, the missionary laid out in a methodical way his understanding of Brazil and the missionary work in the country. Certain important issues were not addressed in the thirteen sermons that Gammon published in the *Púlpito Evangélico*, due to the form, nature, and aims of sermonic composition. Yet these issues were addressed in Gammon's book, especially with regard to the encounter with Roman Catholicism. The book aimed to answer a missiological tension between native Catholicism and the new incoming Protestantism. Should Protestants be working in an area where there already ostensibly was a church? As Gammon wrote, with "Brazil being a Roman Catholic country ... the Brazilians have a form of Christianity, and ... it is unwise, if not uncharitable and unchristian, to be conducting missionary work among them."¹⁰⁹ Yet there was a theological issue with Roman Catholic Christianity that Gammon believed must be addressed: "The necessary result of Romanism is to drive the educated into skepticism and to lead the ignorant into

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., 244.

¹⁰⁸ Gammon, *The Evangelical Invasion of Brazil*, 7.

superstition and idolatry.”¹¹⁰ He then devoted the first three chapters of his book to showing the mineral, geographical, and social wealth of the country, and then implying that “only one thing is needed to make Brazil a great world power of lasting and benign influence. That one thing needed is the religion of Jesus Christ in its purity.”¹¹¹ So in the end, the content of what the church taught was important, and so Protestant preachers should still go into areas where Roman Catholicism already was found. For the purpose of our investigation, which is to find supplementary materials to furnish our analysis of the sermons published in the periodical *O Púlpito Evangélico*, we will concentrate on chapters four and five in which Gammon addressed “The Nation’s Need—Brazil as a Mission Field.” As Gammon discussed Roman Catholicism in these chapters, he attempted to navigate between the idea of what Romanism represents to Brazil and what its actual impact was throughout the world over time. First, he wrote that “Romanism *as seen in Brazil*, is not the religion of Christ. It wears the livery of Christianity, but in its form and in its essence it is pagan.”¹¹² He then extrapolated this idea, arguing that it was applicable to the Roman Catholicism as a whole, charging that “papal Rome is, as to its form, a modern paganism.”¹¹³ for “the Roman Catholic Church has borrowed from paganism saints’ days, incense, lustrations, consecrations of sacred places, votive offerings, relics, winking, nodding, sweating, and bleeding images.”¹¹⁴ Romanism, according to Gammon, is a betrayal of Christ and true Christianity.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., 69.

¹¹⁰ Ibid., 71.

¹¹¹ Ibid., 68.

¹¹² Ibid., 69–70

¹¹³ Ibid., 90.

¹¹⁴ Ibid., 89.

Gammon founded his critique of Roman “paganism” on four pillars. In his first pillar he claimed that Rome was a return to paganism in its outward forms that simply masqueraded as Christianity. In order to make his point, he cites two popular non-Protestant authors. One is Latino Coelho (1825–91), one of the most popular Portuguese authors of his time who wrote *The Life of Vasco da Gama*. From that book Gammon identified Hindu elements and linked them to Catholicism. He wrote: “In a strain of delicious humor, this author, who is not a Protestant writer, be it remembered, tells us how Da Gama and his twelve companions were taken into a Hindu pagoda, which, from the very striking resemblances, they took to be a Romish church.”¹¹⁵ He also used extensively the popular Brazilian writer and poet Rui Barbosa. A remarkable book had appeared in Germany under the title *The Pope and the Council*, prepared by a group of able men over the general signature “Janus.” Barbosa had translated this book and wrote an introduction to it that turned out to be longer than the book itself. Gammon thought that “this introduction is a masterly arraignment of Romanism as a perversion of pure Christianity, and as an institution hostile to civil liberty, to social progress and to the larger interests of mankind.”¹¹⁶ Finally he quoted the American Unitarian pastor James Freeman Clarke in order to compare the religion of papal Rome with that of pagan Rome. Gammon observed that “the resemblance between the Roman Catholic ceremonies and those of pagan Rome has been often noticed.”¹¹⁷ The resemblance in outward appearances that Gammon drew was already reason missionaries could not ignore Roman Catholicism but rather had to work in those areas.

The second pillar of Gammon’s argument was that Romanism mirrors paganism in its spirit and doctrines: “The doctrines of baptismal regeneration, of purgatory, of prayers for the

¹¹⁵ Ibid., 88.

¹¹⁶ Ibid., 74–75.

¹¹⁷ Ibid., 89.

dead, of extreme unction, and of the sacrifice of the mass can all be traced through more recent sources on back to Babylon.”¹¹⁸ Here Gammon expanded his attack on Catholicism beyond Brazilian lands by quoting Rui Barbosa’s citation of a formula of the European Jesuits in the seventeenth century: “We confess that the most Holy Father (that is, the pope) should receive *divine honors* and that too, with the most profound genuflections, as if in the presence of Christ himself.”¹¹⁹ Gammon concluded by asking rhetorically, “Is that not a horrible blasphemy?” Again there was reason, Gammon thought, to do mission work in Catholic areas.

The third pillar of Gammon’s attack was that Romanism, true to its character, subverts the fundamental teachings of Christ. He said that Romanism practically nullifies the authority of the Bible as the source of religious teaching and sets up in its place the authority of fallible man.¹²⁰ He questioned the worship of Mary and the efficacy and value of her mediation in the Roman Catholic system. This may not be central in the general field of Roman Catholic dogmatics, but it loomed large in the devotion of the common people, and as in the sixteenth century, Rome did little to discourage that kind of popular piety. Gammon further held the objects of worship in Roman Catholicism to be anti-biblical and anti-Christian. He was also concerned with the mode or style of worship in Romanism as being anti-biblical and subversive of the fundamental teachings of the Gospel with the extensive use of images, processions, candles, brass bands and more, all deemed to be aberrations of the First and Second Commandments in the Decalogue.

The fourth and final pillar for Gammon was his argument that the teachings of Rome specifically subvert the biblical doctrine of the atonement. Gammon said,

¹¹⁸ Ibid., 94.

¹¹⁹ Ibid., 95.

¹²⁰ Ibid., 95.

The Scriptures teach that Christ Jesus is the only Savior of sinners, that there is none other name under heaven, given among men whereby we must be saved; Rome says, not so, but that all the saints of her calendar have power to aid in the sinner's salvation, while she has given to the Virgin Mary every title indicative of saving power and grace that is given in the Scriptures to the Savior alone.¹²¹

He concluded his analysis of Catholicism by asserting flatly that "Romanism in Brazil ... is a system pagan in form, largely pagan in spirit, and whose doctrines are subversive of many of the most fundamental and most precious teachings of the religion of Christ."¹²² It was true that "there are elements of Christian truth found in it ... but these elements of truth are so covered over with superstition and error, and the human element mingled with the divine ... that Romanism as it is found in Brazil cannot rightly be called Christianity."¹²³ So it was not simply a matter of Roman Catholicism's doctrine and practice in general being flawed. The central article of faith that had driven the Reformation was also perverted. Thus Catholicism had to be opposed, not just for the sake of the doctrine per se, but for the sake of people who would be led astray.

Eduardo Carlos Pereira and *The Religious Problem of Latin America*

Eduardo Carlos Pereira's ministry resembled Gammon's in many ways. They both could clearly be regarded as part of a select group of ministers who developed a threefold, lifelong ministry as local pastor, missionary, and educator. Yet each had unique characteristics and side interests that proved valuable to the Church. While Gammon was an American missionary who happened also to be fond of architecture, Pereira was a native pastor who loved journalism. Furthermore, Pereira's educational formation as a lawyer gave him additional skills that would prove useful for defending his ideas as well as credentials when he found himself engaged in

¹²¹ Ibid., 100.

¹²² Ibid., 101.

disputations. As a matter of fact, Pereira's ministry and influence reached well beyond Brazilian territory. Some of that came by personal contact as he traveled extensively in the United States, South America, and Europe. He also multiplied his influence by writing many books and treatises that dealt with religion and Christianity as well as with social and political issues. Among them his three Portuguese grammar textbooks—*Gramática Elementar*, *Gramática Expositiva*, and *Gramática Histórica*—are worth particular mention. These three made Pereira known outside the church's walls and earned him the respect of all segments of Brazilian society. Like Gammon, he built up goodwill and a positive reputation. He was also an abolitionist by personal conviction and passion, and in 1886 he wrote *Christian Religion and Its Relation with the Slavery*,¹²⁴ whose first chapter is an emotional plea with a poetical tone for the abolition of slavery. In it Pereira was able to take the reader into the gates of a slave house and make him or her partake the agony of the mistreated:

I saw the open door and I entered. Oh! Misery! There hung a horrible instrument: a short stick of a centimeter of diameter which was used as a holder for some raw leather straps, thin and hard, all bloody in their edges and sprinkled in the rest of them. A ladder on the floor indicated the room as a place of torment. I left. The day was splendid, and the smiles of a blue sky would sweep, for sure, very quickly out of my puerile spirit the painful impressions, if a new spectacle was not to come to accentuate them again so profoundly. I ran to the backyard, and there, under the shade of an orange tree, I saw laid down on his belly a poor Negro, who, if I am not mistaken, had a huge metal chain tied to his ankles. I approached. It was the unfortunate victim, who was there seeking a shelter against the burning sun. I swept away the flies that chased him, and—repugnant spectacle—through the old clothes that barely covered his backside, I could notice the open wound live, deep, and infected! Oh! Cursed institution, who awakens in man the instinct of a beast, obliterating the most common feelings of humanity!¹²⁵

¹²³ Ibid., 70.

¹²⁴ Eduardo Carlos Pereira, *A Religião Christã em Suas Relações com a Escravidão* (São Paulo: Sociedade Brasileira de Tratados Evangélicos, 1886).

¹²⁵ Ibid., 5.

It is not our goal to give a full account of Pereira's life and ministry, for Adolpho Machado Corrêa,¹²⁶ Alderi Matos,¹²⁷ and Vicente Themudo Lessa¹²⁸ have done this successfully. For our purposes, it will suffice to say that Pereira (1855–1923) had a long and successful forty-two years of pastoral ministry. He worked first as a missionary in the interior of the country, and after a fruitful ministry in the lands south of Minas Gerais, he accepted the call as senior pastor of the Presbyterian Church in São Paulo in 1888. There he would spend the rest of his life and consolidate his position as an indigenous leader of national importance. As a journalist Pereira contributed directly to the *Imprensa Evangélica* and some other secular newspapers such as *Correio Paulistano*, *O Estado de São Paulo*, and the *Portuguese Language Magazine*.¹²⁹ But his widest reaching impact occurred with the foundation of the periodicals *Revista das Missões Nacionais* [*The National Missions Magazine*] in 1887 and the *Estandarte* [*The Army Flag*] in 1893. Pereira was also educator par excellence. He dreamed that a time would come when the Church would be able to offer a full program of education and curriculum to her sons. His motto was “Education of the Church's sons, by the Church, and for the Church.”¹³⁰ He talked and preached about the precious value of the Bible as the major contribution to teaching and education also in public schools. His biographer sums up the two sides of Pereira's ministry as follows:

Eduardo Carlos Pereira was a man of two vocations: the teaching one and the pastoral ministry. Since the age of eighteen he had been a teacher ... he taught for over thirty-seven years, walking a great journey in his wholesome and blessed career ... The pastoral ministry was his vocation par excellence, his glorious vocation. The

¹²⁶ Adolpho Machado Corrêa, *Eduardo Carlos Pereira: Seu Apostolado no Brasil* (São Paulo: Livraria e Editora Pendão Real, 1983).

¹²⁷ Matos, *Os Pioneiros Presbiterianos do Brasil*.

¹²⁸ Lessa, *Annaes da Primeira Igreja Presbiteriana de São Paulo*.

¹²⁹ Corrêa, *Eduardo Carlos Pereira*, 61.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, 70.

teaching was his natural vocation, noble and holy, but the pastoral ministry was his heavenly vocation, the noblest one, the most holy of all vocations. If his teaching career lasted thirty-seven years as we have seen, his pastoral ministry lasted longer for forty-two years, illuminated and blessed by God. In the light of that, Eduardo Carlos Pereira was the good master, to the likeness of the divine Master, sowing the good seed; but he was mainly the good pastor, to the likeness of the Supreme Pastor, proclaiming the sweet and powerful message of the everlasting Gospel for the redemption of humankind.¹³¹

But the greatest contribution the Pereira left for the history of Brazilian Protestantism was his fight for the evangelization of Latin America. He was not hopeful for the future of Brazil under the aegis of the Roman Catholic Church, and he saw a potential failure in the American missionaries' strategy regarding Latin American evangelization. Mendonça points out that Pereira "understood to be obsolete the North American missions strategies for the evangelization of Latin America, which was tolerant to the Catholic Church."¹³² In 1883 he founded the Brazilian Society of Evangelical Treatises and called it "the sacred presage of the ecclesiastical independency" [*O prenúncio sagrado da independência Ecclesiástica*].¹³³ In it Pereira already openly attacked Roman Catholicism. But his most vigorous attacks would come later during the second decade of the twentieth century. In the World Missionary Conference in Edinburgh (1910)¹³⁴ Anglo-Catholics had been invited to take part in the ecumenical discussion for the first time. In February 1916 the Congress on Christian Work in Latin America (CCWLA) took place in Panama City,¹³⁵ and Pereira participated in it. The Congress was an unanticipated outcome of the 1910 World Missionary Conference in Edinburgh. Bulletin reports from the Panama City

¹³¹ Ibid., 106.

¹³² Mendonça, *O Celeste Porvir*, 87. "... entendia ser distanciada a visão que as missões norte-americanas tinham sobre a evangelização na América Latina, visão essa involucrada pela posição de indulgência para com a Igreja Católica." ["... he understood the view that the North-American missions had about the Latin America evangelization was wrong since this view was linked with the Catholic Church by the indulgence position."]

¹³³ Ibid., p. 87.

¹³⁴ Rouse and Neill, *A History of the Ecumenical Movement*, 355.

¹³⁵ <http://www.columbia.edu/cu/lweb/img/assets/6398/MRL%209_CCWLA_FA.pdf> .

gathering indicate that the Congress was called in response to Edinburgh's lack of discussion on Latin American issues. From 1910 to 1916, W. F. Oldham was chairman of the committee whose purpose was to determine topics for discussion and create corresponding commissions. The CCWLA was intentionally modeled on the Edinburgh Conference of 1910, and the attendees included officers and members of mission boards, missionaries, and Latin America Church leaders, Christian laypersons from North America and Europe, along with businessmen from Latin America in sympathy with the missionary efforts. But while Panama City might at first glance look like it was echoing Edinburgh, from this Central America meeting arose an important shift in the ideological and ecclesiological understanding of the Protestant denominations toward the Christian role of Catholicism. As Ruth Rouse has pointed out, "the earlier meetings [prior Edinburgh in 1910] had been made up mainly of those who came out of the Evangelical Awakenings. They were emphatically Protestant and did not look with a friendly eye on the 'Catholic' tradition."¹³⁶ But Edinburgh soft-pedaled such criticism. So it was that Pereira seemed to have come back from the Congress a little bit disappointed, and he continued to regard the Latin American as pagan. As a result of his struggles with and preaching against Catholicism, in 1920 he wrote and published *O Problema Religioso da América Latina* (*The Religious Problem of Latin America*). The main subject of the Panama City Congress had been the religious questions in Latin America, featuring Roman Catholicism and Protestantism as two opposite poles under discussion. The great question was whether Protestantism should evangelize the Latin America countries, or whether they should see the influence of the already present Roman Catholic Church as enough to accomplish the missionary task. Pereira's book

¹³⁶ Rouse and Neill, *A History of the Ecumenical Movement*, 360.

was written mainly to answer this question and advocate the confrontation he thought was needed between Catholicism and Protestantism.

For Pereira, such confrontation was necessary because the Roman Catholic Church in his days was, he argued, continuing in the very paganism that necessitated the Reformation in the first place. This paganization had begun, according to Pereira, in the fourth century when Emperor Diocletian named himself the Vicar of Jupiter Capitolinus, *Pontifex Maximus* (later a papal title), and *Sacratissimus Dominus Noster*. This pagan exaltation of man continued in the church after Constantine, who, Pereira observed, had forged an empire-church consortium and consolidated paganism within Christianity. Pereira said that “the Christian religion became official, and paganism in mass was baptized.”¹³⁷ For Pereira, these causes could be classified in three main spheres: practical, doctrinal, and liturgical. The practical problem revolved around the question of discipline. By detaching the clergy from the laity and elevating the pope with the claim of infallibility, that is, to be *sumo pontifice*, the Roman Catholic Church confused the temporal and spiritual faces of the church of Christ and transformed the triumphant church into the militant one. In other words, the church as an earthly organization had precedence over the church as a heavenly institution. And this now being post-Vatican I, where long-standing piety and tradition had been asserted as necessary doctrine, Pereira only found his fears confirmed.

The second problem was in the area of doctrine. From Constantine to Luther many doctrines foreign to the Christianity of the first centuries had been formulated and adopted by the popes and councils, staining and distorting Christian theology—doctrines such as transubstantiation (which was developed around 930), purgatory (which had been incorporated

¹³⁷ Pereira, O Problema Brasileiro da América Latina.

by the Council of Constance in 1417), indulgences, and auricular confession (which was sanctioned by Innocence III in 1215).

The last sphere touched on the question of liturgy and worship. As a result of the distortions in the practice and doctrine of the church, the liturgy had become directly affected by pagan practice, Pereira claimed. Similar to the pagans with their gods, images, and holy statues, the Roman Church already had adopted patron saints, protectors, and mediators, allowing idolatry a foothold in Catholic Christianity. Pereira said that “the worship of saints, angels, images, relics, and the cross, entirely foreign to the primitive worship and in a notorious deviation from the Decalogue, which exacerbated the pagan element.”¹³⁸ In the light of such degeneration, the Reformation was inevitable. In fact, Pereira did see a timid response to these medieval theological errors, a response voiced, albeit weakly, at the Councils of Pisa in 1409, Constance in 1414, and Basel in 1431. But, as Pereira pointed out, “all these initiatives were broken by the Roman curia behind whose leadership stands the papal authority itself.”¹³⁹

After pointing out the causes of the Reformation, Pereira moved on to highlight its fundamental principles. For him, the Reformation was a courageous and providential reaction against the Roman Catholic Church, which had distanced itself from the true teachings of the Bible. The first principle of the teaching of the Reformation was *sola scriptura*. For the reformers—Luther, Calvin, Zwingli, and many others—the Bible was to be held high over against the tradition, the doctors of the Church, and the popes and the conciliar decrees. The Bible was, in fact, infallible and supreme. It is not the place here to argue the order or emphasis

¹³⁸ Ibid., 23. In fact, it has been argued that one way Christianity succeeded in Europe was by co-opting pagan images and ideas, “baptizing” them and drawing them into the church. So, for example, saints were replacements for minor pagan spirits once thought active in the world. See James C. Russell, *The Germanization of Early Medieval Christianity: A Sociohistorical Approach to Religious Transformation* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996).

¹³⁹ Ibid., 25.

given to these principles but merely to note how Pereira weighted them, an ordering that certainly emphasized authority of a different sort that, in his view, compelled evangelism activity.

The second principle was *sola fide*. Salvation, in the light of biblical teaching, cannot be earned by good deeds but by faith alone. Pereira put it this way: “In the Roman theology, the act of justification of the sinner, of his forgiveness of sin and acceptance, is operated through faith and good deeds; that is, by the grace of God and the merit of man. This divine act, according to the Reformed theology, takes place through faith and by the grace of God alone.”¹⁴⁰

The third and final doctrinal assertion central to the Reformation was the priesthood of all believers. Pereira stressed that the clergy took control of the church in the Catholic system, while according to Reformation teaching, the church was made of the people of God, the union of all believers, each of whom could stand alone before God on account of Christ’s righteousness. For Pereira, the Reformation did not revolt against the church, but rather against a false or medieval conception of the church.

Similarities and Differences between Gammon’s and Pereira’s Books

Both Gammon and Pereira are similar, in that they address the same question; namely, whether or not Brazil should be evangelized by the Protestant Church since it is a Catholic country. They also make the same assessment about Catholicism. Gammon says, “Romanism is not a religion, but a political organization, and that, too, the most vicious, the most unscrupulous, and the most destructive of all political systems.”¹⁴¹ Likewise, Pereira pointed out that “we must make the distinction between Rome as a system, and political-religious organization,

¹⁴⁰ Ibid., 38.

¹⁴¹ Gammon, *The Evangelical Invasion of Brazil*, 75.

manipulated by astute cardinals and bishops, and the Catholic Church as a communion of people, from whom many are devoted and sincere, and all of whom (or at least the majority) are practically innocent of the chicanery and politics of their leaders, and some times even are victims of persecution from the leaders.”¹⁴² Finally, they came to the same conclusion, namely, that the Christianity preached by Roman Catholicism is not pure. The Catholic Church had some facets of truth, but it was a corrupted Christianity in its basic principles. Therefore, the Protestant missionaries can, and indeed must, carry out their message to Latin America. So in broad terms and on general principles, Gammon and Pereira stood together.

