ABSTRACT OF THESIS

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Title of Thesis Evangelical Worship in Brazil: its Origins and Development.

This analysis of Evangelical worship in Brazil is concerned with the concepts and practices that were introduced into Brazil by Protestant immigrants and missionaries from Britain, Germany, and the United States during the nineteenth century, and with its continued development.

Chapter One presents the aim and scope of the study; Chapter Two, the land and people of Brazil prior to 1810, the year that Brazil was opened to Protestant immigration. The geography, history, and ethnological formation is analyzed because worship, as all social activities of a people, are deeply affected by these factors. The religious life of the nation from 1500 to 1810 was under the complete monopoly of the Roman Catholic Church of Portugal. Its history, problems, and influence upon the formation of Brazilian culture and character are studied.

The first section of Chapter Three is devoted to a study of worship among the Protestant immigrants. Three centuries had passed since the Reformation. Protestant worship had undergone deviations from the ideals and teachings of the Reformers. It is important to note these changes in order to understand the concepts and practices of worship they introduced into Brazil during one-half century before the arrival of Protestant missionaries.

The second section of Chapter Three tells of the arrival of the missionaries. Five of these have been studied to show their contribution to worship. In the beginning both immigrants and missionaries laboured under government restrictions; worship was only allowed in buildings whose exterior appearance did not resemble Churches.

Chapter Four begins the study of indigenous Brazilian influences. Patterns of worship in the life, ministry, and influence of five leading Brazilian pastors, are examined. In Chapter Five the influence of Roman Catholicism is studied and evaluated. Due to the scarcity of priests thinly scattered over the vast geographical areas and the tenacity with which the African slaves and the Indians held on to their primitive animistic beliefs, the religion of the hinterland developed into folk-religion, more African and Indian than orthodox Roman Catholic. The intellectuals reacted against this superstitition with a reserved skepticism in which they continued to participate in the festivals of the Church as part of Brazilian Social and national life, but with few deep religious convictions and/
and commitments. This intellectual attitude was often inherited by the Protestant Churches. The superstitious practices and beliefs in the folk religion conditioned the illiterate masses to accept Spiritism and Pentecostalism. The scarcity of priests developed a dependence upon local lay brotherhoods which prepared the ground for the acceptance of a ministry of unordained Protestant laymen. Evangelical worship also suffered from anti-clerical reactions against Romanism.

Chapter Six is a study of the influence of Bible distribution over the vast unchurched areas in which Bible-reading communities appeared and family worship and Sunday School became the frontier Church. It was the only church which thousands of young Christians knew. They were evangelized, came to know the Grace of God, and learned their first Worship patterns under a gifted but untrained and unordained lay leadership. Communities went for months, even years, without the sacraments or a visit from the ordained clergy.

Chapter Seven continues the study of indigenous influences upon worship, analyzing ethnological contributions from the Portuguese, African, and Indian; the influence of French Positivism; the political structures of the land, as well as the simplicities and barrenness of pioneer life. Each of these factors left its mark.

In Chapter Eight the developing worship patterns within the various Churches are analyzed; it is noted that they were established in Brazil during a time of liturgical decadence throughout the Protestant world, and before the liturgical revival began at the close of the nineteenth century. A normal development was in progress in 1910. This was retarded by a doctrinal conflict which arose between the so-called "liberal" and "conservative" parties within the Church. The conflict has continued to the present, retarding the development of worship.

The contemporary scene is discussed in Chapters Nine, Ten and Eleven. Chapter Nine presents the advent of Pentecostalism with its impact of direct preaching, lively music, but a materialistic and utilitarian concept of religion. The Tenth chapter describes the continuing problem of the vast geographical areas with the scarcity of a trained and ordained ministry, and the problems of worship that are concomitant with this situation. The Conclusion sees Brazil as one of the promising areas of the world for Church growth, but in great need of a deeper theological comprehension of the Nature and Mission of the Church upon which Evangelical worship depends.
EVANGELICAL WORSHIP IN BRAZIL: ITS ORIGINS AND DEVELOPMENT

by

Carl Joseph Hahn

Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy of the University of Edinburgh in the Faculty of Divinity

June 1970
TO

GRACIE, My Loving Companion,

Our Son Carl Joseph Hahn, Jr. and his wife Lillian Kerr Hahn, who are serving as missionaries in Brazil under the Commission of Ecumenical Missions and Relations of the Presbyterian Church of the United States of America; to our daughter, Evangeline Hahn Lane, and her husband Dr. John C. Lane of the Clinica Eduardo Lane, Campinas, Brazil; to all the young men and women who have been my students in Brazil; and to my beloved Igreja Presbyteriana do Brazil.
SUMMARY

This analysis of Evangelical worship in Brazil is concerned with the concepts and practices that were introduced into Brazil by Protestant immigrants and missionaries from Britain, Germany, and the United States during the nineteenth century, and with its continued development.

Chapter One presents the aim and scope of the study; Chapter Two, the land and people of Brazil prior to 1810, the year that Brazil was opened to Protestant immigration. The geography, history, and ethnological formation is analyzed because worship, as all social activities of a people, are deeply affected by these factors. The religious life of the nation from 1500 to 1810 was under the complete monopoly of the Roman Catholic Church of Portugal. Its history, problems, and influence upon the formation of Brazilian culture and character are studied.

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Chapter Six is a study of the influence of Bible distribution over the vast unchurched areas in which Bible-reading communities appeared and family worship and Sunday School became the frontier Church. It was the only church which thousands of young Christians
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Chapter Seven continues the study of indigenous influences upon worship, analyzing ethnological contributions from the Portuguese, African, and Indian; the influence of French Positivism; the political structures of the land, as well as the simplicities and barrenness of pioneer life. Each of these factors left its mark.

In Chapter Eight the developing worship patterns within the various Churches are analyzed; it is noted that they were established in Brazil during a time of liturgical decadence throughout the Protestant world, and before the liturgical revival began at the close of the nineteenth century. A normal development was in progress by 1910. This was retarded by a doctrinal conflict which arose between the so-called "liberal" and "conservative" parties within the Church. The conflict has continued to the present, retarding the development of worship.

The contemporary scene is discussed in Chapters Nine, Ten, and Eleven. Chapter Nine presents the advent of Pentecostalism with its impact of direct preaching, lively music, but a materialistic and utilitarian concept of religion. The tenth chapter describes the continuing problem of the vast geographical areas with the scarcity of a trained and ordained ministry, and the problems of worship that are concomitant with this situation. The Conclusion sees Brazil as one of the promising areas of the world for Church growth, but in great need of a deeper theological comprehension of the Nature and Mission of the Church upon which Evangelical worship depends.
PREFACE

A thorough definition of the scope and aim of this study is outlined in Chapter One of the Introduction. However a few brief remarks about the general plan of the work and why it has been undertaken may be helpful.

On 11th July 1858, Dr. Robert Reid Kalley, a Glasgow trained Scottish medical-missionary, pioneering in Brazil, baptized Senhor Pedro Nolasco de Andrade, his first convert in the city of Rio de Janeiro, Brazil; and that same day in a family worship service organized the "Igreja Evangelica" (Evangelical Church) -- the first Protestant Portuguese-speaking church in Brazil. During the previous half century some Anglican and Lutheran immigrant communities had been given permission to conduct non-Roman Catholic worship services in their own language in buildings whose outward appearance had no resemblance to a church and provided they did not attempt to proselytize among the native Portuguese-speaking Brazilian people. Dr. Kalley's work however was organized with the intent of evangelizing the native-born Portuguese-speaking Brazilian people -- the Brazilians.

Four years later on 12th January 1862, the Reverend Ashbel Green Simonton, pioneer missionary of the Presbyterian Church of the United States of America, administered the sacrament of the Lord's Supper to two business men of the city of Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, and that day in the most simple way organized the first "Igreja Presbiteriana" (Presbyterian Church) of Brazil, and the
second "Evangelical Church" of the nation. Soon others were to follow.

These small beginnings were made in hostile surroundings. There were fierce persecutions, destruction of properties, and some martyrs. There were, however, also positive factors in the political, social, and religious structure of the land which favoured these evangelical beginnings. Within a century the Protestant or Evangelical Churches of Brazil, as they prefer to be known, have become one of the vital and thriving "younger churches" of "mission lands". This phenomenal growth and vitality has been noted in various mission surveys. It has become a unique church in many ways, especially in its missionary zeal and in the amount of energy spent in self-propagation. Joyfully and freely with youthful exuberance, it has given of its limited strength and resources to share the "good news" with neighbours.

This growth, however, has not been without problems. One of these has appeared in the field of worship. In 1932, Mr. Kenneth G. Grubb of World Dominion Press, London, and Professor Erasmo Braga, Executive Secretary of the Committee on Cooperation in Brazil, and perhaps the most respected evangelical leader of the nation at that time, made a careful survey of the "Religious Situation" in Brazil. Their published report "The Republic of Brazil" is still considered a classic in its field. Among their conclusions are some significant remarks concerning worship. They state:

The national churches have spent much of their energy in self-propagation. They have expanded at the
expense of depth in their spiritual life. To overcome this difficulty the church leaders and missionaries should plan for retreats and for seasons of devotion and consecration. There are signs of discontent with the prevailing type of public worship and shallow intellectualism in the pulpit. A desire is being manifest for the spiritual enrichment of worship. Prayer life is poor if judged by the type of prayer offered in public meetings.

Recent studies have indicated that this basic pattern has not been materially altered and this has become a matter of increasing concern to responsible Brazilian church leaders. However, little attempt has been made to discover why the early Protestant immigrants and first missionaries -- the "founding fathers" who established the norms and patterns of Protestant faith and life in Brazil -- did not bring with them a more truly representative "Reformation" pattern and concept of worship. Neither has any serious attempt been made to understand the extent of geographical, social, political, and ethnological influences made upon Protestant faith and worship within Brazil itself. The present study is, in part, an attempt to answer these questions -- an attempt to ascertain what concepts and practices of worship those first Protestants brought to Brazil when in the early 19th century that nation "tolerated", within limits, their entrance. In what ways did they differ from the Reformation church and why? Then an attempt is made to ascertain to what extent changes were further affected by indigenous influences within Brazil itself. In other words it is

an effort to stop and take a long look back over the road that
has been travelled to reach this point.

As somewhat of a sub-theme the study has also attempted to
discover the theological "validity" of these changes within the
given historical situations, and to discover if possibly some use-
ful guidelines which the "young church" could employ as it continues
to face the missionary task involving both the socially deprived
rural areas and the secular man living in the urban industrial
complex of the new and modern cities. The author is a member of
the Presbyterian Church of Brazil and during the last twenty years
has served as seminary professor, administrator, and conference
speaker throughout the land; and has been a member of many
commissions of the Presbyterian Church of Brazil. Therefore he
has a deeply personal interest in the study.

The introductory chapters presented the scope and aim of the
study and the story of Brazil -- the land, people, and religion
prior to 1810 -- the date of the famous Treaty of Commerce, which
opened for non-Roman Catholic immigrants a status of limited
"toleration" in the field of worship. Part II examined the coming
of the Protestant immigrants and missionaries and the planting of
evangelical worship in the land. Part III attempts to analyze the
impact of indigenous Brazilian influences upon evangelical worship
within the land. Then an attempt is made to understand the
liturgical developments within Brazil, to analyze the contemporary
scene, and to conclude with some evaluations and suggested guidelines
for the future of evangelical worship in Brazil.
The official church documents -- General Assembly, Synod, and local church records are the most authoritative, but during the 19th century their contribution in the field of worship was often quite meagre. At times hundreds of pages have been perused without finding a single relevant mention of worship beyond the fact that on a certain date and at a certain place Mr.______ preached, baptized, and administered the sacrament of the Lord's Supper to a certain number of persons. Missionary letters and diaries, and missionary and pastor's published reports in church periodicals, both official and unofficial, have often been more fruitful. The early Protestant periodicals of Brazil faithfully published these long reports. Fortunately also many of the early missionary letters to the Boards in America were published in church papers and preserved in archives. Several of the pioneer missionaries have published records of their work. In the Roman Catholic Church the early letters and reports of the Jesuit missionaries were preserved in Rome and have recently been published in Brazil. The works of Brazil's sociologists, especially those of the noted Gilberto Freyre, have furnished some exciting information into the social background -- the matrix into which the labours of the Protestant missionaries were poured.

A further word of clarification. Many of the source documents are of course in Portuguese -- the official language of Brazil. At times the writer has attempted to translate a quotation; at other times the original Portuguese has been placed in footnotes. As in all languages some expressions seem to defy translation.
Also in this study the words "Evangelical" and "Protestant" are used interchangeably. The word "Evangelical" has been used and preferred from the very beginning. The word "Protestant" is sometimes employed by the Roman Catholic writers, but almost never by the Protestants themselves. This is true not only in Brazil, but in all Latin America.¹

Such a work as this demands the assistance of a number of people, both in the initial research as well as in the final preparation. It would be impossible to enumerate all to whom I owe a special debt, but I take this opportunity to thank all my Brazilian colleagues who have aided in the research through local Church documents, and especially the Rev. Julio Andrade Ferreira, Historian of the Presbyterian Church of Brazil, who has placed his own researches and the Presbyterian Historical Museum at my disposal. I also wish to thank the staff of the Presbyterian Historical Archives at Montreat, the Library staffs of Princeton Theological Seminary, and of Union Theological Seminary of Richmond, Virginia, for their kind assistance.

I wish to acknowledge my indebtedness to the New College Faculty and Library and secretarial staff for their generous aid, their kindness and inspiration.

I take occasion also to acknowledge my indebtedness to the late Professor W.S. Tindal whose many long conversations inspired the beginning and plan of this study, and to my advisor Professor Alexander C. Cheyne whose patience and unceasing encouragement kept me at the task of writing when missionary commitment and limited strength threatened to overwhelm me, and whose careful scholarship has guided me through the concluding months.

I also wish to thank Mrs. D.W. Williams for her patient and valuable aid in the typing of this manuscript and the countless others who have aided in a larger or smaller measure toward the completion of this work.

Edinburgh, Scotland. 
June 30, 1970.

Carl Joseph Hahn
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PART I

INTRODUCTION
CHAPTER I

THE SCOPE AND AIM OF THE STUDY

The scope and aim of this study must be seen against the background of certain historical facts. The land that is called Brazil was "officially" discovered on April 22, 1500, by Pedro Alvares Cabral, a Portuguese navigator who landed at Porto Seguro, in the southern part of the present state of Bahia. He claimed the new territory for his king Manuel of Portugal in accordance with the Treaty of Tordesillas of 1494, in which Rodrigo Borgia as Pope Alexander VI (1492-1503) had divided up the non-Christian world between Spain and Portugal. Portugal was to have all the lands east of a line of demarcation that was set 370 leagues west of the Cape Verde Islands, Spain all the lands west.

This "official" discovery of Brazil occurred 17 years before Luther nailed the famous 95 theses to the door of the Castle Church in Wittenberg; 24 years before Diebold Schwarz (Theobaldus Niger) celebrated the mass in German in St. John's Chapel in the Church of St. Laurence, Zurich; 23 years before Zwingli had made his first revision of the Mass and initiated the Reformation in Strasbourg, 35 years before John Calvin handed over to the printer the script of the Christianae religionis institutio -- his first edition of the Institutes; 49 years before the First Prayer Book of Edward VI; and 60 years before the first General Assembly, or National Reformed Church Council met in Edinburgh.
Three centuries, however, passed before Brazil was permitted to experience the true significance of these events. During the first one and one-half centuries it did enjoy the occasional contact with a Protestant soldier, fortune-hunter, or artisan. France and Holland each made a short-lived attempt to establish a colony, while England occasionally raided the coast. Then Brazil was "hermetically sealed off" from all non-Roman Catholic influence for another one and one-half centuries.

In 1808 Brazil's ports were opened for the first time to commerce with all "friendly powers". As most of Europe's ports were blockaded due to the Napoleonic Wars, only Britain was effectively permitted to enjoy this privilege in the beginning. In 1810 a Treaty of Commerce was signed between England and Portugal which contained an Article which permitted or "tolerated" non-Roman Catholic British citizens living in Brazil to worship according to their traditions within certain limitations and restrictions. Article XII of this treaty provided that Portugal would concede British subjects this measure of religious liberty "within their private churches and chapels" as long as these buildings "forever resemble houses of habitation". It furthermore stipulated that there must be "no declaiming against the Catholic religion, which must be respected", and that there must never be any attempt "to make proselytes". Permission was also granted to the English to bury their dead in special cemeteries, and they were granted freedom
to administer these cemeteries and conduct their funerals according to their own rites and belief.¹

British business men, fortune-hunters, artisans, adventurers, and professional men poured into the land. After the fall of Napoleon in 1814, they were joined by adventurous individuals from all parts of Europe, and after the close of the War of 1812 between England and the United States, from North America. Many were Protestants and brought with them their Bibles and books of private devotions. Some who came to Brazil as business men, tourists, and fortune hunters published glowing accounts of their experiences.² Soon immigrants were arriving in groups or colonies, and by 1824 the "toleration" granted to the British Anglican Church by the Treaty of Commerce of 1810 was extended to German and Swiss Lutherans and to other non-Roman Catholics. This "toleration" was however subject to the same limitations and restrictions. These legal restrictions coupled with the language barrier prevented any serious plans for aggressive missionary efforts among the Brazilians.

Between the years of 1835 and 1841 the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States had missionaries ministering to the English-speaking business men and sailors at the port of Rio de Janeiro. They also conducted a survey of the interior and initiated a programme of Bible distribution, but sickness, death and financial

². John Luccock, Notes on Rio and the Southern Parts of Brazil, taken during a Residence of Ten Years in that Country from 1808 to 1818 (London, 1820). There were many such books.
difficulties in the United States brought the work to a halt. ¹

Bibles were being sent into Brazil by both the British and Foreign Bible Society and the American Bible Society. Often the boxes of Bibles were sent along as part of the baggage of business men who simply left them opened on the docks for any one to take what he wished. In 1851 an American Presbyterian minister, Rev. James Cooley Fletcher, went to Rio de Janeiro to work with the American Seaman's Friend Society, the American Bible Society, and later worked in the American Embassy. He was a highly cultured gentleman, having studied both in the United States and Europe, and his contacts in social and political circles contributed greatly to the opening of doors for evangelical worship; but permanent missionary work among the native Portuguese-speaking Brazilians did not begin until 1855. It was a small and cautious beginning made by a Scottish medical missionary who had suffered imprisonment, loss of home, and nearly loss of life in Roman Catholic inspired persecution on the Madeira Islands.²

On the 10th May 1855, Dr. and Mrs. Robert Reid Kalley disembarked on the harbour of Rio de Janeiro; three months later they initiated their first Sunday School, and three years later on the

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11th of July 1858, organized the first Portuguese-speaking Brazilian Protestant Church. On August 12th 1859, Ashbell Green Simonton, missionary under the Presbyterian Church of the United States arrived in Brazil. He was soon followed by others of his own and other boards. It was not an easy field. Full religious liberty was not to be attained until near the end of the century. Yet many factors had prepared the soil of the nation to receive the good seed of the Gospel and to make Brazil the home of a great evangelical community. In 1932 John A. Mackay wrote of Brazil:

"It is in Brazil... that Evangelical Christianity has reached its highest development in South America and made its greatest contribution to national life... No country has been so hospitable to foreign ideas... It is here also that evangelical faith has found its most propitious soil."  

Ten years later J. Merle Davis, in his research study for the International Missionary Council wrote:

"The Evangelical Church in Brazil is probably growing faster than in any other country in the world."  

A decade later in 1952 Elmer G. Homrighausen of Princeton Seminary writing in the World Christian Handbook reiterated the same theme:

"It is common knowledge that the Evangelical Church in Brazil is the fastest growing church in the world... No mission field can match it..."  

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1. This came with the establishment of the Republic, November 15, 1889, and the disestablishment of the Church, January, 1890.
The half-century following the arrival of Kalley was a time of seed-sowing, evangelization, and planting of Churches. The field was vast — at times the missionaries were the only ordained men in areas as large as Scotland or even larger. Transportation was largely limited in the beginning to ox-carts and saddle-horses. Roads became impassable in the rainy seasons. Between the occasional visits of the ordained missionary or pastor the work was left in the hands of local lay leadership. Colporteurs, with trains of pack-mules, carried hundreds of Bibles into communities where no ordained pastor or missionary had yet arrived, and there sprang up Bible-reading communities which had never heard of the Evangelical Churches. These areas, while nominally Roman Catholic, were rarely visited by priests, and had developed in many parts of the interior a "folk-religion" with lay leadership. The occasional contacts of pastors and missionaries, one with another, were few and generally very welcome; they needed each other. The scattered churches, rejoicing in the new life of the Gospel, were not given to comparison or theological reflection; they were busy evangelizing and struggling for survival.

With the second and third generations however some theological reflection became inevitable. Children began to ask as in the old Israelite families — "What meaneth this service?" and "Why do we do these things?"\(^1\) With the coming of missionaries of various denominations the converts and children visiting in other services would

\(^1\) Deut. 6:20-25.
return to ask their pastor -- "Why do we worship differently from the other church?" or "Since we are so much alike why are we not in the same church?" There was also the everpresent and urgent need for proclamation. In every service were the unconverted -- illiterate and semi-literate people who had not heard or responded to the "good-news". The services were constantly geared to this need and this level. However, a second level of worshipper soon appeared within their ranks, especially in the urban centres. The Evangelical Church in Brazil had made a significant addition to the Directory of Worship concerning the baptism of children. The older document had instructed the minister to exhort:

"...to bring up the Child in the knowledge of the grounds of the Christian religion, and in the nurture and admonition of the Lord;..."

The amended Brazilian Directory had added --

"...to teach your children to read the Word of God." 

These children of semi-literate or illiterate converts had been taught to read, and they had gone on to study in mission and government schools; they had taken their place of honour in the cities, in the professions as engineers, lawyers, doctors, professors; they had become senators, judges, and administrators of universities and industry. These were loyal Evangelicals with no desire to return


2. Livro de Ordem da Igreja Presbyteriana no Brazil, Parte III, Directorio do Culto Divino, Capitulo VII, da Administracao do Baptismo. The underlining is mine.
to Romanism, but they were a part of the group Braga and Grubb had observed manifesting:

"...signs of discontent with the prevailing type of public worship and shallow intellectualism in the pulpit. A desire is manifest for the spiritual enrichment of worship."

These second and third generation Evangelicals of the urban centres, professional men of the highest caliber, knew that the work of evangelization must go on, and they were often willing to assume the responsibility for the out-post Sunday Schools and congregations, but they hungered for something more than the milk of the Gospel -- for more than the first steps in the message of evangelization.

This need was recently seen and analyzed by the late Emile G. Leonard during his visit to Brazil. Leonard, Professor of "History of the Reformation" and "Protestantism" at the famous "Ecole des Chartes" of the Sorbonne, spent three years visiting and studying the Protestant Churches of Brazil, and made some penetrating observations. Analyzing the Brazilian Church and its worship services in contrast to French Protestantism, he stated:

"This body, which is really the Church, would have as its motto for an European Protestant "to worship and to pray". For the Brazilian -- and we are not seeking to know if here we are treating with an American trait or only a sign of spiritual youth -- this concept or motto of the church for the Brazilian, is "to learn and to work". The expression which in Europe designates the supreme and or purpose of the church is that of "worship" (or its equivalents); in Brazil is "work", an expression employed even by the denominations less activists as the Episcopal Church.

"Even those meetings which are specifically religious are a work, and the expression, strange as it may appear to

1. Supra, p. iii.
2. During the years 1948 to 1950.
the stranger, is not improper, for these meetings are in the first place, for the pastor an occasion of work for the salvation of souls, and for the faithful something similar to school work where he ought, above all else to learn."

In the theological seminaries the students were discovering that many concepts of worship and its practice in their home churches were quite unlike those of the Reformers, and consequently were beginning to ask such questions as -- "Why are we so different from the Reformation Church?" "Have we merely continued the process of legitimate "reformation" or have we lost valid insights and teachings?" "Why did our "founding Fathers" not bring to Brazil this Reformation inheritance?" For many years in Brazil there has been an annual Encontro dos Seminaristas (Encounter of Seminary Students) which is a gathering to which each denominational seminary


"Esse corpo, que e propriamente a Igreja, teria como divisa, para um protestante europeu, "adorar e orar". Para o Brasileiro--e nao procuraremos saber se se trata, aqui, de um trago americano ou apenas de juventude espiritual--essa divisa sera "aprender e trabalhar". A expressao que designa, na Europa, a suprema finalidade da Igreja é de "culto" (ou seus equivalents); no Brazil é "trabalho", expressao empregada mesmo pelas denominacoes menos ativistas, como a episcopal.

"As proprias reunioes religiosas sao um "trabalho", e a expressao, por estranha que pareca a um estrangeiro, nao é impropria, pois essas reunioes constituem, antes de tudo, para o pastor, occasiao de trabalhar na salvacao de almas, e para os fieis algo semelhante a um trabalho escolar onde ele deve, acima de tudo, aprender."

The Portuguese has been given here because it is a difficult passage to translate. Leonard is saying that the European Protestant think of the church as a place to worship. The Brazilian Protestant thinks of the church service as a place "to learn and to work". Leonard is not sure how much of this is an American trait of American "activism", or whether it is only a part of the "spiritual youth" of Brazilian Protestantism. A literal translation seems awkward. This was originally written in French then translated into Portuguese, now into English.
sends representatives with papers to read and defend, but in which the devotional services are directed by these representatives, according to the worship traditions of their respective denominations. Presbyterian, Methodist, Lutheran, Baptist, Mennonite, and other theological seminary students have sometimes had in this way their first serious encounter with worship patterns other than their own. The writer has been a faculty advisor at some of these encounters. Many questions arise — "What is the significance of our differences, and how did we come to have them?" becomes a subject of serious reflection for these young men of a "younger church" which has few meaningful roots in the historical accidents of the social and political life which have given birth to many of the denominational divisions.

A few privileged individuals have attended the World Conferences on Faith and Order; a much larger number have read the Reports. They are deeply disturbed and concerned that in the middle of the twentieth-century, a World Conference on Faith and Order finds it impossible for the participating delegates to have a common service of the Lord's Supper, and that the Eucharist is both a symbol of our unity and our disunity.¹

The intellectual climate of Brazil was deeply influenced during the 19th century by French Positivism. Undoubtedly this prepared the minds of the nation to receive the full impact of mid-twentieth century Secularism. Young intellectuals in the

Evangelical circles were not exempt from this influence. In the field of worship they were not only questioning the differences between their present practices and attitudes in comparison with the Reformers, but they were also questioning the relevance of any of the present day worship patterns. "Is it relevant at all for twentieth-century come-of-age man" they asked. "Is not our present system a relic or remnant of a medieval pattern of living which no longer is meaningful and relevant?"

The writer faced such questions many times in Brazil.

These facts combine to present a unique, fast growing, exuberant young church faced with a specific problem in the field of worship. There are other problems related to government, discipline, finance, paternalism of missionaries, growing nationalism, etc.; the present study however is limited to the area of worship. The scope and aim is to examine critically the concepts and practices of worship brought to Brazil by the "founding fathers", noting and evaluating the changes that social and political, and other factors had wrought in these concepts and patterns between the fifteenth and nineteenth centuries -- that is, between the Reformation and the planting of Protestantism in Brazil; and a continuing critical study of the evolution and development of Protestant worship within Brazil itself. It is therefore not a critical survey of all Evangelical Church activities within Brazil; that remains for yet another study. A brief survey of Brazilian history is given as a background, but, for the other nations involved, only historical incidents relative to the worship brought to Brazil were noted.
The New Testament presents worship under two aspects. In Paul's letter to the Church at Rome 12:1-2 all of life, for the redeemed people of God, is worship -- every moment and every activity. The Reformers, especially Luther, were deeply conscious of this truth. But the New Testament also presents "corporate Worship" as an activity of the people of God. They were urged "not to neglect the assembling of themselves together"\(^1\) and special promises were given for these occasions. Jesus himself had promised that "where two or three are gathered together in my name, there will I be in the midst of them".\(^2\) The Great Commission has assured the Church of the "Lo I am with you always" in its corporate activity of preaching, teaching, and baptism -- in the observance "of all things whatsoever I have commanded you". \(\text{This study is concerned with the People of God in their corporate worship activities.}\)

An attempt has been made to ascertain what the Reformers desired in this field -- what they conceived as essential to true Reformed corporate worship, and how far they were able to realize, in their given historical situations, their ideals. As Evangelical worship entered Brazil during the nineteenth century, coming directly from Britain and Europe, and by way of the United States, a further attempt has been made to note the changes and alterations these ideals and practices underwent during the intervening centuries, and to evaluate the theological validity of these changes. \(\text{This is important for an understanding of the norms that were established}\)

within Brazil during the early and middle nineteenth century and an evaluation of the changes made in these practices and concepts.

The main thrust of the study has been to understand and interpret Evangelical worship within Brazil itself -- to understand the present in the light of the past, and to discover insights for charting the future. Such a study, however, may serve another purpose. The late Professor Leonard of the Sorbonne, stated that he made his three year study of Protestantism in Brazil with the intent of better understanding the Protestant Reformation in France. He was convinced that the social and political and spiritual conditions within Brazil during the present and the last century had much in common with the Europe of the century of the Reformation, and that the struggles and attitudes of the "young church" in Brazil could throw much light upon the history of the first century of the Reformation Church in France. Thus a study of this facet of evangelical life in Brazil may cast light upon the study of Reformation worship within Europe itself.

Furthermore this study has been limited to what the writer has understood as the Evangelical concept of worship. Rationalism and the study of Comparative Religions have both contributed to an understanding of worship as a universal and innate characteristic of man as he is confronted with the awesome mysteries of the great

"...pois foi com seus estudos e pesquisas sobre a história espiritual do Brazil que melhor pode compreender os acontecimentos, as situações e as evoluções da história espiritual européia que constitui actualment o assunto de seus estudos."
unknown which surrounds him. Evangelical worship is more concerned with man's response to God's gracious revelation of himself in Creation and Redemption.

The Anglican Book of Common Prayer was probably read on board British ships in the harbours of Brazil as early as 1808, and within private dwellings soon after 1810. The American version of it was translated into Portuguese as early as 1859. The Presbyterian Church of Brazil as early as the meeting of its first Synod, 1888, had adopted a greatly altered and adapted version of the Westminster Directory of Worship, but does not possess as yet an official Book of Common Order. On the 20th July 1871 the second Brazilian was ordained to the Evangelical ministry. Some few years later he published a small "Manual do Culto" (Manual of Worship) to give some basic guidance to the uninstructed lay "Reader" — the layleader in the various congregations and churches in the large areas under his supervision. This little book has been reprinted various times, and it is as yet the nearest approach to a Book of Common Order in the Presbyterian Church of Brazil. The "Canones da Igreja Metodista do Brazil" (Constitution of the Methodist Church of Brazil) gives elaborate details for the celebration of the Lord's Supper and of the sacrament of baptism, but only one page of very general instruction for public worship. There are understandable explanations for this long delay, but further neglect of this vital area of the life of the Church is both inexcusable and perhaps impossible.

1. He was actually born in Portugal but came as a child to Brazil. An ex-priest Jose Manoel da Conceicão had been ordained in October, 1864.
Finally, because this is a study of Evangelical Worship in a culture radically different from that of the "so called" great Protestant nations, it is best understood by a brief preliminary survey of the nation of Brazil -- the land and the people prior to the arrival of the Protestants.
CHAPTER II

BRAZIL -- THE LAND AND PEOPLE PRIOR TO 1810

Worship, and even theology itself, from which the norms of worship should spring, are affected by the geographical, racial, social, and political environment. H. Richard Niebuhr has observed:

"...the religious life is so interwoven with social circumstances that the formulation of theology is necessarily conditioned by these. Where theology is regarded only from the ideological point of view, sight is lost of those very conditions which influence a divergence of its forms, and differences are explained on a speciously intellectual basis without taking into account the fundamental reasons for such variations...the exigencies of church discipline, the demands of national psychology, the effect of social tradition, the influence of cultural heritage, and the weight of economic interest play their role in the definition of religious truth." ¹

Niebuhr further insists that the theology of the first five centuries could never be understood apart from the

"psychology of the Greek mind and the social, religious, political, and economic conditions of the Roman empire...and their relation to the new faith." ²

Roman Catholicism reflects the Latin spirit and the institutions of the Caesars in institutions and formulation of doctrine. Lutheranism derives not only from the New Testament, but also from Luther's German temperament, and the political conditions of the church in Germany.


². Ibid. p. 16.
Even

"...Calvinism was no less influenced in its temper and theology by national character and by the interests of the economic class to which it especially appealed."

Back of many of the divergencies in forms and doctrines are geographic, racial, social, and political factors that make one interpretation appear more reasonable than another within a certain setting. The Evangelical communities of Brazil must be seen and judged within their own land, and in the midst of their own people.

A. A Brief Survey of Brazil as a Nation

Physical Features

The LAND that is called Brazil occupies approximately one-half of the South American continent. With its 3,286,470 square miles, only Russia (8,649,489 square miles), China (3,691,502 square miles), Canada (3,851,809 square miles) and the United States of America (3,628,150 square miles) are larger. Before Alaska and Hawaii attained statehood in 1959, the territory of Brazil could contain the forty-eight states with an extra Texas. It has 14,400 miles of land borders touching the Guianas, Venezuela, and Columbia on the north, Peru and Bolivia on the west, and Paraguay, Argentina, and the Uruguay on the south and southwest. On the east, northeast, and southeast it borders the Atlantic Ocean with a coastline of more than 4,602 miles. It has the largest river in the world, the Amazon

1. Ibid. p. 16.
which ocean steamers can penetrate for 2,300 miles, two waterfalls, the Iguassu and Paulo Alfonso which are higher than Niagara, and an island, Marajo, at the mouth of the Amazon that is larger than Belgium. From the northernmost point to the southern tip, and from east to west it is approximately the same distance -- 2,680 miles, which is three times the distance from London to Rome. The United Kingdom of England, Wales, Scotland, and North Ireland with its 93,605 square miles could be located within Brazil more than 35 times and the nations of the Common Market 7 times.¹

The Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e estatísticas -- IBGE) divided Brazil into five major areas -- the North, Northeast, the East, the South, and the Central West. This division is based largely upon geography and climate. The North region stretches entirely across the northern third of the country and is the largest of the five regions. It is made up of the States of Acre, Amazonas, and Para, the territories of Rondonia, Rio Branco and Amapa. Its northern boundary includes the Brazilian portions of the Guiana Highlands, while its southern part reaches to the northern extremity of the Central Highlands. The dominant feature is the huge basin of the Amazon with its equatorial jungle. Much of this area has a fairly high temperature and heavy rainfall and is more sparsely settled than the coastal areas.