Nevertheless, the two authors have some differences too. For instance, they had a different tone as they addressed two different audiences. While Gammon’s book was written for American Protestantism, Pereira’s was done for the Brazilian Church. Adolpho Correia’s analysis of the Panama City Congress “recognized the existence of [these] two opposite opinions, namely, *the Saxon*, which is more tolerant, timid, and disliking of controversy, and *the Latin*, which is impulsive, vehement, and passionate for controversy.”¹⁴³ Assuming Correia’s assessment is correct, then Gammon’s book is the representative of the former view, while Pereira’s book is representative of the latter. This difference was clearly seen in the unique way they approached the question of missions or no missions to Catholic areas. While Gammon wanted to preach the Gospel to a Catholic country if there were theological problems, Pereira stressed more directly in the title of his book that Catholicism itself *was*, in fact, “the religious problem of Latin America.” In sum, both nurtured an aversion to Roman Catholicism and both contributed in broadly important ways to the propagation of the Protestant faith in the country. Those interested in missions could certainly find an ally and a rationalization in one man or the other—or in both!

¹⁴² Pereira, *O Problema Brasileiro da América Latina*, 160.

¹⁴³ Corrêa, Eduardo Carlos Pereira, 125.

CHAPTER FIVE

CHALLENGES AND CHANGES FOR A THEOLOGICAL ENTERPRISE— THEOLOGY OF PREACHING

An Overview—Preliminary Remarks

We have seen that nineteenth-century Brazilian society was marked by characteristics tantamount to the sixteenth-century European society, and as a result, the American missionary work became even more challenging, especially since these missionaries came from a society that was no longer bound to the medievalism of the past. At the same time, these missionaries were able to take advantage of their theological background—more storehouse or well than baggage—that was accumulated over several periods, running from the expansion of Genevan ecclesiology to the formation of American Presbyterianism. In the previous chapter, we examined several key documents from nineteenth century that have cast light on our understanding of both Brazilian society, which had the older medieval traits still lingering and active, and the mind of the preachers who had engaged themselves in the difficult task of preaching a contemporary message.

The main focus to be taken up in this chapter is the consideration of the sermons themselves. In analyzing the texts, the key question is whether these missionaries and native pastors recognized those medieval characteristics we have noted, and then how this recognition influenced their preaching. Of course, the answer to this question is not that simple. That is, we probably will not find such direct expressions that put things as bluntly as this: “This is a medieval society right in the middle of the nineteenth century,” or “What we have today in

Brazil is the same social and religious situation that was present in Europe in the sixteenth century.” But as we saw with the texts in the previous chapter, it certainly is possible to read between the lines and get an idea of how they saw things and tried to address matters at hand. Ultimately we have to keep in mind that these sermons were preached to congregations, and so the preachers, different from professors in the classroom, did not intend to make larger, definitive pronouncements. However, if these medieval characteristics were present, as we suppose they were, and if preachers paid attention to their context, then the sermons will reflect, even indirectly, the preachers’ awareness of them. The format to be used will divide the sermons into three main categories: sermons preached by American missionaries from the American Reformed traditions, sermons preached by native pastors of the Presbyterian Church, and sermons preached by foreign missionaries and native pastors from non-Reformed traditions. Each of these three will also be compartmentalized into sub-categories: practical sermons, doctrinal or confessional sermons, and apologetic sermons.

The goal here is to compare sermons from one group to the other and answer some pivotal questions. First, are there significant theological variations between them? If so, how did they shape Brazilian Presbyterianism? Second, why did the publisher use sermons from non-Reformed scholars? Wasn’t this dangerous for the development of the Presbyterian Church and Presbyterian identity in the country? Third, how and where did Brazilian Presbyterianism distinguish itself from American Presbyterianism, and in what way did Brazilian Presbyterianism become more conservative and averse to Roman Catholicism than did American Presbyterianism?

Before that, however, it is important to set the stage with a historical account of the periodical that became the subject or focus of this research. When it comes time to analyze the sermons themselves, it will not be necessary to dissect each one. Instead the sermons as a whole,

that is, as a group, will be listed in an appendix of the dissertation for the sake of mapping the information for other scholars who may want to undertake further studies on the sermons and the periodical itself.

O Púlpito Evangélico

O Púlpito Evangélico (1888–1900) [*The Evangelical Pulpit*] was a long-standing Presbyterian periodical designed for the publication of sermons, issued by missionaries of the Southern Presbyterian Church of the United States (PCUS). It is a rare homiletic resource that till now had yet to be unpacked in terms of the theology imported to Brazil.

After a careful search along with some interviews with Alderi Matos, chairman of the Historical Department at the Andrew Jumper Presbyterian Graduate School in São Paulo and also the official historian of the Presbyterian Church of Brazil¹, it appears that no one has either undertaken the task of analyzing and writing on the sermons themselves or has done a historical account of the periodical. A full-blown history of the periodical is well beyond this present study, but a short sketch would be helpful in setting the stage for analyzing the sermons. This section will build on the earlier chapters and serve as the focus for the topic of this dissertation and perhaps spark additional wider study of the periodical by other Brazilian scholars. It would be tempting to list here the sermons, their date of publication and their authors. However, to avoid being bogged down by a list of raw data and the flow, we will list the sermons separately.

Clearly the two most important means used by the American missionaries to spread the Gospel in Brazil were the preached Word and the printing press. Often there was a fusion of them with the publication of sermons. This occurred for three main reasons. First, there was both a multiplier factor and a domino effect with this sort of publication. The message reached a

¹ Confirmation of this can be found at the official website of the Presbyterian Church of Brazil.

bigger and more eclectic audience than the local in-person group gathered at an individual congregation. Second, these sermons were used to help educate lay preachers and candidates to the ministry in the interior of the country, and the sermons provided “pulpit material” as well. In many places there was no pastoral assistance from an ordained minister to conduct the worship services, and the lay people read these printed sermons. This can be clearly seen in the note included in the periodical introduction of July 1892:

The *Púlpito Evangélico* began by a desire of its publishers to supply the shortage of evangelical preachers in our beloved Brazil. “The harvest is plentiful but the workers are few.” The preaching of the Gospel is the means established by God to make known among the peoples the good news—the richness of His grace in Jesus Christ. But what can be done if there is no one to preach? The truth is “how beautiful on the mountains are the feet of those who bring good news.” Thus God can bless all means employed to spread the knowledge of the great salvation, and the printing page can carry on the message of forgiveness and peace to many who are in privation from the privilege of hearing it through the preacher’s mouth. It was with this hope, to send the silenced preacher to many places where people have yet not heard the live voice of Christ’s ambassador, that the *Púlpito Evangélico* began its humble task twelve to fifteen years ago.²

Finally, there was also a desire and intent to preserve theological materials from these pioneers for the future. In some cases, these sermons are the only material that still survives today. The *Púlpito Evangélico*, slightly different from the *Imprensa Evangélica*, was without doubt the most important sermonic periodical of that time and place. It was first published by the

<http://www.ipb.org.br/quem_somos/historia.php3>.

² *O Púlpito Evangélico*, Publicado Mensalmente pela Associação Evangélica e Literária de Camplinas (July 1892): 1. NB: in the footnote citations of *O Púlpito Evangélico* that follow below, it will seem as if the citations are incomplete with some of the bibliographic information lacking. In fact, the publication of the periodical was uneven and irregular. For example, in some years the periodical was released in several issues in different months. In those cases the month and year for the particular citation are included. For other years the months are not noted because that year’s material was not serialized but rather released in a single issue for the year. Volume numbers were sometimes also not available. Such was publishing in a fledgling church. The publishers certainly did not have in mind the researchers or library catalogers of later years who would wish for a more regular pattern, but that is the nature of this journal series. The sermons are listed in various categories in Appendix 1. A hard copy of the complete collection from 1888 to 1900 are in four bound volumes housed in the Presbyterian Historical Archive in São Paulo (Rua Demóstenes, nº 866, Bairro Campo Belo, São Paulo; phone: (11) 5561-4559. That collection was used for the research done for this dissertation.

Reverend Emanuel Vanorden³ in São Paulo and then moved to Rio de Janeiro. As the historian Vicente Themudo Lessa points out,

He initiated the publication of the *Púlpito Evangélico* in the format of a magazine, in monthly installments, that came to be the second evangelical Presbyterian periodical in Brazil. It was published twenty-four issues from January 1874 to December 1875. It published chosen sermons from American missionaries and native pastors ... Besides the sermons and doctrinal articles, it also published news from the church with general interest.⁴

In January 1888, after thirteen years of inactivity, the *Púlpito Evangélico* resumed publication, now in Campinas under the direction of the Reverend Edward Lane. In addition to the sermons, it also published historical notes, sermon outlines, explanation of difficult biblical texts, exposition of biblical passages, and broader text commentaries. The publication run continued until 1902, although some of its last issues are missing. In 1895 the periodical was moved to Lavras, Minas Gerais and later on to Rio de Janeiro.⁵ Although the Brazilian editors and locations changed, it was always published under the auspices of the Board of Foreign Mission of the Presbyterian Church in the United States. In 1901 its name was changed to the *Presbiteriano*, and it began to be published monthly and included Sunday school lessons. In its last years, it came under the direction of the Reverend Dr. Horace S. Allyn, who had just founded the Presbyterian Publishing House.⁶ The sermons that have been subject of our study belong to the period when the periodical was published in São Paulo from 1888 to 1900.

The front page of *Púlpito Evangélico* bore the following tag line that defined its mission or focus: “Published monthly under the auspices of *Associação Evangélica e Literária de Campinas*

³ Lessa, Annaes da 1a Igreja Presbiteriana de São Paulo, 102.

⁴ Ibid., 102.

⁵ Ibid., 303. See also Alderi Matos, “A Pregação dos Pioneiros Presbiterianos no Brasil: Uma Análise Preliminar,” *Revista Fides Reformata* 9, no. 2 (São Paulo, July–December 2004).

⁶ Matos, *ibid.*

[Campinas Literary and Evangelical Association]. Dedicated to sermons, biblical expositions, ecclesiastic history and literature, and religious news.” A year later it was changed to “Sermons for Protestant ministers in Brazil. Expositions of passages of the Holy Scriptures, sermon outlines, and historical sketches of the first centuries of church history,”⁷ reflecting a slight shift in content and focus. At the beginning of 1891 the periodical started incorporating apologetic materials in defense of the Christian doctrine, along with Bible notes and illustrations. Those shifts suggest a changing perception of the target and thus a change in need and response. That, in turn, suggests sermons were not just printed because they were available but chosen for a sharper focus or purpose. The editors presumed a particular need, and the product seemed to serve a market. In fact, these shifts would come as no surprise since in 1889 the *Imprensa Evangélica*, which had a more apologetic tone and had been printing polemic articles especially against Catholicism for over twenty-five years, ended its publication and left a vacuum to be fulfilled by the *Púlpito Evangélico*.

The *Púlpito Evangélico* today is recognized as the most valuable sermonic periodical of the Presbyterian Church of Brazil in the nineteenth century.⁸ During its thirteen years of circulation (1888–1900) it published 156 full-format sermons. Some volumes included additional short sermon studies as well as sermon outlines. From the list of the original sermon collection, we know that while most are preserved today, 7 are missing and 14 do not mention their authors, making it a bit more problematic to work with them. Of the remaining 135 sermons, 60 were written by native pastors, 31 by missionaries from the Southern Presbyterian Church (PCUS), 12 from the Northern Presbyterian Church (PCUSA), and 32 by other foreign authors.

⁷ *O Púlpito Evangélico*, Publicado Mensalmente pela Associação Evangélica e Literária de Campinas (1888–1890).

⁸ Matos, *ibid.*

Some observations are noteworthy to be made here: First, among the American missionaries in the first section, the one who had the most number of sermons published, with a total of fifteen, was Samuel Rhea Gammon, the great educator of Lavras and one of the most illustrious missionaries of the Southern Mission.⁹ The second most prolific author in terms of the number of sermons published was the Reverend George Wood Thompson (1863–89), with eight sermons. He conceivably could have done more, but he died still a very young man, a victim of the yellow fever.¹⁰ There were also five sermons published from the pens of the first two missionaries from the Northern Mission, the Reverends Ashbel G. Simonton and Alexander L. Blackford. Second, among the native pastors, there are four preachers who were not from the Presbyterian Church. They are A. Campos, Antônio Ernesto da Silva, Guilherme da Costa, and Leônidas da Silva.¹¹ In the light of that, their sermons have been placed in the third section: Non-Reformed foreign preachers and native pastors. Among the native or national pastors, the pastors who had sermons published by the periodical were Belmiro de Araújo César with nine sermons, Eduardo Carlos Pereira with seven sermons, Álvaro Reis with five sermons, Antônio Pedro de Cerqueira Leite with four sermons, and with three sermons each, Caetano Nogueira Júnior, Herculano de Gouvêa, Juventino Marinho, Laudelino de Oliveira Lima, Lino da Costa, and Miguel Torres. The Reverends Antônio Trajano, João Ribeiro de Carvalho Braga, and Erasmo Braga also had two sermons included in the periodical. Then in the third section there are sermons from a number of noteworthy scholars from outside Brazil. These were, for example, Robert L. Dabney (1820–98), professor of theology at the Union Seminary in Virginia;

⁹ Matos, *Os Pioneiros Presbiterianos no Brasil*, 242.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 226–30.

¹¹ Guilherme da Costa was son of the Presbyterian Elder Manoel José Rodrigues da Costa from the Presbyterian Church of São Paulo. He was candidate for the sacred ministry but in the end was ordained by the Methodist Church. Leônidas da Silva was a Congregational minister who collaborated with the Presbyterians in

Alexander Maclaren¹² (1826–1910), the great Baptist Scottish scholar; John Hall (1829–98), Irish pastor at the Presbyterian Church at Fifth Avenue in New York; T. DeWitt Talmage¹³ (1832–1902), Presbyterian pastor in New York; Charles H. Spurgeon¹⁴ (1834–92), the great Baptist English preacher of the nineteenth century; Adoniram J. Gordon¹⁵ (1836–95), a Baptist pastor in Boston; Dwight L. Moody¹⁶ (1837–99), the famous American evangelist; David James Burrell¹⁷ (1844–1926), pastor at the Marble Collegiate Church in New York; Frederick B. Meyer¹⁸ (1847–1929), English pastor and evangelist; and Henry J. Van Dyke¹⁹ (1852–1933), “the poet of the American pulpit.” Other names that were not as well known are W. P. Breed, C. R. Hemphill, T. V. Moore, Andrew Murray, T. E. Peck, Edmund A. Tilly, Edwin Tausch, and Myron Clark. The last three had strong ties with Brazil. Tilly was a Methodist missionary, Tausch a Lutheran pastor in São Paulo, and Clark a Presbyterian known for bringing to Brazil the YMCA, [Young Men’s Christian Association]. It is important to note that in the third section there are sermons from British and Scottish scholars, and this direct tie may help to explain the somewhat stern or insistent impact they seemed to have had on the puritanical profile that carried over and was present in twentieth-century Presbyterianism.

Bahia state. See Matos, *Os Pioneiros Presbiterianos no Brasil*, 123–24.

¹² F. R. Webber, *A History of Preaching in Britain and America* (Milwaukee: Northwestern Publishing House, 1952), part 1, 571–79

¹³ *Ibid.*, part 3, 415–24.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, part 1, 596–606.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, part 3, 429–37.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 437–45.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 482–85.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, part 1, 643–45.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, part 3, 513–16.

American Missionaries from American Reformed Traditions

The forty-three sermons that were preached by the American Presbyterian missionaries and, as the subject of our analysis in this section, were published by the *Púlpito Evangélico* were drawn from the forty-year period of the initiation and the expansion of the Presbyterian Church of Brazil from 1859 to 1899. The truth of this observation lies in the fact that this period was not only the beginning of the Presbyterian Church of Brazil, but the denomination also had its major growth and most gigantic increase in this time and, consequently, pivotal changes took place in the church's composition and character. For instance, the first Presbyterian Church in Brazil was organized on January 12, 1862, in Rio de Janeiro, and its first native member was baptized already on June 22 of the same year.²⁰ In September 1888, only twenty-six years after that, a Synod was organized, and the Presbyterian Church of Brazil became officially independent by cutting its ties from the American Presbyterian Church only a generation after its founding. The Synod had three Presbyteries (Rio de Janeiro, Campinas-West of Minas Gerais, and Pernambuco), twenty missionaries, twelve indigenous pastors, and approximately sixty congregations.²¹ The denomination grew enormously in this period and opened its first seminary in 1892 in Nova Friburgo in the territory of Rio de Janeiro. In 1895 the seminary was relocated to Campinas in São Paulo, where it is still functioning today.²² Therefore, it is important to bear in mind that we are analyzing sermons from almost two generations of missionaries from a very vibrant time. There are five sermons preached by the Reverend Ashbel Green Simonton and also five sermons preached by the Reverend Alexander Blackford, two men who were the first and second Presbyterian missionaries to arrive in Brazil in 1859 and 1860 respectively. There are

²⁰ Matos, *Os Pioneiros Presbiterianos no Brasil*, 26.

²¹ Lessa, *Annaes da Primeira Igreja Presbiteriana de São Paulo*, 311.

²² <http://www.ipb.org.br/quem_somos/historia.php3> This is the official website of the Presbyterian

also eight sermons preached by the Reverend George W. Thompson, who served from 1886 to 1889, and fourteen preached by the Reverend Samuel R. Gammon, who served the Presbyterian Church from 1889 to 1928.

Despite the chronological spread and the different authors, after an analysis and comparison of the sermons themselves, it is apparent that there is no significant variation either in their theological outlook or in their apologetic approach toward Catholicism, which was understandably viewed as the major threat to the missionaries in the nineteenth century. On the other hand, however, the first missionaries seemed to give preference to theological and doctrinal topics that would educate and build up rather than practical sermons with the idea of fending off an opponent. For example, all ten sermons preached by the first two missionaries approached specifically pivotal doctrines such as Christology, the Trinity, Regeneration, and Justification. Of course, this observation does not imply that they avoided practical sermons and did not touch social problems. Ten sermons are a rather small sample, not enough material to do a precise assessment and come to a detailed conclusion. But they may indicate that these missionaries saw themselves as reformers of a creed, as Emilio Willems²³ has pointed out, and wanting to accent the positive and build up, they seemed to have identified the need for the “re-catechization” of the population simply in order to differentiate the Protestant theology from the Catholic theology. Indeed, the beginning of the missionary work with the preaching of doctrine rather than general subjects sought to avoid misconception about the core of Christianity and syncretism that was so present in the Brazilian Catholicism. The sermons are sorted out in three categories.

Church. *Historia da Igreja Presbiteriana do Brasil – 3. Dissensão – 1888–1903.*

²³ Willems, *Followers of the New Faith*, 5.

Practical Preaching

Some twenty-two sermons out of the forty-two preached by the American Presbyterian missionaries that targeted Bible passages in general and that dealt with several subjects related to the daily life of the Church are identified in the category of practical preaching. Fifteen sermons are based on passages in the New Testament, while only six dealt with Old Testament passages. Ten sermons out of the fifteen that are based on the New Testament focused passages from the four Gospels, suggesting to us that these missionaries focused more strongly on the preaching of the Gospel, rather than on the epistle exhortations about the Christian life. There is also a preference for preaching sermons in series and in revisiting a text. For example, in July 1899 and in January, February, and April of 1900, the periodical published four sermons by the Reverend Samuel Rhea Gammon entitled “The Prodigal Son: A Story of a Soul in Four Chapters.”

Another interesting characteristic was the publication of sermons that were originally preached on special occasions. In 1888 the Reverend Edward Lane preached at the Synod’s annual meeting a sermon titled “The Great Commission.” This sermon was published by the *Púlpito Evangélico* in May 1892. Gammon also had his sermon “The Chief End and the Moving Force of Christianity” included in the periodical in December 1898. This sermon had been originally preached in July of the same year for the occasion of the annual meeting of the Presbytery of Minas Gerais. This suggests two important factors. First, in terms of the preachers themselves, it is worth noting that they were aware of the need in the congregations and, therefore, they wanted to avoid at all cost any gap that might arise between the clergy and the laity. In other words, what was preached to church leaders was suitable to be preached to the church in general. By doing so, they reacted against and differentiated their missiological strategies from Roman Catholic preachers who kept the Latin mass as the focal point of the Christian faith. Second, in terms of the *Púlpito Evangélico* itself, the publication of sermons

preached on special occasions might show that the periodical was not only providing the Gospel to congregations that did not have pastoral assistance, but also it functioned as an informative vehicle making those congregations aware of the ecclesiastical situation nationwide. By reading the sermons, one quickly comes to the conclusion about their significance for the church as a whole. For example, the Reverend Edward Lane's sermon "The Great Commission" was an appealing invitation for evangelism, not only for the Synod delegates, but also for the entire church. Because of the importance of this sermon, it is worth summing it up briefly.

Title: "The Great Commission"

Sermon text—Mark 16: 15, 20: "Go into all the world and preach the good news to all creation ... Then the disciples went out and preached everywhere, and the Lord worked with them and confirmed his word by the signs that accompanied it."

Part One. The Mandate: "Go into all the world and preach the good news to all creation."

Part Two. The Execution of the Mandate: "Then the disciples went out and preached everywhere."

Part Three. The Presence of Jesus Christ with the Preaching of the Gospel: "And the Lord worked with them and confirmed his word by the signs that accompanied it."