The Northeast region occupies the apex of the eastern continental bulge and includes the states of Maranhao, Piaui, Ceara, Rio

¹ These facts are gathered from generally accepted Atlas statistics.
Grande do Norte, Paraiba, Pernambuco and Alagoas. This region is tropical in climate and consists of a narrow coastal plain and an interior located on the Central Highlands. The upland sections are moisture-deficient areas and covered with a drought-resistant growth known as "Caatinga". Recurring droughts plague the area and result in occasional extensive migrations to the coast and to other regions of the country. It contains about 17% of the national population and has developed some unique religious patterns in both the Roman Catholic Churches and in Protestantism.¹

The East region is the oldest and one of the most densely populated areas of the nation. It includes the states of Sergipe, Bahia, Minas Gerais, Espirito Santo, Rio de Janeiro and Guanabara which together account for about 35% of the national population. It too has a narrow strip of coastal plain and a hinterland on the Central Highland, but it enjoys abundant rainfall. Its climate ranges from tropical in the north and along the coast to subtropical in the southern highlands. The uplands, especially in the state of Minas Gerais, are extremely rugged. This area contains the nation's highest mountain ranges, loftiest peaks and major deposits of mineral wealth. In the formative years of the nation this area received the greatest impact of Portuguese culture; it was also the scene of the great gold and diamond rushes beginning about 1692, and received the involuntary contribution of approximately

¹ Strange messianic leaders have developed in this region.
four million African slaves.\(^1\) The influence of the Portuguese and the African upon religion in Brazil has been greatest in this region.

The South contains the states of Sao Paulo, Parana, Santa Catarina, and Rio Grande do Sul. Geographically it follows the pattern of the other eastern areas with a narrow coastal plain rising abruptly to the high interior plateau of the Central Highlands. Although it lies almost entirely within the temperate zone, warm ocean currents make the coastal areas largely sub-tropical. In the interior, however, regular frosts in winter completely change the appearance of plant life. The broadleaf evergreens of the rest of the country give way to the deciduous growths and the huge stands of arucaria or Parana Pine. In the southern extremity the coastal plain broadens out and stretches completely across the state of Rio Grande to form a rich temperate agricultural area. This South contains approximately 35% of the population, but owing to its rapid industrial development since World War II, it is fast claiming a much higher percentage of the people. This area has received a great influx of German, Swiss and Italian immigrants, and a lesser number of Russian, Polish, and others of central Europe. Evangelical communities have flourished in this region.

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1. The archives containing the records of slavery were burned in 1859 in a misguided outburst of nationalism, but this is the estimate (*4,830,000*) of Dr. Renato Mendonca based on statistics compiled from colonial and imperial customs reports. It is quoted by Vera Kelsey, Gilberto Freyre and others. Vera Kelsey, *Seven Keys to Brazil*, (New York and London: Funk and Wagnalls Company, 1941), p. 23.
The Central West includes the states of Matto Grosso, Goias, and the new Federal District of Brazilia. With the exception of a small area of lowland in western Matto Grosso along the Paraguay River, it is entirely located on the Central Highlands. Its climate is tropical, merging into the sub-tropical in the extreme southern portion and in the higher highlands. The northern and middle parts contain dense forests alternating with broad expanses of savanna, while deep valleys and gorges in the surface of the plateau make movement and communication through the region arduous and time-consuming. It is sparsely settled but is now receiving an influx of migrants from the South and East Regions. Many of these are Evangelicals with little or no pastoral care.

Although a major portion of this territory lies between the Equator, which crosses the northern mouth of the Amazon, and the Tropic of Capricorn which passes through the northern edge of the city of Sao Paulo, the effects of latitude in Brazil are modified by a number of other factors as altitude, prevailing winds, rainfall and distance from the sea. And although the geographical equator crosses the northern portion "all the country lies below the thermal equator (which runs through Central America) and thus occupies a favourable middle position between the line of extreme heat and the cold southern latitudes".1

Vera Kelsey, deeply indebted, as she acknowledges2 to the Brazilian sociologist, Dr. Gilberto Freyre, and writing from the

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sociological point of view, divided Brazil into seven geographical areas: 1) The Northeast; 2) Rio de Janeiro; 3) Sao Paulo; 4) Minas Geraes; 5) The other Northeast (i.e. the hinterland); 6) North Brazil (majoring on the Amazon); 7) South Brazil (including only Santa Catarina, Parana, and Rio Grande do Sul). This last scheme probably has more affinity with a religious study of the nation; and while it falls into the danger of over-simplification, it does suggest the vastness and diversity of the land.

Brazil has also been called an island or continent because of the Amazon being so near to its northern border, the Parana River forming a large part of its western border, and the Atlantic Ocean on the east. It has also been called an Empire under one roof. As late as the first quarter of the nineteenth century, this vast land was often referred to as "The Brazils". Such a vast area of geographical superlatives has left its imprint not only on all social phenomena, but also on the very psychological outlook of the people themselves. There is a temptation to megalomania: everything is "the largest, the greatest, the oldest, the newest, the best" until it at times becomes a contagious mental disease of enthusiasm. A sense of grandeur pervades all program making committees, and this breeds a fatalistic sense of frustration when grandiose plans do not materialize. The very vastness of the land with its difficulties in communication and transportation has contributed to a very real sense of regionalism -- a regionalism with regional loyalties

1. Kelsey, op.cit., pp. xi-xi
2. Kelsey, op.cit., p. 43.
similar to those in the different nations of the United Kingdom. These regional rivalries, loyalties, fears, and prejudices enter also as in the United Kingdom into the church activities. The Protestant Churches of Brazil are still a minority group statistically, but their life and work is penetrated and coloured by these national social traits and structure.

History

Brazil was "officially" discovered on April 22, 1500, by Pedro Alvares Cabral, a Portuguese Navigator, who claimed the newly discovered lands for Portugal in accordance with the Treaty of Tordesillas of 1494. According to the account still read in most Brazilian Primary School history books and popular Brazilian histories, Cabral was on his way to India around the southern tip of Africa when storms or calms forced him westward, so far that he accidentally discovered the eastern coast of Brazil. Modern research however, indicates that Portugal knew of the existence of this new world for some decades, and was probably quietly taking ship-loads of dyewood.

1. The Treaty of Tordesillas was signed at Tordesillas June 7, 1494. In 1493 an original line of demarcation had granted to Spain the new territories discovered 100 leagues west of the Cape Verde Islands. The Portuguese for reasons known best to themselves had not been satisfied with this allotment and urged the reconsideration which by the Treaty of Tordesillas granted to them the eastern coastline of Brazil which at that time was not yet "officially" discovered. This imaginary line from pole to pole made by Pope Alexander VI would only have included the eastern third of the present area of Brazil; however during the period between 1580 and 1640 when Spain again ruled over Portugal the Brazilian western boundary was silently moved farther to the west. When Portugal again was independent Spain was not in a position to contest these new territorial claims.
from its coasts. This is definitely the position of members of the present Cabral family, descendants of the stalward navigator, who in 1969 visited Brazil.

The land that Cabral discovered was known among the native Indians as "Pindamona" or "Land of Palms", and by the name "Yaquimo". He immediately christened it "Ilha da Vera Cruz" (Island of the True Cross); this was later shortened to "Vera Cruz" (True Cross), and still later changed again to "Terra da Santa Cruz" (Land of the Holy Cross). In a report made in the year 1513 he called the land "Terra da Santa Cruz ou Brazil", and in a document of Martin Alfonso de Souza dated in 1530 the name "Brazil" is used alone without any other qualifications, although some later documents apparently still


2. On the 9 May 1969, the 13th grand-nephew of Pedro Alvares Cabral, don Vasco Antonio Maria Jose de Figueiredo Cabral da Camara Pereira, count of Belmonte, finished a journey by sail boat over the route originally taken by the "official" discoverer of Brazil, and in an interview with the press affirmed that his experiences with the ocean currents and winds had convinced him that his famous ancestor had not discovered Brazil by chance, but that he had come deliberately to claim the land for Portugal. He stated: "A teoria de Gago Coutinho esta provado. Cabral, propositadamente, descobriu o Brazil". (The theory of Gago Coutinho is proved. Cabral purposely discovered Brazil). This interview was printed in the Brazilian newspaper -- O Estado de Sao Paulo May 9, 1969, p. 5.

3. Jose Silvestre Ribello, Revista do Instituto Historico e Geografico do Brazil (quoting from contemporary documents of Damiao de Goes, made to the King Manuel of Portugal, which had been published in 1556) Tomo I, No. 4. 1839, p. 299.

referred to the land as Santa Cruz.\textsuperscript{1}

The name "Brazil" seems to have had two completely different origins which converged naturally upon the land during the first half of the 16th century, and displaced the older names of Ilha da Vera Cruz and Terra da Santa Cruz. Brazil was the name of an ancient dye or dyewood; it was also the name of an island which 15th century cartographers placed on the maps of the Atlantic Ocean. As early as 1128 the term was used in a treaty between the peoples of Bologna and Ferrara to designate a dyewood from the Malay Islands.\textsuperscript{2}

Another source is said to trace the name back to two Celtic words -- "breas" (large) and "i" (ilha or island) applied anciently to legendary islands -- dream islands of enchantment and great riches. Such an island in legend lay off the coast of Ireland, filled with trees of strange fruits, adorned with thousands of rainbows, inhabited by rabbits as large as ponies, and also inhabited by witches.\textsuperscript{3}

Farther from the legends although still mixed with them were the maps by the cartographers of the Middle Ages which show islands named Bracie, Berzil, or Brazil at different places in the mid-Atlantic.

"...three island of Brazil are shown on the maps of the Pizigoni Brothers and in the catalogue of 1373, and another northeast of Corvo, appears in the atlas of Lafrei in 1566."\textsuperscript{4}

\textsuperscript{1} Poetic works still refer to Brazil as the Land of the Holy Cross or "Terra da Santa Cruz".
\textsuperscript{2} Kelsey, loc. cit., p. 43.
\textsuperscript{3} Idem, p. 43.
\textsuperscript{4} Idem, p. 43, footnote.
Apparently the two ideas coalesced to give the newly discovered lands the name "Brazil": the idea of a legendary island somewhere in the mid-Atlantic, and the fact that the term Brazil was in current usage to designate certain kinds of trees from which a red dye was extracted. The land was a new discovery in the Atlantic and it possessed in great quantities the Brazil trees which were soon being exported in large shipments to Europe; and thus within the first fifty years after its discovery the name Brazil was being applied to the land originally christened "Ilha da Vera Cruz". The name gradually became official, although until the beginning of the nineteenth century it was also used in the plural -- The Brazils.

Portugal's claim to the land was validated by the discovery and by the Treaty of Tordesillas. The arbitrary action of Pope Alexander VI, the Rodrigo Borgia, who owed his office to Ferdinand and Isabella, was contested by other European rulers. King Francis I of France, "loyal" Catholic as he protested to be, was contemptuous of Spanish and Portuguese claims to monopoly in the newly discovered non-Christian world, and especially in America, and cynically declared that he "had never seen a clause in the last will of Adam conceding such exclusive control to Kings Manoel and Charles."

France, Holland and England were to contest the claims. From the political point of view Brazil's history may be divided into two major periods:

1. Jose Silvestre Ribello, op.cit., p. 299ff. Columbus in his report had used the term "Brazil" to designate trees he had discovered in the islands.

WITH PORTUGAL -- FROM COLONY TO DOMINION STATUS 1500-1822

1) Neglected Colony 1500-1533.
2) Beginning of the Captaincies 1533-1580.
3) Spanish Interlude 1580-1640.
4) Portuguese Colonial Government 1640-1808.
5) A Refuge for the Throne of Portugal 1808-1815.
6) Dominion Status within the Empire of Portugal 1815-1822.

AN INDEPENDENT BRAZIL 1822 ----

2) Empire: The Regency and Pedro II, 1831-41.
3) Empire: Pedro II, 1841-89.
4) First Republic: 1889-1930.
5) Dictatorship of Getulio Vargas, 1930-45.
7) Revolution 1964 ----

Brazil's religious history from the Protestant or Evangelical viewpoint may be divided into three major periods of approximately one and one-half centuries each:

A. Portuguese-Roman Catholic Dominance with Occasional Protestant Contact. 1500-1654.
   1) The occasional Protestant soldier, sailor, soldier of fortune, political exile, shipwreck victim, etc.
   2) French Attempt at Colonization 1555-1560.
   3) Dutch Attempt at Colonization 1630-1654.

B. Portuguese-Roman Catholic Dominance with no Significant Protestant Contact 1654-1808.

C. Protestant Penetration 1808 -------
   1) Protestant immigrants and churches within immigrant colonies, tolerated within certain limitations 1808-1855.
   2) Beginnings of Protestant Missionary Work Among the Portuguese-speaking Brazilians -- again tolerated within certain limitations 1855-1888.
3) Proclamation of the Republic -- Separation of Church and State, with full religious freedom guaranteed by the Constitution. 1888--...

In the beginning Brazil was Portugal's neglected colony. It had not yet produced any gold, silver, or diamonds. The mother country with only about one million inhabitants, and probably never more than 300,000 able bodied men, had spread its rule over Asia, Africa, Madeira, the Azores, and other islands and archipelagoes. The Court of Lisbon was engrossed in reckoning the profits from India's silks, jewels, and spices and in collecting tribute from the fabulous cities of the east, which were now a part of her possessions. India's magnificence cast into the shadow a Brazil devoid of ancient cities and gorgeous palaces, a land peopled only by naked savages, dyewood, and soil for cane plantations. A few exploratory expeditions were sent along its coastal waters, a few political exiles were dropped here and there, and a few soldiers-of-fortune appeared.

By 1532 the picture was beginning to change: first the profits entering Lisbon's treasury from Brazil's dyewoods were increasing, but more important Spain had discovered Gold in her colonies and was looking for more and her expeditions were getting too close for comfort. French ships were skirting the coast, cutting brazilwood


2. Among these were such men as Heliodoro Bobano Hessen who was manager and book-keeper for some time of a sugar mill in Southern Brazil. His father Helio Bobano Hessen, a famous humanist of Erfurt and Marburgo, was a personal friend of Martin Luther. Vide Henriquez Rosa Fernandes Braga, Musica Sacra Evangelica no Brazil, (Rio de Janeiro: Livraria Kosmos Editora, 1960), p. 31.
by the shipload, and in 1530 had destroyed the Portuguese garrison
at Pernambuco. The colony could be no longer neglected. In 1532
Martim Affonso de Souza founded Sao Vicente -- near modern Santos --
the first permanent settlement in Brazil, and Piratininga, the
beginnings of the modern city of Sao Paulo.

In 1533 Brazil was divided into 12 captaincies -- each twenty-
five to sixty or more leagues along the coast, and extending inland
to the line set by the Treaty of Tordesillas. Each captaincy was
a grant to a Portuguese nobleman, with certain economic and political
privileges, and also explicit responsibilities. Each must enlist
settlers, promote farming and trade, look after the spiritual welfare
of the people, and protect his area against marauders. He must pay
his own bills with little or no subvention from the Crown. Each
captain or "donatario" could rule as a monarch within his domain;
but before he could rule he must make himself master of his land.
The supreme problem was manpower: the Indians made poor slaves, and
the African slave trade was only beginning. Portugal with only
300,000 able bodies men scattered in a thin line over her vast
empire, exiled her prisoners and "degredados" to Brazil. Along with
"criminals" were many who were merely dissenters and nonconformists --
men who scoffed at rules. The priests who came to care for these
were often "padres" who were guilty of such flagrant violations of
the laws of the land that they were given their choice between being
"defrocked" and imprisoned or becoming missionaries to Brazil. Both
exiles and priests were in a tropical climate, isolated in large part
from Portuguese women, but surrounded by beautiful and available
Indian maidens and Negro slaves. They were mostly a virile and unruly lot. Gilberto Freyre described them as: "Unbridled stallions is what they were who bred riotously with Indian and Negro women in the warm air of Brazil. Whether criminals or not they were arrant egoists who made life unhappy for the "donatarios".\(^1\) However, a pattern of social life was developing which was to have serious consequences for Brazilian social and religious life for the following centuries.

The captaincy system soon revealed serious flaws; a stronger sense of unity was needed to defend the country against the threat of France. In 1549 Lisbon limited the powers of the "donatarios" by appointing a captain-general, Tome de Souza, and made Bahia the capital of a United Brazil. In the six vessels which brought the new official were a thousand men in all: including three hundred and twenty in the King's pay, and four hundred exiles. There were also six members of the newly organized Society of Jesus -- The Jesuits. They had been especially commissioned to work among the Indians, but their struggles with the undisciplined secular priests in the colonial chapels of the great "fazendas" (ranches) were often unpleasant and bitter. The twelve captaincies were reduced to eight, but by 1580 Brazil had eight well-established captaincies, a capital city in Bahia; sixty sugar mills; a population of between 17,000 and 25,000 Portuguese, 18,000 "civilized" Indians, and 14,000 Negro slaves.\(^2\) It was an established

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and prosperous colony with exports of sugar, brazilwood, and cotton.

The period between 1555 and 1567 saw the French attempt to establish a colony in the area which is now Rio de Janeiro. Poor planning and theological disputes weakened the effort, and by 1567 the French were completely expelled from the southern part of Brazil. Then came the Spanish Interlude of 1580 to 1640.

THE SPANISH INTERLUDE

The Aviz dynasty, which had ruled Portugal for two centuries, and that had launched Portugal on the high seas of imperial expansion, came to a close, when Cardinal King Henry died in 1580, leaving no heir to the Portuguese throne. King Philip II of Spain had a Portuguese mother, and baseing his claim upon this blood tie, and the older unity between the two nations, invaded Portugal, and bribed the nobles into electing him King. As Philip II of Spain, and Philip I of Portugal, he ruled over the two nations and their combined kingdoms in Africa, Asia, and America. Lisbon, however, under Spain, was allowed to administer her colonies. Spain demanded monopoly rights on Brazil's trade, which Dutch vessels had been carrying to Portugal, and also further embroiled Brazil in the war between Spain and Holland, but, in recompense, Spain

1. Five hundred English Archers and a substantial army under John the Gaunt on the field of Aljubarrota in 1385 had helped Portugal win its independence from Spain. In February 1387, John of Gaunt's daughter Philippa was married to King Joao I, thus beginning the dynasty of Aviz which in its beginning was Anglo-Portuguese. One famous son brought up in this Anglo-Portuguese House was Henry the Navigator. The famous Treaty of Windsor was signed May, 1386. William C. Atkinson, British Contributions to Portuguese and Brazilian Studies (London: Longmans, Green and Co. Ltd., 1945) pp. 8-9.
believing that Brazil was now forever her possession, allowed Brazil to extend her western borders far beyond the old limits of the Treaty of Tordesillas. When Portugal later regained her independence, Spain was too weak to contest the claims of Brazil.

Brazil was then caught in the current war between Holland and Spain. In 1621 the Dutch West India Company, modelled after the Dutch East India Company (1602) was chartered as a colonizing and trading agency, with a monopoly of trade on the American coast from Newfoundland to the Strait of Magellan -- and with the specific purpose of supplanting the Portuguese in Brazil.¹

In 1630 the Dutch seized Recife and Olinda in Pernambuco, and extended their conquest until it became a span of some twelve hundred miles from the mouth of the Francisco almost to the Amazon. Under John Maurice of Nassau as their Brazilian administrator the colony flourished paying as high as 25% dividends each year. Life was orderly, streets were clean, houses and public buildings were erected, and schools were established. The principal export was sugar, but Brazil wood and tobacco also brought a profit. The Dutch, the most scientific farmers of their time, proved their skill with seeds and soils, and introduced the most improved methods of harvesting and refining. The Dutch introduced the Reformed Faith, but permitted freedom of worship in their colonies.

In 1640 the Portuguese struck against Spain and regained their freedom with the aid of the Dutch. In 1642 Portugal and England

¹ Herring, op. cit., p. 224.
signed a new treaty of peace and commerce reaffirming and continuing the alliance made in the days of John of Gaunt and the beginning of the Aviz dynasty. The Dutch at war with Spain, and now facing war with England, and the threat of war with France, agreed to withdraw from Brazil; in 1654 they took their tools, slaves, and technicians to the West Indies, where their superior skills and command of shipping gave them a decisive lead in the competition for world markets and brought disaster to Brazilian economy. The North of Brazil returned to Roman Catholic uniformity, but Freyre observes:

"This was the Portuguese-American colony's first great adventure in freedom, its first broad contact with the world, the modern Europe -- middle-class and industrial, for until that moment it had been kept in an almost virgin state. A rustic virginity, barely scratched by the attacks of French and English pirates; or by dissentions due to proximity and kinship with the neighbouring Spaniards. But in no wise wounded or even affected in its basic way of life."

And he further notes:

"Nevertheless the 'time of the Flemings' left in the Brazilians of the North, principally the tenant farmer -- insignificant in fact, but potentially important, who was neither master nor slave, but the first glimmer of the populace among us -- a taste, a liking for the experience of something different from the drab monotony of his hard life in the shadow of the Big House...a taste for city life...for the city with a life of its own, independent of the great landowners..."

1. William C. Atkinson, op. cit., p. 8. "The famous Treaty of Windsor had already been signed in May 1386, reinforcing that of thirteen years earlier and again binding the two countries 'for ever' to the closest alliance both defensive and offensive. Each proclaimed itself the friend of the other's friends and the enemy of its enemies."

PORTUGUESE COLONIAL GOVERNMENT 1640 to 1808

Portugal's break with Spain and the seating of the Braganzas on the throne at Lisbon was the signal for the tightening of the royal hold on Brazil. It was the beginning of one and one-half centuries during which Brazil would be isolated from Protestant life and worship. During the first century of this period this control was effected largely through the hands of the Jesuits. In the latter part it was largely civil in the protection of gold and diamond mines.¹ Joseph I (1750-77) chose as his prime minister the Marquis of Pombal, who ruled Portugal and its colonies as a dictator from 1751 to 1777. He shared the anticlericalism which dominated not only the courts of Lisbon and Madrid at the moment, but also the courts of much of Europe. His chief fear and target were the Jesuits. He first stripped them of much of their wealth and power, and then in 1750 he banished them from Portugal and Brazil.² Pombal compelled the Inquisition to accept rules prevailing in civil courts, and removed education from the control of the clergy. He reformed agriculture, and encouraged industry; reorganized public services and promoted schools. Enlightened beyond his time he abolished all slavery in Portugal and theoretically ended Indian slavery in Brazil. Although many of his

1. The year 1693 marks the beginning of the gold rush to Minas Gerais. In 1728 the glittering stones men were using as chips in games of chance were recognized as diamonds and the fevered search for more of them began.

2. They were later allowed to return, but under the constraint of "Regalism".
reforms did not become a reality in the distant colony of Brazil, the spirit of them did become an inspiration for generations to come. He moved the capital from Bahia to Rio de Janeiro in 1763 and established a new system of courts, but the isolated settlements scattered over the vastness of Brazil were finally ruled, not by the king or his agents, but by the great plantation owners, who exercised the power of life and death over their lordly domains. This rule of the "Big Man" was probably inevitable, but it has left an indelible imprint on all social and political activities in Brazil.

A REFUGE FOR THE THRONE OF PORTUGAL -- 1808-1815

The accession of the French Bourbons to the Spanish throne in 1700 had extended the influence of France and French ideas and provoked a desire in the enterprising "creoles" -- the South American-born pure blooded Iberian to see Paris before they died. This affected the entire Spanish side of South and Central America. The sons of rich landholders, merchants, and operators of mines used part of their profits to taste the glories of France. The ideas of Rouseau and Voltaire were felt all over the New World. The "Social Contract" and "Emile", were especially influential in North America, but also reached small intellectual circles of South America. The story of American Independence of 1776 reverberated in all the Americas. Brazil was least affected due to the closed ports, but 1788 had witnessed the first attempt at rebellion against Portuguese

1. In that year "Tiradentes" (the tooth-puller), Joaquim Jose da Silva Xavier had led an unsuccessful armed uprising. He was betrayed and beheaded April 21, 1792, and his followers exiled. But modern Brazil honours him in many ways.
rule. Then European events altered the course of Brazilian history. France and England were at war. Napoleon demanded a blockade of all English ports, but Portugal was bound by treaties to England and refused to bow before Napoleon. A French army under General Junot moved into Portugal November 1807; whereupon the British Minister, Lord Strangford and Admiral Sir Sidney Smith, who had a British fleet ready in the Tagus, arranged for the Prince Regent John and his mad Queen Mother to flee to Brazil until the crisis passed. On November 27, 1807, the royal court crowded into forty merchant ships and eight British men-of-war and sailed down the Tagus from Portugal. In January 1808 they landed in Bahia and soon moved on to Rio de Janeiro. The long neglected and abused colony must now be made fit for a king. Under British prodding the ports were opened to trade with all friendly powers, with special privileges granted to English merchants. Immigration was invited. A National Institute was created, and invitations were sent to European men of science, art, and letters. Among the innovations were a national bank, a military academy, a medical school, a printing press, a national library, and an art museum. The Irish Lord Strangford had negotiated the Treaty of Commerce with "toleration" within limits for Anglican worship. British traders, salesmen, and clergy were moving in.

The presence of royalty drew the great families to the capital. It marked the beginning of great social changes. The rich land-

1. The corner stone of the first Anglican (English Speaking) chapel was laid August 1819, fifty years to the day before the landing of Simonton, the first Presbyterian Missionary.
lords, the "fazendeiros" absented themselves from their plantations, and came to Rio to buy or receive titles, honours, and decorations, entrusting the supervision of their sugar and cotton fields and their herds of cattle to underlings.

DOMINION STATUS WITHIN THE EMPIRE OF PORTUGAL 1815-1822.

Events moved rapidly in Brazil. In December, 1815, Prince John signed an edict giving Brazil dominion status within the empire; in 1816 the mad Queen Mother died and John was crowned "John VI of the United Kingdom of Portugal, Brazil, and the Algarves." The pomp and dignity of the city increased.

Revolutionary events in the mother country which had followed the fall of Napoleon caused England to counsel the return of the monarch to Lisbon; the Prince however remained in Brazil. Tyrannical action of the Portuguese Parliament now added to the spirit of independence which had manifested itself in the rebellion of Tiradentes, and September 7, 1822, the young prince acting on the advice of his chief counsellor Jose Bonifacio and the advice of his wife Leopoldina, declared Brazil independent of Portugal. It was almost without bloodshed. The ubiquitous Scottish Lord Cochrane appeared in Rio de Janeiro with a tiny squadron manned by Brazilians, English, French, and a few Americans. He drove a hard bargain with the Emperor and set out to attack Bahia from the sea while the Brazilians attacked from the land.¹ He and his

lieutenants also helped drive the Portuguese from Maranhao and Para, and by 1823 Brazilian independence was secure. On December 1, 1822, the Prince was crowned Pedro I, Emperor of Brazil, by the Grace of God. Under the prodding of England, the mother country recognized Brazil's independence in 1825, and a new era was under way.

A new constitution was written in 1824 under which Brazil was ruled for 65 years. Parliament consisted of two houses, over which the emperor could exercise the power of veto, but which could override his veto by voting the same measure in three consecutive sessions. The judiciary, however, was declared independent of both emperor and parliament. The emperor was too arrogant and too expensive for the tastes of the people; he was openly unfaithful to his Queen, and finally the wrath of the people forced his abdication in 1831. He returned to Portugal leaving his five-year old son in the hands of a benevolent regency. The constitution had extended the "toleration" privileges granted to the English Church in 1810, to include the German and Swiss Lutheran, and other Christian, but non-Roman Catholic, churches. Concerning religion it had stated:

Article 5 -- The Apostolic Roman Catholic Religion will continue to be the State Religion. All other religions will be permitted to conduct their domestic or private worship in houses set apart for this purpose without any exterior resemblance to a Church.

Article 103 -- ...the Emperor must swear to uphold the Roman Catholic religion.
Article 179, paragraph 5 -- No one shall be persecuted for reasons of religion, once he respects that of the state. 

This was one great step forward -- the Imperial Constitution of 1824 guaranteed the private exercise of non-Catholic forms of religion not only to the foreigner, but also to the Brazilians themselves. This constitutional right was not always known or observed by local priests and local civil authorities dominated by local priests, but it was law, and could serve as a right of appeal. The Roman Catholic clergy continued to be supported by the public treasury, and some Lutheran pastors in the colonies were also paid by the Emperor. The Emperor following the Portuguese and Gallican tradition was given the right to appoint Bishops and the incumbents of ecclesiastical benefices and to grant or withhold the exequatur, to conciliar decrees, papal letters, and other ecclesiastical legislation. The papal authorities, conscious of the long European struggles over this problem, provoked a temporary rupture in relations with Brazil, but in the end "regalism" prevailed during the imperial period. In this period both Gallicanism and Jansenism were prominent in Brazil, and many bishops openly sided with the Emperor in his struggle with Rome.

2. This was usually in the contract before the colonies left Europe, but it was not always observed.
4. Regalism is the definition of this type of relation between Church and State.
5. Jansenism lingered longer in both Portugal and Brazil than in other countries. Jansenism probably opened the doors to the colporteurs and Bible distribution.
THE REGENCY AND PEDRO II -- 1831-1841

The period of the regency exercised certain influences over the young Prince, and the policies of the nation, which were significant in the moulding of modern Brazil. Pedro II was only five when his father abdicated. His first tutor, the stalwart old Jose Bonifacio, positivist and mason, loyal Brazilian and devotee of freedom and culture, took the little boy to his arms and to his heart. He was followed by the Marquis of Itanhaen, able, austere and deeply religious. The prince read enormously and acquired firm habits of study which made him the best-educated ruler of nineteenth-century Latin America. The first Regent was Evaristo da Veiga, Republican and influential editor, supported the monarchy as a protection against anarchy. He was followed by Father Feijo, loyal Catholic, who was disgusted at papal corruption and interference, and who favoured a Reform in the molds of the Anglican Church of Britain as the best thing for Brazil. He attempted wise reforms in the field of education and fought valiantly for the preservation of the empire. His successor, Araujo Lima, was also a man of integrity. This breathing spell in the establishment of a monarchy in the New World, gave time for men to see its value in the unifying of such a vast area, and also time to adapt it to the revolutionary thinking of the age. Probably most important, it allowed time for a young prince to grow up in its midst,

1. Leonard, op.cit., pp. 39-41. See also Feliciano Trigueiro, O Regalismo ou Imperio do Brasil, Revista dos Franciscanos do Nordeste XVII-XIX (Bahia, 1940-1941) p. 252. "A type of transplanted Anglican Church for our country".
tutored by men who belonged to the new age, but who were willing, for the time at least, to accept the unifying symbolism of a wise monarch. It was during this period that the Methodist Kidder visited Brazil in the interest of Bible distribution and was graciously received by Father Feijo. It was an important era in the preparation of the land for the coming of the Protestants.

THE EMPIRE  PEDRO II -- 1841-1889

In 1841 the South-American-born and South-American-trained prince was 16 years of age. He was six-feet-three and well shaped, robust, with blue eyes direct and clear, and his hair and full beard a glowing brown. He was endowed with a formidable ancestry: his forebears, Braganza, Bourbon and Hapsburg, were kings and emperors of Spain, Portugal, France, England, and Austria. Tutored by Positivists, Masons, and Jansenist priests, this Catholic Emperor, with anti-clerical bias, was the ruler of Brazil during the half century in which the Evangelical, Protestant Churches were planted in Brazil. Bound by a constitutional-oath to uphold the Roman-Catholic Church, his sympathies were often heavily loaded on the side of the Evangelical missionaries and their churches. In his extended visits to Europe and the United States he sought out scientists, philosophers, novelists, and poets: Alexander Graham Bell and his telephone, Pasteur, Victor Hugo, Herculano, Gobineau, Longfellow, Emerson, and Whittier. While

in America he sat on the platform of the Protestant evangelist Dwight L. Moody and listened with approval to the evangelical message. 1 In Brazil he had sought out the friendship of a famous Lutheran pastor 2 to discuss with him the German classics and botany, and later he went to the home of the Scottish medical-missionary, Dr. Kalley to learn more about the Holy Lands. 3 Pedro II was warmhearted in his personal devotion, but possessed with a restless curiosity, and a respect for the sincerity of all non-Roman Catholics. The majority of bishops were not ultra-montanists and supported the Emperor in his "regalism", but a serious problem arose when in 1865, the Pope pronounced a ban against all Freemasonry. The Emperor was a high ranking Freemason, as were many of his government, and also some of the Church officials. The Emperor refused to have the encyclical published in Brazil. He, like the rulers of France, possessed such authority under the concordat with the Vatican. Two ultramontanist bishops in the north of Brazil defied the emperor and were sentenced to imprisonment and hard labour. The emperor however lightened their sentences, and after a time liberated them completely. By punishing the bishops, he had lost some clerical support, but he did not punish them severely enough to please the Freemasons. The ultra-montanists

   Dr. Frederico Lippold, pastor of the German Lutheran Church at Petropolis c. 1846, also eminent botanist.
had long felt that he had restricted them unduly and began to plot revenge. It was the abolition of slavery which gave them their opportunity.

Dom Pedro II, on assuming the throne in 1840 had freed his personal slaves and had encouraged manumission on all occasions. He was a realist, however, and recognized that premature emancipation would ruin the plantation owners. The slave trade had been theoretically abolished in 1830, but not effectively until in 1850. Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation in the United States inspired Brazil to take action. The Rio Branco law of 1871 had provided that all children born to slave mothers should be free when they reached the age of twenty-one. In 1888, while Pedro was in Europe for his health, the abolitionists brought pressure to bear from the Parliament until Pedro's regent -- the Princess Isabel, herself an ardent abolitionist, signed a measure freeing the last seven hundred thousand slaves. The Liberals were demanding a Republic; the plantation owners, many ruined by abolition, turned against Pedro; and now the Roman Catholic Church saw its opportunity to get free from the restriction of the Concordats and Regalism. They joined the movement against the Emperor and the last page of a great chapter was turned. Pedro did nothing to stem the tide. He favoured a monarchy as a safeguard against the military dictatorships that were harassing Spanish America, but he did not cherish his royal prerogatives. The revolt came to a head in November, 1889; Pedro II agreed to abdicate. He quietly refused a pension, and left immediately for Lisbon, a lonely, sick, and broken man.
Shortly after their arrival his Queen Thereza died, and he went to France where within a year he also died in 1891. During nine years as Prince, and forty-eight years as Emperor, he had been the symbol that held one-half of the Latin American continent in unity. More important -- during this half century Brasil had been permitted to begin to realize the significance of the Reformation. During these years Dr. Kalley of Scotland had established the first Evangelical worship in the Brazilian language. His wife had organized the first Brazilian Sunday School, and the Sunday School movement had spread over the length and breadth of the land. They had prepared the first Evangelical hymnal. Ashbel Green Simonton, Presbyterian missionary from the United States had opened the first Presbyterian Work in Brazil, and Edward Lane of the Southern Presbyterian Church in the United States had not only opened evangelistic work but also the first of the great Protestant Christian Colleges of not only Brazil, but of South America. The Methodist and Baptist had begun work within the nation. Missionaries and colporteurs had contacted most of the interior with the Word of God. The Presbyterian Church of Brazil was formed into three Presbyteries and a Synod (1888). Evangelical faith and practice had become a part of the life of the nation.