Conclusion. The Reverend Edward Lane concluded his sermons with a personal invitation and appeal to his audience with these words:

Let us persuade ourselves profoundly of the conviction concerning the majestic future of this country when it will have not the present population but one or two hundred millions of souls. We are weak and meek workers charged with sowing the truths of Jesus in the mind of this people and laying the foundations of the future Presbyterian and Evangelical Church of the great Continent of South America. Let us not disregard such a glorious task filled with immortal hopes. We may be certain that Christ, from His high throne, the example of the Apostles and martyrs of the Apostolic Church, and the destiny of the future generations, to all of us, exhorts: "Behave as men of God in the house of God that is the Church of the living God and

firmly in the truth,” and that may please God that this be always the history of the Presbyterian Church of Brazil. “Now to the King eternal, immortal, invisible, the only God, be honor and glory for ever and ever. Amen.” [1 Timothy 1:17]²⁴

Ironically, these missionaries employed a definite Law-oriented approach to set up preaching the Gospel for the unbelievers, as well as for theologically educating the church. Such words as obligation, preparation, accomplishment, and others are extensively used to underscore this rule-oriented approach. It is true that these missionaries also relied heavily on the preaching of the Gospel. What the Reverend George Thompson preached echoes throughout the sermons themselves:

Let us not trust in ourselves to obtain salvation by our own effort or deeds; because these things follow the saving faith rather than precede it. In the first place, we need to acknowledge our own weakness and impotence, and then we will be ready to accept the invitation of Jesus, and trust only in Him for the salvation of our souls.”²⁵

However, their preaching strongly emphasized the need for a personal decision not only to accept Jesus as their Savior but also to change their lifestyle and social behavior. In this passage the expressions “let us,” “we need,” and “we will be ready to accept” represent the larger ongoing Law emphasis.

It is worth mentioning here that there are other passages throughout the sermons that underscore this rather legalistic leaning. For example, Samuel Rhea Gammon wrote the following in 1898:

Our Christian race is very difficult, filled with difficulties, temptations, and anguishing fights. When the author exhorts us to run with patience, he is teaching us that these difficulties and fights are not momentary but rather continual. We cannot be careless. The same diligence, energy, vigilance and efforts that are required from us in the first day of our Christian race will be needed at the last day.²⁶

²⁴ Edward Lane, “A Grande Comissão,” *O Púlpito Evangélico* (May 1892): 327–61.

²⁵ George W. Thompson, “A Conversão do Carcereiro,” *O Púlpito Evangélico* (January 1895): 205.

²⁶ Samuel Rhea Gammon, “A Corrida Cristã,” *O Púlpito Evangélico* (June 1898): 294.

In 1898 George Thompson said, “Everyone must seek the answer for this question until they receive the satisfaction for their souls.”²⁷ And the Reverend Thomas Porter also had said in 1892, “In that happy day the Christian will have only pure friends. With him will be all those who, by their efforts, convert themselves from sin.”²⁸

This strict approach ultimately proved to be very effective because the missionaries taught the believers to differentiate themselves from those who were Roman Catholics building up an identity. The Brazilian population of the nineteenth century was accustomed to an uneducated Catholicism, theologically and doctrinally speaking, an attitude that was reflected directly through the life of the population. In fact, there generally was not a strong commitment to the Christian faith per se, because everything could be earned by penitence and attendance of the mass. In addition, the religious festivals, the African religious practices, and the national commemorations created an atmosphere where everything was permissible. Outside practices were “baptized” and incorporated into the Catholic life. So the population did not think to use any Christian standard to live their faith responsibly. Samuel Rhea Gammon wrote this in 1910:

The warm, emotional Latin blood in the Brazilian’s veins shows itself in his passionate fondness for music, and in his love of pleasure. The theatre, the ball, the games, and the racetrack all appeal to him strongly; and this emotional nature, which is the source of his most attractive graces and his noblest virtues, is, at the same time, the most fruitful source of his weaknesses, his temptations, and his sins.²⁹

The missionaries saw this as a blindness to the truth and felt that a counter-Catholic approach with a heavy Law approach was needed for its blunt shock value. That would build and mark a distinct character, and a commitment was needed in order to make people organize their religious and spiritual life.

²⁷ George Thompson, “A Conversão do Carcereiro de Filipos,” *O Púlpito Evangélico* (1895): 200.

²⁸ Thomas J. Porter, “A Parábola da Cizania,” *O Púlpito Evangélico* (March 1892): 314.

²⁹ Gammon, *The Evangelical Invasion of Brazil*, 42–43.

Confessional and Doctrinal Preaching

Within the larger collection, twenty sermons preached by the American missionaries can be classified as confessional and doctrinal sermons, since they deal directly with specific doctrines of the Christian faith. Half of the sermons preached by the American missionaries were of this confessional and doctrinal type and, as has already been pointed out, the first missionaries who began to arrive in 1859 gave preference to preaching doctrine rather than to practical sermons. Nevertheless, this balance or emphasis did not imply that they were unaware of the situation in Brazilian society. On the contrary, it confirms indeed that they were in tune with the Brazilians' needs of that time and pursued the preaching of doctrine as the right way to do missions. Of course due to the relatively limited amount of the material, this conclusion is a bit speculative. But given other ways already noted in which the preachers showed they understood their audience, they likely hit the target here again. It is worth highlighting the doctrines that were explored the most by these missionaries.

Justification by Faith. Three full-format sermons, along with extensive treatments on this subject spread throughout the other sermons, deal specifically with the doctrine of justification by faith and salvation by grace alone. The question one might raise is this: How did these Reformed preachers present this subject in the light of Calvin's doctrine of predestination? In other words, how would they preach the Gospel if they understood, as Calvin explains, that "God once established by his eternal and unchangeable plan those whom hHe long before determined once for all to receive into salvation, and those whom, on the other hand, he would devote to destruction" ?³⁰

³⁰ Calvin, Institutes of the Christian Religion, 21:931.

First, we should note the missionaries' rather careful and nuanced understanding of this subject. For them, salvation is a free act of God. "Man by nature is an enemy of God,"³¹ and that is why "it is said that 'what the cradle gives, the grave takes back.' If it were not God's intervention, we would die as we were born."³² "The saving faith is a divine grace by which we receive Jesus Christ and trust only in him for our salvation."³³ "Man by himself is totally incapable of performing this change in his spirit. This is a prerogative exclusively of the Holy Spirit."³⁴ John Boyle put it this way: "Abraham was justified by faith and, therefore, his true sons are not the Jews nor the devout converts to Judaism introduced by circumcision, but those who are born by faith as much the Gentiles as the Jews ... The Law says: Do it; the faith says: believe it."³⁵ Blackford even challenges and attacks the semi-Pelagian Catholic view of infusion grace when he said, "In the exercise of faith, the Christian did not look inside himself to find the fountain of his peace, but he turns his eyes upon someone else [Christ] from whom he receives true comfort."³⁶ So divine monergism in salvation rings out clearly.

Second, in distinction and in a balance with the monergism, these missionaries dealt also with Calvin's doctrine of predestination in a practical manner. It seems that such a doctrine was seen pretty much a "pillow doctrine" or a domestic in-house doctrine. They simply could not and did not put too much weight on it in their evangelistic approach. On the contrary, they struck a balance between the sovereignty of God and man's responsibility, at least in terms of humanly listening to and then considering the message. (If they could not expect that much, then there was

³¹ Alexander L. Blackford, "A Paz com Deus," *O Púlpito Evangélico* (April 1891): 65.

³² Ashbel G. Simonton, "Regeneração," *O Púlpito Evangélico* (June 1891): 112.

³³ Alexander L. Blackford, "A Vida pela Fé," *O Púlpito Evangélico* (1888): 36.

³⁴ Alexander L. Blackford, "A Vida Espiritual—Seu Começo: Regeneração," *O Púlpito Evangélico* (October 1894): 425.

³⁵ John Boyle, "A Lei, O Evangelho e as Dispensações," *O Púlpito Evangélico* (1888): 106.

no point talking to people, and they could not do missions.) Blackford said, “Be honest with your own spirit. Admit your sins and your need for a Savior.”³⁷ Here the Law brought in to set up the Gospel comes into play. Samuel Gammon wrote, “The blessings and privileges of the Gospel are truly by grace alone. However, we have an important part in preparing ourselves to be the recipients of these privileges and honors.”³⁸ Simonton also said, “The possibility of having free access to heaven depends on your capacity to occupy yourselves with God’s worship. It is necessary to be born again; otherwise all this will cause tedium.”³⁹ So missionaries knew they had to approach with the message—a warning and the proclamation of grace—to do their work. How this meshed with predestination and conversion could be explained later to the believers when the time was right.

Regeneration. The second subject that is more fully explored in the sermons is the doctrine of regeneration. There are four sermons that deal directly with this. The first sermon was preached by the Reverend Ashbel Green Simonton and published in June 1891. It was titled “Regeneration” and was based on John 3:7. The second one was called “Redemption” and was based on Galatians 3:13. It was preached by Alexander L. Blackford and published in August 1892. The third was “The Spiritual Life—Its Beginning—the Regeneration” and was also based on John 3:7. It was preached by the Reverend Alexander Blackford and published in October 1894. The fourth sermon was titled “The Living Water” and used Isaiah 55:1–2 as a text. It was delivered by the Reverend George W. Thompson and published in February 1894. In fact, the doctrine of the regeneration of the believer was pivotal for the carrying out of the missionaries’

³⁶ Blackford, “A Paz com Deus,” 64.

³⁷ Ibid., 67.

³⁸ Samuel Rhea Gammon, “As Riquezas Incompreensíveis de Cristo,” *O Púlpito Evangélico* (March 1895): 42.

³⁹ Ashbel G. Simonton, “Regeneração,” *O Púlpito Evangélico* (June 1891): 115.

work because for them there was no other remedy for man's situation. "You must be born again," said Simonton. "It doesn't help to amputate or cut off certain members of the body. The entire body is sick. Our own nature is deeply altered and corrupted."⁴⁰ They were aware of the nominal Roman Catholicism of Brazil, and they even alluded to that in these sermons. Simonton said, "They find physicians that for compliance or ignorance give the same diagnostic by prescribing certain penances, *rezas*,⁴¹ acts of contrition and good deeds, and promise an infallible cure."⁴²

There was also a difference in tone among these preachers as they approached this subject. On one hand, Ashbel Simonton laid things out in a more practical manner, as he used the example of a physician who examines his patient. His entire sermon revolved around three questions. First, what does it mean to be born again? Second, how does it take place? And third, why is it not possible to get into heaven any other way? On the other hand, the Reverends Alexander Blackford and George Thompson chose to approach the subject in a more philosophical manner. They explored the concept "reason" in order to show that man is inexcusable before God. "The Word of God teaches us plainly and clearly that all men are by nature in a state of condemnation because of their sin ... Man's conscience and reason agreed with it in such a way that almost all men seek in one way or another to pacify the divine wrath."⁴³ They were following Calvin here, who had said that "there is within the human mind, and indeed by natural instinct, an awareness of divinity ... To prevent anyone from taking refuge in the

⁴⁰ Ibid., 109.

⁴¹ In Portuguese there are two verbs that can be translated with the English verb "to pray." The first one is "orar" and is used extensively in the Bible, and the second one is "rezar" and used only within the Catholic Church. So when one uses or hears the verb "rezar," he or she is implying the prayer performed is within the Catholic system.

⁴² Simonton, "Regeneração," 108.

⁴³ Alexander L. Blackford, "Redenção," *O Púlpito Evangélico* (August 1892): 405.

pretense of ignorance, God himself has implanted in all men a certain understanding of his divine majesty.”⁴⁴ The intention here was not to give human reason an important place in man’s salvation. They, like Calvin, were simply underscoring the fact that man is inexcusable before God. They went on to add that “[man’s] intelligence depreciates itself and faints. One of the most sensible effects of the influence of sin on man is its intellectual incapacity as well as its spiritual one ... Man by himself is totally incapable to apply this change in his spirit.”⁴⁵

Christology. In talking about Christology,⁴⁶ eight sermons out of twenty-one specifically treated the person and work of Jesus Christ, but none of them dealt with his presence in the Holy Sacrament of the Lord’s Supper. This observation raises an interesting question, namely, if these missionaries saw themselves as reformers of a creed, as it has been said, why did they not challenge or try to correct the Catholic doctrine of transubstantiation? The answer is not found in any direct way in the sermons, but in the light of Paul Everett Pierson’s observation that “almost

⁴⁴ Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, 20:43.

⁴⁵ Alexander L. Blackford, “A Vida Espiritual—Seu Começo: Regeneração,” *O Púlpito Evangélico* (October 1894): 422, 425.

⁴⁶ It is not the goal in this section to shift the focus to Christology in the different church bodies. The historic differences between Lutheran, Roman, and Reformed theologies, especially regarding Christ’s presence in the Lord’s Supper, are well and widely known. Worth noting, however, is that the different way of understanding Christology has also had an effect on Soteriology, that is, on the work of Christ and how it affects the understanding of salvation, and that, in turn, has led their respective missionary efforts to take different directions. As Robert Kolb has pointed out, for Luther, the incarnation—Jesus’ flesh—is the “living voice of the Gospel.” See Kolb, *Confessing the Faith: Reformers Define the Church, 1530–1580* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1991), 20. Bernd Moeller, *Imperial Cities and the Reformation*, ed. and trans. H. C. Erik Middelfort and Mark U. Edwards Jr. (Durham, NC: Labyrinth Press, 1982), 37, sheds additional light on the subject, underscoring Kolb. Moeller points out that Luther’s doctrine of Christ’s presence in the Supper, which is all but inseparably bound to his doctrine of justification, reflects Luther’s background and beginnings that were different from the other Reformers: Luther had first tried the monastery where, with its regimen of study, discipline, and prayer, Luther sought but did not really find the forgiveness and comfort for which he had felt so acute a need. Moeller and Kolb were looking at Luther and Lutheran theology in a different context, but they also, in effect, highlight the need for doing mission work: to bring comfort and peace when other measures—no matter how well developed—ultimately fail. At least that is the way the missionaries to Brazil saw matters, taking care for the Christology they preached because it had huge implications on the Gospel comfort they hoped to convey. The point in this section is not to debate whether they were right or wrong in what they believed and taught. Rather we simply want to understand their Christology and especially what they taught about Christ’s presence in the Lord’s Supper and why.

all Presbyterians held a Zwinglian view of the Lord's Supper,"⁴⁷ this disinterest seem to make sense. For Pierson, the more minimal Reformed approach was simply a natural reaction against Roman Catholic sacramentalism, and consequently was an effort to redirect "the worship of the church [that] never exhibited the balance between Word and Sacrament which Calvin had intended."⁴⁸ Furthermore, Pierson went on to say that "the majority believed the main purpose of the worship service to be evangelization, moral exhortation of believers, or continuation of the polemic against rival religious groups. The pastor was more a preacher than a leader of worship, and the sermon was usually emphasized to the detriment of aspects of the service involving congregational participation."⁴⁹ But it must be said here that by not approaching Christology in the light of the Lord's Supper and by downplaying the Sacrament, these missionaries did not teach the church to think theologically about one of the core doctrines of the Christian faith.

With light of this then, another two-part question unavoidably comes into play. If they did not approach Christology with an eye toward the Lord's Supper, how did they handle it, and then why did they do it in a different way? As a matter of fact, there is no sermon in this section that dealt with the Christian sacraments. In all eight sermons, Jesus was presented as Advocate, Mediator, Savior, Gift of God, our Friend, the Cornerstone, and the King. Those likely are not accidental choices. This approach seems well calculated, since the Brazilian society, having been well acquainted with Catholicism, was receptive to any preaching that more directly stressed the person and work of the Son of God. Approaching Christology through the idea of the Sacrament would have been more difficult since much of that would not have been well understood apart from the dramatic, visible action of the priest, who was doing something said to be powerful,

⁴⁷ Pierson, *A Young Church in Search of Maturity*, 96.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

even magical. The Protestants would have had to “unteach” that and then try to lay out what they saw as an orthodox understanding of the Sacrament of the Altar—and then finally tie that to Christology. Ultimately, as simply a matter of missiological strategy, the more direct approach with those themes tied to Christ made evangelism more quickly understandable and so more attractive to the Roman Catholic population. We then have to keep in mind that these American missionaries were, in fact, the ones who instructed theologically the first generation of native pastors. When those native pastors later approached the doctrine of Christology and the Lord’s Supper, they reflected the theology of their masters.

Some characteristics about Christology stand out in these sermons. First, Christology is presented in the long light of the Old Testament. George Thompson said, “It seems unique to us that the Jews, who had so many and clear prophecies about Christ, refused to acknowledge Him and accept Him, as He arrived and showed their fulfillment in Him.”⁵⁰ The implicit point: the present audience had a view that was at least that clear, so in looking back, how could Brazilians refuse Christ? Ashbel Simonton also stressed that “Christ is expressly charged to intervene as Prophet, interpreting the Divine will with divine authority; as Priest, removing sin which made us apart from God; and as King or Prince, giving the remission of our sins and eternal life.”⁵¹ The office of King in the person of Jesus is explained well by Samuel Gammon. Relying on the Shorter Catechism he said,

Christ as King can be contemplated as an essential king and intermediary king. In the words of the Shorter Catechism, “Christ executeth the office of a king, in subduing us to himself, in ruling and defending us, and in restraining and conquering all his and our enemies.” In this answer two groups of people are contemplated: the people of Christ and His enemies and ours. By employing a figure, we can say that Christ,

⁵⁰ George W. Thompson, “Cristo A Principal Pedra do Angulo do Templo Espiritual,” *O Púlpito Evangélico* (May 1893): 81.

⁵¹ Ashbel G. Simonton, “Cristo Nosso Mediador,” *O Púlpito Evangélico* (1890): 48.

as intermediary king, has two scepters: With one He governs His people and with the other He governs His enemies.⁵²

Second, the Christology of these sermons reflected clearly the orthodox position of the two natures of Christ. There are not many citations from the church fathers, the Catechism (except the last one), or the Westminster Confession. The appeal was made more directly through Bible passages. This may indicate that these preachers sought to keep the subject as simple as possible to their audience because although it was nominally Christian, in general it was considered pagan and heathen.⁵³ But the emphasis of the two natures of Christ is pivotal for them because it challenges the Catholic system of penitence and expiation. Jesus is God and man. Simonton, explaining Revelation 1:17–18, wrote the following:

He who said before Abraham, “I am,” who was in the beginning—by whom all things were created—was dead. Here we have a marvelous thing. The Author and the fountain of life where our eternal life comes from was dead! It seems to state here a contradiction. How is it that the one who has life in himself, differently from all creatures, can die? And how in His dying did not die those who live by depending in Him? The four evangelists offer the proper answer. We see that the one, while God who lives throughout eternity, made himself man and died on the cross for the atonement of sin. The solution of the apparent contradiction is in the double nature of Christ.⁵⁴

The pattern followed was very basic and straightforward with Law and Gospel. “The greatness of God frightens the earth”⁵⁵ and “Jesus would never have become man, if it were not for the sake of the work of the redemption of humankind.”⁵⁶ Jesus also needed to be God because “God

⁵² Samuel R. Gammon, “Cristo Como Rei,” *O Púlpito Evangélico* (September 1890): 127–28. Gammon quotes here question number 26 of the *Westminster Shorter Catechism* of 1674.

⁵³ Daniel Kidder charged the amalgamation of Christianity and heathenism or paganism after he witnessed some of the religious practices within Catholicism of Brazil in 1849. Daniel Parish Kidder and J. C. Fletcher, *Brazil and the Brazilians* (Philadelphia: Childs & Peterson; New York: Sheldon, Blackman, 1857): 86. Samuel Rhea Gammon goes further and flatly declared that “Romanism is pure Paganism.” Gammon, *The Evangelical Invasion of Brazil*, 86.

⁵⁴ Ashbel G. Simonton, “O Salvador Vivo,” *O Púlpito Evangélico* (October 1891): 202–3.

⁵⁵ Ashbel G. Simonton, “O Único Advogado,” *O Púlpito Evangélico* (December 1889): 380.

⁵⁶ Simonton, “Cristo Nosso Mediador,” 51.

has the right to appoint those who in His presence are called to intervene on behalf of man. He appointed Jesus and no one else.”⁵⁷

In the third place, Christology was presented in such a way that gave total supremacy to the person and work of Christ for man’s salvation. “The fire that deserved our sins is burning in the heart of our Mediator who made himself victim for our sin.”⁵⁸ This is the tone in which Jesus was presented in these sermons. There was neither middle ground, nor was there another mediator. It was Jesus, and Jesus alone, who provides salvation and reconciliation between God and man. “He [Christ] gave His life for His friends,”⁵⁹ and “God chose Christ for this task because He was the only one who could accomplish it.”⁶⁰ It was in the presentation of the supremacy and uniqueness of Jesus’ sacrifice for man’s salvation that the preachers made their most open and straightforward attack on Catholicism. They wanted to make sure that their audience understood that the Catholic presentation of Jesus being helped or supplemented by the Pope, our Lady, or the saints was categorically false. Simonton concluded one of his sermons with the following words:

Let us honor the Lord with the confidence ... Take the advice of the Apostle, who for the occasion of partaking of the Lord’s Supper leaned back against the Advocate Whom he here recommends strongly. Where Saint John leaned back against, do you all too. Put in Him your confidence.⁶¹

In short, the Protestant preachers were strong on *solo Christo*, Christ alone, a Reformation idea being accented for hearers and readers who seemed very sixteenth-century in their religious attitudes and practices.