In the Republic that was to follow from 1889 to 1930, and under the Dictatorship of Getulio Vargas from 1930 to 1945, and in the Second Republic from 1945 to 1964, and from the Revolution of 1964 onward, the separation of Church and State was a settled policy of the Brazilian government. Evangelical faith and worship had become a part of Brazilian life.
The People

Modern Brazil like Modern Latin America is the product of three great migrations. The first came from Asia sometime after the last glacial ice sheet had melted across the northern stretches of Siberia. The second came from Europe beginning some four and a half centuries ago. The third migration came from Africa in chains during the first three centuries of the European migration. Brazil is thus like the rest of the Americas a blood-child of old Asia, Europe, and Africa. Unlike the rest of the Americas its European blood was limited during the first three centuries almost entirely to Portugal, and this European blood and the African and Indian were freely mixed into a new blood line from the very beginning of the European migration. It was also from the very beginning a melting-pot of Portuguese, Indian, and African culture and religion. The "folk-religion" which emerged from this cultural melting-pot is known as Roman Catholic, but it is unique and different from the Roman Catholic religion in other lands.

THE INDIAN

The native Indians of the land that is Modern Brazil have not received the same anthropologist's interest as in some other parts of the New World. But his contribution to the social and religious life of the nation has probably been far greater than in the other

1. Hubert Herring in his History of Latin America gives an extended study of the Mayas, the Aztecs, and the Incas, but only a passing glance at the gentle and friendly Indians who first greeted the Portuguese on the shores of Brazil.
countries. It has been estimated that the aboriginal population of Brazil was between one and one and one-half million;\footnote{Angel Rosenblat, La Poblacion Indigena de America: Desde 1492 Hasta la Actualidad (Buenos Aires: Institucion Cultural Espanola, 1945). Cited by Wagley, loc. cit., p. 105. He estimates population in 1492 at one million. Charles Wagley, "The Indian Heritage of Brazil", in Smith and Marchant, Brazil, Portrait of Half a Continent (N.Y.: Dryden Press, 1951) p. 42 estimates perhaps one million. Although Kelsey, op. cit., p. 16, places the possibility as high as 3,500,000, this is probably too high.} approximately that of Portugal at the same period. Although a common language, a "lingua geral", did exist throughout most of Brazil, they did not have a central government as the Astecs or Incas, and therefore had to be approached or conquered tribe by tribe. The first contacts between the Portuguese and Indian were generally friendly.\footnote{They not only watched but imitated the first Mass on the beaches in 1500.} The Indian male, who had lived by hunting and fishing, was unhappy in the Jesuit villages; and in large part was only kept there by fear of the sword. Being nomadic and individualistic, he found slavery much more intolerable than the African. He soon learned to flee before the approach of the white man; but the Indian woman reacted differently. She was the farmer and homemaker in her native habitat, and her condition approached that of semi-servitude. She welcomed the attentions of the new-comers, the "white-gods" and was delighted to serve as wife, concubine, or slave. However meanly they treated her, it was generally better than anything she had known before. She was content to remain the homemaker and farmer, and did not complain when one of
the "white-gods" left her and her children: soon another would come, and it was she who provided the food and clothing for her progeny. The Jesuit missionaries complained that the Indian women made the advances, but Euclides da Cunha observed of the Portuguese that:

"...they were all guided by the aphorism of Barleus: ultra aequinocitialem non peccavi. Concubinage with the caboclas (Indian women) degenerated into open debauchery, from which not even the clergy were free."

The Indian woman, consort of the Portuguese, soldier, colonist, and administrator, nursed her mameluco child, and taught him the Indian beliefs and culture, religion and superstitions. The Brazilian society of the 16th and 17th centuries is largely founded upon families in which Indian or part Indian women were the consorts and mothers. The Indian animistic religion with its fetishism and spirit worship, the religion of the mother in the home, blended easily with the softened, lyric Portuguese-Roman Catholic religion with its many phallic and animistic elements; and again with the animism and spirit worship of the African slaves. The Indian maidens, consorts of the Portuguese, lost their Indian names, but the contribution of their blood and culture lives dramatically in Modern Brazil.

2. Mameluco -- the child part Portuguese and part Indian.
THE PORTUGUESE

Brazil with its native Indian people and culture was discovered by Portugal and ruled by Portugal throughout its formative centuries. Brazilian society has been called a "cultural mosaic" of Lusitanian, American Indian, and African elements, but the cultural models were the Portuguese, Catholic, aristocratic masters. Therefore Wagley¹ is right in stating that Brazil inherited the main body of its culture from Portugal, even though the cultures of Brazil and Portugal today are quite different.

The story of Portugal in some ways parallels that of Spain; but it also has distinct and unique differences. "As no American would venture to explain New England without reference to Old England, so Brazil must be studied against the background of Portugal..."² The land itself is tiny, only one-sixth of the Iberian peninsula, with an area of 35,510 square miles; only one-ninetieth the size of Brazil, and much of it a poor barren wasted land, but in general more favoured than Spain. The clear history of Iberia begins with the year 202 B.C., when Rome overcame Carthage and began a six-century rule of the Peninsula. Archaeologists point back to the Cromagnon Man and the invasion of the Iberians, the Celts and later the Phoenicians, a Semitic people, whose cities of Tyre and Sidon in Syria, controlled the trade of the Mediterranean world.

². Herring, op.cit., p. 58.
During the Golden Age of Greece, the Greeks competed with the Phoenicians for the trade of the peninsula, and shared their cultural wealth with the land, some of which can still be seen in remnants of buildings, sculptures, roads, bridges, and aqueducts, but perhaps even more important in social and political outlooks.\footnote{The Portuguese night clubs called "Fados" or "The Fates" seems to be linked in spirit to the old Greek plays which found even the Gods subject to the caprice of Fate. \textit{Even the religious life of Modern Brazil shares this fatalism.}} The Carthaginian rule gave Portugal an early African element in its total complex which was later to be intensified during eight centuries of Islamic African Moors. Seven centuries of Roman rule left an indelible mark on Portugal;\footnote{The name Portugal is derived from the Roman outpost -- Portus Cale which became Portucaleia and later the city of Oporto. See Herring, \textit{op.cit.}, p. 84, footnote.} they added to the gifts of Greeks and Phoenicians, the peculiar genius of Roman law, energy, and art. Christianity reached Portugal during the Roman period. By the end of the sixth century A.D. the Visigothic kings of northern Europe dominated the land. As early as 410 they had sacked Rome, and now they established in Spain and Portugal a Christianity dominated by Arianism, which, though, was finally officially rejected under pressure from the Church at Rome, left its mark upon the Portuguese faith.

The Islamic Moors, Moslem Berbers, of North Africa struck Portugal in 711 and were not fully expelled until the year that Columbus discovered America. These almost eight centuries have left a permanent influence upon the Portuguese-Roman Catholic faith which learned to accommodate itself to this situation, and
compartmentalize its life to conflicting loyalties and morals. The Moslems brought and created intellectual ardor; they were preservers and transmitters of Greek and Roman culture; they built great libraries and produced mathematicians and scientists throughout the entire Iberian peninsula -- a culture in many ways superior to central and northern Europe.¹

Independent Portugal was born of the Christian Reconquest. French troops joined the crusading armies against the Moslems; Henry of Burgundy married the daughter of the King of Castile and Leon -- was appointed Count of Burgundy, and the succeeding House of Burgundy, ruled for three centuries over the emerging Portugal, but subject to the Castilian kings. By 1147 the Moslems were driven from the northern and central part of Portugal and in 1176 the Pope recognized Portugal's king, but still Spain refused to relinquish its hold. England desiring an ally and buffer against Spain then entered the picture and sent English recruits² to fight against Spain. Spain was defeated in 1385, and the English helped oust the House of Burgundy and install the new dynasty of Aviz by marrying the daughter of John of Gaunt to the first king of the new dynasty -- to John I. The famous Treaty of Windsor was signed in 1386, assuring "an inviolable, eternal, solid, perpetual and true league of friendship, alliance, union" between the two nations - Portugal and England, a

¹ This was of course more true on the Spanish side of the peninsula, where for example Toledo became one of the most brilliant intellectual centres of Europe by the thirteenth century; but Portugal shared in this ferment.
² English influence had already begun during the Crusades
Treaty that was to "benefit both through the succeeding centuries, but principally England."¹ Queen Phillippa (daughter of John of Gaunt) filled her Anglo-Portuguese court with English influence, and her most famous half-English son, Henry the Navigator, governor of Algarve, founded the school of navigation² which laid the foundation for Portugal's bold sea expeditions and maritime empire. During the two centuries of the rule of the Aviz dynasty Portugal reached its greatest glory. It is also a period of tragic disintegration and finally disastrous failure. It ended with the death of the cardinal King Henry in 1580; there were no heirs, and Philipp II of Spain, with soldiers and gold, became also King of Portugal.

In 1640, thanks to Spain's preoccupation with European wars, Portugal, with the aid of England, again regained her freedom under John IV, the first of the Braganza dynasty. England and Portugal reaffirmed their old treaty of friendship and commerce in 1642. Under this dynasty gold and diamonds were discovered in Brazil making possible another short period of glory for the Lisbon throne.

It is evident that the Portuguese peoples and cultures that entered Brazil were not an extension of a conventional European state,

¹. This and the subsequent trade treaties were to make Portugal's Port wine famous in England and give Britain a market for woollen goods, but more than one Brazilian writer was to complain of its greater advantages to stronger England while England would reply that Portugal owed its birth and continued existence to England.

². This school gathered at Sagres the world's best map-makers, ship designers, navigators, and geographers. His interests were both scientific and economic; he would learn about the world and gather the riches of the East -- he would also strike blows at the enemies of Christ.
but represented, as Freyre states:

"a mixture of Europe and Africa, of Christianity and Mohammedanism..."  

and that the entire Iberian peninsula is:

a transition zone between two continents... and between two climates, two types of soil and vegetation, two races, two cultures, two conceptions of life, two ecological complexes and between Euro-Africa and Hispanic America... The result is that the Portuguese, like the Spanish and the Russians, are in more than a cultural and social aspects, a people with the "split" or Jekyll-Hyde personality... not only more dramatic but psychologically richer and culturally more complex by the fact that they have developed a special capacity to maintain contradictions and even to harmonize them..." 

AFRICAN

The third invasion of Brazil was involuntary; between four and five million Africans were brought in chains by the Portuguese to help resolve an economic problem -- that of manpower for the sugar and cotton plantations, and to work in the mines; and a social problem -- to furnish house-slaves, concubines, and mistresses. It seems highly probable that the majority of slaves taken to North America were the swamp negro of West Africa (imported to work in the cotton plantations), but the slaves that came to Brazil came from many parts of Africa. Africa is the second largest of the continents

2. Ibid., pp. 2-3.
3. In a moment of misguided patriotism, Ruy Barbosa, provisional minister of the new Republic of Brazil in 1889 ordered the archives on slavery burned, however, Dr. Renato Mendonca, from a careful study of colonial and imperial custom reports, estimates that 4,830,000 Africans were brought to Brazil. Kelsey, op.cit., p. 23.
with an area of 11,500,000 square miles, and in its long history had received many migrations and developed a great variety of peoples, religions, and social customs. The slaves brought to Brazil came from many parts of Africa and with them came a great variety of cultures. Gilberto Freyre in a search through an early newspaper in the north of Brazil in the "Fugitive Slaves" and "For Sale" advertisements discovered a long list -- He states:

"I gathered from the "For Sale" and "Fugitive Slave" advertisements the following names of African 'nations': Camundongo or Cambungongo, Angola, Mocambique, Cacanje, Congo, Rebolo, Benguela, Muxicongo, Mana, Cabinda, Calabar, Angico, Cabunda, Costa, Gabro (Gabon), Gega, Quizamá, Beni or Benim, Costa de Nagou, Loanda, Quelimano, Songa or Songo, Mago, Baca, Mazango, Ubaca or Embaca, Ganguela, Malemba, Macanganga, Costa de Caxeu, Senze, or Senge, Ibanara, and Bude or Bufe."

Braz de Amaral identifies the following stocks:

"Yorubas, Egbas, Geges, Daomelanos, Ijejas, Angolas, Minas, Haussas, Kru manos, Filanios, Timinis, Bengos, Galinhas, Effans, Ashantis, Cabindas."

Many of these had a strong mixture of Berber, Hamitic, and Arabic blood. The pure "Fula-Fulos" as well as the mixed Fulahs from Senegambia, Portuguese Guinea, and adjacent coastal regions, were sometimes called "blacks of the white race". They were a reddish-copper-coloured people with wavy and almost straight hair, and occasionally bluish eyes. Kelsey states:

1. Gilberto Freyre, The Masters and the Slaves op.cit., p. 303. The author has a list nearly as large from the newspapers in Rio de Janeiro at the middle of the 19th century.
"...the rich colonists of North Brazil imported also Fula-Fulos, Africans that some authorities do not consider Negros at all. Tall with wavy hair, oval faces, clear skins, and in customs and culture very like the whites, they came as 'friends, mistresses and housekeepers' for the womanless Portuguese. And the rich miners of Minas Geraes, almost to a man, had among their slaves at least one negress from Mina of 'delicate features, relative beauty, and besides healthy, intelligent and affectionate'.

Many of these tribes were "non-literate" in that they did not possess a written language, but they did possess unwritten traditions, economic institutions, art forms, religious beliefs, and a highly complex society. These men seized from their homes, shackled and sold to the slaver, packed into the eighteen inches between the decks of a slave-ship, carried to Brazil, baptized in mass into the Portuguese-Roman-Catholic faith, transferred their talents, temperaments, beliefs, and physical traits to their new surroundings. African cattle raising, farming, arts, patterns of family and community life, the well developed mythology of Gods, and Mohammedianism were all part of the cultural heritage they brought. Most important of all, he brought himself --

"...his temperament and his personality: his 'unfathomable gaiety', his genial disposition, his love of life, his adaptability, his sense of humour, and withal, his gentle melancholy. The Brazilian owes some of his most distinctive and charming traits to the infectious qualities of his Negro compatriots, if not to his own Negro blood. The typical Brazilian is carefree and uncomplicated -- and almost always gay. There is no sullenness in his soul."²

As Gilberto Freyre has stated:

"Every Brazilian, even the light-skinned fair-haired one, carries about with him on his soul, when not on soul and body alike...the shadow, or, at least the birthmark, of the aborigine or the Negro."  

The men from Portugal who colonized and ruled Brazil had long been conditioned to accept and assimilate this African contribution. Their close proximity with Africa, and the long centuries of domination by the Mohammedan African Moors, had generated concepts quite different from those of northern Europe. During that period ---

"...the darker man was the more cultured, more learned, more artistic. He lived in castles and occupied the towns. He was the rich man and the Portuguese became serfs upon the land. Under such conditions, it could be deemed an honor for the white to marry or mate with the governing class, the brown man, instead of the reverse".

The brown woman or the Moorish girl had become the Portuguese ideal of feminine beauty and of sexual attractiveness. There was no legend of "black inferiority". The prevailing low moral standards of all Europe\(^2\) in the late middle ages,\(^4\) the Portuguese-Roman-Catholic accommodation to the Moorish taste for concubinage or polygamy, and the absence of Portuguese white women had all combined to create in Brazil a tumultuous mixing of races in which the African

3. Cp. the history of Scotland, Cardinal Beaton's illegitimate offspring, etc.
4. Alexander Clarence Flick, The Decline of the Medieval Church, Vol. II (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1930) p. 441. "It is doubtful whether a more corrupt or vile condition of society has appeared in the world's civilization than that of Europe in the 14th and 15th century". "1500 'Christian harlots' attended the Councils of Constance and Basel". Ibid. p. 443. Freyre is wrong to attribute such conditions only to Portugal in those centuries.
blood entered freely. The interaction resulting from this confrontation and acceptance of each other has been likened to the mixture of sand, lime, and cement which form mortar, plaster, or concrete pillars according to the varied mixtures, but each a different substance from its component ingredients. So emerges modern Brazil.¹

B. A Brief Survey of Religious Life in Brazil Prior to 1610.

Catholic Beginnings

The journey of Pedro Alvares Cabral, which resulted in the official discovery of Brazil, began with a religious service.² A high mass was held in the unfinished chapel of the monastery of Bethlehem, attended by King Manuel, the grandees of his court, and a vast multitude of the people. Bishop Ortiz preached eloquently in praise of the admiral; the bishop then blessed the royal standard of the fleet and the hat which Pope Alexander had sent Cabral, which the King then placed on the admiral's head. The King and the admiral then led the procession to the water front, the latter bearing the royal standard upon which was emblazoned, as

¹. The most recent census placed the population of Brazil at 88,300,000 of whom fifty-five percent are classified as white, thirty percent mixed, and twelve percent Negro, and between one and two percent Oriental. Ninety-six percent are claimed by the Roman Catholic Church by virtue of baptism at birth or being born in a Roman Catholic home. However Brazilian definition of white, mixed, black and Roman Catholic may not strictly agree with European standards.

upon the sails of the waiting ships, the cross of the Order of Christ. The day was the 9th of March 1500; forty-four days later, April 22, a mountain appeared on the horizon and was named Mount Paschal, as it was the Easter season, and four days later on the 26th April the first Roman Catholic Mass was celebrated in Brazil. Frei Basilio Rower\(^1\) quoting from the early records\(^2\) gives an exciting picture of the event. With Cabral were eight Franciscan Missionaries en route to India; their leader Frei Henrique hung a banner of the Cross over a rude altar and in the presence of the Portuguese sailors and the curious Indians celebrated the mass, and then preached a sermon in which he affirmed that it was in remembrance and obedience to the cross they had made the voyage and discovery. On the 1st of May, a Friday, the land, island or continent, was claimed in the name of Christ and the King, and given the name Ilha da Vera Cruz.\(^3\) A great cross was erected and another mass celebrated, after which Frei Henrique preached on the Gospel and the Apostles of the day which were St. James and St. Philip. Again the scene was attended by the Indians of the place. These eight Franciscans went on to India with Cabral, but in time others came to Brazil. In 1532 a secular priest Gonçalo Monteiro, and two Franciscans were at Sao Vicente with Martim

\(^2\) quotes from Frei Vincente do Salvador, O.F.M. Historia do Brazil 3 ed. 1931; Frei Apolâncario da Conceição, O.F.M. Epitome 1730 paragraph 3; Idem. Primazia serafica 1733. Cap. II, 9,10. and others.
\(^3\) Island of the True Cross
Alfonso de Sousa, the founder of the city. However, in general, the scattered colonists were spiritually neglected -- in fact the early colonies contained a high proportion of political exiles and exiled criminals, and their priests were often men who were given the choice of being defrocked for crimes against society, or becoming missionaries to the far-off never-never land of Brazil.

In 1549 Tome de Souza was appointed capitain-general of Brazil and arrived in Bahia March 29th 1549 with six vessels, one thousand men of whom four hundred were exiles and six were members of the newly founded Society of Jesus -- the Jesuits. The Jesuits were especially commissioned to evangelize the Indians while secular priests were to care for the spiritual welfare of the colonists. It was the beginning of a long and bitter struggle, with the plantation owners and the secular priests and plantation-chaplains on one side, and the Jesuits on the other side. It was not a struggle between the capitalism of the plantation owners and the poverty of "Orders"; the Jesuit centers soon became great plantations with African slaves and semi-forced labour of the converted Indians. It was a struggle for power, although in the main the Jesuits were more conscious of moral wrongs, more influenced by discipline, and were better theologians. The development of the great plantation system has already been noted. The history of the Brazilian Roman Catholic Church in the first centuries is in large part a history of the plantation chapels and their chaplains; the pressure of these great land-owners penetrated even the towns and cities. The "big house" of the sugar- and coffee-planters, besides
being a residence for a large family with its many domestic slaves, was also hospital, church with a private chaplain, orphan asylum fortress in case of attacks from wild Indians, and bank in whose thick, solid stone or brick walls jewels, money or other valuables were kept. The dead of the family were buried in tombs of the chapel, which itself was named after some of the women of the owner's family and is somehow linked to the worship of the Virgin Mary. As Freyre wrote:

"In Brazil one finds that the cult of the Virgin Mary was associated in so intense a way with the plantation complex that a large number of the old plantation houses, or "big houses" had their chapels named not only after the owner's family, but with the name of his wife, or mother, or daughter, under the disguise of one of the many denominations given in Latin countries to the Virgin Mary, respectively preceded by the royal treatment of Our Lady: Our Lady of the Good News, of the Good Voyage, of the Good Hopes, of the Good Deliverance -- a particularly maternal denomination -- of the Perpetual Divine Assistance, of Grief, of Solitude. In many instances, it was this mystical Lady -- a sort of goddess who more than God or Christ was supposed to take care of the whole plantation and to protect against all sorts of enemies -- who was made the godmother of the female slave children, born on the plantation and baptized in its chapel by the plantation chaplain, who generally was a subordinate rather of the plantation lord than of his bishop, baptized with the name of the particular Virgin Mary under whose protection the entire plantation lived, and whose name was the name of the lady of the house and of her oldest daughter."

While the Jesuits struggled heroically to reduce the Indian language to writing,¹ and to gather the baptized Indians by the

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2. Jose de Anchieta in the sixteenth century reduced the Tupi language to writing, prepared a grammar and a dictionary, which disappeared soon afterward and Southey writing in 1810 is searching desperately for a copy. Robert Southey, History of Brazil (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees and Orme, Paternoster Row, 1810) p. vii.
thousands into their fortified mission villages (redução in Portuguese), teach them the arts of scientific farming, and in the process use them as semi-slaves on the vast Jesuit sugar plantations, which were making their Order rich and powerful; the secular priests, caring for the Portuguese colonists, found the major part of their work in these plantation chapels. The evils were however not all inherent in the social system of the New World; their roots often went far back into Portugal itself. Roger Bastide, professor in the University of Sao Paulo, with good reason wrote:

"To understand Brazilian Catholicism, especially in its Colonial form, it is necessary to begin with a Portuguese Catholicism."

and he continued:

"This never assumed the tragic aspect of Spanish Catholicism, brutal and mystical, and inclined always toward death or ecstasy. It was softer and more humane...was a Catholicism which had fallen under the influence of the Moors, softened by North African sensuality and Moslem voluptuousness, but that made place for the saints of the Reconquest, Knights caparisoned in iron and with lance in hand."

The first Bishop of Lisbon, when Portugal gained its independence from Spain at the close of the 12th century, was an Englishman,


2. Roger Bastide, "Religion and the Church in Brazil," in Smith and Marchant, p. 335.
Gilbert of Hastings, and the British genius of compromise was added to the religious melting pot.

Speaking of the Mozarabic Catholicism of Portugal, Freyre wrote:

"Nor was their religion the hard and rigid system of the Reformed countries of the North or even the dramatic Catholicism of Castile itself; theirs was a liturgy social rather than religious, a softened lyric Christianity with many phallic and animistic reminiscences of the pagan cults... a Christianity that was lyrically social, a cult of the family rather than a religion of the church or cathedral -- and the Portuguese incidentally never erected great and dominant church edifices of the type to be found at Toledo or at Burgos, just as in Brazil such structures were never to attain the importance and prestige that they had in Spanish America."\(^2\)

This lyric, social, phallic, animistic family religion inherited from Portugal took on in Brazil also aspects of ancestor worship. In the plantation chapels, side by side with the pictures and images of the saints, were the pictures of the dead members of the family.\(^3\) Their niche became a shrine where candles were burned and prayers were said. In the latter part of the nineteenth century these chapel walls also carried pictures of revolutionary

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1. William G. Atkinson, *British Contributions to Portuguese and Brazilian Studies* (London: Longmans, Green and Co. Ltd., 1945) p. 7. "The recognition of Portugal was but four years old when, in 1147 Englishmen and Flemings bound for the Second Crusade were instrumental, with Alfonso Enriques, first King of Portugal in seizing Lisbon, whereby the new kingdom secured at once a capital and the Tagus as its southern frontier. These Englishmen...were men of East Anglia under Hervey Glanville, of Kent under Simon of Canterbury, of London under Andrew of London, of Hampshire and Hastings under William Calf. Some Affonso persuaded to settle in his dominion, and they founded great families. One, Gilbert of Hastings he made first Bishop of Lisbon, and the first cultural link was forged.


and political heroes of France, the United States, as well as Brazil.

Within the concepts of this "familial Catholicism" the colonists were profoundly Catholic. The whole life of the plantation was under the sign of Catholicism from the harvest festivals to the grinding of the cane. The children of the patriarchs were taught Portuguese, Latin, Prayers, and the catechism by the chaplain. There was mass every Sunday in the rustic chapels and the slaves were catechized. Even the Bandeirantes\(^1\) who did not hesitate to attack and destroy the Jesuit Missions of Guira and capture their Indians did not depart on their adventurous expedition without celebrating mass and taking their chaplain along.\(^2\) When they later discovered the first gold-bearing rivers, they consecrated the first-found gold to the crown of the Holy Virgin.\(^3\)

In the nineteenth century a spirit of skepticism and atheism broke in upon the men of Brazil, but this was less true in the beginning.

"In the seventeenth and even in the eighteenth century there was not a white gentleman, however indolent, who would avoid the effort involved in the sacred duty of kneeling before the saints in prayer -- prayers that were uttered sometimes endlessly drawn out by Negroes and mulattos. The rosary, the chaplet of our Lord, the litanies...they would leap out from the hammocks to go and pray in the oratories, for this was an obligation that must be fulfilled. They would go rosary in hand, and with holy medals, reliquaries, scapulars, St. Anthony hung about their necks, everything that was needed for their prayers and devotions."\(^4\)

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1. The name Bandeirante comes from bandeira or flag or standard which the explorers carried as they sought for gold, diamonds, or slaves in the interior. They travelled through the unchartered jungle in large companies and at times stopped to plant and harvest before going on.

2. Bastide, Religion and the Church in Brazil, in Smith and Alexander, Brazil, Portrait of Half a Continent, p. 336.

3. Ibid., p. 336.

The "familial Catholicism" of the colonists and the patriarchs existed side by side with the more Roman and universalist Catholicism of the Orders as it cared for the Indian and sought to establish schools. Both suffered under the impact of the environment, but the "familial Catholicism" possessed neither inflexibility of dogma or puritanism of conduct. It was all indulgence, softened by the heat of the tropics and by the sensuality of the Negro womanhood. It let itself be contaminated by the superstition of the Indians and the religions of the Africans -- by belief in forest spirits, water mothers, and love potions. It scarcely lifted a voice against the cruelty of the masters toward the slaves, against the polygamy of whites and slaves, nor the sadism of the white wife and mother jealous of her husband's coloured mistress. It was a "Catholicism that was more a climate of feeling than an educating spiritual life". The lack of priests led to an overemphasis on the "sacristan", the "resadores" (one who prays) the "benzedor" (one who blesses) and the gradual development of a Brazilian "folk religion" in the name of Roman Catholicism.

1. This development of a lay "folk religion" had affinities with the Brotherhood movement in Holland and like them prepared the way for the Protestant churches.
One and One-Half Centuries of Occasional Protestant Contacts

The first three centuries of Brazilian history under the Portuguese may be almost equally divided as they relate to contact with Protestantism. There was the occasional contact with an individual Protestant adventurer, soldier of fortune, or shipwrecked individual, and a short-lived attempt by both the French and the Dutch to establish a Protestant settlement in the land. The record of the individual Protestants who visited Brazil during this first one and one-half centuries is largely limited to certain individuals who later returned to Europe and published their own account. One of these was Hans Staden who published in Marburg in 15571 an account of his adventures in Brazil and of his evangelical faith that sustained him in the most difficult hours. He had left Germany with plans to visit India; unable to do this at the time he took a ship bound for the present land of Argentina, but was shipwrecked off the Southern coast of Brazil some distance south of Sao Vicente. He mentions coming into contact with another German -- Heliodoro Eobano2 who was at the time manager and book-keeper for a large sugar-mill owned by an Italian José Adorno from Genoa.

This man was the son of Helio Eobano Hessen (1448-1540), a famous humanist of Erfurt and Marburg, and close friend of the Reformer

1. Hans Staden, Warhaftige Historia und beschreibung eyner Landschafft de wilden...Marburg, 1557; later in Portuguese Hans Staden, Suas viagens e cativeiro entre os indios do Brazil (Sao Paulo: Cia. Editora Nacional, 1945).
2. Heliodora Eobano later became a guide for expeditions into the interior of Brazil as far as the present State of Parana, and is believed to have later given his life as a soldier fighting for Brazil. Henriqueza Rosa Fernandes Braga, Musca Sacra Evangelica no Brazil (Rio de Janeiro: Livraria Kosmos Editora, 1960), p. 31ff.
Martin Luther. Shortly after coming in contact with Bobano, Staden was captured by the Tupinambás -- a savage Indian tribe addicted to cannibalism. While wounded and awaiting what seemed certain death he records how he prayed and sang Luther's version of Psalm 130 -- "Aus tiefer Noth schrei ich zu dir". The savage canibals were apparently enchanted with his singing and postponed his death until they could hear more and understand the significance. Before being captured he had learned their language, and was able to explain the meaning of the Gospel, and teach them other Psalms and prayers. Fortunately he had some literary ambitions and when he was able to return to his native land, he wrote of his adventures. The number and the story of those Protestants who did not escape, or who had no desire or opportunity to write, remains untold. However it may be assumed that a considerable number also sang the Reformation songs of Luther -- men like Bobano or Hans Staden or Ulrico Schmidel

1. Ibid., p. 33. This had been written by Luther in 1523 and published in 1524 in Wittenberg, in the first collection edited by Luther: Etlich Christlich Lieder Lobgesang und Psalm, or Achtliederbuch. This was one of Luther's favourite hymns, and was sung at his funeral in 1546. It was translated into Portuguese by Mrs. Sarah Kalley and included in their first Brazilian hymn book (Ssalmos e Hinos), also in 1955 was included in a choral collection made by Professor Isaac Nicolau Salum, adapted to music by Bach.

2. Ulrich Schmidel, Wahrhaftige Beschreibunge aller und mancherley sorg feltigen Schifffarten... (Frankfort am Main, 1567) later in Spanish, Ulrich Schmidel, Viaje al Rio de La Plata (Buenos Aires, 1903). He travelled to Argentina in 1534, later went inland and then made the six months journey afoot to Sao Vicente, Brazil. Aided by the book-keeper of the sugar mill of Jose Adorno he embarked on a French freighter to Europe and later took an active part in the Reformation in Bavaria. Henriqueta Braga, op.cit. p. 31.
who travelled afoot from Assunção in Paraguay to São Vicente and later returned to Europe to write his travels.

The first attempt to plant a Protestant colony in Brazil was made by the French in 1555. A curious mixture of motives prompted the venture: the leader, Vice-admiral Nicolas Durand de Villelaignon, was seeking to regain fortune and fame in the New World, France was seeking territory, and John Calvin and the Huguenots were responding to a missionary challenge. The Huguenot Admiral Gaspar de Coligny saw in the venture an asylum for French Protestants who were being persecuted in France, and secured the aid of Henry II, who placed two armed ships at Villelaignon's disposal, as well as ten thousand pounds. Artisans were employed, and a number of criminals were added to the expedition to provide the necessary labour. The ships sailed from Havre July 15, 1555, and arrived at Rio de Janeiro on November 10th of this same year. A fort was established on an island in the bay of what is modern Rio de Janeiro.¹ A request was then made to John Calvin at Geneva for two Protestant ministers and a nucleus of colonists of good character. A second expedition arrived at Rio de Janeiro, March 7, 1557 with three hundred persons including fourteen Huguenots, two of whom were ministers.

On March 10, 1557, the two ministers, Pierre Richier and Guillaume Chartier, conducted divine worship -- the first Protestant religious service to be held on Brazilian soil.² On March 21 Holy

1. The Island of Villelaignon in the Guanabarra Bay of Rio de Janeiro is at the present time occupied by the Naval school and its buildings.

2. Upon landing the first missionaries sang Psalm 5 and Peter Richier preached from Ps. 27:4. Jean de Lery "Viagem a terra do Brazil", p. 77.
Communion was celebrated in the simplicity of the French Reformed Church. On this occasion Villegaignon and an ex-Dominican, Jean Cointac, made public profession of the French Reformed Articles of Faith and abjured their belief in papism. Villegaignon was the first to partake of the Communion; and during the service offered two public prayers. Cointac, the ex-Dominican, could not accept the simplicity of the French Reformed Communion Service. He complained of the "lack of proper vestments, sacred vessels, unfermented bread and the mixing of water with the wine." Chartier and Richier, with unyielding firmness, declared that the Scriptures do not command these things and that they personally intended to adhere to what Jesus Christ did and taught as it was revealed in the Scriptures. They further reminded the colony that they had been promised that the religious life of the colony would be governed by the teachings of Geneva. The majority of the colony agreed to abide with the Huguenot pastors, but Villegaignon wavered and sided with Cointac. It was the beginning of a sad and bitter struggle. Villegaignon prohibited first the sacraments, then preaching, and finally outlawed prayer meetings until the problem could be mediated by the Sorbonne and Geneva. Chartier was sent back to France for instructions, but in the meantime the tensions became so great that the Protestants were expelled from the island to the mainland. They booked passage to France on a neutral French ship, the Jacques, which had put into port for supplies and repairs. Shortly after sailing the Jacques began to sink, and five of the Calvinists volunteered to take the lifeboat and attempt to return to land to
lighten the load and lessen the strain on the scanty food supplies. These five, Jean du Bordel, Mattieu Verneuil, Pierre Bourdon, Andre La-Fon, and Jacques Le Balleur, after twelve days of struggle with storms and hunger, reached land, only to face imprisonment at the hands of Villegaignon. He presented them with a series of theological questions and demanded a written answer within twelve hours. They were laymen but they did not hesitate to set down in clear terms what they believed concerning the Sacraments, God, man, Jesus Christ, marriage, oaths, the mediation of Jesus Christ and the life after death. Villegaignon read the statements and demanded an immediate recantation under penalty of death. They spent the night singing psalms and encouraging each other. In the morning, three -- Bordell, Verneuil, and Bourdon were strangled and thrown into the sea.


3. The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Brazil at their first meeting in 1910, conducted a memorial service for these martyrs on the exact spot of their execution. An address was made by Alvaro Rais, pastor of the church founded by Simonton, in which he reviews the story of their faith and martyrdom. Joao M.G. dos Santos, pastor of the Church founded by Dr. Kalley then read Psalm 5 and led in a prayer which began with these words: "Lord Jesus Give us Brazil for Christ. Grant, O Heavenly Father that all the evangelical denominations shall cooperate in the most complete union for this work...."

La-Fon was the only tailor in the colony and was spared under promise not to disseminate his religious views. Balleur escaped to the mainland where he continued his mission-activity for a time, but was taken prisoner by the Inquisition and executed in 1567. So ended the hopes for a French Protestant colony in Brazil.

The ex-Dominican Cointac, who had led Villegaignon into the disagreement with the Huguenot ministers, later fell into disgrace with Villegaignon and was exiled. He allied himself with Protestants at Sao Vicente, and when the Portuguese general Mem de Sa\' was attacking the French in Rio de Janeiro, Cointac revealed the secrets of the French Fort and brought about their defeat. By 1567 the French had been completely expelled from the southern part of Brazil.

Was Cointac and later Villegaignon sincere in their disagreement concerning the liturgy of the Lord's Supper? If the rugged uncompromising Huguenot ministers had been less dogmatic in the beginning would the disaster have been averted? After all, not all Protestants have agreed on points of liturgy. Or was Villegaignon a traitor from the beginning? These are unanswered questions. Varnhagen, the Brazilian historian, put the tragic story in these words:

"If the necessary harmony had reigned in this colony from the first, and if the French colonists, already safe from the Indians, had moved from Villegaignon Island to the continent at the arrival of the awaited reinforcements, and developed the land which proprietorship gives when earned by one's own sweat, perhaps no one would have ever been able to have dislodged them; and at least Rio de Janeiro and its environs would belong to France...or be an independent French colony..."

At least, Protestants in Brazil must remember that an important element in the disaster that wrecked the hopes of the first Protestant colony in Brazil were dissensions about the liturgy of the Lord's Supper.

The second attempt to establish a Protestant colony in Brazil was made by the Dutch, during the period of the so-called "Spanish Domination" (1580-1640) when Holland and Spain were at war, and Portugal with its colonies were under Spanish rule. The Dutch began to attack Brazil in 1624 and by 1635 occupied a twelve hundred miles span of Brazilian seacoast. Chaplains of the Dutch Reformed Church came with the soldiers and sailors\(^1\) and pastors came with the colonists. During the years of their occupation the Dutch brought a total of about forty pastors, eight missionaries to work with the Indians, and a large number of lay workers — a type of visitor for the sick called "consoladores de enfermos" (those who console the sick). They were under the direct supervision of the Dutch Reformed Church in Holland and the full account of their activities were kept in the archives in Holland and have recently been translated into Portuguese.\(^2\) Churches were established throughout the region they occupied and elders were duly elected in all the principal congregations.

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2. The original source is the Kronick van het Historisch Genootschap Gevestingd te Utrecht-Zeade Serie Vierde Deel, translated into the Portuguese by Dr. Pedro Souto Maior under the title, Religiao Christao Reformada no Brasil no Seculo XVII (Actas dos Synodos e Classes do Brasil, no seculo XVII, durante o dominio hollandez). This translation was published in 1912.
Two presbyteries were formed and finally a synod was established. Political councils were set up in Recife and Paraiba to examine identification documents, to receive and issue letters of transfer, to perform weddings, and to pass judgment upon moral conduct.\(^1\) The Dutch Reformed Church was puritanical in discipline and doctrine, but 'liberty of conscience and of worship' was guaranteed by the civil government under Maurice of Nassau. He did however refuse to support Roman Catholic priests out of public funds. Orphanages\(^2\) and education\(^3\) and religious education for slaves\(^4\) were given serious consideration, as well as profanation of the Sabbath.\(^5\) Worship patterns seemed to follow quite closely to the established norms of the Dutch Reformed Church in Holland. However Freyre finds evidence that the indolence and easy-going life of the tropics made its inroads upon Dutch worship and morals alike.

The failure of this second attempt to establish a Protestant colony in Brazil is not due to the failure of the Church, but to Holland's involvement in the turmoils of Europe. The Dutch withdrew from Brazil in 1654 taking their tools, slaves, and technicians to the West Indies, where their superior skills and command of shipping gave them a lead in the competition for world markets to

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2. *Actas...seculo XVII*, October 17, 1641. Session 5. See footnote 2, p. 70. This simplified form will be used in reference to the records of the Dutch Reformed Church in Brazil in the 17th Century.
the detriment, if not disaster, for Brazil. As the Dutch departed
the religious liberty they had striven so hard to introduce into
the New World also disappeared, and with it all outward traces of
the Dutch Reformed Churches and their evangelical worship. A
leading Evangelical of Brazil wrote:

"In 1636 the first "classes" of the Dutch Reformed
Church in Brazil met on 16th December, when eight ministers
and five elders were present. Among the churches enrolled
was one wholly made up of members of the British community,
which met in the fort, in Recife, under the pastorage of
Samuel Batiler. The last record is a letter, dated 23rd
November, 1649, by a deputy from the Brazil "classes", but
after the restoration of Portuguese rule in 1654 the last
remnants of this church, which had deeply influenced some
native Indian tribes, were completely wiped out."

But as the sociologists have pointed out -- the "time of the
Flemings" left its permanent mark on the North of Brazil, making
it forever different from all the rest of the nation, and certainly
one of the outstanding elements of that "time" was the Reformed
Faith and Worship and religious liberty; the memory and fruit of
Evangelical worship lived on, though driven underground by the
Inquisition.

One and One-half Centuries Isolated from Protestant Faith and Worship

The "Spanish Interlude" or "Spanish Domination" of Portugal
and its colonies ended in 1640; the Dutch embroiled with European
problems saw fit to withdraw from Brazil in 1654; events which
coincided with a new epoch of Portuguese Colonial rule in Brazil

1. Erasmo Braga, The Republic of Brazil, op.cit., p. 47. The
underlining is mine.
under the Braganza dynasty. From the standpoint of faith and worship it was not a happy period. The Jesuits, Benedictines, the Carmelites and other Orders who were becoming owners of vast plantations with Negro slaves and their tens of thousands of unpaid Indian workers, who also served as a trained army defending their missions, were providing economic competition to other plantation owners. The plantation owners complained to the government; also the secular priests serving on the Portuguese plantations complained that the Jesuits were too rich and too self-righteous. The tensions increased until finally, in 1640, the Jesuits were temporarily expelled from Sao Paulo; then in the North of Brazil they suffered a brief exile. The main issues were economic and political, not religious; in 1759 they were expelled from Portugal, Brazil, and all Portuguese colonies by order of Pombal in Lisbon.

This inner-struggle between the secular and the religious Orders, and between the plantations owned by the Orders and the

1. The Jesuits were not the only owners of great plantation owners. Freyre, The Masters and the Slaves, op. cit. 442 ff. "The order... of St. Benedict -- together with the Carmelites were great landed proprietors and slave-owners in Brasil. Sugar-planter in a monk's robe..." See also Bastide in Smith and Marchant, op. cit., p. 336. The Benedictines the Carmelites and the Franciscans allowed themselves to be won over the more at least by the conditions of the economic life of Brazil and transformed their convents into 'casa grandes' with plantations, mills and a large slave force."


3. The Jesuits were also expelled from France in 1764, and from Spain and her possessions in 1767. In 1773 Pope Clement XIV dissolved the Society of Jesus, and although it was again reconstituted in 1814, the "regalism" exercised by the Emperor of Portugal and later in Brazil, prevented the Jesuits from regaining extensive powers in Brazil throughout the nineteenth century.
Portuguese land-owners, did not open any door for the entrance of non-Roman Catholics. The Inquisition now effectively closed all ports to those who professed the Protestant faith. As Erasmo Braga stated:

"The 'dark age' in the colonial period of Brazil is the eighteenth century. The activities of the Inquisition reduced the industrial and agricultural pursuits of the country. 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. Foreigners were absolutely excluded. In 1800 Baron Humboldt was forbidden to visit the country, the Portuguese Government informing its delegate in Para that the great savant might infect the minds of the people with 'new ideas and false principles.'"

Armitage, who continued the historical studies of Southey declared that Brazil, one of the most beautiful and fertile regions of the world, had been deprived of all communication with European nations except Portugal, and deserved pity when compared with Europe. Freyre wrote of this period:

"we may note the custom of having a friar board every ship that enters a Brazilian port, that he might be able to examine the conscience, faith, and religion of the arrival. The thing that barred an immigrant in those days was heterodoxy, the blot of heresy upon the soul, and not any racial brand upon the body. It was a question of religious health; and syphilis, buboes, smallpox, and leprosy might enter freely being brought in by Europeans and Negroes alike from various places. For the danger lay not in the fact that the individual was a foreigner or that he might be unhygienic or cacogenic; it lay in the possibility of being a heretic. Let him be able to say the Our Father and Hail Mary, to recite the Apostles' Creed, and to make the sign of the cross -- let him be able to do this and the foreigner was welcome in colonial Brazil. The Friar was there aboard ship to investigate the individual's orthodoxy just as today the immigrant's health and race are investigated."
The "dark age" of colonial Catholicism in Brazil was further accentuated by financial difficulties within the Church stemming out of the "regalism" which had its beginning in 1551, fifty-one years after the discovery of Brazil. At that time the Pope had designated King John III and his successors forever Grand Masters of the Order of Christ, and made them responsible for propagating the faith, naming of Bishops, collecting and spending of Church funds, and supervision of Church courts. For various reasons the king and his successors had always been very frugal in the administering of funds to support the clergy and their work in Brazil, until the work within the land had remained largely that of the "plantation chaplain". This condition was altered by the discovery of gold in Brazil in 1692, and diamonds in the 1720's. The effect of this was two-fold: first, the land became more than ever sealed off and isolated from all outside contacts to prevent contraband activities smuggling the precious gold and diamonds out of the country without paying the royal taxes, and secondly the building of lavish church edifices.

Kelsey describes the measures taken to prevent contraband activities:

"To make sure, that every grain of dust -- and every carat of diamonds -- reached it, the Court prohibited schools in Minas Geraes; for 120 years not a single school was opened.

2. Ibid., p. 142.
3. Minas Geraes (General Mines) is the name of one of the very States of Brazil; it is the area where much of the mining was found.
Miners were not permitted to travel lest they carry out contraband; not permitted to send or receive mail. Roads and river-routes leading into the zone were closed, and those who were permitted to leave or enter by authorized routes were first searched, bag, baggage, and person, then charged exorbitant fees...they were forbidden to engage in either agriculture or industry...

A "royal fifth" of the gold went to the Lisbon Court, and one-third of the rest went for other taxes -- very little remained in Brazil except for what was used in the construction of Churches.

Ornate buildings were constructed in the most conspicuous and attractive spots of the cities of Minas Geraes and Bahia in which were altars, and walls decorated with layers of gold leaf.

Brazilian artists working in wood and stone gave African and Indian twists to the conventional concepts of church architecture and sculpture, and a new school of Brazilian art developed. A gold rush has never been famous for developing piety in any part of the world, still less in an isolated area such as Colonial Brazil.

Three hundred years of religious monopoly by the Portuguese-Roman Catholic Church were drawing to a close with the illiterate masses drifting ever more deeply into an animistic folk-religion more Indian and African than Roman Catholic, and the intelligent thinking people becoming more skeptical of its teaching, but still willing

2. The most famous of these was Antonio Francisco Lisboa known as "Aleijadinho" (little cripple). He was the son of a Portuguese carpenter, Manoel Francisco de Costa Lisboa and an African slave named Izabel. He suffered from either leprosy or syphilis, which had deformed his toes and fingers until he had to be carried to his work, but while suffering constantly an intense pain in his hands, he prepared images, altars, and façades which are today the pride of many churches in the State of Minas Geraes.
to participate in the social celebrations of the Church Calendar. The isolation was broken in 1808 when the ports were opened to commerce with nations friendly to Portugal and immigrants from England, Germany, Scotland, and the United States began to enter the land. They were not allowed to evangelize among the Portuguese-speaking Brazilians, and were not permitted to build places of worship that resembled churches, but within their homes and within their simple chapels, in the English and German languages, these immigrants introduced Evangelical worship into the nation. In later years when the missionaries were permitted to enter Brazil and Protestant churches were organized, these immigrants were already a part of the land; they took their places within the churches, and contributed much to the concepts and practices of worship in those formative years. The study of Evangelical worship in Brazil cannot ignore these Protestant immigrants and their contribution.
PART II

EVANGELICAL WORSHIP ENTERS BRAZIL
CHAPTER III

CONCEPTS OF EVANGELICAL WORSHIP AND ITS PRACTICE INTRODUCED INTO BRAZIL BY THE FIRST PROTESTANT IMMIGRANTS AND MISSIONARIES

A. EVANGELICAL WORSHIP AMONG THE PROTESTANT IMMIGRANTS

The Survey Commission of the International Missionary Council and the World Council of Churches stated that Protestantism was planted in South America by missionaries and by European immigrants.

"For any understanding of the pattern of faith and organization in Evangelical churches of Central and South America, certain facts need to be kept in mind. In the first place, generally speaking, Protestantism, which in Latin America is preferably termed EVANGELICALISM, was brought in two ways (a) through individual missionaries and representatives of Missionary societies, mainly from the United States; (b) through European immigrants who brought with them their own church traditions as Lutherans, Vandensians, Armenians..."

The immigrants began to arrive decades before the first Evangelical missionaries and were establishing their patterns of faith and worship long before active missionary work was permitted in the land. It is therefore necessary to begin with a study of worship among these Protestant immigrants.

WORSHIP AMONG THE ENGLISH IMMIGRANTS

The hold of the Inquisition upon Brazil was broken by events in Europe.\(^1\) Napoleon, making plans to invade England, weakened at sea after the Battle of Trafalgar, turned to economic control of the Continent, demanded that all Europe close its ports to English trade.\(^2\) "Portugal long a satellite of Britain, refused compliance".\(^3\) Napoleon invaded it, but before the French troops reached Lisbon, Lord Strangford, the British Minister, counselled the royal family to flee under British protection to Brazil until the crisis passed. On November 29, 1807, the royal family and court entered some forty merchant ships and eight men-of-war, and escorted by Admiral Sidney Smith, and a British fleet made their journey to Brazil. The Queen Mother, Mad Maria, who had suffered emotional and mental disturbance since the French Revolution, had to leave the affairs of Court to her son, Prince John and his wife, the proud and wanton Carlota. Prince John, prodded by the English, now desperate for trade as they were shut out of Europe, and feeling his own need for new economic contacts, issued the Royal Decree of 1808, which

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1. R.R. Palmer, (Princeton University) *A History of the Modern World* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1954) p. 387ff. "It is convenient to think of the fighting from 1792 to 1814 as 'world war', as indeed it was, affecting not only all of Europe, but places as remote as Spanish America, where the United States purchased Louisiana in 1803, and attempted a conquest of Canada in 1812, or the Dutch East Indies, where the British established themselves in Malaya and founded the city of Singapore...."

2. Even Russia, Austria, Prussia, Denmark, Spain, and all of Europe shut out British goods.

declared that the ports of Brazil were now open to all friendly nations. This was the first step toward official religious "tolerance", since with trade came foreign merchants, some of whom were of the Reformed faith. A second decree was issued on November 25, 1808, which not only welcomed commerce and industry but granted to all acceptable immigrants, regardless of nationality or religion, attractive terms of free land and initial subsidies, such as formerly had been reserved only for the Portuguese citizen. Laws prohibiting local manufacturing were repealed and soon British machinery of all types were brought into Brazil. Britain's Irish born diplomat, Lord Strangford, who had fallen in love with Portuguese literature in University days, had been appointed charge d'affaires in Lisbon in 1804, and then Minister, had accompanied the Royal family in its flight to Brazil, now negotiated in 1810 two more treaties between Portugal (now in Brazil) and England -- a Treaty of Commerce and a Treaty of Friendship. Article XII of the Treaty of Commerce, which was only won after a long struggle with the Papal Nuncio D. Laurencio Caleppi; granted a measure of religious "tolerance" to

2. William C. Atkinson, British Contributions to Portuguese and Brazilian Studies (London, Longmans Green and co. Ltd., 1945) p. 19ff. "... a young Irishman, Viscount Strangford, whose Poems from the Portuguese of Camoens" appeared in 1803. Atkinson was Professor of Spanish in the University of Glasgow.
3. Padre Agnelo Rossi, Diretorio Protestantado no Brasil (Campinas: Tipografia Paulista, 1938) p. 21. Published with Nihil Obstat of the Roman Catholic Church this book was written to aid the Roman Catholic Church to resist "Propaganda Protestant" (Protestant propaganda) in Brazil. It was written by a Jesuit who had studied in Rome, later became a Bishop in Brazil.
5. Tolerance is the word used by Rossi.
British subjects. They were not allowed to attempt to proselytise the Brazilians; their church buildings must forever resemble houses of habitation, and they could not speak against the Roman Catholic faith. They were given grounds in which to bury their dead according to Anglican rites. ¹

In the struggle between Strangford, the King, and the papal nuncio, the bishop of Rio de Janeiro, D. Jose Caetano de Souza Coutinho, is reported to have observed: "The English really do not have a religion, but are a proud and stubborn people. If we oppose this wish, not only will they persist, but will make this a question of infinite importance; if, however, we accede to this pretension, they will build their chapel and never go there." This observation, based on observation of Anglican churches in other colonial situations, apparently ended the dialogue, and opened the door for the Book of Common Prayer to be used immediately in private homes and on British ships in the harbour. It is interesting that this little book was the first Protestant Book of Prayers used in Scotland, ² in North America, ³ and in Brazil. Though rejected in part, in each of these countries, and sometimes severely criticized by extreme Puritans and Anabaptists, it remained always in the background casting a benign and normative influence in each of these countries. The first Presbyterian Missionary from North America

¹ Rodrigues, op.cit., p. 104f.
to Brazil, Simonton, declared that he often used it in his early ministry in Brazil because it provided guide lines for the service, and for congregational participation when he had no organ or singing. The burial rites of the Book of Common Prayer were also read at Simonton's funeral.

As soon as Lord Strangford had successfully negotiated the Treaty, 1810, prayers from the Book of Common Prayer were read in his home, and on board British ships in the harbour; the first Anglican chaplain, Reverend Robert Crane, did not arrive, however, until 1816. On August 12, 1819, the corner stone of their first temple was laid on Rua dos Barbones, (Bargones Street) where the first Evangelical Church building of Brazil was erected -- a modest

1. Julio Andrade Ferreira, Historia da Igreja Presbyteryana do Brazil Vol. I (Sao Paulo: Casa Editora Presbiteriana, 1959) p. 10. "Ao dirigir os cultos, entre elementos de lingua inglesa, em terra ou em navios, nao ha quem o ajude a cantar; aproveita-se, por isso, de partes da liturgia episcopal..." The writer has in his possession a very old Episcopal BCP given him by a now retired missionary who said that he had used it as a guide line through his ministry in Brazil.

2. Alexander Latimer Blackford, Journal Record of Mission Work in the City of Sao Paulo, Brazil, from October 9th 1863 to December 25th 1866. Dec. 10, 1867. "The Rev. B.E. Habersham read the Episcopal Burial Service at the grave and about 5 ½ p.m. we laid his mortal remains to rest in the Protestant Cemetery of this city, till the trumpet of the resurrection shall call us all together to meet the Lord in the air..."

3. Henriqueta Braga, Musica Sacra... p. 72.


5. Jose Carlos Rodrigues, Religioes Acatholicas (Separata do Livro do Centenario, n.d. n.p.) p. 95. Mauricio de Nassau however had adapted Roman Catholic Church buildings in the North of Brazil for Protestant worship and had ordered the construction of a large Evangelical temple in the centre of the city, but this Evangelical use was only temporary; with the withdrawal of the Dutch it became again a Roman Catholic building.
structure without bells or any outward appearance of being a church. It is reported that the Emperor Dom Joso VI, personally modified the structure of the windows in this chapel so that they conformed with Article XII of the Treaty.

Later Anglican churches were formed in Niteroi, Sao Paulo, Santos, and Recife, with congregations in a few other places. These Anglican Churches confined their services to the English Language and did not engage in an extensive missionary outreach; their stately services and prayers however brought comfort and spiritual courage to the many British and English-speaking business men and their families as they came through the ports of Rio, Santos, and Recife and in the growing city of Sao Paulo, in the decades following 1810. The Book of Common Prayer was also translated into Portuguese in 1861 by Richard Holden.

England had long maintained commercial ties and treaties with Portugal. Thus when the doors for commerce with Brazil were opened in 1808, immediately England began to send thousands of commercial agents to Brazil to open a market for her products.

1. Loc. cit.

2. Henriquea Braga, Musica Sacra... p. 324. Richard Holden was a Scotsman who had gone to Brazil in his youth in a commercial venture, and had felt the call to the ministry. While in North America preparing for the Episcopal Ministry at a theological college at Gambier, Ohio, during the years 1859 and 1860 he had translated the Book of Common Prayer into Portuguese. This was later found in a personal library of many American missionaries and Brazilian pastors.

3. The Treaty of Methuen negotiated by the British Ambassador to Portugal, John Methuen, in 1703, had provided that England would levy a duty one-third less on wine from Portugal than from France and in exchange in return Portugal would import English woollens etc., was one of these commercial treaties.
Freyre calls this period the "re-Europeanization"\(^1\) of Brazil, and
the "reconquest of Brazil by Europe",\(^2\) and pays a real tribute\(^3\) to
the price paid by the English merchants in their attempt to create
a new market for their goods. The English did not establish any
large colonies of immigrants; small groups did come, but in the
large part they came as individuals to represent some factory or
industry, or in groups as engineers and construction workers for
railroads, factories, or to man sailing vessels.\(^4\)

Blackford, pioneer missionary of the Presbyterian Church in
the city of Sao Paulo, in his Record\(^5\) of the beginning of missionary
work in that city mentions repeatedly the cooperation of English
people. A Mr. Robert Sharp, a high official of a British Railroad
in Brazil opened his home and his office\(^6\) for preaching services.

\(^1\) Freyre, The Mansions and the Shanties, p. 105.
\(^2\) Ibid., p. 206.
\(^3\) Ibid., p. 105. "Only today visit some of the old Protestant
cemeteries -- which date from the beginning of the nineteenth
century, and seeing the number of victims buried in this damp
ground overgrown by rubber plants, shaded by huge palms can one
form an idea of the hardihood with which the English to conquer
the Brazilian market and establish a new zone of influence for
their imperialism, risked death from the yellow fever which was
so virulent in this part of the tropics."

\(^4\) Kidder frequently mentions the predominance of English sailors
manning Brazilian ships.

\(^5\) Journal Record of Mission Work in the City of Sao Paulo, from
October 9th, 1863 to December 25th 1868.

\(^6\) Ibid., "Saturday Feb. 7, 1863. -- Preached in English at Sharp's
Office to 20 persons. Rom. 8:1" is one of the references.
He mentions an English Engineer Mr. D. Fox in whose home he had preached on the Sabbath March 13th 1863, and who also on another Sunday in the absence of the missionary, read the Sunday service from the English 1 Book of Common Prayer.

Not all English immigrants entering Brazil, however, were kindly disposed toward the Book of Common Prayer, and the type of worship service presented in it. There were those of the non-conformist tradition who had some strong criticism of the Book. For this reason it must be said that both traditions were part of the Reformation inheritance.

England was well on its way to its own Reformation which it undoubtedly would have attained with or without Luther, and while the Book of Common Prayer is a distinctly British document, it was compiled by men in full harmony with the Reformation on the Continent, and its service presents true Reformation worship.

William of Occam (1280-1349), often considered the most influential theologian of his time, 2 had asserted that the pope was not infallible, that the General Council and not the pope was the highest authority in the Church, that Holy Scripture was the only infallible source in matters of faith and life, and that in secular matters the Church and the pope were subordinate to the State. 3

1. Ibid., "Sab. Oth -- was unable to attend preaching. Mr. Fox read the Eng. Ch. Service in his house in the morning."
3. Ibid., p. 6.
Occam had exerted a strong influence upon John Wyclif and also upon Martin Luther. 1 Occam had criticized the synthesis of secular learning and Catholic doctrine constructed by Thomas Aquinas. He had asserted that men knew the Christian faith only because God had willed it, and not because it was consonant with natural human reason. 2 Occam was also a strong nominalist, 3 that is, he denied that abstract ideas had any real existence, and asserted that our only sure knowledge is of specific facts. This line of reasoning made the individual Christian more important than the artificial or abstract idea of Christendom. In this concept he could assert that councils as well as popes might err, since truth was to be found only in Scripture, and not in the abstraction called the Church. 4

1. Ibid., p. 6.


3. Ibid., p. 424.

4. Ibid., pp. 424-425. Occam also strongly influenced both Jean and Marsiglio professors of the University of Paris and authors of the "Defensor Pacis" (1324) considered to be the most important political writing of the later middle ages. Their book, a searching examination of the nature of government, spiritual as well as temporal, has asserted that churchmen were physicians of the soul, as doctors were physicians of the body, but neither group of healers could claim the right to make law, to judge, or to defy secular society. The Church was to be subordinate to the state. This was the first clear assertion of the supremacy of secular rulers over the church, and it was studied diligently by all opponents of papal power for the next two centuries. Wycliffe, Huss, Luther, and Calvin were all directly indebted to the Defensor Pacis.
This philosophical breaking with Aquinas had a profound effect upon the coming Protestant worship. The Individual became important. John Wycliffe (1324-1384) translated the Bible into English, and organized groups of travelling lay preachers, the Lollards, who explained the Bible to the people. John Colet (1447-1519) had gone to Italy to study the new learning of Greek. About the year 1496, he returned from Italy to Oxford. Though still a layman, he immediately began lecturing on the Epistle to the Romans. He pushed aside the allegorical interpretations of the scholastic commentators and gave purely expository lectures. Monks and priests and students crowded to hear them. Four years before the close of Henry VII's reign, Colet was made dean of the Cathedral of the city of which his father had been Lord Mayor. In London, as at Oxford, he continued his expository preaching. He went through the Gospels, the Apostles' Creed, and the Lord's Prayer. In 1499, Erasmus came to Oxford to study Greek, and became acquainted with Colet, and in 1516 published his first Greek edition

1. Ibid., pp. 516-517. In 1396 Manuel Chrysoloras, a distinguished Greek scholar, came to lecture at Florence, at the invitation of the Government. With his arrival began a serious study of Greek. "Chrysoloras offered his eager hearers the best Byzantine scholarship. Students and agents ransacked Constantinople for manuscripts which descended on Italy singly or by hundreds." John Colet along with eminent scholars from all Europe went to Italy to study Greek.


3. Ibid., p. 9.

4. Ibid., p. 10. At this time it had been asserted that not a dozen persons in England were acquainted with the Greek language.
of the New Testament; in the Preface he stated:

"I long that the husbandman should sing portions of them to himself as he follows the plough, that the weaver should hum them to the tine of his shuttle, that the traveller should beguile with their stories the tedium of his journey."

William Tindale, inspired by reading Erasmus' Greek New Testament, had begun a translation of the Bible into English. In the Spring of 1524 he had gone to be with Luther at Wittenberg and two years later his books were being brought secretly into England by German Merchants. Luther's books were making their way into England and in 1532 Henry VIII, feeling the need of a political alliance with the Protestant princes in Northern Europe, had sent Thomas Cranmer to Germany. He spent the year of 1532 in Regensburg and Nuremberg in contact with many influential German reformers; he actually lived in the home of Andreas Osiander, pastor of the historic Church of St. Lawrence, and afterwards married Osiander's niece.

"During this very summer of 1532, Osiander and Brenz were at work in Osiander's home preparing the important Brandenburg-Nuremberg Church Order, which, after approval by the Wittenberg faculty, was published the following year. Cranmer's familiarity with the principles and results of liturgical reform in Germany strongly influenced his later procedure in England."

In 1533 Cranmer was consecrated archbishop of Canterbury where he cautiously set about a reform of English worship.

Neelak Tjernagel has pointed out that Cranmer was not the only

2. Luther Reed, op.cit., p. 133.
English Reformer who spent time in Germany. 1 When Cranmer first came to the attention of the king, Henry had committed him to the care of the family 2 of the Earl of Wiltshire and Ormond, better known as Thomas Boleyn, an anticlerical scholar who had already served in embassies to Rome and Germany, and was accused of being Lutheran. 3 The Anglo-Lutheran conferences of 1536 and 1538 gave Lutheran theology legal access to England. These conferences themselves were the price Henry VIII had to pay for the consideration of the proposed Anglo-Lutheran political alliance with the Schmalkaldic princes. In 1536 Lutheran theology came to England under royal license in the form of the Wittenberg Articles. 4 Their theology

1. Neelak Serawlook Tjernagel, *Henry VIII and the Lutherans, A Study in Anglo-Lutheran Relations from 1521 to 1547* (Saint Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1965) p. 251. "All the theologians and scholars who were most important in the English Reformation in the reign of Henry VIII had touched Wittenberg directly or indirectly. Tyndale was at Wittenberg and learned much of his craft from Martin Luther, Barnes spent three years in the circle of the Lutheran reformers at the University of Wittenberg. Thomas Cranmer was the intimate friend of the Lutheran reformer Osiander. Rogers and Coverdale, both important translators of the English Bible, served parishes in Lutheran Germany, Rogers being assigned to a parish in the city of Wittenberg."


3. *Ibid.* p. 80. "The main witnesses to this view are Chapuis, the ambassador of Charles V, and the martyrologist Foxe. The oft quoted remark of the former is that "the lady and her father are more Lutheran than the Lutherans". This judgement was reaffirmed a year later when the same writer said that Thomas Boleyn "and his daughter are considered as true apostles of the new sect." John Foxe records the opinion that Henry's marriage to Anne was opposed by Wolsey because he knew her "to be a Lutheran".

4. *Ibid.* pp. 255-286. Tjernagel gives an English translation of these articles drawn up originally in Latin and German, by the English theologians Edward Fox, Nicholas Heath, and Robert Barnes in collaboration with the Wittenberg Reformers Luther, Melancthon, Bugenhagen, Justas Jones, Cruciger, and others..."
became embedded in the English Ten Articles of 1536 and the Bishop's Book of 1537. In 1538 the second Anglo-Lutheran formula, the Thirteen Articles, further planted Lutheran doctrine in England. The Lutheran imprint became a permanent part of English theology.

"Save for the admittedly important doctrine of the Lord's Supper, the Forty-two Articles of the reign of Edward VI and the Thirty-nine Articles of the Elizabethan settlement were and remain Lutheran. Their view of Scripture, the church, church-state relations, justification, good works, election, and other fundamental doctrines is Lutheran. The Lutheran imprint is also clearly on the "Book of Common Prayer."

Henry VIII did not become Lutheran or even Protestant yet he went far in this direction. He died January 28, 1547, eleven months after the death of Luther. The boy king, Edward VI, came to the throne. His uncle on his mother's side, the Duke of Somerset, an ardent Protestant, became "Protector". Archbishop Cranmer began immediately to inaugurate further reforms. In March 1548 he issued an experimental measure to supplement the Latin Mass, and which became the nucleus of the full English Communion Service in the Prayer Book the following year.

"This contained an Exhortation to communicants, a Confession, Absolution, and the Comfortable Words, all based upon earlier German forms, particularly those of Cologne, Cassel, Volprecht of Nuremberg, and the Order of Schwabisch Hall."
On Easter Sunday of 1548 "for the first time an English service for the administration of the Holy Communion was used, and the long-forbidden wine given to the laity."¹ Primers or manuals of primary instruction in religious truth and practice had been in use in English from the days of Langland and Chaucer, who both refer to them.² However Manning observes:

"...few laymen were wealthy enough to own a prymer, and fewer still learned enough to use it,..."³

Manning, basing upon his interpretation of the "Lay Folks Mass Book",⁴ believes that the Anglo-Saxon Church had perhaps permitted the Gospel to be read in English after it had been read in Latin, but that this concession to local dialect ceased at the Norman Conquest.⁵ He also affirms that Latin by the end of the fourteenth century was unintelligible to most English people.⁶ The Lay Folks Mass Book was a partial attempt to make the Mass intelligible, first to those who spoke French, and later to English. However, it rested on a theory that the layman ought to approach God by a different way from that of the priest, and that to translate the whole of the liturgy would have been an act of desecration.⁷ For illiterate

5. B.L. Manning, op.cit., p. 7.
7. Ibid., p. 8.
people even the *Lay Folks Mass Book* offered no solution. The liturgy was believed to be a sort of magic which could not fail to benefit the hearer or spectator whether they understood it or not. And the multiplication of the number increased the potency of the magic.  

The First Prayer Book of Edward VI was introduced in the churches on Whitsunday, 1549. In the Preface it stated:

"And where heretofore, there hath been great diversitie in saying and synging in churches within this realme: some folowyng Salisbury use, some Hereford use, some the use of Bangor, some of York, and some of Lincoln: Now from hecefurth, all the whole realm shall haue but one use."

This preface also recognizes that these "common prayers" "commonlye called diuine service: the firste originall and grounde whereof" given to us by the "Auncient fathers" were possessed "of a good purpose, and for a great advancement of godliness", but

"There was neuer anything by the wit of man so well designde, or so surely established, which (in continuance of time) hath not been corrupted."

This "corruption" is recognized and pointed out, and promise is given that the divine service shall be cleansed. This was also the intent

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1. *Ibid.*, p. 174. Footnote 3. speaks of Lady Alice West, 1395, in her will wanted 3400 masses in the most haste that it may be do, withynne xiii nght next after my deceas."

2. The First Prayer-Book of King Edward VI 1549 (Reprinted from a copy in the British Museum) (London: Griffith Farren Okeden & Welsh, n.d.) p. 4. Future reference will be First Prayer Book of Edward VI. Underlining is mine. The Salisbury or Sarum use had been adopted in whole or part by other dioceses such as Wells, Exeter, Lichfield, Lincoln, etc., and by various collegiate churches and other large foundations. It is mentioned first in this list and probably took a first place in the revision commission.

and program of Luther. Like Luther they had more than one Breviary and Missal before them. In addition to those mentioned it is believed possible to trace influences of the Roman Breviary of Cardinal Francis Quinones (1538) which passed through various editions before its suppression in 1568. More important was the influence of the Reformation going on in various parts of the Continent. The story of the Reformation attempt at Cologne had been published in English in 1547.2

The influence of Luther upon the First Book of Common Prayer has been traced in great detail by such scholars as Brightman.3


2. Edward Berens, The History of the Prayer Book of the Church of England (London: Society for the Promoting of Christian Knowledge, 1839) p. 29. "One of the most remarkable occurrences which the eventful history of the times has recorded of the state of Germany is the attempt made by Herman, Elector of Cologne, a Roman Catholic Archbishop, and sovereign prince, to establish within his electorate a purer system of doctrine and discipline. His attempt was ultimately unsuccessful; but the zeal and energy of the venerable Prelate and the learning and prudence with which his measures were conducted, attracted the notice and secured the respect of all Protestant Churches. He resigned his see in the year 1547; but he had previously published a book, the composition of which had been intrusted to Melancthon and Bucer, containing his views of a "Christian Reformation founded on God's Word". This book was translated into English, and published in the year 1547. It cannot be doubted that the book of Herman was much employed at Windsor in the compilation of their new form of Common Prayer. In the great body of their work, indeed they derived their materials from the early services of their own Church; but, in the Occasional Offices, it is clear, on examination, they were indebted to the labours of Melancthon and Bucer; and through them to the older Liturgy of Nuremberg, which those Reformers were instructed to follow."