⁵⁷ Simonton, “O Único Advogado, 381.

⁵⁸ Simonton, “Cristo Nosso Mediador,” 52

⁵⁹ George W. Thompson, “Cristo Nosso Amigo,” *O Púlpito Evangélico* (December 1893): 145.

⁶⁰ Thompson, “Cristo A Principal Pedra do Angulo do Templo Espiritual,” 85.

⁶¹ Simonton, “O Único Advogado,” 386.

Apologetic Sermons

By the 1880s the Protestant Church in Brazil was facing a strong reaction from Catholicism. The Roman Catholic Church switched its focus from fighting against the Brazilian emperor to persecuting the Protestant bodies. Émile Léonard devotes an entire chapter called “Catholic Reactions” in his book *O Protestantismo Brasileiro*,⁶² cataloging the huge waves of persecution that took place from 1870 to 1890. The years of the medieval inquisition in Brazil had been over since the close of the eighteenth century. But now, almost a century later, came a Counter-Reformation, and a new technique was being brought into play. Initially the persecution started by linking Protestantism to negative images and ideas in popular Brazilian folklore. For example, the Protestants were portrayed as goats with their feet forked in two—cloven hooves, a sinister image—and popular songs were created to caution the population about the danger of the goats’ doctrine. Eventually the hostile verbal attacks escalated and took the form of physical confrontation. In some places, many missionaries’ and pastors’ houses were stoned, and the Bible and other Protestant pamphlets often were burned in the public squares. Sometimes missionaries and pastors were even driven out of the cities.

However, the American missionaries were not intimidated by this Catholic-prompted hostility. On the contrary, they struck back, openly criticizing Roman Catholicism and labeling it paganism. It is interesting that there is no sermon published by *O Púlpito Evangélico* that dealt specifically with Catholicism by name. However, there are plenty of passages and annotations spread through the forty-two sermons that have an apologetic tone. Catholicism was the principal target of these missionaries when they talked of danger to society, though other subjects were

⁶² Léonard, *O Protestantismo Brasileiro*, 117–37.

also explored such as gambling, drinking, dancing, philosophy, and the spiritualism and African religions.

Preaching against Catholicism. In addition to the sermons, perhaps the best source of material that also gives us a good, wide-ranging understanding of how the American missionaries saw Roman Catholicism is a book titled *The Evangelical Invasion of Brazil*,⁶³ written by Samuel Rhea Gammon in 1910. In it Gammon depicted Brazil's religious situation of the nineteenth century and sought to answer this question: Why should we consider Brazil as a mission field? Gammon's answer was plain and simple: "Romanism in Brazil ... is a system pagan in form, largely pagan in spirit, whose doctrines are subversive of many of the most fundamental and most precious teachings of the religion of Christ."⁶⁴

For Gammon, Brazil was a vast mission field despite Catholicism's presence. Because Rome's teaching was deemed to be so flawed, it was like approaching new territory that had never really seen Christianity. Gammon sides with the great American theologian Robert Lewis Dabney. In Gammon's words, Dabney's position could be summed up as follows:

A mistake was made in launching the modern movement of world-wide missions ... In the first place the interrupted work of the Reformation of the sixteenth century should have been resumed and completed; and that, after the reforming of papal lands, the great work of evangelizing the nations should have been undertaken.⁶⁵

That aggressive position is clearly seen in the sermons themselves. Out of the forty-two sermons, eleven in this section attacked Catholicism both directly or indirectly. These attacks were made in two different ways. The first was to take a seemingly conciliatory tone. The writers used straightforward labels such as "Romanism,"⁶⁶ "Roman Religion,"⁶⁷ and "Roman Church."⁶⁸

⁶³ Gammon, *The Evangelical Invasion of Brazil*. (See note 211 for full reference.)

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 101.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 153.

⁶⁶ William Lucas Bedinger, "Os Erros Fatais," *O Púlpito Evangélico* (April 1889): 250.

This can be considered a more conciliatory approach, taken especially by the first missionaries who arrived at the beginning of the second half of the nineteenth century, because they simply relied on labels one could hardly dispute or object to. The second way of attacking the problem was more direct and aggressive. In these instances, the writers actually omitted the name of the Church and instead alluded to Roman Catholicism using other more inflammatory descriptions. For example, Ashbel Simonton called Rome's proponents "the enemies of faith."⁶⁹ Samuel Gammon said that "John Hus, Wycliffe, Luther, Calvin [and others] ... dissipated the darkness of superstition and [Catholic] priesthood. They defended God's truth against the lie, defeated the hosts of the enemies of God, and reformed and purified the Church of Christ."⁷⁰ This last is especially biting given the way Rome equated its visible presence through history with the true church. Rome could hardly be pleased with Simonton's take on history.

Let us explore a little bit more how these missionaries characterized Catholicism. First, for them the Roman Catholic Church was false. Here is William L. Bedinger: "Rome has corrupted the religion of the Sacred Writings by depriving the Law from its moral effect and by putting the Gospel in an obscure place that cannot be seen."⁷¹ Second, Roman Catholicism was better classified as a sect. Alexander Blackford said that "the Roman Church and perhaps some *other* sects utilize the word faith especially in the sense of doctrine."⁷² Third, the Roman Catholic Church was seen as an enemy of the Protestant Church that distorted Protestantism's message, and

⁶⁷ Samuel Rhea Gammon, "A Bem-Aventura dos Mortos," *O Púlpito Evangélico* (January 1895): 2.

⁶⁸ Blackford, "Vida Pela Fé," 35.

⁶⁹ Ashbel G. Simonton, "A Santidade," *O Púlpito Evangélico* (1890): 95.

⁷⁰ Samuel Rhea Gammon, "A Carreira Cristã," *O Púlpito Evangélico* (June 1898): 300.

⁷¹ Bedinger, "Os Erros Fatais," 251.

⁷² Blackford, "Vida Pela Fé," 37.

so a foe to be defeated. Ashbel Simonton wrote, “One of the objections that the enemies of faith repeat over and over again is that we do not believe in saints.”⁷³ Samuel Gammon added,

Romanism Here it is [as] the sons of Anak, the descendants of giants that pursue the land, and from whose hands we must take it. In comparison with them, we look like grasshoppers ... (Numbers 13:33). What hope would the Church have to throw these giants of iniquity out, and conquer the world for Christ, if it were not for the truth that God teaches us in the conquest of Jericho?⁷⁴

Finally, argued the Protestants, the Catholic Church cannot provide salvation. William Bedinger, talking about Catholicism, stressed that

The sincerity in the adoption of a creed, which is essentially wrong, does not prevent the fatal consequence that is eternal damnation ... All those who have been misled so that they don't see the truth, and have adopted another rule of faith, which God did not approve, will be damned forever.⁷⁵

Preaching against Sects. As noted, these missionaries thought Roman Catholicism should be understood or viewed as a sect because, although it professed to receive the same Scriptures that Protestantism held high, it had added human inventions, obscuring the essential teaching about God's plan of salvation,⁷⁶ and also introducing and substituting false ideas.⁷⁷ But the criticism did not end there. The missionaries also targeted other movements, especially forms of Spiritualism that blended Catholicism and voodoo practices brought along by African slaves already at the time of Brazil's colonization in the sixteenth century. Although Spiritualism in Brazil today is a separate entity from Catholicism, and theoretically and doctrinally these two have nothing to do with one another, in a practical way their similarities and approximation still cause some to do a doubletake and suggest that the association was, at one point, much closer. In

⁷³ Simonton, “A Santidade,” 95.

⁷⁴ Samuel Rhea Gammon, “A Fortaleza de Israel e Sua Fraqueza,” *O Púlpito Evangélico* (January 1896): 8–9.

⁷⁵ Bedinger, “Os Erros Fatais,” 251–52.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 250.

⁷⁷ Simonton, “A Santidade,” 94.

fact, Roger Bastide, in his book *The African Religion of Brazil*, has called them the two Catholicisms.⁷⁸ Bastide has observed that “black Catholicism, like the African religions, was to certain extent a class subculture.”⁷⁹ This Spiritualism movement in Brazil has departed from this black Catholicism and gained a form of its own, appearing today in various branches—Umbanda, Candomblé, Macumba, etc.—that follow pretty much the same ideals. Those were, for example, the development of voodoo practices and “the beliefs in the communication between disincarnate spirits and the living combined with the social evolutionism and Positivism of Auguste Comte, with Hindu concepts of reincarnation and the Law of Karma, or Divine Fate, and with Christian ethics.”⁸⁰ That was quite a mix! In his day, Samuel Gammon said, “If we pay attention to Spiritualism with its doctrine of the reincarnation of souls ... we see that they cannot hold our topic, ‘Blessed are the dead.’ Only Christianity and the Gospel of Jesus Christ can paint the rainbow of hope and promise in the black clouds of the future and write on the gravestone of man—Blessed are the dead.”⁸¹ Reading between Gammon’s lines it seems apparent that Spiritualism was a problem offering a solution but not certain hope—the kind of criticism that Protestants could also level at Catholicism.

Preaching on Social Issues. As we heard before, Samuel Gammon characterized the colorful Brazilian lifestyle when he wrote this:

The warm, emotional Latin blood in the Brazilian’s veins shows itself in his passionate fondness for music, and in his love of pleasure. The theatre, the ball, the games and the racetrack all appeal to him strongly; and this emotional nature, which

⁷⁸ Roger Bastide, *The African Religions of Brazil: Toward Sociology of the Interpretation of Civilizations* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978), 109–25.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 113.

⁸⁰ Diana DeGroat Brown, *Umbanda Religion and Politics in Urban Brazil* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1986), 17.

⁸¹ Gammon, “As Bem-Aventuranças dos Mortos,” 2.

is the source of his most attractive graces and his noblest virtues, is, at the same time, the most fruitful source of his weaknesses, his temptations and his sins.⁸²

A problem with the lack of control in one's personal and also social behavior was certainly evident in the Brazilian culture of the time. As the missionaries saw things, the problem was compounded by the introduction and regularization of many Roman Catholic holidays and festivals that routinely promoted celebrations used by the Roman Church in order to collect funds for its support. But the religiosity that spiked during these festivals only seemed nominal or luke warm at other times, and Catholicism's inability to control its membership so as to raise lay piety to higher level and to keep it on a more even keel all make us wonder if the percentage of seriously committed people within the larger population that called itself Catholic was not, in fact, much smaller than Rome generally claimed. American missionaries saw this discrepancy and consciously chose to challenge it by promoting a Puritan-style Protestantism. Simonton said, "Loving God and the neighbor; being a good father, mother, or son; making a living and having been able to aid the poor; sleeping at night and working during the day; blessing the food ... here it is a holiness of life according to the teaching of the Gospel."⁸³ He also asserted that "there is no morality unless the Gospel is preached."⁸⁴ So even apparent piety fell short—and plenty were not all that steadfastly pious in the first place. Thomas Porter called "worldly" a life that is not moderate in social practices. He wrote, "Men cannot understand the reason why the worldly are many times ... more prosperous than the Christians. And that is because the Christians cannot make use of certain methods in their life as the unbelievers do. For example: He must not

⁸² Gammon, *The Evangelical Invasion of Brazil*, 42–43.

⁸³ Simonton, "A Santidade," 112.

⁸⁴ Simonton, "Regeneração," 113.

gamble, lie, or deceive others in his business.”⁸⁵ Protestants preached holiness living in an effort to set their followers apart and to galvanize the movement as they tried to influence Brazil.

The missionaries also usually pushed their audience to take a stand for Christ and profess their faith by submitting themselves to Baptism. Gammon said, “In our days there are those who want to be Christians but they do not want to be baptized and united to the Church ... When man has the true faith in Christ ... he desires to make his public profession of faith.”⁸⁶ It is also noteworthy to highlight that this Puritan approach was followed by a positive emphasis in the way one saw life. Protestants may not have endorsed the festival celebrations, but that hardly meant (at least for them) that their message was joyless. Gammon said that “those who think that religion [Christianity] is a sad and shady life are ignorant. With all certainty Christians do not lack any good thing ... temporal ... and spiritual blessings.”⁸⁷ The joy was said to be deeper and internal, and as such was better suited to see people through day by day. Ultimately this approach proved to be efficient, and Protestantism drew to itself people who were willing to change their lifestyle.

Indigenous Pastors from the Reformed Tradition

The American missionaries sent to the field were not the only voices heard. Native pastors also would contribute to the effort, sometimes echoing themes of the missionaries, sometimes adding their own contributions for their Brazilian hearers. The *Púlpito Evangélico* published a total of sixty-one sermons that were preached by these indigenous pastors from the Presbyterian Church of Brazil. Some peculiarities are worth mentioning. First, one quickly notices the theological depth and the historical and biblical familiarities of these native pastors. For instance,

⁸⁵ Thomas J. Porter, “A Parábola da Cizania,” *O Púlpito Evangélico* (March 1892): 310.

⁸⁶ Samuel Rhea Gammon, “O Dever dos Redimidos,” *O Púlpito Evangélico* (November 1893): 202.

in the matter of original theological languages, Greek,⁸⁸ Hebrew,⁸⁹ and Latin⁹⁰ are used with some frequency. (Can Roman Catholicism’s priests do all that?) The pastors also included citations from American authors,⁹¹ showing a familiarity with English. Regarding confessional resource materials, they used the Westminster Confession and their Larger and Shorter Catechisms.⁹² And in terms of history, they made extensive use of both pagan and Christian classical era sources—Alexander the Great⁹³ and Babylon, for example, and church fathers such as Polycarp,⁹⁴ Tertullian,⁹⁵ and Augustine.⁹⁶ The medieval period had references to the likes of Gregory the Great⁹⁷ and Bernard of Clairvaux⁹⁸ and the sixteenth century included obvious Reformation choices such as Martin Luther,⁹⁹ Calvin,¹⁰⁰ and Zwingli.¹⁰¹ Clearly, the indigenous pastors were not unlearned or simply plugging a gap as the time of expatriate missionaries faded. The second trait in these native pastors’ sermons was the presence of doctrinal subjects that not only would

⁸⁷ Samuel Rhea Gammon. “A Herança Gloriosa do Cristão,” *O Púlpito Evangélico* (May 1891): 90–91.

⁸⁸ Eduardo Carlos Pereira, “A Igreja,” *O Púlpito Evangélico* (July 1891): 133.

⁸⁹ José Zacarias de Miranda, “A Edificação do Templo,” *O Púlpito Evangélico* (March 1889); Caetano Nogueira Junior, “O Poder do Evangelho,” *O Púlpito Evangélico* (October 1898): 396.

⁹⁰ Eduardo Carlos Pereira, “Os Sacramentos,” *O Púlpito Evangélico* (June 1893): 102.

⁹¹ Eduardo Carlos Pereira, “A Santa Ceia,” *O Púlpito Evangélico* (February 1899): 223; Belmiro de Araújo Cezar, “Onde Comparecerão o Ímpio e o Pecador?” *O Púlpito Evangélico* (November 1890): 165.

⁹² Antônio Lino da Costa, “Nosso Destino,” *O Púlpito Evangélico* (August 1898): 340; Pereira, “A Ceia do Senhor,” 219.

⁹³ Caetano Nogueira, “Cristo Crucificado,” *O Púlpito Evangélico* (1890): 84.

⁹⁴ Antônio Pedro de Cerqueira Leite, “Nossa Paz,” *O Púlpito Evangélico* (1890): 65.

⁹⁵ Antônio Lino da Costa, “As Aflições,” *O Púlpito Evangélico* (March 1896): 59.

⁹⁶ Antônio Pedro de Cerqueira Leite, “O Fundamento da Igreja Cristã,” *O Púlpito Evangélico* (September 1889): 333.

⁹⁷ Laudelino de Oliveira, “O Cristianismo e Seus Inimigos, Suas Lutas e Suas Vitórias,” *O Púlpito Evangélico* (August 1900): 476.

⁹⁸ Da Costa, “Nosso Destino,” 344.

⁹⁹ De Oliveira, “O Cristianismo e Seus Inimigos, Suas Lutas e Suas Vitórias,” 477.

¹⁰⁰ Leonidas da Silva, “A Pedra Viva,” *O Púlpito Evangélico* (January 1890): 3.

¹⁰¹ Pereira, “A Santa Ceia,” 224.

edify the congregations but also would challenge the Roman Catholic understanding of the theological points at hand. In fact, often these subjects had not been present in the American missionaries' sermons. Topics such as the tithe,¹⁰² the definition of the Church,¹⁰³ the Sacraments,¹⁰⁴ Baptism,¹⁰⁵ the Lord's Supper,¹⁰⁶ and idolatry¹⁰⁷ now were taken up as the native pastors began to strike a more aggressive and challenging tone.

Practical Preaching

The indigenous pastors certainly seemed to know how to connect with their hearers. Twenty-two sermons preached by the native pastors can be placed under the heading of practical preaching. However, these were hardly just “how to” sermons. There was a remarkable use of Gospel passages in them. Twelve sermons out of the twenty-one used passages specifically from all four Gospels, an obvious choice given the subject. But the writers used texts from elsewhere in the Scriptures. Of the remaining sermons, four were based on Old Testament passages, four others used on texts from elsewhere in the New Testament, and there was one biographical sermon. Several subjects were accented in particular. The first was the love of God for humankind. Here two sermons stand out in particular—“The Love of God Stressed,”¹⁰⁸ preached by the Reverend Antônio Pedro de Cerqueira Leite, and “The Last Expression of the

¹⁰² João Ribeiro de Carvalho Braga, “Os Dízimos,” *O Púlpito Evangélico* (1888): 118.

¹⁰³ Belmiro de Araujo Cezar, “A Igreja: A Noiva de Cristo,” *O Púlpito Evangélico* (March 1891): 43–49; Alvaro Emidio Gonçalves Reis, “A Igreja,” *O Púlpito Evangélico* (December 1892): 467–90; Pereira, “A Igreja,” 131–39.

¹⁰⁴ Pereira, “Os Sacramentos,” 101.

¹⁰⁵ Eduardo Carlos Pereira, “O Batismo,” *O Púlpito Evangélico* (June 1890): 31–40.

¹⁰⁶ Pereira, “A Santa Ceia,” 218.

¹⁰⁷ Erasmo de Carvalho Braga, “Paulo em Atenas,” *O Púlpito Evangélico* (April 1898): 230–44; Alvaro Emidio Gonçalves Reis, “Deus e a Idolatria,” *O Púlpito Evangélico* (June 1895): 103.

¹⁰⁸ Antônio Pedro de Cerqueira Leite, “O Amor de Deus Realçado,” *O Púlpito Evangélico* (May 1889): 266–72.

Love of God for the World”¹⁰⁹ by the Reverend Miguel Gonçalves Torres. Two motifs were stressed. The first was the unconditional love of God, emphasizing that there is nothing apart from or outside God that moved God to love man. Antônio Cerqueira put it in this way: “Therefore, it was immeasurable the love that our merciful Father manifested for us, sending His beloved Son to the world to suffer and die for our sins.”¹¹⁰ The sermons usually made a comparison between man’s love, which is always moved by positive characteristics in the object of human love and drawn to that which it finds lovable, and God’s love, which is freely given by his grace and mercy to create anew the object of its love where nothing inherently lovable had been—a strong Reformation distinction made early on by Martin Luther in his Heidelberg Disputation of 1518, when he said as much to his fellow Augustinians. Antônio Cerqueira put it in a way that surely must have struck a chord with people who had been taught they must also hold up their part of the process: “God loved us while we were still sinners, and therefore our salvation does not depend on our faithfulness but on the steadiness of God’s love.”¹¹¹ The second motif that stood in stark contrast to the love of God for humankind was man’s own sinful condition: “Humankind was the victim of sin committed by its representative. Man became an enemy of God by his corrupted nature, and the sons of Adam incurred the displeasure of the Almighty.”¹¹² These two motifs—the unconditional love of God and man’s sinful condition—were placed in contrast to each other to set the tone of man’s salvation.

The second subject explored in the sermons from these native pastors followed up on faith and salvation as the pastors now looked at the relationship between Jesus Christ and the

¹⁰⁹ Miguel Gonçalves Torres, “A Última Expressão do Amor de Deus para o Mundo,” *O Púlpito Evangélico* (1888): 53–61.

¹¹⁰ Leite, “O Amor de Deus Realçado,” 269.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, 272.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, 268.

Christian. This followed naturally on the first emphasis. That is, not only does God love humankind and save those whom he draws to himself through Christ, he also calls them to live in an intimate relationship with himself. Six sermons dealt directly with this relationship between Jesus Christ and the Christian. They are “The Vital and Saving Union of Christ and the Saved Ones,” preached by João B. de Lima in June 1889; “The Witnesses of Christ,” delivered by Antônio Trajano in 1888; “The Two Disciples of Emmaus,” from Antônio Trajano in February 1899; “Motives for Us to Love God,” preached by Juventino Marinho in February 1891; “Looking at Jesus,” delivered by José Primênio in February 1898; and “Motives to Obey Jesus’ Commandment,” preached by João Vieira Bizarro in November 1894.