Jacobs,\textsuperscript{1} Gasquet,\textsuperscript{2} Dowden,\textsuperscript{3} and others. Reed summarizes it thus:

"Lutheran influence upon the first Prayer Book was very important. It had to do with essential matters of content and arrangement which have persisted in subsequent revisions and translations. The English Litany followed Luther's revision, through Herman of Cologne, very closely, incorporating at least fourteen petitions or extensive phrases from this source. The construction of the new Order for Matins from material in pre-Reformation Matins and Lauds, and of Evensong from similar material in Vespers and Compline, had been anticipated by Luther's suggestions, by the Church Orders of Bugenhagen, and quite definitely by the Calenberg and Göttingen Order of 1542. In the Communion service the first Prayer Book's prescription of entire Psalms to be used as introits instead of the historic texts of the Roman use may be traced to Luther's expressed preference (Formula Missae) though his suggestion was not generally followed by Lutheran Orders. Expressions in the Exhortations, the Confession and Absolution, the Prayer for the whole State of Christ's Church, the beginning of the Prayer of Consecration and the second half of the Benediction are from Herman's Reformation of Cologne. The introduction of the Ten Commandments in the second Book may have been influenced by Pullain's service for the foreign congregation at Glastonbury, 1551, but this had been anticipated by the Orders for Frankfort (1530), Bremen (1534), etc. The Comfortable Words are unquestionably from the German text of Herman's Reformation of Cologne, (1543). The recital of the Institution is a harmony of the four New Testament accounts quite as in Brandenburg-Nuremberg, 1533. The Orders for Baptism, Confirmation, Marriage, and Burial reveal extensive indebtedness to Lutheran sources. Baptism and Marriage conform closely in general structure and numerous details to the suggestions made by Luther, with certain features in Baptism drawn from Bucer. Expressions in the Confirmation service and the use of the old sequence "in the midst of life" in the Burial service are examples of a general following of Lutheran precedents fully established in German and Scandinavian Church Orders before 1546."

\begin{itemize}
\item[1.] Henry E. Jacobs, \textit{The Lutheran Movement in England}, Rev. ed. (Philadelphia: Frederick, 1894)
\item[4.] Luther Reed, \textit{op.cit.}, pp. 128-129.
\end{itemize}
This relationship of the First Book of Common Prayer to the Lutheran Orders in Germany and Scandinavian countries (and with Melancthon and Bucer) has been laboured to establish that it was truly a Reformation Order. However a tragic political situation was to deprive England of some Reformational insights. In the life and death struggle with Romanism the Book was thrust upon the unsettled state with an Act of Uniformity. This demand for uniformity had not existed in Germany. Each region had been free to experiment and improvise as it felt the need. Luther had feared greatly the danger of turning the Reformation insights into a new form of legalism and losing faith. In the Preface to the German Mass he stated:

"For this is the damnable thing in the papal service, that they have changed into laws, works and merits to the utter destruction of the faith." This he did not wish to permit again even in worship. In the Formula Missae he emphasized:

"taking care in all such matters lest we make binding things which are free, or compel those to sin who either would do some other thing or omit certain things." He grasped the New Testament concept of Romans 12:1-2 that all of life is worship and the later Quaker insight that the New Testament Christian is freed from "rites" as a work of salvation, but his insight into human nature and its needs revealed to him the need and value of an Order of Worship.

1. Works of Martin Luther, Vol. VI. op.cit., p. 171. The underlining is mine.
2. Ibid., p. 92.
"For external rites, even if we are not able to do without them; -- just as we cannot do without food and drink, -- nevertheless do not commend us to God, just as food does not commend us to God. But faith and love commend us to God. Therefore let this word of Paul govern us here: The kingdom of God is not meat and drink, but righteousness, peace and joy in the Holy Spirit. Thus no rite is the Kingdom of God, but faith within you, etc."  

He understood the nature of the "Adiaphora" -- in regard to vestments he wrote:

"We have passed by vestments. But we think about these as we do about other uses; we permit them to be used without restraint, only let pomp and the excess of splendor be absent. For neither are you the more acceptable if you should consecrate in vestments; nor are you less acceptable if you should consecrate without vestments. For vestments do not commend us to God."

For Luther this Christian freedom extended even to the keeping of the Sabbath. In his Larger Catechism dealing with the Fourth Commandment he makes it very clear that the Christian keeping of the Lord's Day has great value, but it is not to be kept in a legalistic sense, and in the Table Talks goes even further:

"...if anywhere the day is made holy for the mere day's sake, if anywhere anyone sets up its observance on a Jewish foundation, then I order you to work on it, to ride on it, to dance on it, to feast on it, to do anything that will remove the encroachment on Christian liberty."

This Reformation insight into Christian Liberty, the "Adiaphora", and danger of creating a new legalism, with "works

1. Ibid., pp. 92-93. The underlining is mine.
2. Ibid., p. 93. The underlining is mine.
salvation" was not fully comprehended in Britain. No doubt that
the "Act of Uniformity" contributed to the obscuring of these vital
concepts that were for Luther of supreme importance. In 1552 a
Second Book of Common Prayer was prepared, which was also set forth
with an Act of Uniformity. Immediately after the Preface which
repeated in large part the Preface of the First Book of Common
Prayer, was a sort of second Preface entitled -- "Of Ceremonies,
why some be abolished, and some retained." This section begins:

"Of such ceremonies as to be used in the church and
have had their beginning by the institution of man; some
at the first were of Godly intent and purpose devised,
yet at length turned to vanity and superstition; some
entered into the church by undiscreeet devotion, and such
a zeal as was without knowledge, and for because they were
winked at in the beginning, they grew daily to more and
more abuses; which not only for their unprofitableness but
also because they have much blinded the people, and obscured
the glory of God, are worthy to be away and clean rejected... the
most weighty cause of the abolishment of certain
ceremonies was, that they were so far abused, partly by the
superstitious blindness of the rude and unlearned, and partly
by the unsatiable avarice of such as sought more their own
lucre, than the glory of God...

Not all ceremonies, however, were to be abolished, even though
they were man-made, because they ministered unto good order and
edification:

"Others there be, which although they have been devised
by man, yet it is thought good to reserve them still, as well
for a decent order in the church (for the which they were
first devised) as because they pertain to edification; whereunto
all things done in the church (as the Apostle teacheth)
ought to be referred."1

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1. The Second Prayer Book of King Edward the Sixth 1552, Edited by
George W. Sprott. (Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood and
Sons, MXXIV) pp. 70-71.
2. Ibid., p. 70. The underlining is mine.
Only those ceremonies which were most abused:

"For as those be taken away, which were most abused and did burthen men's consciences without any cause; so the other that remain are retained for a discipline and order, which (upon just causes) may be altered and changed, and therefore are not to be esteemed equal with God's law."

That they recognized they were departing from the other Reformation Orders in Germany and Scandinavian countries may be indicated by the closing lines of the Preface:

"And in our doings we condemn no other nations, nor prescribe any thing, but to our own people only. For we think it convenient that every country should use such ceremonies, as they shall think best to the setting forth of God's honour or glory, and to the reducing of the people to a most perfect and godly living, without error or superstition; and that they should put away other things, which from time to time they perceive to be most abused, as in men's ordinances it often chanceth diversely in diverse countries."

A comparison of the burden of this Preface with that of Luther reveals two different areas of concern. Luther is concerned to rescue and preserve the "Faith" -- justification by faith, over against the idea of works or merit or contract with God. The concern here is with superstition, error, and decent order.

This shift of concern and partial loss of a central Reformation insight, opened the door for the entrance of a new Protestant

1. Ibid., p. 72. The underlining is mine.
2. Ibid., p. 72. The underlining is mine.
3. Ibid., p. 11. Wotherspoon notes these changes: "The vestments are forbidden, -- rochet or surplice only to be used. The "table" is to stand "in the body of the church, or in the chauncell," and the word "table" everywhere takes the place of "altar". In the Communion Service much is omitted, and the recitation of the Decalogue is introduced. In the Daily Offices considerable adaptations are made from the Reformed uses. Unction disappears from the Visitation of the Sick, and prayer for the departed from the Burial Service."
legalism in Britain. The Act of Conformity irritated many in England and threw a cloud of suspicion over the Book of Common Prayer, suspicion which would not have occurred had it been introduced into a less volatile situation. The non-conformist party which then developed was not, in its early days, against a liturgy or forms of prayer. As Horton Davies has written:

"...they did not condemn the moderate use of set forms of prayer. Indeed the opposition of the more radical Puritans was only to the Established liturgy -- the Book of Common Prayer, to the exclusion of free prayer. Even then, it appears, it was the subscription, rather than the formulary to be subscribed, that prevented the Puritans from remaining in the Established Church."  

The "Frankfort Troubles" which had contributed to crystallise the non-Conformists into a party, had not originated over the question of free or extempore prayer in opposition to a Book of Common Prayer, it was rather a "clash between two liturgical English parties, each of which was firmly convinced of the need of a formulary for public worship." The early Puritan tradition had recommended the use of a Prayer Book and had attempted to produce one that would be acceptable both to themselves and to the Established Church. The


2. The Frankfort Troubles in which John Knox was involved was a clash between two liturgical parties among the English Protestant exiles during the reign of Queen Mary. One party was desirous of following the Book of Common Prayer which had only recently been compiled in England, the other wished to use a formulary which they thought to be more thoroughly cleansed of what they considered to be vestiges of Rome.

final attempt was made by Richard Baxter in 1661 in the Savoy Liturgy.¹

Baxter was a Puritan who had seriously attempted to make a worthy liturgy following the structural framework of the Westminster Directory. Had the Savoy Liturgy been allowed to remain at least as an alternative liturgy for Dissenters, the history of the Church of England and the history of Protestantism in the New World might have been very different. It was however rejected and the intolerant absolutism in the uniformity required under Charles II developed a needless strain of reaction among the non-Conformists of England which appeared among the non-Conformist immigrants in all of the New World including Brazil.

"The Savoy Liturgy was framed in the hope that Liturgical differences between the Anglicans and Presbyterians might be settled by the adoption of alternative liturgies. For that reason it accepted as much of the structure of the Book of Common Prayer as was possible... It failed in its purpose and apparently was never used. The imposition of the Book of Common Prayer in 1662 with the consequent "Great Ejection" by which two thousand Nonconformist ministers were deprived of their livings, brought the Book of Common Prayer into great disrepute among Dissenters. Hence the liturgical movement fostered by Baxter was strangled soon after birth. For over two centuries the successors of the Puritans confined themselves to extempore prayers."²

The English immigrants entering Brazil included also these non-Conformists, who because of this unhappy historical accident in British history had come to associate the Book of Common Prayer and

¹. The full original title was -- "The Reformation of the Liturgy, as it was presented to the Right Reverend Bishops appointed by His Majesty's Commission to treat with them about the alteration of it."

². H. Davies, op. cit., p. 161. The underlining is mine.
all Orders of Worship, with intolerant absolutism and persecution, and their voices of dissent would help to shape the practices of Evangelical worship in the land.¹ It is difficult to assess the full influence of the few Anglican Churches. They were however located in the strategic and important cities where sooner or later the Brazilian pastors, for one reason or another, would enter to see and participate in its stately services -- to see and experience a Protestant service with a Protestant liturgy. Some perhaps, if they had been converted under the influence of extreme non-Conformist missionaries, would react against the service as an "aping" of the Romanism they were rejecting. Others would admire it, and at least secretly borrow some of its stately forms and traditions while holding firmly to the freedom of extempore prayers on occasions. Many would come into possession of the Book of Common Prayer which since 1861 had been translated into Portuguese. Such influence is not easy to assess with any degree of accuracy, but it is certain these English immigrants, Anglican and non-Conformists did exercise a considerable influence in the shaping of Evangelical worship in Brazil.

¹. Infra. See Chapter 3, article on Robert Reid Kelley.
WORSHIP AMONG THE IMMIGRANTS FROM GERMANY

The English immigrants entered first, but were quickly followed by immigrants from Germany and Switzerland. Napoleon's defeat at the battle of Waterloo in 1815, and his subsequent exile to St. Helena, opened the ports of Europe for those who wished to emigrate to the New World. The Royal decree of November 25, 1808, had offered attractive terms of free land and initial subsidies to all acceptable immigrants. Among the Europeans who now began to come in colonies to Brazil were German and Swiss-German Lutherans. On September 7, 1822, Dom Pedro I gave utterance to the famous cry, "Independence or Death", thus proclaiming the freedom of Brazil from Portugal. This was followed by the Imperial Constitution of 1824, which remained in force until 1889. This constitution guaranteed the exercise of non-Roman-Catholic faith and worship, not only to the foreigner, but also to the Brazilians themselves. Concerning religion the Constitution stated:

ARTICLE 5- The Apostolic Roman Catholic Religion will continue to be the State Religion. All other religions will be permitted to conduct their domestic or private worship in houses set apart for this purpose without any exterior resemblance to a church.

ARTICLE 103- The Emperor must swear to uphold the Roman Catholic Religion.

ARTICLE 179- paragraph 5. No one shall be persecuted for reasons of religion, once he respects that of the State.

Evangelical faith and worship continued to be only a "tolerated", religion with restrictions concerning their buildings and their

1. Rodrigues, pp. 127-26ff. See also chapter on Robert Reid Kalley and his struggle for Religious toleration under this Constitution.
worship, but the Portuguese-speaking Brazilian could now be free, within these limitations, to worship in Protestant Churches.

Not only were doors open to the immigrants, but the Emperor sent his representatives throughout central Europe seeking colonists, granting not only liberty to bring their pastors with them, but offering to pay with Royal funds, their salaries. The first wave of German immigrants in the capacity of a colony settled in Friburgo in 1824. With them came their pastor, the Rev. Frederico Oswardo Sauerbronn, a graduate of the University of Heidelberg. A Lutheran Church was organized May 3, 1824. This learned man had already served 30 years as pastor in Germany; now he served forty years more in Novo Friburgo until his death in 1864. He enjoyed friendly relations with the Royal family, and did not hesitate to use this intimacy to defend the newly-established Protestant colony against persecution and threats. His people were scattered over a wide area with roads that were difficult in the rainy season, which made pastoral care difficult and militated against regular church attendance; also the area being beautiful mountain

1. The Lutheran pastor at Sao Leopold did receive for many years a regular stipend from the Emperor, but the Lutheran pastor at Petropolis did not receive all that was promised.

2. Some years earlier a colony of Roman Catholics from Friburg, Switzerland, had been given this region, but had abandoned it; now it was offered to the German Lutherans. H. Braga, op. cit., p. 78.

3. Ibid., p. 78.

4. Sauerbronn was married twice and left twenty-two children who became influential citizens of the nation. One grandson, child of his daughter Luiza, became Prof. Dr. Luiz Frederico Sauerbronn Carpenter, occupying the chair of Criminal Law at the University of Brazil.
land and therefore poor for agriculture contributed to financial difficulties in the early life of the church. The worship services were conducted in German following the rites of the Heidelberg region of Germany adapted to the pioneer situation. Rev. Sauerbronn was succeeded by the Rev. Joao Gaspar Meyer, a Swiss-German from Zurich who gave long years of service to the church, dying in 1906. His liturgy was closer to that of the Reformed Church of Switzerland, and in later years he gave real assistance to the American Presbyterian pastors.  

Three months after the organization of the first Lutheran Church at Priburgo, a second wave of German immigrants arrived in the south of Brazil. They were accompanied by Pastor Joao Jorge Ehlers of Hamburg. Ehlers had accompanied the group, but in Germany he had served only as a sacristan in the Church at Hamburg. As no pastor was available he became their pastor and served with great distinction for 20 years — from 1824 until the arrival of the Rev. August Wilhelm Klenze in 1843.

The old records, which are still kept in the archives of the

1. H. Braga, op. cit., p. 79.
2. This is mentioned repeatedly in the early records of the Presbyterian pastors in Brazil.
3. 50° Aniversário da Inauguração da Igreja de Cristo. (Comunidade Evangelica de Sao Leopoldo, Novembro 15, 1961) p. 58. This record of pastors from 1824 to 1961 lists Johann George Ehlers as the first pastor from 1824 to 1844.
4. This information was given the author personally by Pastor Wilhelm Hilbk, who has been pastor of the same church since 1937. Pastor Hilbk is a graduate of Halle. His immediate predecessor graduated from Stetten, and was pastor from 1926 to 1937.
Church at Sao Leopoldo\textsuperscript{1} reveal that he was a faithful pastor and
baptized many scores of children and administered the Lord's Supper.
His church met for long years in an improvised building, and this
with the disadvantage of a widely scattered rural parish, with
poor means of travel made European style of worship services very
difficult. He seems to have adapted the ritual of the Church of
Hamburg to the improvised building and irregular attendance. In 1825
another colony of German Lutherans settled in the present region of
Itati under a leadership of Pastor Carl Leopold Voges who continued
as pastor for seventy-five years.\textsuperscript{2} In 1845 Pastor John Peter
Haesbert\textsuperscript{3} came from the United States to organize and serve the
church at Hamburgo Velho (Old Hamburg). In 1851 a Lutheran Church
was organized at Joinville, in the state of Santa Catarina, in 1856
in Porto Alegre in Rio Grande do Sul, and in 1857 in Blumenau in the
state of Santa Catarina, and in 1860 in Curitiba in the state of
Parana. These were in the south with the exception of Friburgo.

In the Capital city of Rio de Janeiro, called the "Corte"
(the Court) the Prussian Consul initiated a worship service in a
rented hall on the street called Mata-Cavalos.\textsuperscript{4} In the same year

\textsuperscript{1} The present pastor showed these to the author.
\textsuperscript{2} H. Braga, \textit{op.cit.}, p. 80.
\textsuperscript{3} \textit{Loc. cit.}, p. 80.
\textsuperscript{4} Padre Agnelo Rossi, \textit{Diretoria Protestantismo no Brasil}, \textit{op.cit.}
pp. 49-50.

--- The church founded by the Prussian Consul W. Von. Theremin
was called \textit{Comunidade Protestantismo Franco-Alema}. Worship services
were held in private homes until May 21, 1837 when with the
arrival of Pastor Dr. Neuman the services in the church were
he secured a subvention\(^1\) from the German Government to aid in the construction of a simple church building on the same location. In 1853 the missionary societies of Basel and Barmen began to send some workers to Brazil. About this time several German Lutheran and Swiss colonies settled in the state of Sao Paulo.

In the year of 1857, colonies of Germans from Hessen, Holstein, Prussia, Baden, and Tirol, were contracted to work on the construction and maintenance of a railroad from Petropolis north to Juiz de Fora in the state of Minas Geraes. They were given government lands. About one-half of these were Evangelicals. And in 1862 an "Igreja Evangelica de Confissao Luterana" (An Evangelical Church of the Lutheran Confession) was organized. It also bore the name "Igreja do Culto Evangelico Mariano Procopio" (Church of Evangelical Worship Mariano Procopio) -- the last two words being the name of the government official of the railroad. The initial contract provided that the government of Brazil would build and maintain schools and churches. In fulfilment of this contract the Emperor agreed to pay from royal funds the salary of the Lutheran pastor Jorge Gottlob Stroele to serve both the Church in Petropolis and Juiz de Fora.\(^2\) Later both churches were able to support their own pastors.

In 1858 Pastor Jorge Holzer conducted in the city of Sao Paulo, a Lutheran Christmas service\(^3\) in the private home of the family

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1. Ibid., p. 50.
2. H. Braga, op.cit., p. 95.
3. Ibid., p. 95.
Schaumann, owners of a drug store called "Ao Veado de Ouro" (To the Golden Deer). At that time there were about seven hundred Germans living in the city. Pastor Holzer supported himself teaching in the homes of these families and gave a measure of pastoral care to these seven hundred as well as an occasional visit to German and Swiss-German colonies in at least seven areas within 200 miles of the city of Sao Paulo. Before the coming of Pastor Holzer to the city of Sao Paulo, the seven hundred Germans in the city and the several thousand in the scattered colonies were entirely dependent for spiritual help upon their private devotional books and lay preachers, the unordained "prediger" who was also usually the school teacher. One of these, a Swiss-German Thomas Davatz, became discouraged and returned to Switzerland where he published an account of his life as school-teacher and preacher in a colony of "German parcerias" a type of "share-cropper" colonist belonging to a Senator Campos Vergeiro. His book was later published in Brazil under the title "Memorias de um colono no Brasil" (Memories of a Colonist in Brazil).

1. Ibid., p. 96. There are at least seven areas mentioned -- Piracicaba, Limeira, Rio Claro, Jeronimo, Sao Joao, Cresciuma, and Campinas. All this was done before the arrival of the first Presbyterian missionary and it is interesting that this was the area of the most fruitful early Presbyterian work and the records show that in nearly all the Presbyterian Churches were some German elders.

2. Thomas Davatz, Memorias de um colono no Brasil (This was first published in Chur, Coire, Cantao dos Grissoes, Suica, 1858, then translated into Portuguese by Sergio, Buarque de Holanda) (Sao Paulo: Livraria Martins, 1941).

3. Parcerias was the Portuguese word for a part or share of the proceeds of the farm.
After the arrival of Pastor Holzel, those colonies near to the city of Sao Paulo did enjoy an occasional pastoral visit -- some baptisms, weddings, and the Lord's Supper, and occasionally a sermon. But the nurturing of spiritual life depended largely upon their devotional books, and a few school-teacher "predigers", if such could be found. The few Lutheran pastors in all Brazil, were usually brilliant men -- one of them Dr. Frederico Lippold, was not only a pastor, but an eminent botanist of renown throughout Europe; he enjoyed intimate friendship with the Emperor D. Pedro II, who occasionally came to his home to study and to discuss the German classics.¹ Their number however was limited, and the colonists so widely scattered over the vast expanses of the nation that pastoral care was superficial or non-existent. The Presbyterian missionaries, who came after 1859, were often severely tried at the Protestant German immigrant, who did not rigidly keep the Sabbath, and who seemed to value the sacraments above legalistic regulations.² However others such as Jose Manoel da Conceicao³ found their private devotions or their family devotions enchanting and deeply spiritual. In fact he attributed to their family devotion one of the main causes of his conversion to Protestantism.

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1. H. Braga, p. 91.
A careful study of the records, in local church archives of the early days in the Luther "Gemeinde", reveals little about liturgy. It appears that every pastor came with his own, and adapted it to the frontier conditions. An occasional note like this occurs:

"The liturgy introduced by Pastor Fugmann, did not please all the members of the Church..."3

This young pastor had been born in Wieseth, had studied in Neuendetteslay, Germany, before coming to Brazil, and evidently brought a more elaborate liturgy than the frontier people were accustomed to use. Happily, he appeared to have outlived the initial reaction, and had a long and fruitful ministry in Brazil. He and his wife both served as school-teachers,4 as well as being pastor of a large area. There is mention in 1839 of the publication in Portuguese of a Manual do Culto Luterano (Manual of Lutheran Worship)5 and a year later the publication of Oracoes Evangelicas. However there is indication to believe that each German pastor brought the liturgy used in his immediate area in Germany, and adapted it to the frontier conditions. This seems to be the opinion of all the Lutheran authorities in Brazil; therefore a brief study of what was going on in Germany at that time

1. The writer spent many days in such archives.
2. This was the opinion of the Professor of Church History at the Lutheran Theological College at Sao Leopoldo, as expressed to the writer.
4. Ibid., p. 141.
5. Ibid., p. 145.
should throw some light upon their concepts and practices of worship.

The Lutheran Churches in Germany at the beginning of the nineteenth century had suffered a series of experiences that made them in many respects of faith and worship, different from the Church of Martin Luther. Neither were they like the Churches of Modern Germany. Professor Luther Reed, in describing the German immigrants who arrived in North America at the beginning of the nineteenth century (at the same time the Lutheran immigrants came to Brazil) and founded the Lutheran Church there wrote:

"The Church got its start in this country [America] during a period of low vitality in Europe. It was established here by ministers and laymen who knew only subnormal conditions in the homeland. The circumstances of the people limited public worship to the simplest essentials."

"At the beginning of the nineteenth century public worship and church life in general were at low ebb throughout Europe. In Germany in some respects were not as bad as in England, and in others they were worse... the spirit of worship had departed and the churches were empty... a bare order conducted by the minister alone. The whole purpose and direction of public worship had been changed. Instead of common devotions lifted Godward, the service was directed manward in the hope of appealing to the mind and emotions of the hearers... The sacraments and the sacramental idea in worship minimized...There was no presence to adore, no divine person with whom to commune, no divine gift to receive Faith in the redeemer and the divine plan of salvation had given way to reason."

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1. We are using this designation although this is not the accurate name of the Evangelical Churches of the Lutheran confession.

2. Luther D. Reed, The Lutheran Liturgy (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1947. p. 167. Professor Reed has taught Liturgics and Church Music in a theological seminary for many years and has conducted conferences on Worship and Church Music in many parts of the country. He also participated in the preparation of the Lutheran "Common Service Book". The underlining is mine.
by his own efforts attempted to realize ethical standards of
court and to solve the problem of life. The church was
spiritually cold, if not dead. Its ideals were little more
than those of ancient paganism in its best ethics.  

This was not the faith and worship of the Reformers. Briefly,
what had Luther taught concerning worship? and why was the
Church in Germany at the beginning of the 19th century in "sub-

normal condition" and at "low ebb". Luther, had been a friar;
in the monastery he had observed the daily office of the Breviary
with its seven canonical devotional hours of Matins, Lauds, Prime,
Tierce, Sext, Nonas, Vespers, and Compline. He also knew and
used the "Missal" for the Lord's Supper or Mass, with all its
historic prayers and directions. He deeply felt and understood the
fears and superstitions of the masses who went to confession and
mass once a year -- witnessing the spectacle, but not finding peace
for their troubled hearts. He himself had passed through their
experience, and had at least broken through to find "justification

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1. Ibid., pp. 149-150. The underlining is mine.
2. Pope Gregory VII (1073-85) simplified and shortened the liturgy
at the Roman Court, (Breviarium — abridgment) and the name of
this simplification was given to the book of Psalms, Scriptures,
prayers, etc. used by the orders at the canonical hours of prayer.
These were not uniform as each diocese had its own order. Not
until the Council of Trent was uniformity of Breviary and Missal
made obligatory upon the Church and even then any church which
had used a form for 200 years was allowed to continue its use.
Thus Milan continues with the Ambrosian use and Toledo and
Salamanca have the Mosarabic use.

3. The Early Church had observed the third, sixth, and ninth hours of
Jewish prayers, but in the convents and monasteries it had increased
to seven exhaustive periods of prayer and Bible readings.

4. The missal contained the instructions and liturgy of the Lord's
Supper or Mass. The term mass had accidentally come from the
ancient Latin dismissal Ite, missa est, "go it is ended". Luther
was not troubled with the use of the word mass any more than
modern Christians are with "Christ-mass".
by faith", and the fellowship with the living Christ. What he
desired was to purify the services of the accretions and super-
stitions that had grown up around the Lord's Supper; especially
was he concerned with the distortion of the Lord's Supper from
being a fellowship with the Lord and with his people to a
sacrifice with "paid for prayers", when "the Mass began to be a
priestly monopoly exhausting the wealth of the whole world, deluging
the whole earth like a vast desert with rich, powerful, and
lascivious celebrations".

"Then came masses for the dead, for travelers, for
riches, and who can name the titles alone for which the
mass was made a sacrifice." 4

The Lord's Supper became a commodity which men could use for their
salvation -- and something the priestly monopoly could sell, or
withhold -- a work of merit that could bring riches, success, fame,
hurt to the enemy, and a thousand other material things. It had
come about and been fostered, said Luther, because of priestly
greed -- His words are strong:

"...because of the tyranny of avarice and sacerdotal
ambition these altars and images of Baal and all gods began
to be placed in the temple of the Lord, by our impious
kings, that is the bishops and pastors. Here impious Ahaz
took away the brazen altar and erected another brought from
Damascus...." 5

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1. Martin Luther, "Formula of Mass and Communion for the Church at
Wittenberg", Works of Martin Luther, Vol. VI, Tr. with Introductions
2. Ibid., p. 85.
3. Ibid., p. 85.
4. Ibid., p. 86.
5. Ibid., p. 85.
Secondary things such as "vestments, vessels, candles" etc., did not bother Luther, but this making the Lord's Supper a sacrifice which men could do for their salvation, and which men could buy and sell was not God's great loving Gospel of Grace. This was the great concern of the Reformer. Luther was in no hurry to provide an Evangelical liturgy until first of all the people understood the theology back of the liturgy. This insight of the Reformer is one that modern liturgiologists must bear in mind if they would be true to the heart and purpose of the Reformed Church. The liturgy must be rooted in theology and express theology. Luther taught and preached the theology of the Reformation six years before he attempted any liturgical reform. As early as 1516 Luther in preaching on the third commandment stressed the necessity of "hearing the Word of God" as over against the idea of hearing "mass".¹ In 1520 he advocated the communion in both kinds,² and objected to the Verba being said secretly. In his book on the Babylonian Captivity of the Church (Sept.-Oct. 1520) he had vigorously attacked the withholding of the cup, the doctrine of transubstantiation, and the conception of the Mass as a good work and a sacrifice.³ He denounced the doctrine of transubstantiation as a "monstrous phantom" which the Church of the first twelve centuries knew nothing about, and said that any endeavour to define the precise manner of Christ's

1. Luther Werke, Weimar Ausgabe, Bd. I. p. 443, quote by Luther Reed, op.cit., p. 68.
2. L. Reed, op.cit., p. 68.

Presence in the sacrament is simply indecent curiosity. The radical procedure of Carlstadt impelled Luther to leave his safety in the castle at Wartburg and preach eight sermons at Wittenberg, counselling moderation and a conservative reform of worship. He counselled ministers to omit the Canon with its emphasis on the sacrifice in the Mass, but as yet, he made no radical revision in liturgy. He did not think that the people as yet understood the theology back of the changes, and without this the change meant little. In Whitsuntide, 1523, in fulfilment of a promise made to the Congregation at Leisnig, Luther published an 8 page pamphlet "Von Ordnung Gottis Diensts Ynn Der Geymeyne" (Concerning the Ordering of Divine Worship in the Congregation). Here he made a study of early Christian worship and makes an argument for a daily Matins and Vesper service, and gives instruction how they might be conducted, outlines in a general way the Sunday services, advising the abolition of daily mass, and some of the festivals. His great concern is that men may hear and comprehend the message of God’s Grace through the Word. The closing paragraph states:

"Further matters will be met and adjusted as the need arises from time to time. But the important thing is this, that everything be done so that the Word prevails and does not once more become a clamor or whine, and rattled off mechanically as it has heretofore. It is better to abandon everything else except the Word. And there is no better practice or exercise than the Word; and the whole Scripture shows that this should have free course among the Christians; and Christ Himself, also, says, Luke 10 – One thing is needful, namely that Mary sit at the feet of Christ and hear His word daily. This is the best part she has chosen, and will never be taken away. It is an eternal word; all

the rest must pass away no matter how much work it gives Martha to do. To this God help us. Amen."

In 1523 Pastor Nicolaus Hausman, of the Marienkirche at Zwickau, in the heart of the Munzer movement, had written repeatedly to Luther for more definite worship instructions that would conform with the principles of the movement in which both were so deeply concerned. Luther laid aside for two months his unfinished translation of the Old Testament and wrote his "Formula of Mass and Communion for the Church at Wittenberg" (Formula Missae et Communionis Pro Ecclesia Witten-Bergensis). His theological concern is clearly seen in the opening paragraph. He states:

"Thus far I have tried by means of books and sermons among the people to call their hearts away from godless opinions of ceremonies, thinking I would be doing something Christian and salutary if I would be the cause whereby the abomination, which Satan has set up in the holy place through the man of sin might be removed. Therefore I have undertaken nothing either by force or command; nor have I changed old things for new, always being hesitant and fearful on account of those souls weak in the faith from whom the old and accustomed is not to be taken away suddenly or among whom a new and untried method of worshipping God is to be introduced; and especially on account of those light and fastidious spirits who, without faith, without reason, like unclean swine, rush wildly about and rejoice only in the novel, and as soon as the novelty has worn off forthwith become disgusted with it."

Luther had above all the heart of a pastor -- he understood that he must not alarm those souls weak in the faith until they had a firm grip on the theological reasons impelling the new way of

1. Ibid., pp. 63-64. The underlining is mine.
2. L. Reed, op.cit., p. 70.
4. Ibid., pp. 83-84.
worship. He had little use for novelty for the sake of novelty, and less use for the shallow people who chased after the new and novel. But he also understood that his teachings demanded some changes in the worship. He accepted the duty:

"...we will no longer rule hearts by word of doctrine only, but we will put your hand to do it, also, and make that effective in the public administration."¹

His task will be that of the Reformer, so he states:

"...we assert, it is not now nor has it ever been in our mind to abolish entirely the whole formal cultus of God, but to cleanse that which is in use, which has been vitiated by most abominable additions, and to point out a pious use."²

Before the Council of Trent the Missal like the Breviary was not uniform; it seems that nearly every diocese had a Missal adapted to its own need and use. Exactly how many Luther had before him for his revisions is not certain but Strodach after careful research and comparisons came to the conclusion that Luther relied most on the Nurnberg Missal, printed at Nurnberg 1464, the Bamberg Missal of 1499, and the Milan Missal of 1474.³ A comparison of Luther's worship service with the old Missal reveals how he has cleansed it.

He gives his own rule:

"Therefore repudiating all those things which smack of sacrifice and of the Offertory, together with the entire Canon, let us retain those things which are pure and holy, and then we will order our Mass in this fashion."⁴

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¹ Ibid., p. 84.
² Ibid., pp. 84-85. The underlining is mine.
³ Ibid., p. 107. The Milan Missal of 1474 was the first printed Missal. On pages 124-132 of the above Strodach gives a parallel reading of Luther's German text and the Canon Missae from the Milan Missal of 1474, including the rubrics. Luther has cleansed it of the "sacrifice" and "human works of merit" elements, but has left what he thought was edifying and Christian.
⁴ Ibid., p. 89.
He did not intend that his word be final:

"...prejudicing no one, nor forbidding any one to embrace or follow some other method. Indeed we beg through Christ, from the heart, if something better shall be revealed to those who are in advance of us in these things, that they command us to be silent so that by common work we may aid the common cause."  

In the Preface to the German Mass Luther again stresses the same appeal:

"...I want to make a request, in all kindness and in God's name, too that all who see this order of service or desire to adopt it, shall not impose it as a law....It is not our thought that all Germany must immediately adopt our Wittenberg Order. It has never been so that all foundations, monasteries and parishes had a uniformity of observance."  

Luther also understood the mystical insight (later emphasized by the Quakers) who rejected all religious forms, but he felt that the teaching ministry of the church, and its pastoral care for weak and growing Christians would not permit him to yield to the Quaker temptation.

"...We do not introduce any order for the sake of those who already are Christians. They do not need them, for one does not live for such things. But they live for our sake, who are not yet Christians, that they may make Christians out of us. Their worship is in the spirit.

We need such Orders for those who either must still become Christians or need to be strengthened, since a Christian does not need Baptism, the Word or the Sacrament as a Christian, -- it is all his, -- but as a sinner. ...this is the damnable thing in the papal services, that they have been changed into laws, works and merits to the utter destruction of the faith."  

1. Works of Luther Vol. II, op.cit., p. 84.
2. Ibid., pp. 170-171.
3. Ibid., p. 171.
He was not against the Latin as long as it communicated to the hearer.

"For I would in no wise banish the Latin entirely from the Service, for the youth is my chiefest concern. If I could bring it to pass and Greek and Hebrew were as familiar to us as the Latin, and offered as much good music and song, we would hold mass, sing and read on successive Sundays in all four languages, German, Latin, Greek and Hebrew."  

His pastor's heart took into account the full significance of the German temperament:

"For we Germans are an untamed, crude, boisterous folk with whom one ought not lightly start anything."

Luther thus reduced the "Seven" hours of daily prayer to Matins and Vespers, choosing and cleansing from the Breviary to express the Gospel of Grace and Faith; from the Missal he chose and cleansed for an Evangelical Lord's Supper. Like Calvin he felt greatly indebted to the Church Fathers and their contribution to theology and worship, but he also felt convinced that in addition to translating the old Latin hymns and prayers, that Christian poets should continue to make a contribution to worship. In 1524 Luther published his first hymn book, the "Geystliche Gesang Buchleyn", commonly spoken of as "The Walther Choir Book", because Luther called upon the services of Johan Walther, cantor at the palace of Frederick, the Wise, at Torgau, in which were twenty-four

1. Latin had been until about that time the only language throughout Europe in which abstract thoughts could be well expressed. The national languages were still in formation, but were rapidly becoming a part of each country's nationalism and contributed greatly to the temper of the Reformation.