Especially noteworthy is that these preachers tried to keep a balance between the love and sovereignty of God and man’s sin and responsibility. Salvation is pictured as a free gift of God, and man’s perseverance is also totally dependent on God. As João de Lima said, “We have in our Lord Jesus Christ all the assurance that we need. He is the firm foundation for our hope, and by faith we are as safe in Him as a building in its good and solid foundation.”¹¹³ They also urged Christians (taking a somewhat Law-tinged approach here) to live fully for God’s glory, for as Juventino Marinho said, “[I]f you love God with all your heart, you will not only feel it easy to do His will but also will find it pleasing to obey His commandments.”¹¹⁴ That could seem heavy handed, laying an obligation on the believers, who would be expected to hold up their end of this arrangement. But again, the preachers tried to strike a balance as they also stressed the believers’ incapacity to love God by themselves. So Juventino Marinho said that “God is the fountain of

¹¹³ João B. de Lima, “A União Vital e Salvadora de Cristo com os Salvos,” *O Púlpito Evangélico* (June 1889): 284.

¹¹⁴ Juventino Marinho, “Motivos para Amar a Deus,” *O Púlpito Evangélico* (February 1891): 29.

love,”¹¹⁵ and he went on to emphasize “that the main reason we possess to love God is that He has loved us first.”¹¹⁶

Another characteristic that is very evident in these sermons was how these preachers made the connection between Christianity and culture, and how they sought to transform society by preaching the Gospel. The Law may show a God-pleasing pattern, but the Gospel was what brought one there and drove the Christian life. The native preachers followed very closely the Westminster Confession and the Larger and Shorter Catechisms in which “the chief and highest end of man is to glorify God and fully to enjoy Him forever.”¹¹⁷ It was John Calvin who had argued that “man cannot apprehend God without rendering some honor to him”¹¹⁸ and that “all men are born and live to the end that they may know God.”¹¹⁹ But this is more than some intellectual knowing. H. Richard Niebuhr in his book *Christ and Culture* summed up Calvin’s understanding of Christian calling as follows:

More than Luther, he [Calvin] looks for the present permeation of all life by the Gospel. His more dynamic conception of the vocations of men as activities in which they may express their faith and love and may glorify God in their calling, his closer association of church and state, and his insistence that the state is God’s minister not only in a negative fashion as restrainer of evil but positively in the promotion of welfare, his more humanistic views of the splendor of human nature still evident in the ruins of the fall, his concern for the doctrine of the resurrection of the flesh, above all his emphasis on the actuality of God’s sovereignty—all these lead to the thought that *what the Gospel promises and makes possible, as divine (not human) possibility, is the transformation of mankind in all its nature and culture into a*

¹¹⁵ Ibid., 24.

¹¹⁶ Ibid.

¹¹⁷ “The Confession of Faith of the Presbyterian Church in the United States together with the Larger Catechism and the Shorter Catechism,” (Richmond, VA: Printed for the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of the United States by the Board of Christian Education, 1965), 145.

¹¹⁸ Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, 20:40.

¹¹⁹ Ibid., 20:46.

*kingdom of God in which the laws of the kingdom have been written upon the inward parts.*¹²⁰

Ashbel Simonton had said that “there is no morality except in countries where the Gospel is preached, where the promises of the help of the Divine Spirit are credited.”¹²¹ But these native pastors took this seriously and developed it by believing and preaching that Brazilian society could be truly transformed by the proclamation of the Word. The Reverend Modesto Carvalhosa said that “the religious man—truly religious—has to be inside and outside of his household,”¹²² and “where there are true Christians, the glorious light of the sun of righteousness shines—the saving power of Jesus shines.”¹²³

The Reverend João Vieira Bizarro preached a sermon titled “Motives to Obey Christ’s Commandments.” In it Bizarro clearly characterized this transformation of the culture as follows:

The Gospel is the only and true happiness for people. If we compare the moral state of those nations that accept the Gospel with those that deny it, we will be convinced of the urgent need for the preaching of the Gospel to all the world. The richer, more prosperous, and more civilized countries are exactly those that accepted the Gospel, while the poorer, more retrograde, and more perverted countries are those that did not accept it.¹²⁴

This is no modern Gospel of Wealth or Gospel of Prosperity promising riches to those who make personal commitments and believe “hard enough,” but it is clear that the Gospel was expected to have a broad, positive effect on society as faith took hold. José Zacarias de Miranda also took this Christ-the-transformer-of-culture approach:

One talks about the progress, in the human exaltation, of society without God! The legislators utilize long periods to present and discuss their theories, make laws to

¹²⁰ H. Richard Niebuhr, *Christ and Culture* (New York: Harper & Row, 1951), 217–18. Italics mine.

¹²¹ Simonton, “Regeneração,” 113.

¹²² Modesto P. B. Carvalhosa, “A Luz do Mundo,” *O Púlpito Evangélico* (1888): 91.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, 90.

¹²⁴ João Vieira Bizarro, “Motivos para Obedecer aos Mandamentos de Cristo,” *O Púlpito Evangélico* (November 1894): 444.

repress crimes and to maintain the order and the safety of society, but in spite of these laws, even though they are judicious and well done, crime continues to escalate gigantically! And why? It is because in order to control such abuses as these, which are rooted in the perverted man's heart, it doesn't suffice to make good laws. It is necessary to have a more preponderant influence. It is necessary to reform the individual; and this objective only the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ can accomplish.¹²⁵

Confessional and Doctrinal Preaching

This section on confessional and doctrinal preaching includes thirty-three sermons that focus directly or intentionally on teaching Christian doctrine. As was the case with the American missionaries and their preaching, the indigenous Brazilian pastors also leaned heavily on Christology and the interaction between Christ, who is the Savior, and mankind, who desperately needed saving. At the same time, however, the native preachers differed from the American expatriates in the following way: the American missionaries centered their doctrinal sermons on subjects that could be approached with an evangelistic form or tone, focusing on a narrow core of ideas such as justification by faith, regeneration, and adoption, while the indigenous pastors focused on a wider range of doctrinal subjects that were yet applicable or useful within the church itself, subjects such as eschatology, prayer, sacraments, ecclesiology, and sanctification. The indigenous pastors certainly had not lost that narrower core, but they sought to include other essential matters as well. This could, even should, be expected, since there had been a twenty-year gap between the first American missionary and the first Brazilian-born ordained pastor. In other words, we are dealing here with what is, practically speaking, the second generation of preachers. By the 1870s the Presbyterian Church had grown enormously, and these native pastors really felt the need to broaden the doctrinal focus as they addressed their society. In fact, their efforts show the ability of these native pastors to think theologically on their own. Although

¹²⁵ José Zacarias de Miranda, "A Edificação do Templo," *O Púlpito Evangélico* (March 1889): 243.

they had been the direct pupils of the American missionaries, they were able to carry on the direction and yet go beyond their teachers as they developed a theology with unique Brazilian characteristics. In the long run, it was this characteristic that made it possible for Brazilian Presbyterianism to stand on its own and to engage its “enemies.”

Ecclesiology. The definition of the church—the body of Christ—is crucial in the eyes of these native pastors. They wanted to make sure that Brazilian Protestant bodies fully comprehended their place in the true church. As we will see, Catholicism was for them the enemy to be defeated; therefore, the study of ecclesiology was pivotal. There are five sermons that dealt directly with the definition of the church. They are “The Church—First Part,” published in July 1891, and “The Church—Second Part,” from August 1891, both preached by the Reverend Eduardo Carlos Pereira; “The Church,” published in December 1892 and preached by the Reverend Alvaro Emídio Gonçalves dos Reis; “The Church: The Bride of Christ,” published in March 1891 and preached by the Reverend Belmiro de Araújo Cezar; and “The Erection of the Temple,” from March 1889 and preached by the Reverend José Zacarias de Miranda. Two emphases stand out in the ecclesiology found in these five sermons: the definition of the church and the marks of the true church.

The native pastors did not differ from the orthodox point of view, namely, that the church is the body of Christ or the union of true believers, that it may be seen as church militant on earth and triumphant in heaven, and that the “church as a whole has assumed three fundamental forms: the patriarchal church, the mosaic church, and the Christian church.”¹²⁶ What did differ was the greater emphasis that they put on these ideas, expanding beyond the preachers of the decades before. They relied on the St. Paul’s description and definition of the church that has been called

¹²⁶ Eduardo Carlos Pereira, “A Igreja—Segunda Parte,” *O Púlpito Evangélico* (August 1891):158.

by God to live a sanctified life, and they emphasized that Christ himself has chosen and loved his church.

The church is, therefore, the collectivity that has the chief end to glorify God by obeying and spreading the truth revealed in the Holy Scriptures. It is because of that that the Apostle Paul [in Ephesians 3:10] calls it God's household, the pillar and foundation of truth, so that the manifold wisdom of God should be made known to the rulers and authorities in the heavenly realms.¹²⁷

It is unquestionable that in these two places [1 Corinthians 1:2 and 2 Corinthians 1:1] Paul understands by the church, the society of the faithful ones, and the congregation of the sanctified ones. By an attentive analysis throughout all other places we will come to the conclusion that this is the only religious meaning for which the word is used. This apostolic meaning of the word "church" is in accordance with its etymology. It is derived from the Greek word, *ekklesia*, that itself is derived from the verb *kaleo*, which means to call, indicating consequently the assembly or society of those who have been efficaciously called by God.¹²⁸

The church is described as a bride (John 3:29), the bride of the One who was raised from the dead (Romans 7:4).¹²⁹ Regarding the marks of that bride, they are four: one, holy, universal, and apostolic. Eduardo Carlos Pereira put it this way:

The church cannot be other than *una, santa, catholica, and apostolica*. One ... in the marvelous unity of its creeds, in the living communion of the basic doctrines of Christianity, and in the Christian fraternity of its members; holy ... in the sanctity of its doctrines emanated directly out of pure fountain—The Sacred Book of the Divine Revelation, and in the purity of its members; catholic ... because it embraces the universality of those who in all times and places maintained themselves firm on the only foundation, head and cornerstone; namely, Christ; apostolic ... in the diligent sustentation of the doctrines preached by the holy apostles.¹³⁰

Alvaro Reis interpreted the prophecy of the prophet Daniel [2:44–45] as speaking of the characteristics of the true church. He said,

The kingdom typified by the rock cut out of a mountain has characteristics that distinguish it from all other realms. Says the Prophet: the God of heaven will set up a

¹²⁷ Reis, "A Igreja," 468.

¹²⁸ Eduardo Carlos Pereira, "A Igreja—Primeira Parte," *O Púlpito Evangélico* (July 1891): 132–33.

¹²⁹ Cezar, "A Igreja: A Noiva de Cristo," 44.

¹³⁰ Pereira, "A Igreja—Primeira Parte," 134.

kingdom—it is therefore, *a divine kingdom*—that will never be destroyed. It is therefore *eternal*—and it will crush all those kingdoms ... and it will itself endure forever—it is therefore *universal*.¹³¹

Other important characteristics illustrate the indigenous pastors' unique understanding of the church. First, the Protestant Church is the remnant true apostolic church. Eduardo Carlos Pereira interpreted the time of forty-two months in Revelation 13 and 17 as the 1,260 years of the medieval period in which the Roman Catholic Church became a lawless and rebellious church. As he put it, "Therefore, it was decreed in the impenetrable counsels of the Almighty that a rebellious power would arise in the church and would win the saints, the faithful Christians."¹³² He tried to answer two pivotal questions put as a challenge to the Presbyterians, namely: "If your church [with roots in Calvin and Reformed theology] is the church of Christ, where was the church of Christ before the Reformation?" and "If the Church of Rome is not the church of Christ, where was the church of Christ before the Reformation?"¹³³ He responded by hearkening back to the story where Elijah could not see the 7,000 servants that God had kept faithful to Himself from idolatry in the time of Ahab's kingdom (1 Kings 18), and so God also had kept a small group from "the captivity of this new Babylon whose walls the sixteenth-century reformers tore down."¹³⁴ Second, the church is not physically or institutionally uniform any more as it once had been in the patriarchal and mosaic dispensations. Eduardo Carlos Pereira used Paul's analogy in Romans 11 of the church as the olive tree as a way to argue that that all Protestant denominations were branches of the same olive tree. And for the first time, in an effort to keep all those branches on the tree rather than be forced to prune some away, Pereira differentiated

¹³¹ Reis, "A Igreja," 471.

¹³² Pereira, "A Igreja—Primeira Parte," 138.

¹³³ Ibid., "A Igreja—Segunda Parte," 155–56.

¹³⁴ Ibid., 156.

between essential and secondary doctrines in order to keep the balance between denominations.

It is worth quoting his words:

God, therefore, executed the sentence, and the branch of Romanism was cut off from the Christian tree ... The members of the true catholic church, which denied Rome's bondage, used their evangelical freedom in those things that the Holy Spirit left to [judge by] the criteria of Christian faith and love: to shape the principles of government, discipline and liturgy, with its variable nature from this peculiar point of view. And while always maintaining the evangelical plan of salvation, that divine essence of Christianity, [they] face diversity in [the area of] certain secondary truths about predestination and the form of Baptism. These secondary differences ... are the origin for the several sister organizations or particular churches that are Lutheran, Anglican, Methodist, Baptist, Congregationalist, Presbyterian. Nevertheless, each of these names represents a force in the magnificent freedom of Christianity ... If in some things these groups point out the narrowness and weakness of the human spirit and cannot contemplate a truth in the same manner and the same clarity nor apply one principle with the same exactitude, on the other hand, they reveal that Christianity's free and active spirit of did not die.¹³⁵

Finally, the indigenous pastors also saw the Christian sacraments as testimonial acts of the church made as a confession to the world. Belmiro de Araújo Cezar said, "Just as the matrimony has to be a public ceremony, and never clandestine, so the union between Christ and Christian must be publicly celebrated through Baptism, which is the matrimonial ceremony of the Christian with his Savior ... The union of Jesus Christ with the Christian individually, and the church collectively, is indissoluble."¹³⁶

The Sacraments. The *Púlpito Evangélico* published three sermons that dealt with the Christian Sacraments, all preached by the Reverend Eduardo Carlos Pereira: "The Lord's Supper" was published in February 1889; "Baptism," in June 1891; and "The Sacraments," in June 1893. The doctrine laid out in them is classical Calvinism that, following Augustine, defined a sacrament as a visible sign of an invisible grace. The preachers differentiated their theology from Romanism, Lutheranism, and Zwinglianism, yet like Calvin, while they heavily

¹³⁵ Ibid., 163.

attacked the Roman Catholic understanding and while they had their issues with other Protestants, they still could claim a kind of middle ground between Luther and Zwingli. Two important observations should be made. First, they relied on the Scriptures while at the same time demonstrating a certain humanistic character in their interpretation of the sacraments. As Eduardo Pereira said, “This monstrous doctrine of transubstantiation is anti-biblical and anti-rational: it does not stand up to the minimum examination of Scripture and disappears before the simple light of reason.”¹³⁷ Second, they pointed out the primary and the secondary ends of the sacraments. The primary end was “to represent, seal, and confer the benefits of the redemption of Christ upon the heirs of the Covenant. They are, therefore, powerful means of grace proper to edify the church and to corroborate the faith of the children of God.”¹³⁸ As the secondary end of the sacraments unfolds, “they are [seen to be] the visible tokens of our union with the church, tokens that we give out of our faithfulness by professing our faith, and, at the same time, tokens that we receive out of the faithfulness of the divine promises.”¹³⁹ These definitions echoed directly Calvin’s words where he wrote that “the Lord calls his promises covenants [Genesis 6:18; 9:9; 17:2] and his sacraments ‘tokens’ of the covenants.”¹⁴⁰

Eschatology. Four sermons approach directly the doctrine of the last things and our union with Christ in the everlasting life. They are “Where Will the Ungodly and Sinner Appear?” preached by Belmiro de Araújo Cezar and published in November 1890; “The Everlasting Life,” preached by Antônio Pedro de Cerqueira Leite and published in 1890; “The Eternal Gospel,”

¹³⁶ Cezar, “A Igreja: A Noiva de Cristo,” 46–47.

¹³⁷ Pereira, “A Santa Ceia,” 222.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, 105.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, 106.

¹⁴⁰ Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, 21:1280–81.

delivered by Miguel G. Torres and published in January of 1891; and “Our Destiny,” preached by Lino da Costa and published in August 1898.

The subject of “the last things” was approached in a devotional rather than in a didactic manner. That is, these native preachers did not get “preachy” in focusing on abstract theological questions and on definitions and terms with topics such as millennialism, the return of Christ, and the resurrection of the flesh. Rather they tried to make the subject more tangible and relevant for the laity of that time by sought to build a link their present to the future. For instance, the Reverend Lino Costa keyed off the Shorter Catechism in giving a new meaning to the word “destiny” when he wrote that “our destiny consists in serving the Lord in this world and enjoying his glory in heaven.”¹⁴¹ Thus the Catechism’s definition of the chief end of man tied present and future together as two inseparable parts of one Christian life in which Christ serves as the door to connect them. Antônio Cerqueira Leite said that “there is before God the unalterable certainty that all of us will die and stand before the great Judge’s judgment seat ... [Therefore] let us see the infallible mean by which we obtain a place among the saints in the heavenly dwelling place.”¹⁴² He went on to say,

Since one nourishes in the heart the true belief, the true faith in Jesus, as his or her only savior, believing that the value of God’s son’s death is eternal, and that His blood purifies us from all sin, this person is saved because his or her sins are buried with Christ and forgiven forever in the presence of God.¹⁴³

Two other important observations should to be made here. First, these native pastors left the destiny of a human soul in God’s hand, and by doing so they seemed to create a certain urgency in the preaching of the Gospel while excusing themselves from the judgment of whether this or that person is already saved. Belmiro de Araújo Cezar said, “We must not judge anybody;

¹⁴¹ Da Costa, “Nosso Destino,” 344.

¹⁴² Leite, “A Vida Eterna,” 17.

we must not condemn anyone; much less an entire nation, even with our apprehension and fears about their future state. Thus, we do not say that the Turks will go to hell, or that all Protestants and Christians *in nomine* will go to heaven. We are not to judge.”¹⁴⁴

The pastors also seemed to conceive of the possibility of salvation outside the walls of the church and beyond the ordinary Christian means. But this did not mean salvation beyond the person and sacrifice of Jesus. They only left open the door to this extent, namely, that God was certainly capable of bringing people to the knowledge of Christ, and in exceptional circumstances, might even do so without the witness of the Church. But *that* this could happen and *how* it could happen rested in the hidden mind and power of God—if it happened at all.

Belmiro de Araújo Cezar stated the following:

Although we say the nations that have forsaken God will be condemned, we nevertheless believe that the Holy Spirit can, if he *wants*, [emphasis in the original] call, besides these millions of children destroyed in this vast field of the world, adults for eternal life among these nations which perish without the ordinary means that God has established in his church to convert and thus bring the world to the feet of Jesus: the Redeemer ... Nothing else can we say but assure that it is the duty of the church in general and each one of us in particular to preach Christ and Christ crucified to those who do not believe in him.¹⁴⁵

For the preachers in Brazil, their task was clear: do not sit and speculate but rather get out and preach.

Christ and Salvation. Christology was indeed the great theme for the indigenous pastors. There are thirteen sermons that directly took up the person and work of Jesus Christ. They included the following: “Our Mediation and Salvation,” preached by Alvaro E. G. dos Reis and published in 1888; “Jesus the Author of the Eternal Salvation,” “The Lamb of God,” and “The Humiliation and Exaltation of Our Lord Jesus Christ,” all preached by Belmiro de Araujo Cezar

¹⁴³ Ibid., 19.

¹⁴⁴ Cezar, “Onde os Ímpios e Pecadores Aparecerão?” 167.

and published in 1890, June 1897, and January 1889 respectively; “The Immaculate Victim,” “The Power of the Gospel,” and “The Crucified Christ,” delivered by Caetano Nogueira Junior and published in September 1898, 1890, and October 1898 respectively; “Jesus the Only Savior,” preached by Laudelino de Oliveira and published in September 1900; “Our Advocate,” done by Herculano de Gouvêa and published in January 1893; “How Are We Children of God,” preached by Juventino M. da Silva and published in August 1894; “Regeneration” and “The Sinner Lost in Adam and Saved in Christ,” both from Eduardo Carlos Pereira and published in August 1899 and 1888; and “The Price of Redemption,” preached by Miguel Gonçalves Torres and published in August 1889. As with the case of the expatriate missionaries, these native pastors also linked soteriology inseparably with Christology, focusing on the person of Christ and His relationship with mankind. It is worth quoting a poetic statement from one of these pastors.

Yes, this Being who you see with feet and hands nailed at the cross, crowned with the painful crown of ingratitude, with a pierced side; agonizing between the criminals, being the target of the most atrocious and humiliating insult; this Being whom you see at Gethsemane, submersed in a sea of indescribable agony, washed by the sweat and tears of blood; this Being who is insulted on top of Golgotha, insulted with so much infamy upon a cross cursed a thousand times; this horrible sacrifice that even the sun in order not to contemplate it mourns itself, that the earth by swallowing his bloody drops shook in its foundations, and that its own surprised dead, with their pallid faces and livid looks, got out to contemplate him; this is the Priest that on the altar built by my and your sins offers himself as victim. Only Jesus in God’s infinite wisdom was this Being who fulfilled this mediatory position.¹⁴⁶

Meanwhile in contrast, the spiritual state of man was depicted this way by Belmiro de

Araújo Cezar:

We are sinners by nature. We have hesitated to do what God’s Law commands, and we have done what it prohibits in its commandments. We are reduced into a state of sin and misery; we lost communion with God; we are under His wrath and curse and so are we subject to all miseries in this life, to death and to the punishment of hell forever. We have sinned, and each sin, no matter its degree of abomination in God’s

¹⁴⁵ Ibid.

¹⁴⁶ Alvaro Emidio Gonçalves Reis, “Nossa Mediação e Salvação,” *O Púlpito Evangélico* (1888): 157.

sight, deserves His wrath and curse as much in this life as in the life to come.¹⁴⁷

Regarding the person of Christ—His humanity and Deity—the orthodox Reformation doctrine was clearly defended. The native pastors preached openly against the philosophical and theologically distorted systems that were well known throughout the history of the church, systems such as Arianism, Socinianism or Psilanthropism, Kardecism, and more. The following statement sums up well their view on Christology:

[Christ] was made in human likeness and as well we are surrounded by sadness, weakness and miseries as was He. For, as the prophet says in Isaiah 53:3, He was a *man of sorrows and familiar with suffering*. Therefore, we have seen that Jesus Christ, being in very nature of God, made himself nothing, taking the very nature of a servant, being made in human likeness except for sin. But this is not all, for *being found in the likeness of man he was obedient until death*. We have seen that as servant Jesus was under the Father's Law. And as our substitute Jesus had to fulfill the Law in our behalf and take upon Himself the stroke of justice and penalties that we were condemned to. The punishment was death. He fulfilled the Law *actively* in the entire meaning of the word: in His obedience He was always sincere, always faithful, always precise, and always just. And *passively*, taking upon Himself the punishment ordained when Herod and Pontius Pilate with the Gentiles and the people of Israel executed what God's set purpose and foreknowledge had determined. They killed the author of life because He called Himself Son of God. However, God Himself *-who did not spare His only begotten Son, but gave Him up for us all*—in heavenly tribunal forsook and abandoned Him to death for He was the Son of Man.¹⁴⁸

And Eduardo Carlos Pereira also wrote the following:

Jesus, the great substitute for sinners, is simultaneously God and man: the unprecedented pains, which stabbed the heart of the man-Jesus, received from His divine nature the infinite value needed to counterbalance the infinite sufferings of the condemnation. The blood, which emanated from the wounds and moistened the ground of the Skull, is equivalent to the eternal pains of millions of sinners. The Father, in His grace and love for all fallen men, accepted the beloved Son as the atoning victim that on the altar of His justice came to satisfy the vital requirements of His Law on behalf of those who would be saved. The atonement was, therefore, complete: the curtain of the temple was torn in two and the sanctuary of God gave clearance of itself to all men who wanted to enter through the new way. Christ

¹⁴⁷ Belmiro de Araujo Cezar, "Jesus the Author of Our Salvation," *O Púlpito Evangélico* (1890): 80.

¹⁴⁸ Belmiro de Araujo Cezar, "A Humilhação e Exaltação do Nosso Senhor Jesus Cristo," *O Púlpito Evangélico* (January 1889): 207.

redeemed us from the curse of the Law by becoming a curse for us; the written code, with its regulations, that was against us, *he took it away, nailing it to the cross*. In the deepest agonies of Gethsemane, in the mysterious sufferings of the Skull, the unbearable debt of our sins was paid in full.¹⁴⁹

The Reverend Herculano de Gouvêa also echoed the Evangelical Reformation's *deus absconditus* and *deus revelatus* theology when he said,

God—the righteous God—fulminated in severe punishment; God—the merciful God—had compassion on them and promised to send the One to crush the serpent's head (Genesis 3:15). The light shined forth in the horizon of the hope, and they looked forth at the following generations for the great “Sun of Justice.”¹⁵⁰

Finally, the words of Alvaro E. G. Reis summed up their argument thus:

Jesus is the Prophet *par excellence*, the spotless Priest, the King of kings, the Mediator and only Savior who is able to save us and take us to the glorious kingdom; if we put in Him our trust, if we cast our faith on him, and if we dedicate to him our sincere love.¹⁵¹

Apologetic Preaching

As we will see in this third division, the native pastors nurtured a stronger reaction against Roman Catholicism and against other groups and sects in their sermons than did the American missionaries in their sermons in the “apologetic preaching” category. In fact, this animosity escalated and created the puritanical profile that would be carried over into the following century. Antônio Gouvêa seemed to epitomize this same approach and conclusion when he stated that “the specific factors in the historical-social order of Brazil, associated with the peculiarity of the religious message of the [American] missionaries, shaped a [Brazilian] Protestantism very unique which rejected certain historical models linked to liberalism and modernism.”¹⁵² Neither this Puritanical profile nor the religious animosity against Catholicism originated within

¹⁴⁹ Eduardo Carlos Pereira, “O Pecador Perdido em Adão e Salvo em Cristo,” *O Púlpito Evangélico* (1888): 10.

¹⁵⁰ Herculano de Gouvêa, “Nosso Advogado,” *O Púlpito Evangélico* (January 1893): 2.

¹⁵¹ Reis, “Nossa Mediação e Salvação,” 159.

Brazilian Protestantism, but it also certainly was not a characteristic that was native or original, nor did it start with the importing of American Calvinism. Yes, it could be traced back to America, but it really had passed through and ought rather to be seen really as coming from England. Emilio Willems wrote that “the ethical components of American Protestantism were inherited from the Reformed or Calvinistic tradition as it found expression in English Puritanism and the related Presbyterianism of Scotland and Northern Ireland. Strong emphasis was on moral discipline and righteousness. These values gained in scope and practical relevance during the evangelization of the American frontier.”¹⁵³ What then happened was that the Brazilian indigenous pastors, faced with and challenged by cultural and religious expressions, took the English traits filtered through America and applied them now in Brazil, pushing Protestantism to the edge in order to differentiate it theologically and practically from Roman Catholicism and from other sects. In the section to follow we will focus on only two main points: preaching against Catholicism and preaching on social issues.

Preaching against Catholicism. The American missionaries dealt more lightly with Catholicism by making more lenient or restrained statements throughout their sermons, perhaps a subconscious holdover from their homeland where Protestantism loomed large and Roman Catholicism was more on the defensive. In terms of presence and influence, the American missionaries had come from a land much different from Brazil, where Protestantism still dominated within the culture. On the other hand, the indigenous pastors had only known a country where Roman Catholicism overshadowed all else, and so they understandably could have been more aggressive as they prepared messages aimed at attacking the “enemy of faith.” Six sermons targeted Catholicism directly. They are “The Living Stone,” preached by Leonidas

¹⁵² Mendonça, “*O Celeste Porvir*,” 17–18.

Silva and published in January 1890; “The Foundation of the Christian Church,” delivered by Antonio Pedro de Cerqueira Leite and published in September 1889; “The Synthesis of the Law,” done by Alvaro E. Gonçalves dos Reis and published in October 1889; “God and Idolatry,” preached by Alvaro E. Gonçalves dos Reis and published in June 1895; “The Natural Revelation and the Written Revelation,” from Laudelino de Oliveira and published in June 1900; and “Christianity and Its Enemies, Its Fights and Its Victories,” preached by Laudelino de Oliveira and published in August 1900.

In their targeting of Catholicism, these indigenous pastors not only went back to the time of the Reformation and used the same strategies the Reformers did, but also they developed some new tactics on their own. They also relied heavily on Bible passages and church history. The historical echo against Catholicism in these pastors’ sermons can be clearly identified by the following characteristics. First, they attacked the Tridentine prohibition of the Scriptures’ distribution. Brazil of the nineteenth century was illiterate as far as the reading of the Scriptures was concerned. And by raising this issue they also aim to attack and replace the church’s tradition with the supremacy of the Scriptures. *Sola Scriptura!* Alvaro Reis stressed the impotence of Catholicism when it came to squaring its practices with the Scriptures and its cleverness in focusing on tradition instead. He said that “the Roman Church recognizes that such contradiction puts the infallibility of the Bible over against the Church, which had sanctioned it by the decrees of her councils. By admirable skills Rome decided to forbid the distribution and reading of the Bible, and even tried to destroy it.”¹⁵⁴ Miguel Gonçalves Torres also denounced the Catholic negligence with the Bible when he said that “the Roman Church, instead of granting the Gospel to the people, has forbidden it in a condemnable manner ... Trent that met in the

¹⁵³ Willems, *Followers of the New Faith*, 8.

Reformation time, under the excuse of its interest for the souls, forbade strongly the reading of the Bible.”¹⁵⁵ Hugh Tucker¹⁵⁶ and Daniel Parish Kidder¹⁵⁷ had written extensively and highlighted strongly the work and influence of the American and British Bible Societies in Brazil in the nineteenth century, and these pastors were well aware of this. They believed that the future of the Protestant Church in Brazil depended on the spreading of the Scriptures, and that is why they strongly attacked the Roman Catholic intentional neglect of the Holy Scriptures. Second, they stressed the pastoral negligence of the Catholic Church as well as its institutional dominance. They charged that “in the Roman Church the sacraments are being sold in the name of Christ and Christian love,”¹⁵⁸ claiming that the church was more preoccupied with its political decisions than nurturing God’s flock. The result was that “the great majority of its [Brazil’s] inhabitants, although they call themselves Catholic, apostolic, Roman, live totally apart from God and His eternal salvation ... then the anarchy, the impurity in its more degrading manifestations, and the love for all earthly things have invaded horribly all social classes.”¹⁵⁹ These native pastors truly believed that the Gospel is able to change lives spiritually and consequently man’s social behavior. Consequently, they believed that the Catholic Church was a worldly¹⁶⁰ institution in which “the simplicity of the primitive Church was lost in the complicated cogwheels and luxurious pomp of a clerical aristocracy. And not being satisfied in mutilating the Christianity externally, it laid a profane hand upon the essence or upon the body of doctrines by adding new

¹⁵⁴ Reis, “Deus e a Idolatria,” 103.

¹⁵⁵ Miguel Gonçalvez Torres, “O Evangelho Eterno,” *O Púlpito Evangélico* (January 1891): 3.

¹⁵⁶ Tucker, *The Bible in Brazil: Colporteur Experiences*.

¹⁵⁷ Kidder, *Sketches of Residence and Travels in Brazil*, vol. 1.

¹⁵⁸ Alvaro Emidio Gonçalves Reis, “A Síntese da Lei,” *O Púlpito Evangélico* (October 1889): 349.

¹⁵⁹ Antônio Lino da Costa, “A Oração,” *O Púlpito Evangélico* (August 1896): 186.

¹⁶⁰ Da Silva, “A Pedra Viva,” 5.

dogmas.”¹⁶¹ Like Luther and Calvin, the indigenous pastors regarded Roman Catholicism as the rebellious church, the new Babylon,¹⁶² “whose walls the reformers of the sixteenth century torn down.”¹⁶³ Finally, they opposed vehemently the papacy as well as the clerical hierarchy of the church. Here again, they sound like Luther who had said that “the Romish bishop had ceased and become a dictator.”¹⁶⁴ Leonidas Silva called the Roman clerics the “priests of Baal,”¹⁶⁵ and Antônio Cerqueira Leite said that “there is no need of a visible head for the church of Jesus Christ ... because ... He is the Head of the church.”¹⁶⁶ And Eduardo Carlos Pereira declared the Pope the “anti-Christ” and interpreted the forty-two months of authority given to the beast in Revelation 13:5 as being that time of Roman Catholic supremacy during the Middle Ages.¹⁶⁷

But the indigenous pastors did not simply repeat the old polemics. They also developed criticisms that were new and original to them. First, these pastors came to call the Roman Church “neo-Catholicism.”¹⁶⁸ By doing so, they not only wanted to identify the Protestant Church as the true catholic church that had existed since the days of the primitive church of New Testament times, but they also wanted to undercut and topple the supremacy of one denomination. They did not accept the idea that the word “Catholicism” meant physical union in an institutional church. Eduardo Carlos Pereira put it this way:

By using the evangelical liberty in those things that the Holy Spirit left to the

¹⁶¹ Pereira, “A Igreja—Segunda Parte,” 161.

¹⁶² Laudelino de Oliveira, “A Revelação natural e a Revelação Escrita,” *O Púlpito Evangélico* (July 1900): 448.

¹⁶³ Pereira, “A Igreja—Segunda Parte,” 156.

¹⁶⁴ John Dillenberger, *Martin Luther: Selections from His Writings* (New York: Anchor Books Doubleday, 1951), 265.

¹⁶⁵ Da Silva, “A Pedra Viva,” 5.

¹⁶⁶ Leite, “O Fundamento da Igreja Cristã,” 336.

¹⁶⁷ Pereira, “A Igreja,” 137.

¹⁶⁸ Leite, “O Fundamento da Igreja Cristã,” 335.

discretion of the faith and Christian love, the members of the true Catholic Church that rejected the yoke of Rome, accommodate the administrative, disciplinary and liturgical principles to their peculiar viewpoint with their variable natures; and, by maintaining always the evangelical plan of salvation, the divine essence of the religion, they face with diversity certain secondary truths about predestination and time and form of Baptism. These secondary divergences, under the influence of the intense activity of Christianity, give origin to the formation of several sister-denominations or ecclesiastical groups that are Lutheran, Anglican, Methodist, Baptist, Congregationalist, and Presbyterian. Each one of these names, however, indicates a force in the great liberty of Christianity.¹⁶⁹

Second, these indigenous pastors saw Roman Catholicism as an enemy to be defeated.

Eduardo Carlos Pereira said, “[L]et us show in this vast republic of Brazil that the free regime is the fertile life of the Christian church; let us speak out against the defamatory malignancy of our enemies.”¹⁷⁰ Miguel Gonçalves Torres wrote, “With my heart exuberant with joy, I declare unto you that this angel [Revelation 14:6] is the Protestant Religion that for making the very words of God accessible to all and making them evident ... it has been raised up to heaven.”¹⁷¹ Caetano Nogueira Junior added, “I was about to forget to mention other group of formidable enemies, and perhaps the most formidable enemy of all. I refer to the Roman Church. With pretense of a friend, it has vowed to destroy the loving ties between God and man and shake the yoke of the Lord, replacing it by its own yoke ... Its power is broken ... Yes my friends, fallen! Fallen is Babylon the Great! She has become a home for demons and a haunt for every evil spirit.”¹⁷² Clearly these pastors had turned up the heated rhetoric when compared to the earlier missionaries.

Preaching on Social Issues. The indigenous pastors tried very hard to cultivate a pious life. For them “the best community among Christians is not that one which has the large number

¹⁶⁹ Pereira, “A Igreja—Segunda Parte,” 162.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 166.

¹⁷¹ Torres, “O Evangelho Eterno,” 3.

¹⁷² Junior, “O Poder do Evangelho,” 390–91.

of members, the large amount of money in its treasury, or the best regularity in liturgical and disciplinary forms; but it is rather the one which produces in large quantity the most tasteful fruit of Christianity: Christian love.”¹⁷³ They truly believed that the Gospel is able to reform society for the better. José Zacarias de Miranda described it this way:

How does one talk about the progress, in the greatness of man, of society without God? The legislators employ a great deal of time to present and discuss their theories, promulgate laws for the repression of criminality, maintenance of order, and the stabilizing of the society. But in spite of those laws, even though they are very prudent and well prepared, crime continues to escalate ... And why? It is because in order to repress such excesses, which are rooted in the perverting human heart, it is necessary to reform the individual; and only the Gospel of Jesus Christ can accomplish this.¹⁷⁴

However, they categorically asserted that “it is impossible for man to solidify the hope of his salvation upon his good works ... [because] if the desires, affections, and dispositions of the soul are evil, how can his good works be good?”¹⁷⁵ For them, good works and good social behavior were the consequence rather than cause of salvation. But this “consequence” was not optional. It had to be present in the Christian life and necessarily followed as naturally as warmth resulted from bright sunshine. They also believed that the Roman Catholic practice of seeing good works as a cause for salvation, coupled with active penitence and the mass offered as a continuing sacrifice, contributed ultimately to a socially dissolute style of life. The problem was a kind of natural debit-credit mindset that could develop where a certain amount of vice would continue because a greater amount of virtue would offset that. People were not really led into truly God-pleasing lives. Álvaro Reis said,

We know those who want to be children of God, but they do not want to obey Him ... Our society is full of such people. If we go street by street in this great capital and inquire person by person, asking them: Dear friend, do you want to be happy? Do

¹⁷³ Pereira, “A Igreja—Segunda Parte,” 164.

¹⁷⁴ De Miranda, “A Edificação do Templo,” 243.

¹⁷⁵ Reis, “Nosso Mediador e Salvador,” 155.

you want to be a child of God? I am confident that the answer will be almost unanimous: Yes, I certainly do. Nobody, my friends, wants to be a child of the devil ... What a unique contradiction! For not everybody wants to obey God! How many say, "I do not have time to read the Gospel." However, they have time to read immoral novels; to go to theater; to study the pack of playing cards and shuffle patiently and astutely the deck ... they have time to feed the flesh on Sundays by entertaining themselves in ungodly fashion. So they have time only to do the will of the devil.¹⁷⁶

These native pastors not only denounced the dissolute lifestyle within society, but they also urged those in the church to live openly by a Christian standard. Here is a sample of their teaching on this subject:

One loved the lie, the gambling, the drunkenness, the adultery, the theft, the homicide; then that he or she may bear the consequences. One sowed winds, that he or she may reap thunderstorm. And you [Christians] fear and tremble before the idea of preferring to love the things of the world instead of the things of God.¹⁷⁷

My listeners, if you are delighted in committing sin; if the things that are simply worldly have for you more attraction than those which are divine and spiritual; if your pleasure is on the earth rather than in heaven—in things that are human and not divine—you cannot say that you are Christians yet and that you are in the light. If, for instance, you prefer the social entertainment rather than the divine worship service; or if you choose, because of personal interest, recreation, and fashion, to violate the Sunday or any other of God's commandments, the light you have in yourselves ... is simple darkness.¹⁷⁸

"Each Christian, by the nature of his soul and the inner constitution of his spirit, cannot be other than a missionary."¹⁷⁹ Therefore, wrote Pereira,

[L]et us pray for our church, our people, and our country. Let us not forget, however, that the efficacy of our prayers and the guarantee of our freedom ... are in the direct ratio to our faithfulness to the divine principles of our confession. Therefore, let us love our brothers and sisters, let us love our neighbor. Let us remove the anger, the pride, the vanity, the selfishness, and the avarice from our hearts. Let us open our hands to the poor and to the Gospel; let us honor God with our farms and the firstfruits of our harvest.¹⁸⁰

¹⁷⁶ Alvaro Emidio Gonçalves Reis, "Adoção," *O Púlpito Evangélico* (May 1898): 263–64.

¹⁷⁷ Marinho, "Motivos para Amar a Deus," 31.

¹⁷⁸ Modesto P. B. de Carvalhosa, "A Luz do Mundo," *O Púlpito Evangélico* (1888): 89.

¹⁷⁹ Braga, "Paul in Athens," 232.

¹⁸⁰ Pereira, [Not titled], *O Púlpito Evangélico* (June 1892): 370.

Foreign Non-Missionary Preachers and Native Pastors from Non-Reformed Traditions

Placed in this last category are those sermons preached by pastors and scholars who did not belong to the first two groups examined in this chapter, namely, the American Presbyterian missionaries from the Reformed tradition and the indigenous, native pastors from the Presbyterian Church of Brazil. But *O Púlpito Evangélico* drew on other voices that fall naturally into this third category. In fact, with a variety of theological and historical circumstances among these preachers, this catch-all section is both colorful and interesting. It is comprised of thirty-two sermons whose preachers can be sorted out as follows. First, there were American Presbyterian pastors who did not serve as missionary in Brazil.¹⁸¹ Second came American scholars from other denominations representing non-Reformed theology.¹⁸² Third, there were preachers from other countries with established churches that did not belong to the Presbyterian fold and had either a Reformed¹⁸³ or a non-Reformed¹⁸⁴ theological formation. Finally, some were native pastors who did not belong to the Presbyterian Church of Brazil.¹⁸⁵ Such a large number of published sermons would seem to indicate to us right away their importance for our analysis. (In addition, there still fourteen more sermons¹⁸⁶ in the collection that are anonymous, and at least some, if not all, probably could have been included in this group. If that were so, the number in

¹⁸¹ They are T. De Witt Talmage, senior pastor at Central Presbyterian Church in New York in the 1870s; Robert Lewis Dabney (1820–98), a Southern Presbyterian pastor; David J. Burrell (1844–1926), a Presbyterian pastor in Chicago (1871), Iowa (1876), and New York (1891); and Henry Van Dyke (1852–1933), a graduate of Princeton Seminary.

¹⁸² Dwight L. Moody (1837–99).

¹⁸³ Andrew Murray (1828–1917) was a Dutch Reformed pastor in South Africa; Charles Spurgeon (1834–92) and Frederick B. Meyer (1847–1929) were British Calvinist and Baptist pastors; and John Hall (1829–98) was an Irish pastor who, in 1867, accepted a call from the United Presbyterian Church in New York and moved to America.