2. Ibid., p. 172.
3. Ibid., p. 173.
4. Ibid., p. 278.
of his own hymns. In the Preface he stated:

"...I have collected some spiritual songs as a fair beginning and to offer this as an example and an incentive to those who are better able to do this, in order that the Holy Gospel may be fostered and brought into use....I am not of the opinion that all arts are to be cast down and destroyed on account of the Gospel, as some fanatics protest, on the other hand I would gladly see all arts, especially music, in the service of Him who has given and created them..."  

The old Latin Litany was cleansed of unevangelical content and became a part of congregational prayer. It became a part of the Kirchenbuch and later contributed to the reform of the Litany in the English Reform.  

This concept of theology and worship, propounded and practiced by the Reformation leader, suffered serious alterations before the German immigrants began to enter Brazil in the second and third decades of the nineteenth century. Disintegrating forces of many kinds brought church life to a low ebb in the 17th and 18th centuries. These adversely affected the liturgy, and the total pattern of church life. The first of these destructive factors was the Thirty Years War (1618-48). The magnitude, length, and bitterness of this struggle stagger the imagination. Marches, counter-marches, invasions, occupations, evacuations, reoccupations, sieges, reliefs, and other military manoeuvres, transformed entire districts into deserts. Famine and disease accompanied the war.

"The Church suffered irreparable losses. Protestant pastors who were not slain were driven into poverty and exile. Those permitted to stay ministered to their people in barns or in forests. Ordered church life was disrupted, churches were closed, wrecked, or defiled. Liturgical books, music,

1. Ibid., pp. 283-284. The underlining is mine.
2. Ibid., p. 245.
and sacred vessels were destroyed, together with vernacular translations of the Scriptures... The Church in Germany was reduced to pitiful poverty, not only in material possessions, but in the loss of spiritual effectiveness and the traditions of liturgical and musical culture." \(^1\)

One-third of all the cultivated land in northern Germany was reduced to barrenness. Cities rich in all that the Middle Ages had bequeathed to the modern world were reduced to ashes. Germany's total population of 16,000,000 was reduced to less than 6,000,000. \(^2\)
The war had lasted longer than the average expectancy of life in those times. A generation of youth familiar only with violence and brutality had grown to maturity, while the population sank into ignorance and superstition.

As the war ended efforts were made to restore orderly church life, but the people demoralized by war and plunder, were not responsive as in the days of Luther. The alternative was a scholastic orthodoxy and a legalistic conception of worship. "Clerical scholasticism and governmental bureaucracy reduced church life and worship to mechanical levels". The Church became more and more a department of the civil government with fines imposed for non-attendance. This produced an externalization of worship and a neglect of the spiritual quality in everyday life and conduct. The people were drilled in the Catechism and driven to church, but the influence of religion upon the moral and spiritual life became less and less potent.

\(^1\) Luther Reed, op.cit., p. 140.
\(^2\) Ibid., p. 141. Authorities disagree on the actual extent of the ruin caused by this war. However all agree that the damage was extensive and demoralizing.
"...while the earlier forms of worship were partially restored, the spirit which had characterized faith and worship in the sixteenth century was not recaptured."

A two-fold reaction to this scholastic orthodoxy followed. First a movement known as Pietism led in large part by Philip Jacob Spener, an Alsatian born thirteen years before the end of the Thirty Years' War, and by one of his pupils August Herman Franke. In 1675 Spener published his Pia Desideria (Earnest Desires) with six major proposals for reform. He inaugurated private devotional assemblies in his house twice a week (collegia piatatis) with common discussions of Scripture and life -- a practice which was soon to become widespread in certain areas of Germany. It was not generally a separatist movement.¹

Elector Frederick III invited Spener and Franke to use Halle University for theological instruction and the promotion of their reform. Halle became the centre of a great movement stressing practical religion and missions. Halle set the first Lutheran missionaries to India -- Ziegenbalg and Plutschau. Henry Melchior Muhlenberg, the patriarch of the Lutheran Church in North America was largely a product of this institution, and brought its spirit and practice to the New World. The movement became particularly strong in the area of Wurttemberg. In this area a new type of "prediger" developed among the laity for afternoon meetings in the private homes. This order was composed of men who were loyal to

¹. Luther Reed, op.cit., p. 142.

². Although a segment of Spener's disciples did break with the Church and emigrate to Pennsylvania where they had considerable influence upon church life in America.
the parish church, which they faithfully attended Sunday mornings, but led Bible discussions in the private home meetings on Sunday afternoons.¹ Some received special theological training for their work, but they were not ordained men, and did not separate themselves from the parish church. These Pietists however formed a considerable block of the immigrants going to the New World, where they continued their "prediger" services, but without the benefit of the parish church -- on the frontier they often became the only Church. The pattern of worship which they bequeathed was that of a family worship -- a simple Bible Study and prayers, with emphasis upon the subjective, the sentimental, and the minor details of life and conduct.

The worship patterns of early nineteenth century Germany had also suffered from "Rationalism". Rationalism was a child of the Renaissance, and not limited to Germany, but in Germany it had developed a distinct pattern -- it remained within the Church, but opposing all supernaturalism and the idea of a positive revelation of God. This created a crisis in authority. Supernaturalism had found its authority in revelation, while rationalism had found it in reason. For "Rationalism" the Church was considered as without any real authority, but Christianity, because of its greater reasonableness was regarded as superior to other religions.

¹ One of these the "Michelianischen Gemeinschaften", was founded by Michael Hahn (b. 1758), began on the large estate near Wurtenberg, where he was the administrator. It has continued to the present day throughout the region. A complete history can be found in Kirchliche Geschlichte Wurttembergs by C. Romer (Stuttgart: Vermehrte Auflage, 1865).

Peter Baaler, a student at New College during 1969-70, had roots in the Michelianischen Gemeinschaften.
The ideal of happiness was substituted for the divine plan of redemption, miracles were explained by natural causes, and original sin defined as a limitation of human nature. Worship was radically affected. Pietism had a tendency to reject the ancient forms without denying the content, but "Rationalism" when carried to its logical implications, denied both form and content. The Word and Sacraments, even the hymns lost their meaning. The pulpit became a lecture platform from which the minister gave moral instructions. All of this affected the immigrants and pastors who were entering Brazil in the early decades of the nineteenth century.

The Swiss-German immigrants came from a similar background. Concerning Switzerland, Nichols wrote:

"In Switzerland similarly the Reformed Churches emerged from the revolutionary and Napoleonic period with little or no independence from the several states ... Geneva had become the centre of Reformed Rationalism. The Calvinist Confessions had been pruned of Sin and Grace early in the eighteenth century, and Rousseau and Voltaire had greatly embarrassed the Genevese clergy by calling them 'shame-faced Socinians'... respect for the Church had disappeared... pulpts, professorships, and church administration were generally in the hands of moralizing rationalists..."

Missionaries, however, are generally fairly conservative in theology, and there are indications that the pastors who accompanied the German and Swiss-German immigrants brought with them the historic liturgies used in their respective areas which they attempted to adapt to the difficult situation of the New World.

2. Ibid., p. 135.
Their flocks, however, were generally widely scattered over rural or semi-rural conditions, which made parish ministry of the continental type an impossibility.

Two things however do stand out in the life of these Protestant immigrants; first, the family devotions conducted along the lines developed by the Pietistic movement in Germany; and secondly, the introduction of Reformation music. Ex-padre Conceicao was not the only person greatly influenced by the family worship of these pietistic immigrants. These Lutheran communities continued their worship services in the German Language until forced to change to Portuguese during World War II, and therefore the Portuguese-speaking Brazilian people did not understand the singing or the details of the liturgy, but the joyful triumphant Reformation music and the family worship and home life of the Pietistic families was a contribution that reached many people in the hinterland of Brazil. Their churches were called Evangelical Churches and they were a happy and a good people. The word "Evangelical" was becoming a good word. Brazil was not destined to have a Reformation in the form of a political Revolution as had occurred in Germany, Geneva, England and Scotland, but a new day was dawning in the Land of the Southern Cross.

1. See Chapter 4 -- Conceicao.
WORSHIP AMONG THE SCOTTISH IMMIGRANTS

When Brazil, in 1808 opened its ports to all friendly nations, enterprising and adventurous Scots rose to the challenge and opportunity. The Clark Shoe Company\(^1\) immediately opened a branch in the city of Rio de Janeiro; however it was only one of the many companies which sought to take advantage of the new market. Richard Holden,\(^2\) the first Episcopal missionary to Brazil, was a Scotsman who had first gone to Brazil in a commercial venture. Impressed by the spiritual needs of the land, he had resolved to become a missionary; he went to the United States for theological training and returned to Brazil in 1861. He later worked with Dr. Kalley in Rio de Janeiro. Robert Kalley, the first Protestant missionary to establish permanent Evangelical worship in Brazil, was a Scottish Glasgow-trained medical missionary. Through his being first on the ground in Brazil, and through his writings, his hymnal, his converts who became deacons, colporteurs, and lay evangelists, first for Kalley and later for other missions, he became without doubt the most influential missionary of the nineteenth century in Brazil, and definitely set a pattern of worship which affected all evangelical work in the nation. The Scottish immigrants did not come in colonies as the German and Swiss had done;

1. Freyre, The Mansions and the Shanties, p. 376 ff. "In 1822 a certain Clerk, the owner with his brother, of a shoe factory in Scotland, opened a shoe store in the Rua de Ouvidor (a street in Rio de Janeiro) to sell the products of his factory in Brazil... it was used by the most refined persons, judges, lawyers, students, army officers..."

they came as individuals and as representatives of Scottish industries. As they found their way into the cities and settlements of Brazil, what concepts of church and worship did they contribute?

The Reformation came late to Scotland; already Luther, Cranmer, Bucer, Zwingli, and a host of other leaders were dead before Scotland became officially Protestant in 1560. Lollardry, however, had never died out completely in Scotland. On March 1425 Parliament decreed that each Bishop should make inquisition as to 'heritikis and Lollardis', and that they be punished. Luther's pamphlets, books, and Tyndale's English Bible had been constantly smuggled in by commercial travellers. Scottish students were studying in continental universities in contact with the Reformation. Patrick Hamilton had studied under Erasmus at Paris and at the Marburg University, the great Lutheran centre. His book "Patrick's Places", was thoroughly Pauline and Lutheran. He had returned to Scotland in 1527, and the following year was burned at the stake for heresy. On March 1, 1546, George Wishart was burned for heresy. He had studied at the best Reformation centres of learning in Germany and Switzerland, and had returned to Scotland where he did open-air preaching, specializing in exposition on the Book of Romans. He had also brought back to Scotland a copy of the First Helvetic Confession. During the time of his open-air preaching he was accompanied by John Knox, who with a two-handed sword served as his bodyguard. Knox was a priest of the Roman Church, a tutor at Longniddry House, and it was
probably under the ministry of Wisehart that he decided fully to become a Protestant. The influence of "Patrick's Places", and the "First Helvetic Confession" had moved many toward the Continental Reformation, and probably a little more to the Lutheran side. At that time the great aim of Spain, France, and the Emperor, was to crush Protestant England, and Scotland became pivotal in the political struggle. France courted Scotland, and opposed the Reformation. John Knox caught in the power struggle, became a prisoner of France, condemned to serve as a slave in the French galleys. This was followed by ten years in exile in England and the Continent, with occasional visits to Scotland. In 1549 Knox, released from the French galley, came to England where he was invited by the King Edward VI to minister to the people and garrison at Berwick, then to Newcastle, and finally in the end of 1551 he became one of six court chaplains, and was offered a bishopric. During this period he used the First Book of Common Prayer of Edward VI. It is not known how widely this book was used in Scotland but by 1557 while Knox was still in Geneva the leading Scottish nobles and barons entered into a solemn engagement called a "Band" or "Covenant" to "apply our whole power, substance, and our very lives, to maintain, set forward, and establish the most blessed Word of God and His Congregation". Their first resolution was one adopting the English "Book of Common Prayer" of 1552:

"It is thought expedient, devised, and ordained, that in all parochines of this Realme the Common Prayeris be read owklie on Sonnday and other festuall

1. The exact date Dec. 3, 1557, and the occasion was more or less prompted by a stirring letter from John Knox."
dayis, publiclie in the Paroche Kirkis, with the Lessonis of the New and Old Testament, conform to the  ordour of the Book of Common Prayeris: and yf the Curattis of the parochynes be qualified, to cause to reid the samye; and yf thai be nott, or yf thai refuse, that maist qualified in the parish use and read the same."

This was not an act of Parliament and was not law, but it was the will and consent of the Reforming party, and there can be no doubt that it was used in many parishes in Scotland, and had not the Marian persecution driven Knox to Geneva Scotland would probably have accepted this Book as its model of worship. It was officially superseded in Scotland in 1564 by the Book known as Knox's Liturgy or Book of Common Order. However it probably remained in the possession of the churches and in partial use for many years.

Knox fled from England in the Marian persecution in March 1554; from November 1554 to September 1555 he served as co-pastor of the church of English exiles in Frankfort, and from September 1555 as co-pastor of the church of English exiles in Geneva, until he returned to Scotland in May, 1559. These English exiles worshipped in the little church of Ste. Marie la Nove, close by on the south side of the Cathedral. Their service book was an English translation of Calvin's Book in all its basic parts. The few changes were unimportant. The translation was probably made by John Knox and by his friend William Whittinghame, who had been with Knox at Frankfort, and later became Dean of Durham. Maxwell in his "John Knox's Genevan Service Book" presents extensive textual evidence to

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demonstrate that Knox's liturgy was derived directly from Calvin's service Book. This Book of Geneva as it was sometimes called was entitled:

The Form of Prayers and Ministration of the Sacraments, etc., used in the English Congregation at Geneva; and approved by the famous and Godly-learned Man, M. John Calvin.

This book was printed in Geneva in 1556 and again in 1561; it was reprinted in Edinburgh in 1562.\(^2\) The Scottish edition of 1664, which became the official book of the General Assembly bore the title:

The Form of Prayers and Ministration of the Sacraments &c., used in the English Church at Geneva, approved and received by the Church of Scotland, whereunto besides that was in the former books are also added sundry other Prayers, with the whole Psalms of David in English Metre.\(^3\)

Sprott and Leishman\(^3\) list twenty-six different editions giving dates and where copies may be found. In addition there were many pocket editions and frequently it was bound up with the Bible. Concerning the title they observe:

"The Book of Geneva is referred to as the Book of our Common Order, but this name does not appear to have been much used till modern times. The book seems to have been commonly referred to as the Psalm Book, the Prayers, the Common Prayers, and after 1645, as the Old Liturgy."

It is important to note that it was not an absolute and fixed formulary which left nothing to the minister's discretion, but it was a full and rich form of worship -- Calvin called it: "The Form

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2. Ibid., p. 237.


4. Ibid., p. 240.
of Prayers and Manner of Ministering the Sacraments according to the Use of the Ancient Church". The Roman idea of sacrifice, merit, and good works, had been cleansed away, but a full worship service had been retained. In Knox's Book of Common Order there were given four different forms of a prayer of Confession of sins, but the rubric also gave the minister permission to frame his own prayer --

"When the Congregation is assembled at the hour appointed, the Minister useth this Confession, or like in effect, exhorting the people diligently to examine themselves, following in their hearts the tenor of his words."\(^2\)

Four beautiful prayers of confession were then given in the service book to be used by the minister at his discretion, "or like in effect". The first one is taken from Calvin Latin version of 1545,\(^3\) and is some time called Beza's Confession, although Ebrard\(^4\) attributes it to Oecolampadius and says that it appeared in the Zurich Liturgy of 1525. One prayer of confession has this rubric:

"A Confession of Sins, and Petitions made unto God in the time of our extreme Troubles, and yet commonly used in the Churches of Scotland, before the Sermon."\(^5\)

This rubric confirms again the fact that such a form of prayer "was commonly used in the Churches of Scotland" in the early days of the Reformation, and also sheds light on the "troubled" days of the time.

In a rubric for singing and prayer before and after the sermon were

1. Calvin did not ignore the Ancient Church.
2. Ibid., p. 79.
3. Ibid., p. 243.
4. Ibid., p. 244.
5. Ibid., p. 85.
these words:

"This done, the people sing a Psalm all together, in a plain tune: which endeth, the Minister prayeth for the assistance of God's Holy Spirit, as the same shall move his heart, and so proceedeth to the Sermon; using after the Sermon this Prayer following, or such like."  

Then followeth a "Prayer for the Whole Estate of Christ's Church". The prayer before the sermon was completely at the discretion of the minister, and the long closing prayer could serve as a model if the minister chose to alter it. It was full worship with freedom. After the closing Psalm and benediction is another rubric:

"It shall not be necessary for the Minister daily to repeat all these things before mentioned, but beginning with some manner of confession, to proceed to the Sermon, which endeth, he either useth the "Prayer for All Estates" before mentioned, or else prayeth, as the Spirit of God shall move his heart, framing the same according to the time and matter which he hath entreated of. And if there shall be at any time any present plague, famine, pestilence, war, or suchlike, which be evident tokens of God's wrath, as it is our part to acknowledge our sins to be the occasion thereof, so are we appointed by the Scriptures to give ourselves to mourning, fasting, and prayer, as the means to turn away God's heavy displeasure. Therefore, it shall be convenient, that the Minister at such time do not only admonish the people thereof, but also use some Form of Prayer, according as the present necessity requireth, to the which he may appoint, by a common consent, some several day after the Sermon, weekly to be observed."

This is followed by two long and beautiful prayers to be used after the sermon when desired. The rubric states:

"These two prayers are used in the French Church of Geneva. The first serveth for Sunday after the Sermon, and the other that followeth is said upon Wednesday, which is the day of Common Prayer."

1. Ibid., p. 86.
2. Ibid., pp. 90-91. The underlining is mine.
3. Ibid., p. 91.
and immediately before the prayer this rubric:

"Another Manner of Prayer after the Sermon."¹

The rubric before the second prayer states:

"This prayer following is used to be said after the Sermon on the day which is appointed for Common Prayer: and it is very proper for our estate and time, to move us to true repentance, and to turn back God's sharp rods which yet threaten us."²

Following this are yet five more prayers for special occasions.

The rubric for one is interesting in its double purpose:

"A Prayer used in the Churches of Scotland, in the time of their Persecution by the Frenchmen: but principally when the Lord's Table was [or is] to be ministered."³

In one paragraph is a reminder of the struggle they daily faced:

"...Thy hand drowned Pharaoh: Thy sword devoured Amalek: Thy power repulsed the pride of Sennacherib: And Thine angel so plagued Herod, that worms and lice were punishers of his pride. O Lord, Thou remainest one forever, Thy nature is unchangeable, Thou canst not but hate cruelty, pride, oppression, and murder, which now the men whom we never offended pretend against us: Yea further, by all means they seek to banish from this Realm Thy dear Son our Lord Jesus Christ, the true preaching of His Word, and faithful ministers of the same, and by tyranny they pretend to maintain most abominable idolatry, and the pomp of the Roman Antichrist. Look Thou, therefore, upon us, O Lord, in the multitude of Thy mercies, stretch out thine arm and declare Thyself protector of Thy truth, repress the pride, and daunt Thou the fury of these cruel persecutors: suffer them never so to prevail against us, that the brightness of Thy Word be extinguished within this Realm...."⁴

Some of these prayers closed with --

"...as we are taught and commanded to pray, saying, Our Father which art in heaven, &c."⁵

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1. Loc. cit.
2. Ibid., p. 97. The underlining is mine.
3. Ibid., p. 103.
4. Ibid., p. 107.
5. Ibid., p. 116 and others.
Knox's Order of Public Worship, like Calvin's, was modeled on the Eucharist. Calvin however had been forbidden by the city Magistrates to celebrate Communion every Sunday. Knox was not forbidden by any civil authorities, but limited by the lack of ministers. It appears to have been celebrated only monthly in the larger cities and quarterly in the country villages. Later this custom seemed to have survived, but finally in the troubled times it became very infrequent,¹ and at best annually.² This however was not the intent of the Reformers. In the exhortation and fencing of the tables was none of the severe legality which later entered into the Scottish Church, but words such as these:

"...we may be now right well assured, that those defaults and manifold imperfections in us shall be no hindrance at all against us, to cause Him not to accept and impute us as worthy to come to His spiritual Table: for the end of our coming thither is not to make protestation that we are upright or just in our lives; but contrariwise, we come to seek our life and perfection in Jesus Christ, acknowledging in the mean time that we of ourselves be the children of wrath and damnation.

Let us consider, then, that this Sacrament is a singular medicine for all poor sick creatures, a comfort able help to weak souls, and that our Lord requireth no other worthiness on our part, but that we unfeignedly acknowledge our naughtiness and imperfection."³

There was a prayer for the giving of thanks at the Table, but it too had a degree of full liberty:

1. Some churches later went years without a Communion Service.
"...Then he taketh bread and giveth thanks, either in these words following, or like in effect:"  

At another place in the fencing of the Tables his early Lutheran grasp of the faith that justifies comes out clearly:

"And yet this I pronounce not, to seclude any penitent person, how grievous soever his sins before have been, so that he feel in his heart unfeigned repentance for the same; but only such as continue in sin without repentance..."

Like Luther, and like Calvin, it was a very high opinion of the Sacraments, that Knox held:

"We utterly damne the vanity of those that affirm Sacraments to be nothing also but naked and bare signs. No we assuredly believe...that in the Supper rightly used Christ Jesus is so joined with us that He becomes the very nourishment and food of our souls. Not that we imagine any transubstantiation as the Papiste have perniciously taught and damnable believe, but this union and communion which we have with the body and blood of Christ in the right use of the Sacrament is wrought by the operation of the Holy Ghost, who by true faith carries us above all things that are visible, carnal, and earthly, and makes us to be fed upon the body and blood of Christ Jesus, which was once broken and shed for us...We affirm that the faithful in the right use of the Lord's Table has such conjunction with Jesus Christ as the natural man cannot comprehend...and therefore whosoever slandereth us as that we affirmed or believed sacraments to be only naked and bare signs, do injury unto us and speak against a manifest truth."

Knox was in harmony with Calvin who stated -- "I rather experience it than understand it ... I doubt not that He truly presents and that I receive Him".

The Catechism included the Apostle's Creed and a Form of Prayer to be Used in Private Houses Every Morning and Evening; also prayers to be used before and after meals, as well as other occasional

1. Ibid., p. 125.
2. Ibid., p. 123.
prayers. The Morning and Evening Prayers were read daily in Knox's home and the Evening Prayer was read the evening Knox died. The record is that Mr. Knox rejoiced greatly in hearing the prayer read that last night. The Presbyterian Church had not yet reached the idea that a read prayer could not be an instrument of great blessing. This was only to come in the next century through a series of unhappy historical incidents, actions, and reactions.

Knox's Liturgy -- "The Form of Prayers and Ministration of the Sacraments, &c., used in the English Church at Geneva, approved and received by the Church of Scotland, whereunto besides that was in the former books are also added sundry other Prayers, with the whole Psalms of David in English Metre", some time known as the Psalm Book, the Prayers, the Common Prayers, or the Book of our Common Order, was the Service Book of the Church of Scotland for eighty years, from 1564 till 1645. There was never an Act setting aside the "Book of Common Order", but in 1645 the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland passed an Act approving the Westminster Directory, and adopting it with certain safeguards and provisions.

1. Book of Common Order and Directory. Sprott and Leishman, p. 252. "Evening Prayers -- Retained from the 'Book of Geneva', and taken partly from the Evening Prayer in Calvin's Liturgy. This was the last prayer in which Knox joined, it having been read at family worship in his room an hour before his death". Thomas M'Crie, The Life of John Knox (Belfast: William Mullan, 1874) (with a preface and memoir by Andrew Crichton) p. 308. "At ten o'clock they read the evening-prayer, which they had delayed beyond their usual hour, from an apprehension that he was asleep. After they were concluded, Dr. Preston asked him, if he had heard the prayers. 'Would to God', said he, 'that you and all men had heard them as I have heard them: I praise God for that heavenly sound"...At about eleven o'clock, he gave a deep sigh and said 'now it is come'.

2. Ibid., p. xxii.
among which were these words:

"be no prejudice to the order and practice of this kirk in such particulars as are appointed by the Books of discipline and Acts of General Assemblies, and are not otherwise ordered and appointed in the Directory."¹

It did not become an important document in the Church of Scotland until the union of the Parliaments at the beginning of the next century; then it became a part of Scotland's safeguard and battle-cry against the danger of being swallowed up by the larger Church of England,² and in the struggle against the Episcopalians within their borders. The attitude toward the Directory was much the same as Professor Cheyne stated about the Confession:

"when the Presbyterians triumphed in 1690 they began to make increasing use of the Confession, not just as a vital affirmation of faith but as a touchstone of political reliability (against the Jacobites) and as a means of excluding those deemed ecclesiastically undesirable from office (against the Episcopalians). A new harshness and inflexibility developed; and even when the threat to the Revolution from Jacobite and Episcopalian had receded the obligations concerning the Confession continued to be imposed."³

It was not however an object of deep veneration as Prof. Cheyne continues:

"Perhaps the chief reason was that nobody resented them very much. True, in his satire, 'Ecclesiastical Characteristics', John Witherspoon observed that 'It is a necessary part of the character of a Moderate man never to speak of the Confession of Faith, but with a sneer; to give sly hints that he does not thoroughly believe it; and to make the word orthodoxy a term of contempt and reproach'."⁴

¹. Ibid., pp. xxii-xxii.
³. Loc. cit.
⁴. Ibid., p. 15.
During the first two hundred years of its life the Directory had little direct influence in either England or Scotland. In a paper prepared for a study group of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland it was stated:

"Research has shown that the subsequent influence of the Directory is negligible. It failed to gain acceptance in England, and although it gained formal sanction in Scotland it was in fact little used for the next two hundred years."

One reason for the apparent neglect of this document in Scotland was the basic similarity between the Westminster Directory of Worship and the older Scottish Book of Common Order associated with the name of Knox. While the new Directory was largely limited to rubrics, those rubrics followed the order of the older Scottish document. Sprott and Leishman have pointed out:

"...the Scottish Liturgy as then used was the mould on which the new manual was fashioned. To see this it is only necessary to set side by side the order of service for the Lord's Day required by each: --

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<tr>
<th>COMMON ORDER</th>
<th>DIRECTORY</th>
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<tr>
<td>Prayer</td>
<td>Prayer</td>
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<tr>
<td>Scripture from both ) Reader's</td>
<td>Scripture from both Testaments</td>
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<td>Testaments</td>
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<td>Benediction</td>
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This similarity plus the fact that the General Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland in its tenth session at Edinburgh, February 3, 1645, accepted the Directory with this provision:

"...provided, That this shall be no prejudice to the order and practice of this Kirk, in such particulars as are appointed by the Books of Discipline and Acts of General Assemblies, and are not otherwise ordered and appointed in the Directory..."¹

Charles Greig M'Crie was of the opinion that neither it nor the political changes that swept over Scotland during the next two centuries, basically changed the tenor of Scottish worship. He wrote:

"...the Directory for Public Worship is not once referred to in the doings or actings of the first Assembly after the Revolution. Nor, after what we have seen, need that be wondered at. For, though an alien form of Church government had been forced upon Scotland, the Church worship throughout the kingdom continued substantially what it had been in days of Reformation freedom and purity, and therefore legislative action was not necessary to restore what had never been lost."²

After the Revolution the episcopal incumbents, to retain their benefices, prayed for William and Mary, and some of the restored Presbyterians returned to their parishes with a measure of the freedom that had characterized their open air conventicle services, but M'Crie became convinced that Scottish worship in general had not substantially changed.

The Directory in the beginning was not entirely a revolt against a liturgy, it was produced as a standard of minimal liturgical

¹. Ibid., p. 285.
uniformity for the national churches of England, Wales, Ireland and Scotland, for Episcopal and Independent alike, and Maxwell is right in asserting that it represents "an amalgam and a compromise". But the outline suggested by the rubrics followed closely the earlier order of Knox and Calvin. The Preface had closed with the exhortation that the Ministers:

"may be careful to furnish his heart and tongue with further or other materials of Prayer and Exhortation, as shall be needful upon all occasions."

The people who began to use the Directory had in their possession Knox's Book of Common Order, the Book of Common Prayer, and other literature in this field. The Directory so closely followed the old liturgy that it could be easily turned into one. This in fact did happen. Sprott wrote:

"...and in the Directory turned into a Liturgy, and published by authority in 1645 for the use of the laity in the absence of a Clergyman -- a copy of which almost unknown work is extant in the British museum..."

The same Parliament which authorized the Directory also authorized a Book of Common Prayers for the navy -- a liturgy based upon the Directory. The prayer is simply the long instructions concerning the "general heads, the sense and scope of the Prayers", slightly altered with a few words and turned into a common prayer.

However a Scottish attitude toward liturgy and worship had developed during the internal struggles, an attitude that Scottish immigrants carried to the ends of the earth wherever they went. It began as a revolt against the attempts of Charles I to force the English Book of Common Prayer upon the Scottish nation in 1636-37, without their consent. This degenerated into a confused memory or tradition that the Presbyterians of Scotland were committed to "non-liturgical worship". As R.H. Story wrote: "...the Scottish people refused to be coerced despite the King's threats or the bishops' bullying". But this memory of the fight for Scottish freedom against English domination within the Church became confused with a struggle against liturgy. This attitude which Professor Donald Macleod of Princeton has termed a "superstition" not only was carried to the ends of the earth by the immigrants from Scotland, it also made inroads upon Scotland itself.

"The attitude of the Church of Scotland for the next two hundred years [that is after 1645] was quite indifferent as far as any liturgy was concerned and the result was that at the end of the eighteenth century the Scottish services of worship were the barest in Christendom. The sermon was everything. Prayers were dreary and lamentably composed. By the middle of the nineteenth century, however, a liturgical revival began to appear, particularly in the service of praise..."

1. The now famous Jenny Geddes incident July 23, 1637, occurred when Laud's Liturgy was first introduced in St. Giles Church. Laud's Liturgy was not completely identical with the English Book of Common Prayer but an approximate approach to harmonize the two kingdoms, but most important it was being forced upon a nation without their consent. A beautiful liturgical service based on Knox's liturgy had been read in St. Giles that very morning and had been acceptable.


3. Ibid., p. 74.
The arrival of the Scottish immigrants in Brazil however coincided with a period in which worship was suffering throughout all Christendom, but one of the tragic aspects for the Evangelical Church in Brazil was the absence of liturgical literature and older traditions which remained at least in the background of the cultural inheritance of Scotland. The immigrants brought a liturgical tradition which they conceived as based upon the Westminster Directory, but which in fact overlooked some of the positive suggestions and magnified the dimensions of the prohibitions. The Directory itself reached Brazil largely through the Presbyterian Church of North America where it had already suffered serious modifications. It was further modified in Brazil, but in its modified form it is still the only official Book of Worship for the Presbyterian Church in Brazil. Preaching and The Word were central and simplicity was the order of the day, but the devotional side was often impoverished, in spite of the austere piety practiced.
WORSHIP AMONG THE IMMIGRANTS FROM THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

As soon as the War of 1812 between the United States and England was terminated, a flow of adventurers and colonists from North America began to enter Brazil along with those of Britain and the Continent. A Russian Admiral¹ whose ship had put in to the Port of Nosso Senhora do Desterro (now Florianopolis) for repairs in 1808, and later returned to visit Rio in 1817, described the country at both visits, but at the second visit mentions that he was invited to a dinner sponsored by the American Ambassador and a Captain of an American battleship present in the port. At the dinner were people from nine different nations² — Russians, North Americans, Austrians, Dutch, Italians, Venezians, Ilirios, and French. It apparently was for foreigners, for no mention is made of the Portuguese or the Brazilians. He mentions also meeting in Rio a lady from Czechoslovakia who was married to an Austrian, and who had lived in Russia. He mentions that the city of Rio had sixty commercial houses³ that belonged to English merchants who were importing English products and exporting great quantities of sugar, rice, cotton and coffee, and gave an explanation of the British success in importation and exportation. He stated:

1. Revista da Historia, 1951. N. 6. April-Junho Sao Paulo, Brazil. In the section of Documents is a translation of a Russian Document which had at that time been re-edited in Russia. The Admiral's name was Vassili Mihailovitch Golaunin (1776-1881). Pages 391-410 contain this translation.
2. Ibid., p. 404.
"One could say that the English are flooding this city with their products. The English people enjoy here great commercial privileges. In the first place the English are able to export to Brazil all the products of their factories without any exception. In the second place they pay a tax of only 5% on the merchandise imported, while the Portuguese pay 16% and all other nations pay 24%.

The English merchants here are not importing on their own account but receive the merchandise from England on consignment and...they are rapidly becoming rich and do not run any risk of bankruptcy..."

The American immigrants at the beginning were not favoured by such a commercial treaty as the English although later they did import the first plows, kerosene lamps, and machinery to process cotton, as well as a type of country wagon that became popular in the Province of Sao Paulo. Later an American H.F. Steagall built the first factory to manufacture machines to process cotton. The United States still had its frontier on the west with inexpensive government land, but the spirit of adventure combined with the exciting travel books coming out of Brazil and London persuaded

1. Ibid., p. 408.
3. Ibid., p. 414.
4. Loc. cit., also the first sewing machine and American type of cooking stove.
5. Loc. cit.
Thomas Lindley, Narrative of a Voyage to Brazil (London: 1805).
John Luccock, Notes on Rio de Janeiro and the Southern Parts of Brazil taken during a Residence of Ten Years in that Country from 1808 to 1818 (London: 1820).
John Mowe, Travels in the Interior of Brazil (Philadelphia: M. Carey; Boston; Wells and Lilly, 1815).

[Contd.]
many young Americans to seek their future in Brazil.

As yet, there appears to be no complete record of the many young engineers, doctors, dentists, school-teachers, farmers, and others who came into Brazil from the United States during the decades that followed 1818. George Whitehill Chamberlain\(^1\) went to Brazil as a young man shortly after leaving college. He was suffering from eye trouble occasioned by excessive studying and hoped that the change of climate and voyage would effect a cure. He remained to become one of the pioneer Presbyterian missionaries. Medical men came interested in tropical diseases and in sciences such as botany. The journals give an occasional notice of an American dentist. Men such as these were infiltrating the nation. Some remained only a few years and returned to North America; others remained as a permanent part of Brazilian life.

At the close of the Civil War many Southerners who had lost heavily through the collapse of the Confederate Cause went to Brazil in colonies seeking to recover their fortunes, and establish new homes. The most successful of these colonies was established in the

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Contd. from p. 143]

Gilbert Farquar Mathison, *Narrative of a Visit to Brazil, Chili, Peru, and the Sandwich Islands During the years 1921 and 1822* (London: 1825)

George Gardner, *Superintendent of the Royal Botanical Gardens of Ceylon, Travels in the Interior of Brazil, Principally through the northern provinces and the Gold and Diamond Districts* (London: 1846)

Darwin's Journal, he visited Brazil in 1832.