¹⁸⁴ Alexander MacLaren was a Baptist pastor, originally from Glasgow, Scotland.

¹⁸⁵ Edwin Tausch was pastor of a Lutheran congregation in São Paulo in the nineteenth century.

¹⁸⁶ Appendix 1: Bibliography of the Sermons, numbers 136–49.

this third major division would rise to as many as forty-seven. However, because we have been working with and comparing groups with authors we can identify, and because the authors of these are unknown, we will not use them in these three divisions. Users of *O Púlpito Evangélico* were really interested in the theology of the sermons that they could use in their own circumstances, and they would not have cared particularly who wrote them. But for us to try to trace a change over the years, we need to know where to slot these sermons. Being unable to do that means these will have to be set aside.)

Before we sort the sermons here into the same three groups used for the missionaries and for the native pastors—Practical, Confessional and Doctrinal, and Apologetic sermons—some preliminary observations are worth making. The first of these is that the presence of many sermons from European pastors could well help us better understand the presence of the Puritan heritage in the Presbyterian Church of Brazil, tracing the roots of its characteristics. Ultimately, the Puritan spirit was brought in not only by the American missionaries, but it was also fueled directly and heavily by English Puritanism. The second point is that one could wonder why a Presbyterian periodical, which mainly aimed to supply Presbyterian congregations in the interior of the country with theological material, used sermons that did not have strictly Presbyterian theology. Clearly the Presbyterian Church and the publisher weighed the risk of including such material. However, as was mentioned before,¹⁸⁷ when *O Púlpito Evangélico* was published by the Reverend Edward Lane from 1888 until 1900, he faced a hard challenge of keeping up with the publication and distribution. The difficulty was not only financial, but it was related also, and perhaps most importantly, to the scarcity of material available for publication. Of course, the careful selection of sermons authored by Calvinist preachers, even if they were not Presbyterian,

¹⁸⁷ Appendix 1: Bibliography of the Sermons.

could help reduce the problem. What mattered was that the theology could pass muster, even if it came from “outsiders.” The third preliminary comment is this: by a thorough investigation of these thirty-two sermons one quickly comes to the conclusion that they were carefully chosen to meet the purpose of Christian edification. They did not deal with fine points of doctrine but with Christian life, and in that arena it was possible to open the door to wider non-Presbyterian authorship. In exhorting people to lead Christian lives, the sermons rarely came close to touching on controversial issues, and they dealt even less with doctrinal and confessional subjects. Instead people were supposed to be moved by what could safely be regarded as practical sermons for daily life.

Practical Preaching

Twenty sermons—nearly two-thirds—fall into this first category. The Reverend Alexander MacLaren contributed six sermons: “Love and Obedience” on John 14:15, published in 1894; “Faith in Christ” on Acts 26:18 and published in November 1899; “The Unknown Way but Well Known Way” on John 14:4–7 and published December 1893; “The Forerunner” on John 14:2–3 with publication in October 1893; “The True Apocalypse of the Father” on John 16:8–11, published in June of 1896; and “Waiting for the Coming of the King” on Matthew 24:45–51 with publication in April 1896. The well-known American preacher Dwight Lyman Moody authored three of the sermons used: “The Decision” on Matthew 27:22 and published November 1896; “Things That God Utilizes” using 1 Corinthians 1:27–28, published December 1896; and “A Chime of the Evangelical Bells” drawing on Isaiah 53:3 with publication in May 1900. And the rest of the preachers in this group each contributed one sermon: T. E. Peck, “The Two Declarations” on Hebrew 4:14 from December 1890; M. A. Clark “The Growing in the Grace of the Lord” on 2 Peter 3:18, published June 1899; Andrew Murray, “The Paternal Weakness” on 1 Samuel 2:29–30 and 3:13, published in October 1896; David James Burrell, “Luther and the

Reformation” based on Genesis 1:3 and published March 1898; Dr. T. Dewitt Talmage, “A Passion for Souls” on Romans 9:3 from April 1897; E. O. Guerrant “A Sermon to Sinners” drawn from Luke 7:44, published in 1898; T. V. Moore, “The Incorporated Life of the Church” on Ephesians 4:15–16 from November 1889; C. R. Hemphill, “The Love of the Spirit” on Romans 15:30 and published in June 1896; A. J. Gordon, “The Advent of the Spirit” using John 7:39 and published January 1899; E. A. Tilly, “God as the Refuge of the Suffering Souls” drawn from 1 Peter 4:19 with publication in February 1896; and Dr. Edwin Tausch, “The Happiness of the Poor” on Matthew 5:3 and published September 1896. These were all devotional sermons, and while they they also had a strong Christological foundation, they were neutral when it came to discussing man’s salvation, thus avoiding the disagreements between Calvinism and Arminianism when it came to God’s action and/or man’s response. They rather stressed the human condition before the fall and the present incapacity for salvation by one’s own strength. To argue otherwise would have been Pelagianism, and all could agree that would be wrong. Guilherme da Costa said this: “All children of the fallen race of Adam are victim of the leprosy of sin. And if the sinner is not cured, not saved, he dies the eternal death.”¹⁸⁸ They also pointed to the person and sacrifice of Jesus Christ as the only means for man’s salvation. Since man is a sinner and incapable of doing good, salvation comes only by God through his Son’s sacrifice. Preaching on Luke 7:44, the Reverend E. O. Guerrant wrote, “How was she saved? Jesus himself answers, ‘Your faith saved you.’ Not your deeds, your Baptism, or your association with the church.”¹⁸⁹ But the trait in their sermons that immediately leaps out because it was not found in the indigenous Reformed pastors’ sermons was the need for listeners to make a personal decision

¹⁸⁸ Guilherme da Costa, “O Médico da Alma,” *O Púlpito Evangélico* (March 1900): 341.

¹⁸⁹ E. O. Guerrante, “Um Sermão aos Pecadores,” *O Púlpito Evangélico* (1898): 437.

for Christ. Moody said, “All those to whom Christ is preached have to take a stand,”¹⁹⁰ so then “do not delay the answer to this question: What should I do with Christ?’ Accept Him now.”¹⁹¹ Moody also put it this way: “You have the power to accept or reject the invitation. Decide now the question by saying: ‘I accept the invitation. I want to drink the living water.’ The decision is in your hands.”¹⁹² Clearly that ran counter to the longer treatments of conversion, faith, and salvation from the other missionaries and pastors, but the publisher must have thought it worth the risk to print Moody’s sermons, perhaps thinking that the pastors who would use Moody would be discerning enough to massage or nuance such remarks by putting them against the larger background of the Spirit’s work. The Presbyterians certainly understood salvation as a free act of God. So Alexander MacLaren summed up their understanding with a passage that is more descripting of God’s work rather than an appeal for a response. Said MacLaren,

What makes a man a Christian, what saves the soul, what brings the love of Christ in the life, what makes Christ’s sacrifice a power to forgive sin and to purify—it is not merely an intellectual belief in the Bible and in its doctrines. It is something that goes far beyond this. It is the absolute subjection of all my being—body and soul—to the will of Jesus Christ. It is the encounter of my guilt with the fullness of His grace, of my sin with His righteousness, of my death with His life; so that I live in Him and am saved with an everlasting salvation.¹⁹³

Confessional and Doctrinal Preaching

Only five sermons can be regarded as doctrinal sermons, reasonable considering these were sermons from non-Presbyterians. The accent on doctrine could be found in other sermons done “in house” by the missionaries and indigenous pastors without relying on these sermons from outsiders. Even in these five doctrinal sermons there was not much in them that would

¹⁹⁰ Dwight L. Moody, “A Decisão,” *O Púlpito Evangélico* (November 1896): 257

¹⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 258.

¹⁹² Dwight L. Moody, “A Chime of the Evangelical Bells,” *O Púlpito Evangélico* (May 1900): 410.

¹⁹³ Alexander MacLaren, “Fé em Cristo,” *O Púlpito Evangélico* (November 1899): 249.

spark controversy. The doctrine was more general and little disputed within the wider Protestant circles. They were geared rather to fostering and supporting the Christian faith in broad terms. This confirms our suspicion that these sermons were chosen carefully to teach specific points that did not differ much (if at all) from one denomination to another. The doctrines taught in these sermons are:

The Scriptures and the Rule of Faith. Two sermons deal with this first of three general subject areas, one that focused on the Bible as the authority and as the norm for teaching the faith. “The Bible and Its Own Testimony” was preached by R. L. Dabney, and “The Revelation” was delivered by de Barbolet and translated by A. Campos. In both sermons, the Bible invoked as proof for the teaching, and it was used in a way that challenged Roman Catholicism’s understanding of the rule of faith where the church and its councils have the authority to interpret the Scriptures. De Barbolet said that “the Bible has in itself the marvelous seal of its inspiration,”¹⁹⁴ and, therefore, “the believer does not need to seek the rule of faith in the church’s councils and the decrees of the popes.”¹⁹⁵ Dabney¹⁹⁶ gave three reasons why the Bible is the rule of faith for Christianity: the Bible was consistent and coherent in its writings and prophecies, the Bible has the capacity and power to transform lives, and the Bible can point to the fulfillment of its predictions. Dabney also sought to strike a balance between biblical statements—for example, “Believe in the Lord Jesus, and you will be saved,” and “Whoever does not believe will be condemned”—and what he called “a rational and intelligent faith.”¹⁹⁷ And finally, he rejected that

¹⁹⁴ De Barbolet, “A Revelação,” *O Púlpito Evangélico* (May 1899): 100. Despite much effort, de Barbolet and Campos both remain “semi-anonymous,” that is, lacking first names. *O Púlpito Evangélico* simply lists last names and a first initial for Campos. That was often the style of the time, and despite searching any number of bibliographies and histories, the Christian names remain a mystery for now.

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 104.

¹⁹⁶ R. L. Dabney, “A Bíblia e o Seu Próprio Testemunho,” *O Púlpito Evangélico* (1888): 69

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 69.

rule of faith championed by Catholicism, saying instead that “Christ requires from us an intelligent faith,”¹⁹⁸ rather than one that relied only on what the church says, a kind of *fides implicita* that ceded one’s faith responsibility.

Justification by Faith. Two sermons dealt broadly with this second topic of justification: “The Peace of God,” preached by T. E. Peck and “God Justifies the Ungodly,” preached by the famous Charles H. Spurgeon. There was no controversy regarding the doctrine of justification in these sermons, nothing to raise the eyebrows or ire of confessional Presbyterians. The texts portrayed plainly and simply an orthodox Reformation-type understanding of the doctrine. These sermons did make a contribution by explaining things and putting matters in the context of evangelism. The situation of sinful man and his state of eternal damnation were stressed over against the grace of God and His sovereignty in matters of man’s salvation. Spurgeon stressed through his sermon that “Jesus came into this world for the salvation of the ungodly and impious man,”¹⁹⁹ and although Spurgeon was originally addressing an English-speaking audience of the nineteenth century, his words mirrored vividly the religious situation of nineteenth-century Brazilian society, especially with its nominal Catholicism and the human tendency for people to try convincing themselves that they were good and did not need a savior.

Or it may be another quality of men ... attending regularly to all worship services and paying close attention to the exterior appearances of religion but your heart was not on these things so that you have been an impious person. Although being with the people of God, you have never met God. You have been attending the chorus, but you have not praised God with all your heart. You have lived with no love for God in your heart, with no respect to His Law. Therefore, you are exactly the kind of man whom this Gospel—the Gospel that says that God justifies the ungodly and impious man—was sent to.²⁰⁰

¹⁹⁸ Ibid., 71.

¹⁹⁹ Charles H. Spurgeon, “Deus Justifica o Ímpio,” *O Púlpito Evangélico* (October 1899): 219.

²⁰⁰ Ibid., 220.

Regeneration. Two sermons dealt with the subject of regeneration of the human soul. “Being Born Again” was from Dwight L. Moody, and “Redeemed by the Blood” was preached by F. B. Meyer. The stark contrast between God’s grace and man’s sinfulness was drawn here once again. While Meyer focused on Jesus’ sacrifice as the price of man’s salvation, Moody’s sermon came from a different angle, emphasizing that the religiosity of man actually could be an obstacle for salvation as people wanted to offer their own efforts. Although Moody wrote for an American audience, he could just as well have been describing the typical religiosity in Brazilian society. Several self-assured presuppositions were attacked: I was born Christian, I was baptized, and I am a member of the church. Instead a single truth was set forth as the way for man’s salvation. Moody put it bluntly:

This is the only way by which we can be saved. That is, looking at Jesus with the eyes of faith—Just looking at Him—Isn’t it a very simple way? You need just to look at the Lamb of God and be saved. What did the great preacher of the wilderness say to the people who came to him? “Look, the Lamb of God, who takes away the sin of the world!” (John 1:29) Inasmuch as the plan of salvation is found in two words: Give and receive. That is, God gives, and I receive.²⁰¹

Apologetic Preaching

There is little in these non-Presbyterian sermons that would place them into the category of apologetic preaching, certainly not like there had been in the American missionary and especially in the native pastors’ sermons as they sought to defend Reformed teaching and doctrinal tradition. As I had suggested earlier, it may well be that the *Evangélico Púlpito* chose these non-Presbyterian sermons mainly to have material to publish in light of a shortage of sermons in the nineteenth century. As with the confessional and doctrinal groups, the bulk of the apologetic work was done by the missionaries and indigenous pastors, which is why most of the sermons in this section have been placed in the category of practical preaching. However, there

²⁰¹ Dwight L. Moody, “O Novo Nascimento,” *O Púlpito Evangélico* (March 1894): 292.

is still enough in these sermons that would allow them honestly to be put in the apologetic category as well. While apologetic sermons from Reformed authors tackled such subjects as sects, social issues, and Spiritualism, these non-Reformed sermons dealt only with Roman Catholicism. Five sermons could qualify to be in this group. The list would include “The Power of the Keys” and “Upon This Rock I Will Build My Church,” both preached by David James Burrell; “Presbyterianism,” done by W. P. Breed; “Biblical Reasons to Be a Protestant,” preached by John Hall; and “The Reality of Religion,” delivered by Henry J. Van Dyke, though this last one, while known and referred to elsewhere, was actually missing from the periodical.

As they addressed Catholicism in an apologetic context, they did do it with more lenience and less polemic than was generally in what the Reformed pastors wrote. Unlike the biting rhetoric especially of the indigenous pastors, these sermons simply spoke of the “Roman church,”²⁰² “Romanist doctrines,”²⁰³ practices that were “popish,”²⁰⁴ and they spoke of the “Romans” (and they did not mean the New Testament book). Especially given the heated polemic found elsewhere, these examples were mild when it came to fighting words.²⁰⁵ Three, out of the four, sermons available in this section dealt with Jesus’ declaration that “upon this rock I will build my church” from the conversation with Peter in Matthew 16:13–19. Each of those sermons pointed out that the “rock” refers to Peter’s confession—“you are the Christ”—rather than to the person of the apostle himself. These sermons also addressed the Roman Catholic sacramental system with its seven sacraments and its definition of the rule of faith of Christianity as founded on the decisions and decrees of both popes and councils—all rather

²⁰² David James Burrell, “O Poder das Chaves,” *O Púlpito Evnagélico* (August 1895): 142.

²⁰³ João Hall, “Razões Bíblicas para Ser um Protestante,” *O Púlpito Evangélico* (March 1897): 57.

²⁰⁴ R. L. Dabney, “A Bíblia e o Seu Próprio Testemunho,” 70.

²⁰⁵ David James Burrell, “Sobre Esta Rocha Edificarei a Minha Igreja,” *O Púlpito Evangélico* (July 1895): 122.

standard fare and distinctly Protestant. Yet all of these attacks were done in a very polite way avoiding confrontation and disputation. The readers of *O Púlpito Evangélico* already had more than enough ammunition elsewhere in the published sermons. There was no point piling up more of the same. By now the case for the Reformation doctrine and its place in a Brazilian society deemed in need of that message, had more than been made.

CHAPTER SIX

THE PULPIT IN RETROSPECT

We turn our eyes to the Scriptures that say “Preach the word! Be ready in season and out of season. Convince, rebuke, exhort, with all longsuffering and teaching.”¹ As this dissertation has shown, that commitment to the task of preaching the Word of God, a commitment present throughout the history of the church in varying degrees, is essential for making pivotal cultural changes. Voices such as Ed Stetzer say that “in our highly spiritual world, we must look for cultural bridges that we can cross in order to carry the good news to a spiritually hungry people. In breaking the code, we must look for those cultural bridges to every people group, population segment, and cultural environment we are trying to reach ... The key is finding a common cultural understanding as a tool for sharing the Gospel,”² we can almost hear the missionary voices of those who came to Brazil to launch its nineteenth-century mission movement, and the generation that followed would repeat that refrain. There is no doubt that Brazil today is not what it would have been were it not for that nineteenth-century arrival of the Protestant bodies. Outnumbered then (and still), they nevertheless had an influence that cannot be ignored or dismissed. The preaching of the Gospel changed the face and destiny of the country.

¹ 2 Timothy 4:2.

² Ed Stetzer, “Biblical Preaching in a Cultural Context,” *Sermon Central*, found at this website: <http://www.sermoncentral.com/document_extras/EdStetzer_05_29_06.asp>.

In the wake of this study, some key ideas have been validated and are worth revisiting. First, the American missionaries did indeed identify at least some of the significant cultural issues and characteristics in the unusual context of nineteenth-century Brazilian society, characteristics that were tantamount to what was reported especially from Catholic lands in sixteenth-century European society. Although this was not said *per se* in the sermons we have been working on, some of the authors' remarks, when compared to other contemporary writings, have led us to that conclusion. For instance, Antônio Gouvêa de Mendonça identified this attitude of medievalism within Brazilian society in the writings of José Manoel da Conceição (1822–73), a former Roman Catholic priest and the first native-born Protestant pastor. Mendonça said of Conceição, “[He] understood, in the spirit of the Reformation, that the Catholic Church [in Brazil] still held to the same errors pointed out by the sixteenth-century Reformers.”³ Regrettably, the periodical *O Púlpito Evangélico* did not publish any of Conceição's sermons, but another periodical, *A Imprensa Evangélica*, did. The 1881 issue of *A Imprensa Evangélica* was the only place that published Conceição's account about his conversion from Catholicism to Protestantism. Conceição's rhetoric was not inflammatory, but it certainly shows the determination of a convert who understands he has turned a corner and is on another path.

Near to be called before the One who is the immutable Truth, I declare that it was against the will and extreme repugnance that for over forty years of priestly and Episcopal life I followed the dangerous footpath in which the Catholic clergy cast it. It was necessary to me to compress the noblest instincts of my soul, to devour the remorse of my conscience, to violate myself, and to finally let in my inmost convictions appear in our conversations the smallest sparks of the holy light that God gave to me about the direction to adopt the proceedings of the Church. I owed this force of the understanding about myself to the path of honors. I did not ignore it. I just had to choose between the dignities that the ambitions flattered me and a suffering persecuted life. I was weak: I pulled back before the glory and the suffering of the new apostolate. I chose the fleeting greatness of purple. In order to reach her, I shut the truth and betrayed it. I reprimand myself for the false exterior of the episcopate,

³ Mendonça, *O Celeste Porvir*, 86.

for the importance I gave to the decrepit worship and the liturgical forms that the middle age poetry bequeathed us⁴

There are certainly echoes here of the kind of anxiety heard from others in the sixteenth century who also turned a corner, moving from late medieval Catholicism to a new path of the Reformation with its evangelical message.

The American missionary Samuel Rhea Gammon also seemed to agree with Conceição. Gammon served in Brazil from 1889 until his death in 1928.⁵ In 1909, while on vacation in the United States, he was urged by American pastors and by the secretary of the Mission Board of the Presbyterian Church of America to prepare a book giving an account of Brazil as a mission field. The book was published under the title *The Evangelical Invasion of Brazil* and became one of the major sources for missions classes in various American seminaries in the mid-twentieth century. In Gammon's analysis, it is possible to identify clearly the typical American missionary's understanding about Brazilian society and Roman Catholicism:

A more serious objection still is urged when the claims of Brazil as a mission field are pressed. Many worthy people seriously question the propriety of sending Protestant missionaries to papal lands. Brazil being a Roman Catholic country, these good people say, the Brazilians have a form of Christianity, and they think it unwise, if not uncharitable and unchristian, to be prosecuting missionary work among them ... Romanism in Brazil ... is a system pagan in form, largely pagan in spirit, and whose doctrines are subversive of many of the most fundamental and most precious teachings of the religion of Christ.⁶

Clearly in Gammon's mind, Brazil lagged behind other nineteenth-century Christian countries.

The second key point we have seen was that as the American missionaries identified this medievalism in Brazil, they decided to try to change that with the same message that had been

⁴ A Imprensa Evangélica e Revista Christã (São Paulo, March 1881): 66.

⁵ Simonton, *Sermões Escolhidos*, 237–47.