Professor and Mrs. Louis Agassiz, *A Journey in Brazil* (Boston: Tichnor & Fields, 1868)

Maria Graham, *Journal of a Voyage to Brazil and Residence there during part of the years 1821, 1822, 1823* (London: 1920)


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State of Sao Paulo near Campinas at a place called Santa Barbara D'Oeste.¹ There were others in various parts of Brazil -- on the Amazon, on the Juquia River, in Iguape, Faixina, Tatui, and other places. Among these immigrants were Presbyterians, Baptists, Methodists who brought strong religious feelings with them -- convictions which later became a part of the Evangelical Churches of Brazil.² The presence of these immigrants from Texas, Alabama, the Carolinas, Florida, and other Southern States helped to influence the newly-formed Southern Presbyterian Church (Presbyterian Church of the United States) to send missionaries to Brazil, even when struggling to recuperate its own work in the post-war difficulties. The lives and religious ideals of these immigrants became further entwined with the missionary work through intermarriage in Brazil.

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1. A vivid and interesting account of this colony has recently been written by Judith Mack Knight Jones, one of the descendants of this colony and who is living yet in this community. The title Soldado Descansa (Soldier rest) is taken from the inscription on the tombstone of one of the original colonists which read --Soldier rest! Thy warfare is over". Judith MackKnight Jones, Soldado Descansa (Jarde: 1967)

2. James E. Bear, Mission to Brazil (Nashville, Tenn.: Board of World Missions, Presbyterian Church, U.S. 1961) p. 6. "...were sincere christians among them - Methodist, Presbyterian and others who sought to live the christian life in their new home."
Dr. James McFadden Gaston was a leader among them -- a medical doctor and elder in the Presbyterian Church of Columbia, South Carolina. He wrote his experiences in a book -- "Hunting a Home in Brazil" (1867). One of his daughters later married Blackford - the Presbyterian Missionary.

3. Jubilee Report of the Executive Committee of Foreign Missions. Presbyterian Church in the U.S. 1861-1936. Page one has a quotation from an early letter from G. Nash Morton: "The first thing which attracted Mr. Lane and myself to the South American field was the fact that after the reverse of the war a number of our countrymen had founded new homes among the Brazilian people." Also quoted in Nash's letter in The Missionary, February, 1869.
A daughter of Dr. Gaston, of the Faixana Colony was married to missionary Blackford.\(^1\) Another family at Santa Barbara D'Oeste furnished wives for five missionaries.\(^2\) The influence of these missionary wives in the formation of the Evangelical mission and Church in Brazil was very considerable. Also it must be remembered that after Dr. Kalley's strategic and courageous work in opening the door for Protestant missionaries in Brazil that the great burden of missionary work was done by missionaries from North America.

What concepts and practices of Evangelical worship did they introduce into Brazil? What contribution in the field of worship did these missionaries from the United States make in the formation of the Evangelical Churches of Brazil? What concepts and practices of worship prevailed in the United States of America at the middle of the nineteenth century?

The story of Protestant worship in the United States begins with England and the Book of Common Prayer. On the western coast of California, on a cliff standing three hundred feet above the sea, at a place called Drake's Bay, stands a cross of blue sandstone, fifty-seven feet high,\(^3\) marking the place where ship chaplain Francis Fletcher accompanying Sir Francis Drake, read the service

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1. This was Blackford's second marriage. His first wife was a sister of Simonton.

2. Five daughters of Charles and Mary Hall married Presbyterian missionaries: Lucy was married to Charles R. Morton; Kate to Alva Hardie; Sarah to James Porter Smith; Margaret to Philip S. Landes; Roberta to R.D. Dafin; all of these were prominent Presbyterian missionaries.

of the Book of Common Prayers and preached, in the year 1579, the first English sermon ever heard in that region. That cross is significant; it reminds the church historian that in the background of all Protestant life and worship in America stood the stabilizing influence of the Book of Common Prayer.

This English Book of Common Prayer was always in the background in American worship; America was settled mostly by nonconformists, but their nonconforming attitudes and reactions were in large part against this book; it was always in their thinking, even as a guide of their nonconformity. It became the official or semi-official book of prayer for the American Army and Navy,¹ and its Episcopal service was adopted at West Point,² and the other Military Academies. The non-liturgical churches frequently used it for marriages, funerals,³ and directed, in large part, their Communion Services within the guidelines of the Book of Common Prayer. This was later to be true in a measure in Brazil, as it was one of the first Protestant books to be translated into Portuguese, and was often found in the missionary's library, and occasionally in the library of the Brazilian non-conformist pastor.

Manateo,⁴ the first Indian convert to the Protestant Church in North America, was baptized according to the rite in the Book

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2. Loc. cit.
3. Loc. cit.
of Common Prayer, August 13, 1587, and the following Sunday August 20, Virginia Dare, born two days previously, was also baptized according to the Book of Common Prayer. This was thirty-three years before the landing of the Pilgrim Fathers at Plymouth. The first permanent British colony on the mainland of North America was founded May 13, 1607, at Jamestown, Virginia. One week later Chaplain Hunt administered the Lord's Supper beneath the shelter of a sail, the worshippers sitting on logs, while a bar of wood nailed to the trees served as pulpit. This service was conducted according to the Book of Common Prayer. Worship among the Pilgrims at Plymouth in 1627 was described by a Dutch Merchant:

"Upon the hill they have made a large square meeting house, with a flat roof...upon which they have cannons. The lower part they use for their church. They assemble by beat of drum, each with his musket in front of the Captain's door [Miles Standish]; they have their cloaks on, and place themselves in order, three abreast, and are led by a sergeant. Behind comes the Governor [William Bradford] in a long robe; beside him, on the right hand comes the preacher [elder Brewster] with his cloak on, and on the left the captain with his side arms and a small cane in his hand; and so they march in good order, and each sets his arms down near him."3

The great Puritan immigration into New England from 1628 to 1640 was largely composed of Puritans who had been members of the Church of England in the mother country, but in the new environment became Congregational in form of government and Calvinistic in doctrine, but in fact it was difficult to distinguish between Congregationalism and Presbyterianism in this frontier situation and

1. Loc. cit.
2. Drummond, op. cit., p. 3.
3. Drummond, op. cit., p. 52.
Congregational Churches often became Presbyterian for social and friendship reasons, while Presbyterian Churches were often conducted on Congregational lines. This was also true in early days in Brazil.

One thing however stood out in Puritan New England: they believed they were God's elect people destined in the New World to be a Puritan Model State for the instruction of all true Christianity everywhere.¹ They were "God's Chosen People" spiritually and intellectually. A reaction against extreme Calvinism coupled with the worship of intellectualism contributed to drive New England into Unitarianism, but the mold of early New England thinking was to have its impact upon the rest of the nation. Countless tens of thousands of New Englanders migrated toward the west and recreated "New England" towns all the way to Oregon and Hawaii.

"As flinty as their stones, as stiff as their cuffs and collars, they cross-fertilized other communities with their ideas and democratic principles. The New England conscience added something indispensable to the fibre and backbone of the American people."²

On the frontier they became the inner core of a developing "American Way of Life" which became the "folk-religion" of a vast segment of Americans, and an element in all the American denominations, including the Lutheran and Roman Catholic.

The early English Presbyterian immigrants to America had

¹ Blake, op. cit., p. 64.
² Drummond, op. cit., p. 36.
taken a Congregational form of government, and a form of worship influenced by the Westminster Confession, the Geneva Liturgy, and the Book of Common Prayer; all adapted to the needs of the frontier. By 1720 the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians were coming to America in great waves; by 1750 it has been estimated that a hundred thousand had come to America, and their influence was felt in all the thirteen colonies. These were the descendents of Scottish people who had been settled in Northern Ireland by the British Government after a serious Irish rebellion. At first they were a prosperous and happy colony, but towards the end of the seventeenth century the English government had placed certain economic restrictions upon them that resulted in an exodus to America. They, in turn, brought with them a dislike for the English Government and a still deeper antagonism toward the established Church. On top of other grievances they had been forced to pay tithe to support the Episcopal Church of Ireland, and their resentment to this they had carried to the New World. A large majority of the early Presbyterian missionaries to Brazil had their roots in this Scotch-Irish tradition; their fears and resentment toward the Established Church were extended to its rites as well as its government.

Francis Makemie, a Scotch-Irish missionary, is called the father of American Presbyterianism, because it was largely through his efforts that the first presbytery in America was formed in 1706. He was born in Donegal County, Ireland, about the year 1658, and witnessed personally the severe persecution which the Scotch and

Scotch-Irish Presbyterians had suffered because of their dissent from the tenets of the Established Church; he had witnessed the ejection and imprisonment of his own pastor — a memory that followed him to the end of his life, and which affected his ministerial attitudes. He graduated from the University of Edinburgh during Scotland's bloody "Killing Time". In 1682 this blue-eyed, brown-haired, fair-complexioned youth was ordained by the Laggan Presbytery, and in 1683 arrived in Maryland, to devote his life to the Presbyterian work in America. Lord Cornbury's description of Makemie is a revelation of the new type of minister emerging on the American frontier, and from which came the first American missionaries to Brazil:

"A Jack-of-all-trades, he is a Preacher, a Doctor of Physick, a Merchant, and Attorney, or Counselor at Law, and which is worst of all, a Disturber of Governments."

In the year 1706, Makemie with seven other Presbyterian ministers united to form the first American Presbytery, called by Makemie "A Meeting of Ministers". It was a rather informal organization, typical of the frontier, and typical of later missionary organisations in Brazil; it did not possess a Constitution.

3. Ibid., p. 23.
4. Samuel Baird, *Assembly Digest* (Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication, 1855) p. 25. The full title of this publication was "A Collection of the Acts, Deliverances, and Testimonies of the Supreme Judicatory of the Presbyterian Church in America to the Present Time: with Notes, Documents, explanatory and Historical: constituting a complete illustration of her Polity, Faith, and History". It was generally known as the Assembly Digest.
neither had it formally adopted a Confession of Faith or a Directory. By 1717 there were four Presbyteries which united to form a Synod still without a Constitution, Confession of Faith, or a Directory. In 1729, the Synod after long and careful debate, and after revising clauses in the twentieth and twenty-third chapters did accept the Westminster Confession, and at the same time allowing for candidates for the ministry to state any "scruples" he may have had concerning any article and give the Presbytery or Synod the power to decide whether the "scruple" was sufficiently "erroneous" in "essential and necessary" articles of faith to be denied a place in the ministry. The Directory was also adopted at the same time with this observation:

"...do earnestly recommend the same to all members, to be Observed, as near as circumstances will allow, and Christian prudence direct..."  

Martin Marty has observed that:

"Religions have always engaged in dialogue with their environment."  

Worship was already in dialogue with its environment, and even a book of rubrics, such as the Westminster Directory, was to be observed only so far as circumstances will allow and Christian

1. Thompson, op.cit., p. 28.  
2. Assembly Digest, pp. 30-31ff.  
3. Assembly Digest, p. 31.  
4. Martin E. Marty, The New Shape of American Religion (New York: Harper and Brothers, Pub., 1958) p. 1. He also stated -- "The variety of creeds, the long years among denominations, the experimental spirit, and the necessities of accommodation have served as eroding agents...Religion in America has paid a price for its accommodation to an environment which religionists often regarded as somehow revelatory and redemptive...."
prudence direct. This dialogue with the environment was to radically affect the European concept of worship as it had developed in the parish ministry. The process which began on the frontier of North America was to be carried to Brazil and to continue its process there.

The historian Robert Baird, writing in 1814, made this observation concerning the early Lutheran immigrants in the United States which could have been said most of the German Colonials of Brazil also:

"The first immigrants brought no pastors with them, but they had pious schoolmasters who held meetings on the Sabbath, and read the Scriptures, Arndt's True Christianity, and other religious books." 1

In 1742 pastor Muhlenberg arrived in the United States from Halle to minister to the scattered German immigrants there, and six years later organized a Synod. But until the end of the "westward trek" the picture given by Baird was true of the vast majority of the isolated rural Lutheran communities -- no ordained pastor in residence, only a local lay-leader who to all intents and purposes was their pastor. 2 The early handwritten liturgies of Muhlenberg were soon simplified and altered, and Wentz commenting on this period of Lutheran liturgical history stated:

"Until a year or two before 1870 there was not a single Lutheran liturgy that in character, form and completeness was worthy either of the Lutheran Church or her people." 3

1. Robert Baird, Religion in America (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1844) p. 258. This work was originally written as an explanation or apology for European readers.

2. The writer's grandfather shared in this lay work one hundred years ago in the region west of the Mississippi River.

Why did Reformation worship suffer these difficulties and changes in America? There were many reasons: first of all, not everyone came to America for religious motives -- ambition for a better livelihood outweighed every other motive for the majority, and was present in the most devout, but often the struggle for survival became so bitter that it drowned out all other considerations. Political prisoners and indentured slaves formed a considerable part of the population. The isolated plantations on muddy roads with families living too far from church to attend with any regularity had affected even the early colonial churches in Virginia. Sweet states that by the third decade of the eighteenth century the lower classes of the American colonies "were little influenced by religion...there came to be more unchurched people in America in proportion to the population, than was to be found in any country in Christendom."¹

It was at this point -- in a dark hour of American Christendom, when the Reformation concepts and practices of worship had largely disappeared, that a series of "Revivals" beginning with the "Great Awakening" appeared on the American scene, that were destined to change the face of religious life and worship in America -- both for good and for evil. From the standpoint of the colonies and of religion in general, the great Colonial revivals "rank as the most important religious movement of the whole colonial period".² Religion, which up to this time, had been the concern of

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the few, now became the concern of the people -- the masses. A new pattern and concept of church life and worship was to emerge from these mighty convulsive and transforming movements; something quite different from the national churches and parish ministries of Europe. The Great Awakening began in 1734 in New England under the preaching of Jonathan Edwards at Northampton, Massachusetts, and continued in waves throughout the next century. As religion became the intense concern of the common people, the inadequate supply of trained pastors became evident, and the vacuum was filled by lay preachers and untrained pastors. Some of the Scottish Presbyterian ministers, trained in Scotland, found it extremely difficult to adjust to the pressures of the changing situation. The Church of Scotland, like the Anglican and Lutheran Churches, had been born in a Revolution, in which the major part of the entire population had become Presbyterian in the political changes in the land. This fact is reflected in the fact that the early Reformed liturgies made no provision for the baptism of adults. Sprott commenting on the baptism of adults in relation to the Westminster Directory stated:

"There is no provision for this service in the Directory, or in the early editions of the Reformed Liturgies. The Dutch Church, as it was the first to enter the heathen mission-field, was the first to provide such a form, the present service in its Liturgy having been added in 1604, shortly before it began those noble missionary enterprizes in the

1. "All had been changed by the magic of the new land and were different from any previous churches in christendom" - Sidney E. Mead in The Ministry in Historical Perspective edited by H.R. Niebuhr and Daniel D. Williams (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1956) p. 208.
East, which are now forgotten or condemned as having been too much an affair of the State, but which form one of the brightest pages in the history of the Reformed Church at that time."

These Churches had been born in a revolution in which the former Roman Catholic population of a city or state, had suddenly become members of the Reformed Churches, and their previous Roman Catholic baptism had been considered valid without question. They had felt no need for evangelism among the unbaptized; their need was for teaching and indoctrination of the population. This was true in Scotland, and there had developed a Scottish theology and attitude which found it difficult to adapt to an environment which demanded evangelism with adult decisions and adult baptisms. Fortunately many of these Scottish trained ministers who had migrated to America had settled among Scottish and Scotch-Irish immigrants where there was a congregation awaiting them, and they were not forced to evangelize. But among the ministry of the Presbyterians were those who had been born and trained in America, had passed sympathetically through the Revivals and wished to participate in evangelizing the West. John Mackay of Princeton declared of those trained in Tennant's "Log College":

"...In a time of barren legalistic orthodoxy and rigid ecclesiasticism, which have appeared from time to time in the course of Presbyterian history, they consistently stood for a personal experience of Christ and the reality of the 'new man in Christ'."

2. William Tennant, an Irish Presbyterian minister had trained more than thirty ministers in his famous "Log College", at Neshaminy, Pennsylvania. Classes were conducted in a wooden cabin twenty feet square. Among the ministers trained were his own four sons. John Mackay of Princeton has paid tribute to their scholarship and dedication.
This clash resulted in two schools of thought among American Presbyterians, and later a schism between "The Old School", and the "New School". The New School men were not only more open to evangelism but to other new ideas that developed in American theology. This rift affected the mission field and its supporters; it is still possible to find Presbyterian ministers who have serious qualms about evangelism, but who are excellent pastors for an established church. Missionaries, however, in a pagan environment must labour to see adult conversions and adult baptisms. The "New School" ministers were determined that Presbyterians also had a message as well as Baptists and Methodists, to the unevangelized of the New World frontier.

The earliest settlers gathered for worship in private homes, or when the weather permitted under the shadow of great oaks, or perhaps in a booth covered with clapboards or brush. The earliest "meeting houses" were built like the homes of the settlers themselves, out of unhewn logs. Seats were the split logs with four legs. Earthen floors remained the custom through the colonial period. Ministers of the "Old School" were accustomed to wear a formal garb in the pulpit. Thompson describes a typical one as including "long white top boots, small-clothes buckled at the knee, a long straight-bodied coat and white wig."¹ Samuel Davies and other ministers in the more settled East were accustomed to read their sermons, but on the Western frontier the people wanted a more direct discourse. Both Beard and Thompson quote from the "Journal"

¹ E.T. Thompson, op.cit., p. 71.
of Philip V. Fithian in the year 1755 visiting the churches on the frontier:

"I make little use of my notes which is a vast, almost essential recommendation here. Preach without your paper; produce casuistic divinity; seem earnest and serious, and you will be listened to with patience and wonder. Both your hands will be seized, and almost shook off so soon as you are out of the church, and you will be claimed by half of the society to honor them with your company after sermon. Read your sermons and if they be sound and sententious as Witherspoon's, copious and fluent as Harvey's, and read off with ease and dignity of Davies, their backs will be up at once; their attention all gone, their noses will grow red as their wigs; and (let me whisper this) you may get your dinner where you breakfasted."*

This was the beginning of an American outlook on worship that was to follow through the front lines of the westward movement for a century, become intensified with the revival movement, and finally be carried to the mission field of Brazil.

The debate concerning whether to use the old Scottish version of the Psalms or the newer Dr. Watt's "Psalms of David Imitated" became a serious problem of many Presbyterian congregations -- leading at times to divisions. Fithian had described the singing:

"The clerk of the Society raises the tune and in the primitive genuine Presbyterian whine and roll begins the first note of the musick with a deep strained gutteral from the last word of the reading, without any intermission..."*

This struggle of music, however, was not carried to Brazil because Dr. Kalley's "Psalmos e Hinos" were to dominate the Brazilian Church for most of the first century of missions in that land.

Annual sacramental seasons were observed on the frontier much as they had been in Scotland. The "New School" following Tennant

1. Ibid., p. 72.
2. Loc. cit.
and Whitefield, and the Methodist exhorters were developing a new "hortatory method" of preaching, a new "distinctively American school of oratory" -- preaching that was warm, vivid, energetic, and direct. At its worst it degenerated into a personal harangue, but at its best it seemed an echo of the Old Testament prophets with a "Thus saith the Lord", or an Apocalyptic Angel flying across the heavens.

The Revolutionary War brought further changes in American church life and worship; connections with the Old World were either broken or greatly weakened, and America set free for a century of church experiments in dialogue with its environment. John Wesley, though a loyal Anglican rose to the occasion, and on September 10, 1784, sent his famous document from Bristol:

THE SUNDAY SERVICE OF THE METHODISTS IN NORTH AMERICA with Other Occasional Services.

In the Preface he stated that the Mother country no longer possessed either civil or ecclesiastical authority in America, and that further he had for many years been convinced that Biblically a Bishop and a Presbyter had equal authority to ordain if necessary, and that since in America there were no bishops --

"...neither any parish ministers, so that for some hundreds of miles together there is none to baptize or to administer the Lord's Supper. Here therefore my scruples are at an end: and I conceive myself full liberty, as I violate no order and invade no man's right, by appointing and sending labourers into the harvest..."


2. Ibid., p. 1415.
With this explanation he declared he had appointed Dr. Coke and Mr. Asbury to be joint Superintendents over the brethren in North America, and Richard Whatcoat and Thomas Vasey to act as elders among them, by baptizing and administering the Lord's Supper. Concerning worship he then declared:

"I have prepared a liturgy little differing from that of the Church of England (I think, the best constituted national church in the world) which I advise all the traveling-preachers to use on the Lord's day, in all their congregations, reading the litany only on Wednesdays and Fridays, and praying extempore on all other days. I also advise the Elders to administer the Supper of the Lord on every Lord's Day."  

He ended the Preface with a tribute to the liturgy in the Book of Common Prayer:

"I believe there is no LITURGY in the World, either in ancient or modern language which breathes more of a solid, scriptural, rational Piety, than the COMMON PRAYER of the CHURCH OF ENGLAND. And though the main of it was compiled more than two hundred years ago, yet the language of it, is not only pure, but strong and elegant in the highest degree."

A second edition of the "Sunday Service" was published in London in 1786, but it was the last; in 1792 the sacramental rites, occasional offices, and Articles of Religion were incorporated into the Discipline, while the rest of the book disappeared. The only piece of liturgy that could be classified as a prescribed order in the Methodist churches in America came to be the Order for the Lord's Supper. As Bishop Harmon put it:

1. Ibid., p. 416. The underlining is mine.
2. Loc. cit.
"The Book of Methodism, instead of a Prayer Book, became a Discipline— not 'ordered worship' but 'ordered life and activity'...

This same pattern was to be followed in the Methodist Church in Brazil. The undisciplined frontier needed "ordered life" and "ordered activities", but in time it would also discover the need of worship; this, however, was far into the future. A full century of evangelism would pass before it would be given serious consideration. Why did this happen in America? Why has it been happening along a similar pattern in Brazil? Why did Methodism in a peculiar twist of fate throw away the Sunday Service and keep only the Occasional Services? It appears that the pastors who had become accustomed in their former status as lay-preachers, to praying extempore, were quite convinced that they could pray with more devotion with their eyes closed than with them open. The Great Awakening, and the subsequent Revivals had accustomed all classes to preaching that was dramatic, vivid, and personal, and that prayers could be the fervent outpourings of an anguished heart or the glad rejoicing of a happy heart. Also since many had experienced the grace of God under the ministry of lay workers apart from liturgical worship and the sacraments, they felt no need of the


There was reason for this emphasis on "Ordered life and Activity". E. Stanley Jones in The Christ of the American Road (New York: Abingdon Cokesbury Press, 1944) p. 68, quotes Timothy Dwight President of Yale University (1795-1817) speaking of the people in the Ohio Valley. "They are not fit to live in regular society. They are too idle, too talkative, too passionate, too prodigal, too shiftless to acquire either property or character."
Sunday Service. They lived, in large part, remote from centres of education, culture, and refinement; they worshipped in open fields, in brush arbors, in their little cabins around their firesides, or at best in plain rustic meeting-houses; the staid beauty of the English liturgy seemed a foreign language, and its concepts artificial. The Methodist circuit rider, who was destined to bring the Gospel to the frontier-people, was one of them; with his Bible and a volume of Adam Clark's or Mathew Henry's commentary, and his hymn book in his saddle bag, he learned to preach as he went -- he was one of the people. He sensed their needs and spoke their language. Whatever may have been included in the reasons, the Sunday Service so diligently prepared by John Wesley, was soon laid aside, and a new frontier pattern of worship was formed which became the inheritance of the long line of American missionaries who evangelized the hinterland of Brazil during the mid-nineteenth century.

In 1804, a General Assembly committee of the Presbyterian Church, reported on the Directory as follows:

"...The Word of God in regard to these, is much less specific and particular, than on articles of faith. Many things in this part of a church organization are, and must be, left to Christian prudence, and modified by the peculiar circumstances of religious societies, guided by the general lights which the Scriptures hold forth. Here Churches in one country may, and perhaps ought to differ from those of another. We have already differed very considerably from the Church of Scotland..."\(^1\)

The wording reveals the dialogue with the environment in progress and the need for compromise and adaptation. The Preface

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1. *Assembly Digest*, Book I, Sec. 29, pp. 46-47.
also paid respect to other Protestant Churches in the land and urged its members to attend these churches when it was impossible to attend their own. In 1795 a "Pastoral Letter to Frontier Churches" contained this admonition:

"We know that, from your peculiarly destitute and unsettled circumstances, you cannot spend your Sabbaths as many among you no doubt wish: we therefore earnestly recommend to you, while in your present circumstances, to form small societies, in which you may meet every Lord's Day, for the purpose of social prayer and praise, reading the Scriptures, and sermons of some of our most approved and pious divines. Where you have not Elders and Deacons, regularly ordained, who may lead your worship, we think you ought to choose from among yourselves those whose knowledge, talents, and religious deportment are most conspicuous. By this method your social attachments will be cherished, your habits of worship improved, and you will be gradually ripened for the full establishment of the ordinances of the Gospel."¹

At this point there was a distinction between these Presbyterian "readers" and the Methodist class leaders and Baptist exhorters or evangelists, but this difference was more theoretical than actual; the readers caught up in the spirit of the time and place, did their share of exhorting and evangelizing. The General Assembly in 1841 and again in 1849 counselled against the reading of sermons,² and that they "adopt a more scriptural and effective and acceptable" method.

Another great American institution came into being which was to influence worship -- the "Great American Campmeeting." What was it? What influence did it exert in worship among the American churches? Sweet, the outstanding historian of the American churches

¹. Ibid., Book III, Sec. 27, p. 110 (year 1795). The underlining is mine.
². Ibid., Book III, Sec. 4, p. 101 (Year 1841 and 1849).
stated:

"On the frontier the campmeeting became the most important social and religious institution. Begun by the Presbyterians in Kentucky in the early days of the Western Revival, it was developed particularly by the Methodists and helps explain why Methodism forged ahead of other bodies in the West. Other churches continued to use the camp meeting, as did the Cumberland Presbyterians and Baptists." 

Sweet definitely placed the origin of the Camp Meeting with the Presbyterians, while E.T. Thompson, historian of the Presbyterians of the Southern States, also definitely links it with the celebration of the "sacramental season" as brought over from Scotland and Ireland. Maxwell and others have written of the great sacramental seasons on the hills and moors of Scotland. Whitefield preached to upwards of 30,000 in the open air in the Cambuslang sacramental season in which the Lord's Supper was administered to upwards of three thousand with ministers from many parts of Scotland assisting. The origin probably can be dimly traced back to Geneva, where Calvin, thwarted by the city officials in his attempts to have the sacrament of the Lord's Supper every Sunday, had arranged to stagger it in the various churches in such a manner that it was celebrated in Geneva every Sunday. In Scotland in the beginning the scarcity of ministers and the isolation of churches, combined with a number of other

1. Sweet, Short History of Christianity, p. 214. The underlining is mine.
2. E.T. Thompson, op. cit., pp. 226-227. This is true of all who have studied the history of the great revivals in America.
factors, to make the sacramental season an annual gathering, but in such a manner that many people participated in the sacramental season several times during the year. All this tradition was taken to America. A young printer, Benjamin Franklin became a leading publisher of religious works\(^1\) kept the frontier abreast of the religious news. Sacramental seasons had been observed in a limited way during the colonial period, but it was in the great westward development after the War of the Revolution that they became the great instruments of revival and developed into the "Great American Campmeeting."\(^2\) Robert Baird writing his History in 1844 stated:

"Camp-meeting, as they are called originated in sheer necessity among the Presbyterians of Kentucky in the year 1801, during that great religious revival...It so happened that on one occasion in the early part of the revival, so many people had come from a distance to the ministration of the Lord's Supper, at a particular church, that accommodation could nowhere be found...This induced as many as could to procure tents, and form something like a military encampment, where as provisions were easily to be had, they might stay till the meetings closed. Such was the origin of the Campmeetings."\(^3\)

Baird also gave vivid descriptions of the conduct of these primitive camp-meetings,\(^4\) with the pulpit in the open air, the

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night services lighted up with blazing torches, and the services which ran from early morning until late at night. William Foote in his "Sketches of North Carolina..." published in 1846, gave a vivid description of the first Camp-meeting in North Carolina in 1801, and their later history:

"Log cabins were built at the accustomed or designed place of meeting in sufficient numbers to accommodate a large assembly; and from an occasional meeting they became regular appointments which are not yet entirely discontinued. Once or twice a year the congregations assemble at their usual place of worship and continue on the grounds some three or four days or more if desired."¹

These were attended by politicians and statesmen as well as the common people. Lincoln's biographer wrote:

"In August 1837 Mr. Lincoln, with six other lawyers and two doctors, went in a band-wagon from Springfield to Salem to attend a Camp-meeting."²

All denominations and all levels of society mingled in the camp meeting. Foote³ mentions in one that "fourteen Presbyterian ministers, three Methodists, two Baptists, one Episcopalian, one Dutch Calvinist, and two German Lutherans", participated in the services. In one particular camp meeting, evening preaching was carried on simultaneously in five different parts of the grounds.

The camp meetings, and the revivals and "protracted meetings" became a normal part of the programme of all denominations on the frontier.


and contributed much to set a new norm of church life, especially as it related to worship. All worship services were affected by these meetings, and this new concept was carried to Brazil by the American immigrants and missionaries. Nichols, another Church historian observed:

"Revivalism had largely washed out of the churches theological education, ordered worship, and the sacramental practice, and the new theology and ethics drew to a marked degree on sources extraneous to the faith, especially on popular science." 1

Peter Cartwright who knew the West both as a Methodist evangelist, and as a politician is quoted as saying:

"The great mass of our Western people wanted a preacher that could mount a stump, or old log, or stand in the bed of a wagon, and without note or manuscript, quote, expound, and apply the Word of God to the hearts and consciences of the people." 2

It was the church accommodating itself to its environment. Alexis de Tocqueville, had been sent by France in 1831 to study the penitentiary systems in America. He attempted to analyze the intellectual temper and climate of the New World and wrote:

1. James Hasting Nichols, History of Christianity (New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1956) p. 270. Nichols was Professor of Church History at the University of Chicago. The underlining is mine.

2. H. Richard Niebuhr and Daniel D. Williams, ed. The Ministry in Historical Perspective (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1956) p. 239. Niebuhr also quotes Cartwright as saying -- "A Methodist preacher in those days, when he felt that God had called him to preach, instead of hunting up a college or Biblical Institute, hunted up a hardy pony of a horse, and some travelling apparatus, and with his library always at hand, namely Bible, Hymn Book and Discipline, he started, and with a text that never wore out nor grew stale, he cried, 'Behold the Lamb of God, that taketh away the sin of the world'."
"Accustomed to the struggle, the crosses, the monotony of practical life, they require rapid emotions, startling passages -- truths or errors brilliant enough to arouse them up, and to plunge them at once as if by violence into the midst of the subject. Style [of literature] will frequently be fantastic, incorrect, overburdened, and loose -- almost always vehement and bold. Authors will aim at rapidity of execution, more than perfection of detail..."1

There were however other and more subtle influences creating an intellectual climate that was to affect American worship perhaps even more deeply than the frontier or revigalism; it was a conviction that man did not need any liturgy, priest, or rabbi, or public ceremony and demonstration of faith. This intellectual background was present even in the midst of the emotional release found in the primitive camp meetings and revivals. In fact that emotional release probably helped to cover whatever inner doubts arose from the intellectual outlook.

This intellectual climate, overarching, subtle, and at times nebulous, stemmed out of many roots. The utopian dream of inevitable progress, the boundless opportunities of the frontier, Deism and Quakerism, Carlyle's and Emerson's essays on heroes, and the concept of Carlyle that deity manifested itself in heroes -- all these and more contributed to make this dissenting attitude. Charles Dickens visiting the United States a decade after Tocqueville, in his American Notes had observed the American dissent and the absence of an established Church, and had written his opinion that "the temper of the people would lead them to desert it [an established Church] as a matter of course merely because it was established."2


He had also observed that although he did not find in America any form of religion which he had not observed in England, in America these forms of dissent became part of the recognized way of life in the new soil; transplanted into the liberty of the frontier they became part of the total normal picture.¹ Herberg² had noted that the "mild deists" such as Franklin and Jefferson were "in agreement" with the Christian revivalists in seeking to destroy state-established churches, and emphasizing that "religion was not concerned with doctrine, but with right living as outlined by Jesus' teaching". Voltaire had been a hero of many at the time of the War of the Revolution and had written -- "I believe in God, not the God of the mystics and the theologians, but the God of Nature, the great geometrician, the architect of the universe, the prime mover, unalterable, transcendental, everlasting".³ Carlyle's reaction against the institution of the Church, and his philosophy of history in which the Divine emerges into history in the heroes, was introduced into America by Ralph Waldo Emerson, who also wrote his own essays on "Heroes", "Courage", etc. By 1850 Emerson, like a Methodist circuit rider was lecturing as far west as St. Louis, while Horace Greeley's "Tribune" carried his lectures all over America. His essays were in every minister's library, and even in Brazil were a part of standard missionary equipment.

1. Ibid., p. 83.
2. Will Herberg, Protestant-Catholic-Jew (Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Company Inc., 1960) p. 128. This was an essay in religious sociology.
The Quakers who had rejected the entire sacramental system and a ministry as well, were found in every community. Emerson had popularized the works of Carlyle in which in "Sartor Resartus" Carlyle had said:

"No grander thing was ever done than when George Fox, stitching himself a suit of leather, went forth to find truth for himself, and to do battle for it against all superstition, bigotry, and intolerance."1

The great American philosopher William James wrote:

"The Quaker religion which George Fox founded is something which it is impossible to overpraise. In a day of shame, it was a rebellion of veracity rooted in spiritual inwardness and a return to something more like the original gospel truth than men had ever known in England. So far as our Christian sects today are evolving, they are simply reverting to the position which Fox and the early Quakers so long ago assumed."2

The "Concord School" or "Concord Authors" -- the people in education, history, and literature, created the intellectual climate of America in the early nineteenth century -- Bancroft and Bryant, Longfellow and Lowell, Holmes and Hawthorne, Alcott, Thoreau, Channing, Elizabeth Peabody, Margaret Fuller, Elizabeth Hoar, and others were Emersonian in outlook and mostly Unitarians. Slicer3 quotes Thomas Jefferson, the hero of many Americans as stating that in a century there would be few among men who did not profess

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1. A.C. Bickley, George Fox and the Early Quakers (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1884) p. title page. This title page also carried a quotation from the Annual Review of Literature -- "There is no character in Christian History since the days of its Divine Founder more free from spot or stain than that of George Fox".


the Unitarian faith. The typical attitude toward Emerson and his rejection of the institution of the Church is probably summed up in the words of the Methodist -- Father Taylor:

"Mr. Emerson is one of the sweetest creatures God ever made; there is a screw loose somewhere in the machinery, yet I cannot tell where it is, for I never heard it jar. He must go to heaven when he dies, for if he went to hell, the devil wouldn't know what to do with him."

Thomas Jefferson, one of the leading architects of the new nation -- a mild Anglican deist wrote:

"Fix reason firmly in her seat and call to her tribunal every fact, every opinion. Question with boldness even the existence of a God, because if there be one, He must more approve of the homage of reason, than of blindfolded fear... Your own reason is the oracle given you by heaven, and you are answerable, not for rightness, but uprightness of decision."