⁶ Gammon, *The Evangelical Invasion of Brazil*, 69, 101.

used in late medieval Europe, that same evangelical message that marked the Reformation. So they set out to preach a theology that settled in to become at least part of a unique Brazilian understanding of Reformed theology. This theology still has overtones today and reverberates with Protestantism in present-day Brazil. This realization that the Medieval-Reformation circumstances had parallels in Brazil of the 1800s first appeared in some sense in the writings of the French historian and professor Émile G. Léonard, but a closer analysis of Professor Léonard's thesis has suggested that while he is right in general terms, his conclusion could be nuanced or shaded somewhat. At first glance, while he identified some of the vital characteristics presented in both nineteenth-century Brazilian and sixteenth-century European societies, he also seemed to look past other unique features that marked the Brazilian lifestyle—features such as the competing view of Catholicism. Still, Léonard turned out to have pointed in broad strokes in the right direction. His interpretation was fully explored some decades later by the Reverend Boanerges Ribeiro, who was able to give a broader account of the history of Protestantism by analyzing it through the whole century. With a larger view, it became clear that the puritanical⁷ overtones in Brazilian Presbyterianism were not the direct result of a strategic change of the missionary approach made to accommodate the Gospel message, as if they were imitating syncretism charged in some Catholic missionary work. Instead the strict Puritan-like spirit resulted from the conversion and ordination of indigenous pastors, who were coming out of Catholicism and now felt the Roman Catholic Church had bad theology and, consequently, such horrible practice that they had to get the record straight and lead with a firm hand. Soon the Catholic Church became in their eyes an enemy to be defeated. The publishers of *O Púlpito*

⁷ It is important to remember here again that by “Puritanical” we do not mean a negative or a dry theological expression as sometimes comes to mind, but rather a conservative outlook toward cultural and practical issues.

Evangélico, as well as *A Imprensa Evangélica*,⁸ shared this late nineteenth-century Protestant view that Catholicism was not an arm of true Christianity. In the first decade of the twentieth century there was a discussion about whether Latin America, especially Brazil, was a missionary field. In 1916 the Panama Congress, a gathering of 300 delegates and 200 visitors from 21 countries, led by its president, Robert E. Speer, had on its agenda the main topic of whether the Protestant Church should evangelize Latin American countries not because of unbelievers but because they were under the direct influence of the Roman Catholic Church. In fact, this view had been germinating already in the work of the first missionaries. For instance, when Ashbel Green Simonton first arrived in Brazil in 1859, he viewed Brazil as a country that needed to be evangelized despite the fact there already was a church presence. Of course it would have made no sense to come to a place as a missionary if he had not thought this was a place to work. The Roman Church's presence did nothing to change this point of view among the Protestants. In fact, this take on things grew through the century, prompting, for example, the coming of American missionaries, who arrived in Brazil in the second half of the century. And that need for mission work also marked later retrospective views of what went on in Brazil. This was the case with Samuel R. Gammon. In 1910 he wrote, "Romanism as it is found in Brazil cannot rightly be called Christianity ... and ... the necessary result of Romanism is to drive the educated into

⁸ *A Imprensa Evangélica e Revista Christã* (São Paulo, March 1881), 66. "The obstacles for the progress of the Gospel in Brazil still exist these days. Sadly, Catholic Brazil complains about the religious decadence in São Paulo that our readers will find in the news [but does nothing to change it] ... [But] we are at the threshold of the days that the prophet Isaiah preached about (Chapter 2, verse 20) ... The splendor of the Catholic worship's ornaments [i.e., rituals]—even Our Lady—cannot save the pilgrims from the mockery of the population, whose eyes are being opened little by little [about] not only the ridiculous [ideas] and nonsense of these processions, but also, thanks to the Word of God that is being widely read, [they are being saved] from the iniquity of the rebellion against the Divine Law. The Bible says: You shall not make for yourself a carved image ... The school master [i.e., the Law who is our schoolmaster] has been walking around here and there and does not teach from Saint Ignacio's Catechism anymore. Furthermore, these Bibles, which have been troubling the fellows who do not know how to get away from them, have been bringing to light the falseness of this showy, aged, worn, dead, and impotent Catholic worship."

skepticism and to lead the ignorant into superstition and idolatry.”⁹ With the second wave of evangelism work, that is, with the conversion and ordination into pastoral ministry of native Brazilians, who left the Catholic Church, mission work in Brazil adopted a more aggressive approach in marking its target and responding with the Gospel. Not all wanted to support the new tactics and tone. This disagreement over the better approach—more irenic or more energetic—was not debated within the Brazilian Church’s walls. In the first two decades of the twentieth century, Christianity around the globe was struggling to define, or redefine, its identity and its relationship to the larger world. At the Panama City Congress the two Protestant parties or approaches—the Saxony and the Latin—were trying to reach a conciliatory view about the Catholic and the Protestant Churches. In the aftermath the Latin wing did not agree with efforts to dialogue and coexist, and it became more isolated from the rest of the world, even as elsewhere a large segment of Protestantism would promote ecumenical congresses and try to build bridges. This study has shown how these disagreements escalated rhetorically through the end of the nineteenth century and helped to form the contemporary puritanical profile still present in Brazilian Presbyterianism today. So when one reads the sermons of Ashbel Green Simonton, the first Presbyterian American missionary who arrived in Rio de Janeiro in 1859, it is striking to note his conciliatory tone as he avoids naming Brazilian Catholicism directly in his attacks. Rather taking more of an “if-the-shoe-fits” approach, he simply refers to “a Christianity in which everything is easy” and warns against “the false and dangerous maxim that the more the religion is followed, the safer it is.”¹⁰ That was the tone early on. But this conciliatory approach was abandoned by the last of the American missionaries and especially by the native Brazilian pastors some decades later as the apologetic efforts were stepped up. So, for example, Eduardo

⁹ Gammon, *The Evangelical Invasion of Brazil*, 70–71.

Carlos Pereira “understood to be obsolete the view that the North-American missions took on the evangelization of Latin America, with such view wrapped up by the indulgent position toward the Catholic Church.”¹¹ In 1883 Pereira founded the Brazilian Society of Evangelical Treatises, calling it “the sacred presage of the ecclesiastical independency.”¹² From that platform, Pereira openly attacked Roman Catholicism. But his most vigorous criticisms would come later during the second decade of the twentieth century. The World Missionary Conference in Edinburgh (1910)¹³ and the Ecumenical Latin-American Congress in Parana, Brazil (1916)¹⁴ invited Anglo-Catholics to take part in the ecumenical discussion for the first time, and there was an important shift occurring in the ideological and ecclesiological outlook of many Protestant denominations toward the place and role of Catholicism within Christendom. As Ruth Rouse has pointed out, “the earlier meetings [prior Edinburgh in 1910] had been made up mainly of those who came out of the Evangelical Awakenings. They were emphatically Protestant and did not look with a friendly eye toward the ‘Catholic’ tradition.”¹⁵ Now that was changing—but not among some important voices in Brazil, where Eduardo Carlos Pereira continued to regard the Latin American as a pagan. Catholicism’s presence made no difference. As a result of his struggles with and preaching against Catholicism, in 1920 his *O Problema Religioso da América Latina* [*The Religious Problem of Latin America*] was published. The Reverend Antônio Gouvêa Mendonça summed up Pereira’s main thesis in four points as follows:

¹⁰ Simonton, *Sermões Escolhidos*, 16, 21.

¹¹ Mendonça, *O Celeste Porvir*, 87. “entendia ser distanciada a visão que as missões norte-americanas tinham sobre a evangelização na América Latina, visão essa involucrada pela posição de indulgência para com a Igreja Católica.”

¹² *Ibid.*, 87. “O prenúncio sagrado da independência Ecclesiástica.”

¹³ Rouse and Neill, *A History of the Ecumenical Movement*, 355.

¹⁴ Mendonça, *O Celeste Porvir*, 88–89.

¹⁵ Rouse and Neill, *A History of the Ecumenical Movement*, 360.

(1) The Catholic Church deserves to be regarded as one of the branches of the Christianity for maintaining the Creeds ... and for her value as guardian of Christian “ideas” ... (2) However, she deviates for her fondness for the church tradition, for the new trinity: Jesus, Mary and Joseph, to her saints and their meritorious deeds, indulgences, priestly absolution, purgatory, mass, worship to the virgin Mary, clerical monopoly, magic use of the sacraments (*ex opera operato*) and the Pope as the “corporeal-fication” of the Church. (3). For all of these, the Catholic Church disfigured the Christianity and became pagan. (4) For her aberrations, the Catholic Church fails in her civilizing mission ... Reverend Eduardo Carlos Pereira concluded that the great evil of Latin America was the Catholic Church.¹⁶

It seems clear that Pereira and colleagues like him in Protestant Brazil were not through by any means. In their minds, Brazil, at least as far as the Roman Church was concerned, was still mired in a theology centuries old and still in need of reform. They were thankful for what progress there had been, but more was still needed.

The different practical nuances in the Brazilian and American Reformed bodies today have led us to look back at the nineteenth-century missionary efforts and made us wonder whether there is a bridge between these two different cultures. More, we have looked at how Reformed preachers compared medieval Catholicism and the Roman Catholic Church in their own nineteenth-century era. We have pointed out the peculiarity and uniqueness of the indigenous pastors’ sermons in presenting doctrinal subjects, an approach different from the American missionaries and one that was meant not only to edify the congregations but also to challenge the Roman Catholic understanding of the teachings of the faith. It may have seemed unnecessarily confrontational to some. That can be debated. But with their approach, the indigenous pastors prepared—unwittingly, I think—the Presbyterian Church for the challenge of the next century with the arrival of the Pentecostal movement. So today while the Reformed Church in Brazil continues to react sharply against Catholicism, it speaks at least that pointedly against various

¹⁶ Mendonça. *O Celeste Porvir*, 89–90.

forms of Pentecostalism. The roots of this reach back to the beginning of the twentieth century, more precisely to the year of 1902, when the Presbyterian Church experienced its first internal tugs and pulls when coming to grips on how to target the culture around it, and we see Presbyterianism looking in two directions. On one hand, it cast its eyes backward at Catholicism and continued its criticism. On the other hand, it cast its eyes forward, preparing to face what would develop into the Pentecostal movement. As it had done with Catholicism, it would look for roots and for inspiration on how to approach this new movement as well. But that added task in a new century is beyond the scope of our study, and is perhaps a thesis that remains open and is waiting for others to take up and explore. That this is a worthy topic, there is no doubt, but it will have to remain a project for another day. For the moment, the work of the Presbyterian preachers—missionaries and national pastors—is accomplishment enough to note with both respect and thanks.

APPENDIX

THE SERMONS OF *O PÚLPITO EVANGÉLICO*

All sermons here are from *O Púlpito Evangélico*. Titles, texts, publication date, and pages are listed as they are known. The sermons are organized according to the grouping used in the dissertation. There are three categories of preachers or writers: the American missionaries who began the work, the indigenous pastors who succeeded them, and other writers who did not work in Brazil, but whose sermons were deemed worth publishing. Within each of these three groups, there are sermons that deal with practical matters, those that focus on confessional or doctrinal topics, and those that take up apologetical issues. So in the end, there are three categories of people and three groupings of sermons within each category. In an effort to avoid duplication and repetition, the text of the dissertation did not deal with every sermon, but rather sampled some from each of the three-times-three clusters. All 149 titles are included here for the sake of the record.

American Missionaries from Reformed Tradition

Practical Sermons

The Northern Presbyterian Church of America (PCUSA)

Thomas Jackson Porter (1860–1936)

- 1) The Parable of Weeds [*A Parábola da Cizania*].
Matthew 13:24–30; 36–43. Published: March 1892. Pp. 307–15.

The Southern Presbyterian Church of the United States (PCUS)

Edward Lane (1835/37–92)

- 2) The Great Commission [*A Grande Comissão*].
Mark 16:15–20. Published: May 1892. Pp. 327–57.
- 3) Missing Sermon of Edward Lane

George Wood Thompson (1863–89)

- 4) The Love of God for the Sinners [*O Amor de Deus para com os Pecadores*].
John 3:16. Published: 1888. Pp. 17–26.
- 5) The Preparation for Meeting God [*A Preparação Para o Encontro de Deus*].
Amos 4:12. Published: January 1897. Pp. 1–8.
- 6) The Lost Son [*O Filho Perdido*].
Luke 15:11–32. Published: July 1889. Pp. 297–305.
- 7) The Conversion of the Jailer of Philippi. [*A Conversão do Carcereiro de Filipos*].
Acts 16:29–31. Published: 1895. Pp. 198–207.

Samuel Rhea Gammon (1865–1928)

- 8) The Obligation of the Redeemed Ones [*O Dever dos Redimidos*].
Psalm 106:2. Published: November 1893. Pp. 201–10.
- 9) The Glorious Inheritance of the Saints [*A Herança Gloriosa dos Santos*].
John 14:2. Published: January 1894. Pp. 241–49.
- 10) The Good Inheritance of the Christians [*A Herança Boa dos Cristãos*].
Numbers 10:29. Published: May 1891. Pp. 87–95.
- 11) The Blessing of the Dead [*A Bem-Aventurança dos Mortos*].
Revelation 14:13. Published: January 1895. Pp. 1–13
- 12) The Fortress of Israel and Its Weakness [*A Fortaleza de Israel e Sua Fraqueza*].
Joshua 6:1–26; 7:1–5. Published: January 1896. Pp. 1–10.
- 13) The Christian Race [*A Carreira Cristã*].
Hebrews 12:1–3. Published: June 1898. Pp. 292–302.
- 14) The Chief End and the Moving Force of Christianity [*O Fim e a Força Motora do Cristianismo*].
2 Corinthians 5:14–15. Published: July 1898. Pp. 423–33.
- 15) The Blind Bartimaêus: A Type and Example of the sinners. [*Bartimeu o Cego: Um*

Tipo e Exemplo dos Pecadores].
Mark 10:46–52. Published: April 1899. Pp. 73–81.

- 16) The Prodigal Son: The Story of a Soul in Four Chapters. Chapter One: Leaving the Father's House [*O Filho Pródigo: A História de uma Alma em Quatro Capítulos. Capítulo Um: Deixando a Casa do Pai*].
Luke 15:12–24. Published: July 1899. Pp. 145–52.
- 17) The Prodigal Son: A Spiritual Drama in Four Acts– Second Act: The Young Man in a Far Country [*O Filho Pródigo: Um Drama Espiritual em Quatro Atos. Ato Segundo: O Moço na Terra Distante*].
Luke 15:13–16. Published: January 1900. Pp. 291–99.
- 18) The Prodigal Son: A Spiritual Drama in Four Acts– Third Act: Returning to the Father's Home [*O Filho Pródigo: Um Drama Espiritual em Quatro Atos. Voltando para a Casa do Pai*].
Luke 15:11–24. Published: February 1900. Pp. 315–23.
- 19) The Prodigal Son: A Spiritual Drama in Four Acts– Fourth Act: The Reception at Home [*O Filho Pródigo: Um Drama Espiritual em Quatro Atos. Ato Quarto: A Recepção em Casa*].
Luke 15:20–24. Published: April 1900. Pp. 363–72.
- 20) The Assurance of the Oppressed Ones Who Seek the Lord [*A Segurança dos Oprimidos que Buscam ao Senhor*].
Psalm 9:9–10. Published: November 1892. Pp. 445–55.

William Lucas Bedinger (1856–1932)

- 21) The Fatal Errors [*Os Erros Fatais*].
Proverbs 16:25. Published: April 1889. Pp. 250–59.

Horace Selden Allyn (1859–1931)

- 22) The Cross of Christ [*A Cruz de Cristo*].
1 Corinthians 2:1–2. Published: December 1900. Pp. 559–66.

Confessional and Doctrinal Sermons

The Northern Presbyterian Church of the United States of America (PCUSA)

Ashbel Green Simonton (1833–67)

- 23) The Only Advocate [*O Único Advogado*].
1 John 2:1–2. Published: December, 1889. Pp. 377–86.
- 24) Christ Our Mediator [*Cristo Nosso Mediador*].
1 Timothy 2:5. Published: 1890. Pp. 47–55.

- 25) The Holiness. [*A Santidade*].
Hebrews 12:14. Published: 1890. Pp. 111–19.
- 26) Regeneration [*Regeneração*].
John 3:7. Published: June 1891. Pp. 107–15.
- 27) The Living Savior [*O Salvador Vivo*].
Revelation 1:17–18. Published: October 1891. Pp. 197–203.

Alexander Latimer Blackford (1829–90)

- 28) Life by Faith [*Vida pela Fé*].
Galatians 2:20. Published: 1888. Pp. 35–41.
- 29) The Peace with God [*A Paz com Deus*].
Romans 5:1. Published: April 1891. Pp. 63–70.
- 30) The Redemption [*A Redenção*].
Galatians 3:13. Published: August 1892. Pp. 405–14.
- 31) The Spiritual Life. Its Beginning. The Regeneration [*A Vida Espiritual—Seu Começo—A Regeneração*].
John 3:5. Published: October 1894. Pp. 421–27.
- 32) The Admission to the Father through the Holy Spirit [*Entrada ao Pai pelo Espírito Santo*].
Ephesians 2:18. Published: July 1896. Pp. 159–65.

Francis Joseph Christopher Schneider (1832–1910)

- 33) The Indescribable Gift of God [*O Dom Inefável de Deus*].
2 Corinthians 9:15. Published: 1888. Pp. 139–47.

The Southern Presbyterian Church of the United States (PCUS)

John Boyle (1845–92)

- 34) The Law, the Gospel and The Dispensations [*A Lei, O Evangelho e as Dispensações*].
Galatians 3:8, 15–17. Published: 1888. Pp. 103–17.

Frank A. Cowan (?–1894)

- 35) The Efficacy of God's Word [*A Eficácia da Palavra de Deus*].
Hebrews 4:12. Published: September 1892. Pp. 405–12.

George Wood Thompson (1863–89)

- 36) Christ as Our Friend [*Cristo Nosso Amigo*].

John 15:13–14. Published: December 1890. Pp. 143–49.

37) Christ The Chief Cornerstone of the Spiritual Temple [*Cristo A Principal Pedra do Ângulo do Tempo Espiritual*].

1 Peter 2:6. Published: October 1892. Pp. 423–35.

38) Christ The Chief Cornerstone of the Spiritual Temple [*Cristo A Principal Pedra do Ângulo do Tempo Espiritual*].

1 Peter 2:6. Published: May 1893. Pp. 81–91.

39) The Living Water [*A Água Viva*].

Isaiah 55:1–2. Published: February 1894. Pp. 261–70.

Samuel Rhea Gammon (1865–1928)

40) Christ as King [*Cristo Como Rei*].

John 18:36. Published: September 1890. Pp. 127–32.

41) The Incomprehensible Riches of Christ [*As Riquezas Incompreensíveis de Cristo*].

Ephesians 3:8. Published: March 1895. Pp. 41–50.

George Edward Henderlite (1863–1946)

42) The Testimony of the Holy Spirit [*O Testemunho do Espírito Santo*].

John 16:7–11. Published: October 1900. Pp. 513–25.

43) The Testimony of the Holy Spirit. Conclusion [*O Testemunho do Espírito Santo. Conclusão*].

John 16:7–11. Published: November 1900. Pp. 535–44.

Native Pastors of the Presbyterian Church of Brazil

Practical Sermons

Antônio Pedro de Cerqueira Leite (1845–83)

44) The Emphasized Love of God through the Consideration of its Object Indignity [*O Amor de Deus Realçado pela Consideração da Indignidade de Seu Objeto*].

Romans 5:8. Published: May 1889. Pp. 266–72.

45) Our Peace [*A Nossa Paz*].

John 16:33. Published: 1890. Pp. 63–68.

Miguel Gonçalves Torres. 1849–92)

46) The Last Expression of God's Love to the World [*A Última Expressão do Amor de Deus para com o Mundo*].

John 3:16. Published: 1888. Pp. 53–61.

Modesto Perestrello Barros de Carvalhosa (1846–1917)

47) The Light of the World [*A Luz do Mundo*].
Mathew 5:14–16. Published: 1888. Pp. 87–93.

João Batista de Lima (1853–93)

48) The Vital and Saving Union of Christ and the Saved Ones [*A União Vital e Salvadora de Cristo com os Salvos*].
1 Peter 2:1–6, John 15:1, 5 and John 10:11. Published: June 1889. Pp. 281–89.

Antônio Bandeira Trajano. 1843–1921)

49) The Witnesses of Christ [*As Testemunhas de Jesus*].
Acts 1:8. Published: 1888. Pp. 170–83.

50) The Two Disciples on the Road to Emmaus [*Os Dois Discípulos de Emaus*].
Luke 24:32. Published: February 1899. Pp. 25–41.

Antônio André Lino da Costa (1850–1913)

51) The Afflictions [*As Aflições*].
John 9:1–3. Published: March 1896. Pp. 53–60.

Eduardo Carlos Pereira (1855–1923)

52) Not Titled [*Sem Título*].
Isaiah 45:7. Published: June 1892. Pp. 365–70.

Álvaro Emídio Gonçalves dos Reis (1864–1925)

53) A Biography of Rev. Dr. Edward Lane.
Published: October 1895 –Pp. 183–97.

Belmiro de Araújo César (1860–1930)

54) No Title [*Sem Título*].
Luke 23:42–23. Published: February 1895. Pp. 1–7.

55) Forty Years into de Desert [*Quarenta Anos no Deserto*].
Amos 12:10. Published: September 1895. Pp. 161–72.

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