This kind of reasoning fitted well with the lonely frontiersman who had to defend his isolated cabin against Indians, nature, and the wild animals, and worship alone under the stars, at least a part of his religious life. It accompanied well his faith in the new land and its future, as well as accompanying all the reactions against Europe, Britain, and the whole establishment that he or his forebears had left behind. It went well with the tolerance and pluralism of the New World.

The European student of church life in America may find it difficult to grasp that pluralism was not merely an historical and political fact, but a "primordial" condition of things, an essential aspect of the American way of life and therefore in itself an

1. Drummond, op.cit., p. 196.
aspect of religious belief."¹ Pluralism has always existed in America and is something axiomatic to the American. But feeling this way toward other religious faiths, it is difficult for the American to think in terms of rigidity concerning forms within his own particular faith. This led to an interesting synthesis of thought. The American Way of Life has been anchored in America's vision of itself as the "new Israel" in a new "Promised Land"; a vision perennially reflected in the words "novus ordo seclorum" on the Great Seal of the United States. This new order however could not be the religion of any one denomination or Church. It had to be some over-arching concept which through the years was never clearly defined, but as Herberg stated:

"From the beginning the American Way of Life was shaped by the contours of American Protestantism; it may indeed best be understood as a kind of secularized Puritanism -- A Puritanism, with transcendence, with a sense of sin or judgment."²

Herberg contends that the American environment secularized all the historic faiths, including the Roman Catholic, making them all contribute to over-arching major values, in such a way that any and all religions are to be prized because they do help to promote the ideals and standards that all Americans are expected to share on a higher or deeper level. All of this had serious consequences upon forms of worship.

"As a consequence in some cases of its own origins, but primarily of the widespread influence of the American environment, religion in America has tended toward a marked disparagement of 'forms' whether theological or liturgical...American

2. Ibid., p. 81.
religion is (within the limits set by the particular
traditions of the churches) non-theological and non-liturgical; it is activistic and occupied with the things of the world to a degree that has become a byword among European churchmen. With this activism has gone a certain 'latitudinarianism', associated with the de-emphasis of theology and doctrine. Americans tend to believe that 'ethical behavior and a good life', rather than adherence to a specific creed will earn a share in the heavenly kingdom."

Abraham Lincoln, who is considered one of the noblest men of his generation, who attended the great camp meetings in Kentucky, who constantly read his Bible and maintained a deeply devotional life, and whose integrity and devotion to God became legendary, made a statement which represented the attitude of millions of his fellow citizens. When asked to state his reasons for not becoming a member of any church stated:

"When any church will inscribe over its altar as its sole qualifications for membership the Saviour's condensed statement of the substance of both the Law and the Gospel -- 'Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy strength, and with all thy mind, and thy neighbor as thyself' -- that Church will I join with all my heart and soul."

Rosten after studying at great length the basic non-conformity of the American in his relation to church made an analysis that must be seen as coming from an American fully conditioned by the American Way of Life. He felt that it was a logical development of the Protestant tradition, because "deep in Protestantism is the powerful idea that there need be no intermediary between a man and God ... No preacher or priest or rabbi, no liturgy, no ceremonials, no public demonstration of faith."  

1. Ibid., p. 83. The underlining is mine.
3. Ibid., p. 167.
This was the over-arching and over-shadowing intellectual attitude toward religion of the American immigrants who entered Brazil during the decades following 1808, and it must never be forgotten in a study of Evangelical worship in Brazil, that Protestant immigrants from Britain, Germany, and the United States were entering Brazil for one-half century before the beginning of Protestant missionary activities in the land. When missionaries did enter these immigrants were already a solid part of the Brazilian nation and brought into the Churches their contribution to Evangelical worship.

This was also the intellectual background of the North American missionaries who went into Brazil. No matter how much their emotions had been stirred by the Great Camp-meetings or the Revivals; nor how rigid was the theological system to which they were committed; overshadowing all was this intellectual attitude toward theology and liturgy. Worship patterns constituted within the churches founded by them can only be understood in this light. They carried a Puritan concern for the total life of the community, a passionate championing of all sorts of reform causes, a great faith in history as a redeeming process -- of inevitable progress,¹ but a strong

¹. Reinhold Niebuhr, Faith and History (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1949) pp. 2-3 -- Joachim of Flores had given the first intimation of it in the Middle Ages when he transmitted Christian eschatology into the hope of a transfigured world, of a future age of the Holy Spirit...Time was no longer a mystery which required explanation. It became the principle of interpretation by which the mystery of life was comprehended. History was no longer an enigma. It became the assurance of man's redemption from his every ill...the dominant note in modern culture is faith in history. The conception of a redemptive history informs the most diverse of modern culture..."

P. Hume Brown in his biography of John Knox Vol. I, p. 33, quotes from Knox's Works -- concerning his inspiration from [Contd.]
latitudinarian attitude toward doctrine and liturgy, and a pattern of pioneer preaching firmly fixed in their hearts and minds. Within a century they had planted Protestantism firmly within Brazil, and had seen some into existence one of the most dynamic and thriving "young churches" of all mission lands; but it was a Church whose worship patterns were strongly influenced by mid-nineteenth century North American concepts and practices. Brazilian Evangelical worship can never be fully understood apart from the contribution these North Americans introduced during the formative period of the Church. The next section introduces the coming of the missionaries.

Contd. from p. 174.]

Joachim of Flora. These North American missionary motives were entwined deeply in the confidence of inevitable progress and the coming of the Kingdom of God. They were heralds of a new age which knew no limits.
B. CONCEPTS OF WORSHIP AND ITS PRACTICE IN THE MINISTRY OF THE FIRST PROTESTANT MISSIONARIES TO BRAZIL

Robert Reid Kalley - 1809-1888

In the Dean Cemetery in Edinburgh, Scotland, is a grave with three stone markers: a large centre one with a smaller grave stone at each side. On the centre marker are these words:

TILL HE COME in tender and reverent memory of Robert Reid Kalley, M.D., born 8th Sept. 1809, Fell Asleep January 1888. A SERVANT OF GOD IN MADEIRA, BRAZIL, AND OTHER LANDS. His delight was in the Law of the Lord and in His Law doth he meditate day and night. Whose faith follow considering the end of his conversation. Jesus Christ, the Same, Yesterday, Today, and Forever. Erected by his Loving and Sorrowing Wife Sarah Poulton Kalley who rejoined him Thursday 3rd August 1907. Laid to rest beside him 12th of August. Heirs together of the Grace of Life.

On the left side is a smaller marker with these words:

To the beloved honor and memory of their Father in the Gospel. From the Churches of the Madeirenses "Scattered abroad in 1846" Romish persecution 1838 to 1888. The Name of Jesus was Magnified.

On the right side a similar small marker with these words:

A Tribute of Love and Gratitude to their First Teacher and Pastor Dr. Kalley from Churches founded by Him in Rio de Janeiro and Pernambuco, Brazil. 1855 to 1888. THE SON OF GOD JESUS CHRIST WAS PREACHED.

To Dr. Kalley belongs honour of establishing the first permanent Protestant Church among the Portuguese-speaking Brazilian people.

Through his friendship with the Royal family, his writings in the

1. The writer copied these words from the markers.
2. The English and Germans had been permitted to build Anglican and Lutheran Churches for their people, but not to evangelize among the Brazilians.
Newspapers of the land, through his Hymnal, and through his converts that he trained in the gospel who became first his own deacons, colporters, and evangelists, and later deacons, colporters and ordained pastors for other organizations, Dr. Kalley probably exerted more influence over the early Protestant worship patterns than any other missionary in Brazil, and should be listed with Livingstone and the other great pioneer missionaries of the nineteenth century.

What concepts and practices of worship did he bequeath to Brazil? Dr. Kalley was a Scotsman, born in Mount Florida, in the suburbs of Glasgow, Sept. 8, 1809, and was baptized into the Church of Scotland, Oct. 16, of the same year. His father, Robert Kalley was a successful merchant in Glasgow and a dedicated member of the Church of Scotland. The father, however, died one year after the birth of young Robert; his mother subsequently married a Mr. David Hay, but she also died in 1815 leaving the young lad to be raised by his step-father. Little is known of his youth except his later statements that he drifted into the unbelief

1. Michael P. Testa, O Apostolado da Madeira, Dr. Robert Reid Kalley (Lisbon: Egreja Evangelica Presbyteriana de Portugal, 1963) p. 18. (This was an anniversary edition in commemoration of the 125th anniversary of the arrival of Dr. Kalley on the Island of Madeira. Mr. Testa spent much time in research on this small book.)

2. Loc. cit.
3. Loc. cit.
4. Loc. cit.
and infidelity\(^1\) which was considered popular at the time. This, however, should not be attributed to his step-father, who it seems desired that he enter the ministry of the Church of Scotland.\(^2\)

At the age of 17 he entered the University of Glasgow. At the age of 20, on August 31, 1829,\(^3\) he was licensed in surgery, and accepted a commission as ship's surgeon for two trips to Bombay, India. During these long voyages he had the opportunity of visiting many ports including Madeira which greatly enchanted him. He also saw at first hand the superstition and need of medical care in the Orient. In 1832 he began the practice of medicine at Kilmarnock where among his patients was a Christian lady dying in great pain and desperate conditions, yet sustained in peace and resignation by her faith. Conversations with this woman led the young Doctor to reconsider the claims of Christianity.\(^4\)

A study of the Scriptures, especially the prophecies in relation to the Jews and Palestine, led him to faith in the Word of God and to his conversion, and to an interest in the conversion of the Jews. He had reached his professed atheism through a process of reason,\(^5\)

1. Loc. cit. See also Joan Gomes de Rocha, Lembrancas do Passado (Rio de Janeiro, Centro Brasileiro de Publicidade, n.d.) Vol. III, p. 93. Quotes a letter from Dr. Kalley in which he states he was influenced by writings of "Tom Paine and others" in his skepticism.
2. Testa, op. cit., p. 18.
3. Loc. cit.
5. Ibid., pp. 90-93. He declared that in addition to the influence of bad companions and literature of Tom Paine, etc., that the use of the microscope and telescope had convinced him that there could be no divine being which could have knowledge of every minute object of the microscope and yet furnish the energy revealed by the telescopes, etc. Then a rational study of prophecy forced him against his will, as well as the faith of his patients, to reconsider the validity of the Scriptures; these he finally accepted without reservation.
and his return to faith was also through a process of rationalization -- and his life from this time on was a strange mixture of pietism and rationalization. Hereafter there was much of pietistic legalism and rationalism in his concept of faith and worship.

A second event of these years was the death in Canton, China, of Robert Morrison,\(^1\) English Presbyterian missionary under the London Missionary Society. Morrison died August 1, 1834, at the same time Kalley was struggling into a new conversion to faith in the Scriptures and in Christ. He remembered the needs of the Orient as he had seen them when a ship's surgeon visiting the various ports, and now saw the death of Morrison as a challenge and a call for his life. Kalley offered his services to Board of Missions of the Church of Scotland as a medical-missionary and evangelist -- not as an ordained minister. The Board declined to accept Kalley declaring that "it did not appear proper to enter a new field in which the Church of Scotland was not already involved."\(^3\) Dr. Kalley then turned to the London Missionary Society\(^4\) which met November 20, 1837, and invited him to meet them the following week, at which


3. Testa, op.cit., p. 21. See also Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Free Church held at Inverness August 1845, p. 9.

4. Testa, op.cit., p. 22.

time he was examined and accepted\(^1\) as a medical missionary for
China. He was instructed to embark for China in 1839, but in
the meantime to make some new Medical studies in relation to China,
and also to enter into some theological studies\(^2\) which he did at
the University of Glasgow. He disposed of his house in Kilmarnock
and closed his medical practice there. In the meantime he married
a Miss Margaret Crawford of Paisley. As this had not been
previously approved by the Board of the Society it apparently led
to some tension and the Doctor asked to be released from his contract,
a petition which was granted, but leaving the door open for a future
renewal.\(^3\) While Kalley was continuing his studies and preparation
for the voyage to China, his wife's health suddenly deteriorated to
the extent that Dr. Kalley made plans to take her for a time to
Madeira Island. He had visited these Islands on his journeys while
serving as the ship's surgeon, and had been enchanted with the
climate; there was also a large colony of Scots there in connexion
with the wine industry. It was not his plan to remain in Madeira;
China was still his goal, but providence kept him there for eight
years.

Soon after his arrival he was elected an elder\(^4\) of the English
Speaking Scottish Presbyterian Church on the Island. He also,

2. *Testa, op.cit.*, p. 23., quotes from the Minutes of the Examining
4. *Testa, op.cit.*, p. 26. This was in 1842 and before the disruption
which placed this work in connexion with the Free Church.
immediately after his arrival, went to Lisbon where he matriculated in the University School of Medicine and Surgery for examination to validate his right to practice medicine in Portugal and its possessions. June 17, 1839, he defended his thesis before the "Escola Medico-Cirúrgico of Lisbon" and was granted full authority to practice medicine in Portugal and in all of its possessions. In the same year Dr. Kalley made application to the "Missionary Society of London" to be ordained as a minister and to be their agent in the Madeira Islands. Testa makes a long quotation from the Minutes of their Commission of Examination in which on March 25, 1839, this request was received and acted upon: the Society voted to ordain him, but as they did not have work yet in the Islands, voted not to accept him as their agent there. It is not known whether he really wanted to be their missionary; he had a private modest fortune and could sustain himself, and it seems this he had intended to do in China; but what he felt now that he needed was ordination to do a work among the poor and neglected Portuguese on the Island. The Examining Commission of the

1. Esboço Histórico da Escola Domínical da Igreja Evangelica Fluminense 1855-1932. (Rio de Janeiro: 1932) p. 4. This valuable publication prepared on the fiftieth anniversary of the church founded by Kalley in Brazil also contains a photoscopic copy of Dr. Kalley's two diplomas from the School of Medicine and surgery in Glasgow, pp. 24-26.

2. Testa, op. cit., pp. 26-27. He quotes from page 144 of their Minutes of March 25, 1839. "Resolveu-se Recomendar a Junta Directória que de acordo com a parecer desta Comissão, Visto que a Madeira não está dentro da esfera de trabalho desta Sociedade, declina-se aceitar-se seu oferecimento. Ficou decidido também que com varios membros da Comissão de Exame estão prontos, no exercício de suas capacidades individuais, ordenar Dr. Kalley, como pregador do Evangelho de Cristo, que esta comunicação lhe seja feita a fim de que ele possa vir a Londres para o fim proposto."
Missionary Society of London had voted that in their capacity of individual ministers that they would ordain Dr. Kalley, and invited him to come to London that this should be consummated. Dr. Kalley accepted the invitation and conditions, and July 8, 1839 was ordained by six men in London. A photoscopic copy of this document is printed on page 14 of "Esboco Historico da Escola Dominical da Igreja Evangelica Fluminense". The diploma of ordination is in Latin and translated reads:

"With this document we declare to all that Mr. Robert Reid Kalley, schooled in science and letters approved by the piety of his life for the holy Christian ministry, was ordained by prayer and the laying on of hands."2

Thomas Palmer Bull, S.T.P.
Jacob Bennett, S.T.P.
Algernon Wells, P.E.
Guillemo Stern Palmer, Pastor.
Johanne Alow, Pastor,
Johanne Arundel, Pastor.

In London, 18 of July do Anno Domini 1839.

The men had agreed to do this as individuals and there is no reference to any church organisation. It is reminiscent of some of the acts of Martin Luther and John Wesley who both ordained men in emergencies, and is in keeping with much that happened among English Presbyterians during the time of Cromwell. It must be remembered that in the Westminster Form of Church Government there were some very extraordinary provisions made for ordination in unusual times:

"Every minister of the word is to be ordained by imposition of hands, and prayer, with fasting, by those preaching presbyters to whom it doth belong. . . . Ordination is the act of a presbytery. . . . It is requisite that ministers

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1. Infra., p. 186.
2. Translation is by C.J.H.
be ordained for them by some, who, being set apart themselves for the work of the ministry, have power to join in the setting apart others, who are found fit and worthy. In those cases, until, by God's blessing, the aforesaid difficulties may be in some good measure removed, let some godly ministers, in or about the city of London, be designed by public authority, who, being associated, may ordain ministers for the city and the vicinity, keeping as near to the ordinary rules forementioned as possibly they may; and let this association be for no other intent or purpose, but only for the work of ordination.  

Let the like association be made by the same authority in great towns, and the neighbouring parishes in the several counties, which are at the present quiet and undisturbed, to do the like for the parts adjacent...  

It seems clear that the ministers who ordained Kalley felt they were doing an unusual thing, even with this Westminster authority for unusual and difficult times. They stipulated in the invitation that they were doing it as individuals, and Kalley never again tried to associate himself with the Presbyterian work; he moved in a congregational pattern. Dr. Kalley seemed always to regard himself as a layman; but a layman with authority to baptize and administer the Lord's Supper. There were "ajuntamentos" (gatherings), and "commemoracao da morte de Jesus" (Commemoration of the Death of Jesus), but never a tinge of sacramentalism, or an intimation of a special presence of the Lord of the Church at the Sacraments. In a fine legal defense of his work in time of persecution, he declared that his services were never anything more


than "Family Worship". In 1840 Dr. Kalley opened on the Island a small hospital with room for twelve patients and a consulting room. At nine o'clock each morning he entered and shut the door while he read and explained the Word of God to the waiting patients and then prayed with them before he began examination and treatment. Along with his treatment which was free to the poor, was also given a passage of Scripture to be read at home. Out of his own personal funds he opened small schools among the poor of the Island where adults¹ as well as children learned to read, and were instructed in the Scriptures. By 1842 Kalley estimated that more than a thousand, ² and sometimes two or three thousand, would attend the Bible study on Sunday mornings. This led to violent Roman Catholic persecution which broke out in 1843. Dr. Kalley spent many months in prison, and finally escaped the island disguised as a female peasant³ being carried in a litter to the British ship in the port, while his home was destroyed and burnt. Dr. Kalley fled to England with his wife while thousands of his converts suffered in the Island, driven from their homes, their houses broken into and plundered, and hundreds carried off to jail. Dr. Kalley then ministered two years on Malta and two years in the Holy Lands. While Dr. Kalley was in Malta and the Holy Lands the health of Mrs. Kalley grew steadily worse until she died in Palestine.

1. Testa, op. cit., p. 32.
2. Loc. cit.
The following year he married Sarah Poulton Wilson, a wealthy and talented English lady, a niece of Mr. Samuel Morley -- the rich philanthropist leader\(^1\) of the Congregational churches of England. This marriage further alienated Dr. Kalley from his original Presbyterian roots, although earlier Dr. Bonar speaking at the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland, had described Kalley's work as the "greatest fact of modern missions\(^2\). The second Mrs. Kalley was not only a talented poet, linguist, and musician,\(^3\) but also a very ardent supporter of the Sunday School movement, which was still a novelty in the land. She apparently was also a very attractive Sunday School teacher for at least one of her former pupils, a Mr. William Pitt\(^4\) was with them during their winter in Illinois with the Madeira Refugees, and later followed them to Brazil, where he became a deacon and lay preacher for Dr. Kalley.

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1. Edwin Hodder, *Life of Samuel Morley* (London: Hodder and Stoughton MDCCCLXIX). This was a Puritan Congregational family with a farm at Sneinton, and began a hosiery business at Nottingham. They then moved the accounts to London under the name "J. and R. Morley". The J. was for Samuel's father John Morley. Mr. William Wilson became a partner in the firm and married Samuel Morley's sister Sarah. Samuel Morley's mother's name had been Sarah Poulton. Dr. Kalley's wife was the daughter of Samuel Morley's sister Sarah and Mr. William Wilson. Mr. Morley's hosiery business prospered greatly and he gave large sums of money to the various missionary works of the time. Sarah Poulton Wilson's family attended the Old John Clayton's Church, but the Samuel Morley family attended in London the "Mr. Bruder's Church which became one of the largest and most influential in North London."


3. Hodder, *Life of Samuel Morley*, p. 15 tells that the whole Morley family were musicians and spent long evenings at home practicing quartets and "glees", and playing piano, violin, and flute -- terminating with such songs as "Home Sweet Home". The Congregational church people were apparently more free in their attitudes toward music, and Mrs. Kalley brought this to her home in Brazil.

and later a presbyterian minister. This is important to note for the later influence of Mrs. Sarah Kalley in both music and Sunday School over early Protestantism in Brazil was very significant. Mrs. Kalley began the first permanent Sunday School in Brazil, and so strong was her influence upon the formative years of the work founded by Dr. and Mrs. Kalley, that when the Church founded by Kalley celebrated its seventy-fifth anniversary, it was celebrated as the anniversary of the founding of the Sunday School.¹

Samuel Morley's business was "the largest in the textile industries of its class, and his wealth exceeded by few of his contemporaries". "His home on Stamford Hill became a rendezvous for dissenting ministers and radical politicians." He was M.P. from Nottingham in 1865, became proprietor of the "Daily News", M.P. from Bristol 1868-1885; consistently supported Gladstone, supported Irish disestablishment and was converted to state education, supported the movement for the abolition of tests and dissenters, was a "munificent builder of chapels, pensioned his employees and at his funeral there were delegations from 97 organizations he had supported."²

This dominating influence toward Congregationalism now entered

¹. The book published telling the story was entitled: "Esboco Historico da Escola Dominical da Igreja Evangelica Fluminense" (Rio de Janeiro: Rua Camarina, 1932), translated -- "Historical Outline of the Sunday School of the Fluminense Evangelical Church."

Dr. Kalley's life and ministry. In doctrine it was still Calvinistic but more legalistic than Kalley had previously been — for example at the time of his near martyrdom in Madeira, when his house was burned, and library destroyed, also his "well-stocked wine cellar" was looted, but after this second marriage he apparently supported his wife's uncle in the "temperance movement" in which Samuel Morley was a leader. There is no mention in the Brazil records of a "well stocked wine cellar", and in his legalistic tendencies he forbade his disciples to hire a carriage on the Sabbath to attend a funeral.

While Dr. Kalley was in Malta and the Holy Lands, many of his converts of Madeira were able to flee from the persecution to the United States and to the West Indies Islands; and Dr. Kalley hearing of this resolved to pay them a visit. The refugees in

1. Mrs. E.R. Pittman, Memorials of the Congregational Church Milbourne Port, 1883, states that the Catechisms used in the Congregational churches were "Dr. Watt's 'First' and 'Second', and 'Historical Catechisms', the "Shorter Catechism" of the Westminster Assembly of Divines (Condensed from the Presbyterian Standards of Faith) and four books of 'Scripture Questions', to which the pupils are expected to furnish the answers from their own study of the Bible. pp. 73-74.

2. George Stonestruct, 619 Miscellaneous Antipapal and Catholic (London: C & J. Rivington, 1847). This collection dedicates chapter three to the story of Dr. Kalley and his persecution on Madeira. Speaking of the mob that burned his home — "Disappointed of human sacrifice the ruffians seized upon the Dr.'s valuable library, manuscripts and other papers, and those which were not reserved for their priestly employers, were, amidst fiendish yells of delight, cast into the road in front of the house, threshed with clubs, and afterward burnt. The Sacred Scriptures were the object of especial hatred and were all consigned without reserve to the clubs and to the flames. The wine cellar was broken open, and the bungs of the casks started. Not a room remained unentered or explored. They did as they pleased in the very presence of the governor, police magistrate, British Consul and a guard of soldiers..." pp.50-51.
the United States had mostly settled in the State of Illinois, near Springfield; Dr. and Mrs. Kalley spent the winter of 1853 and 1854 with these -- their converts and friends. However, as he passed through New York City, he had stopped to visit the offices of the American Bible Society, conversing with them about the Portuguese refugees in Illinois. A few days after this visit, Dr. R. Baird of the Bible Society received a letter from Rev. J.C. Fletcher, a Presbyterian minister, working in Brazil in the port of Rio de Janeiro with the American Seaman's Friend Society, and also with the American Legation, asking Dr. Baird if it were possible for some of the Christian refugees from Madeira to come to Brazil to work as colporteurs for the Bible Society, inasmuch as they would have no language difficulty and had participated in the great revival at Madeira. This information was forwarded to Dr. Kalley -- information which led to his going to Brazil the following year.

Dr. and Mrs. Kalley arrived in Brazil May 10, 1855; on the ship had been a number of Brazilian politicians and men of high social rank, with whom Dr. Kalley entered into friendly relations, as well as one young man linked to the royal family who was very ill and was treated on the ship by Dr. Kalley. After the terrible persecution in Madeira the Doctor was using every opportunity to gain

2. Ibid., p. 17.
3. Ibid., pp. 29-30. Rocha gives a list of the names of some of these illustrious Brazilians.
4. Ibid., pp. 30-31. Dr. Kalley visited this member of the noble family several times after landing in Rio.
friends at the Court to prepare for his work of evangelizing. His first two months were spent in hotels in the city of Rio de Janeiro looking for a suitable dwelling and making friends with the leading people of the Government. At the end of June he visited Petropolis, a little city in the mountains where the royal family, and most of the foreign legations had a summer home. It was also the centre of a colony of German immigrants. In the Swiss-German section of the mountain village, in the suburb called Schweizerthal, he rented a palatial home which bore the name "Gernheim". They arranged for two young ladies from the German colony to help with the care of the house and be semi-members of the household, and an old Portuguese soldier for a gardner.

Dr. Kalley began immediately the type of evangelism and worship which was to characterize his work in the yearly years -- a "family Worship" to which the entire household, servants and guests, as well as neighbours were invited to participate.

Mrs. Kalley had been an enthusiastic and dynamic leader in the Sunday School movement in England as well as a leader in music,

1. Ibid., pp. 30-31. One of these gentlemen was Dr. Ildefonso Gomes who was labouring to obtain a reform in the Roman Catholic Church, and also emancipation of the slaves.

2. Ibid., pp. 31-32. This was in keeping with Mrs. Kalley's taste; the old Morley home had thirty rooms. It was also important for Dr. Kalley to gain friendship with the royal family whose summer palace was almost next door, as well as many other important government officials.

3. The Portuguese name was "criadas" which meant "taken to raise" and were semi-adopted members of the family.

4. Infra., pp. 199-201. Later when accused of evangelizing he pled that he and his people were only having "family worship."

5. Rocha, Lembrancas....p. 35.
now began both a Sunday School and singing classes. Her first Sunday School class at "Gernheim", their palatial mountain home, began Sunday afternoon August 19, 1855,¹ with five children of an English family² -- a date which became memorable in Evangelical history in Brazil. Mrs. Kalley read the story of the prophet Jonas³ and taught them some hymns⁴ and prayed with them. Two Sundays later Dr. Kalley added a class of adults⁵ which included people of African descent⁶ -- that is black people. Henriqueta Braga, the historian of evangelical music in Brazil, states that this was probably the first time⁷ evangelical hymns in the Portuguese language were ever sung in Brazil. The hymns used had been written by Dr. Kalley on the Island of Madeira some years before coming to Brazil. The first hymns were "Louvemos Todos ao Pai do Ceu"⁸ and "Todos que na Terra Moran",⁹ sung to music adapted from the Geneva

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1. Ibid., p. 33.
2. Loc. cit.
4. Loc. cit.
5. Rocha, Lembrancas...p.33.
8. Ibid., p. 109. (Let us all praise God the Father).

Kalley had written both of these in 1842. He had also written five other hymns before coming to Brasil which were sung during this epoch and are still sung throughout Brazil. "O meu fiel Pastor" (My Faithful Pastor), "Jesus Cristo ja morreu e Almal escuta ao bom Senhor!" (Jesus Christ has already died, Listen soul to the Good Shepherd), "Ca sofremos aliciacao" (Here we suffer affliction), "Tem compaixao de mim, Senhor!" (Have mercy on me, 0 Lord), and "Andavamos longe de Deus" (We used to walk far from God); this last was sung to music by Handel.
Psaltery -- music by Luis Bourgeois and Claudio Goudimel, who had collaborated with Calvin in the preparation of the Huguenot Psalter. The next year the Sunday School began to have classes in English, Portuguese, and in German. There were special evenings to learn to sing -- in the German classes the song book used was "Leiderbuch fur de Jugend"; a copy of this book given to one of the German girls -- Miss Christina Faulhaber (later Christina Fernandes Braga) is still in the family treasures in Brazil.\(^1\) After some months in "Gernheim" the Kalleys moved into another palatial house called "Eyrie", which belonged to the Baron of Lorena.\(^2\) During the months after arrival in Brazil, Dr. Kalley had written\(^3\) to the Portuguese refugees from Madeira in Illinois requesting that some of them come to live and work in Brazil and be the nucleus of an evangelical movement. The first response from these letters came from an Englishman William D. Pitt, who had been one of Mrs. Kalley's Sunday School pupils in England, and had gone to Illinois when he had heard the Kalleys were there in 1852-53. Now he followed them to Brazil arriving in December,\(^4\) some seven months after the Kalleys.

\(^1\) *Ibid.*, pp. 109-110. The writer first met the Braga family twenty years ago and has had contact with them through these years. They are one of the outstanding evangelical families of Brazil. The German Book included one hundred and seventy choral numbers with indication for music, and an appendix with nineteen melodies.

\(^2\) *Loc. cit.*

\(^3\) *Rocha, op. cit.*, p. 33.

He found employment as a carpenter in the Brazilian Marine Arsenal, whose superintendent happened to be also an Englishman, though an unbeliever. Inspired by Dr. Kalley to be a missionary among the men, he soon won several of his fellow workmen to confess Christ, among them an Irishman named Esher, who later became the head of an important evangelical family in Brazil. Later both Pitt and Esher were connected with the Presbyterian Church where the influence of Dr. Kalley continued to spread.

The year that Dr. Kalley arrived in Brazil marked also the arrival of an epidemic of Asiatic cholera -- beginning in the north of the country and arriving later in the year at the capital city of Rio de Janeiro and Petropolis. Dr. Kalley had not yet announced his intention to remain permanently in Brazil, but in the midst of the plague, went to the government authorities and showing them his diplomas which had been revalidated in Lisbon, offered to donate his care to the sufferers. His offer was gratefully accepted and his labour of love acknowledged in the Brazilian press.  

1. Ibid., p. 41.
2. Rocha, op.cit., p. 27.
4. The paper "Correio Mercantil" of Nov. 20, 1855 carried a description of the plague and this note -- "O Sr. Dr. Roberto Kalley, sacerdote protestante Ingles que se acha entre nos de viagem, ofereceu a comissão sanitaria do município da Estrella os seus servicos im favor da pobreza." (Tr. Mr. Dr. Robert Kalley, a protestant English priest visiting Brazil offered his services to the sanitary commission in the country of Estrella to help the poor).
Dr. Kalley's appeal to the refugees from Madeira had not brought any response except the Englishman William Pitt; now he made a specific appeal to three families there requesting that they come to Brazil to help him -- their names were Francisco de Gama, Francisco de Sousa Jardim and Manuel Fernandes. These three men and their families responded and arrived August 6, 1856\(^1\) -- fifteen months after the arrival of the Kalleys. With them came also eight children and a cousin. A large house was rented in a section of the city known as "Morro de Saude" (Hill of Health), where on Sunday 10th of August 1856, Dr. Kalley celebrated the Lord's Supper with 10 participants,\(^2\) including Dr. Kalley and Mr. Pitt and Mr. Esher. In the language of Mr. Gama "Tivemos um banquete festivo commemorando a morte de Jesus" (We had a festive banquet celebrating the death of Jesus).\(^3\) Here is seen again a glimpse into the theology -- a festive occasion in joyous reunion commemorating the death of Jesus -- but not celebrating his living presence at the table. It was a departure from the concept of John Calvin, John Knox,\(^4\) and the Reformation leaders. This seems to be the only time in the early records that the Lord's Supper was called a festive occasion. On other occasions it was simply a notice that on the occasional visit of Dr. Kalley to the various congregations there was "a commemoration of the death of Jesus"\(^5\) or celebrated

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1. Ibid., p. 39.
2. Loc. cit.
3. Loc. cit.
5. Rocha, op.cit., p. 42.
the Lord's Supper.

Senhor Francisco de Gama and Francisco Jardim lived together in the house in "Morro de Saude"; Francisco Jardim worked for five years in the Marine Arsenal with William Pitt and invited men each night to come to their home to share in the evening "family worship";¹ Francisco de Gama spent the days walking the streets, selling Bibles from house to house, and distributing tracts, being paid for this by one of Kalley's London friends.² Each evening these two laymen opened their house for friends to share with them "family worship" -- the reading of the Bible and some comments on it, singing of hymns and prayers. Senhor Manuel Fernandes and his family went to Petropolis with Dr. Kalley, and for some time lived in the windmill-house at "Gernheim". He too began to work as a colporteur -- visiting all the houses of the German colony and others, selling Bibles, distributing tracts, and inviting the people to attend "family worship" at "Gernheim", the home of Dr. and Mrs. Kalley. It appears that Manuel Fernandes did not receive a salary as colporteur as did Gama, but soon was able to arrange a small farm where he lived and worked part time, and only part time selling Bibles. Even so the sale of Bibles was good. He was imprisoned once for not having a license to sell, but was finally able to secure a license; the difficulty was that no one had ever been given a license to sell Bibles and no official knew how to arrange it.

1. Ibid., p. 41.
2. Ibid., pp. 40-41. This was probably the Morley family.
Rocha mentions\(^1\) that in September, Senhor Gama received a box of twelve Bibles, forty-eight New Testaments and ten volumes of "The Divine Authority of the New Testament" and sold all in a few days. In November Gama received another box of fifty-one\(^2\) New Testaments and again soon all were sold. A pattern was being established -- the selling of Bibles and New Testaments from house to house, distribution of tracts, conversation with men about Christ, and an invitation to attend and participate in their daily "family worship". This was to become a pattern for every Christian home -- supplemented by an occasional visit of the missionary who would baptize the new believer, and celebrate the Lord's Supper -- both were seen as Christian duties. Neither were seen as a means of grace -- they were to become a sort of public testimony, and remembrance that the eternal debt of our sins was paid by the death of Christ in the long past. His present high-priestly ministry and His promised presence in and with the Church was overshadowed by this sense of duty and act of remembrance of the past.

Dr. Kalley wrote to Lisbon for a copy of all the tracts available in Portuguese, and began to publish copies of these, as well as copies of his own in Rio de Janeiro, but his major publication at this time was the translation of John Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress,\(^3\) which was published in the popular daily newspaper -- "The Correio Mercantil", under the title -- "A Viagem

\(^1\) Ibid., p. 44.  
\(^2\) Ibid., p. 45.  
\(^3\) Rocha, op.cit., Vol. I. p. 47.
do Cristao para a bemaventurança eterna, por um dos seus companheiros", (The Christian Voyage to the eternal blessedness, by one of his companions). This was published in thirty-five chapters -- one chapter every other day through October, November, and December of 1856.\textsuperscript{1} He also entered a series of polemics in the paper about the immortality of the soul -- this in refutation of articles which had previously appeared. Dr. Kalley attempted to give rational arguments\textsuperscript{2} in favour of the immortality of the soul.

Dr. Kalley had spent twenty months in Brazil when they decided to return to England for a visit to Mrs. Morley -- the aunt of Mrs. Kalley who was very ill. They arrived in England in February of 1857 a few weeks before the death of Mrs. Morley. They remained in England eight months during which time Dr. Kalley visited the principal medical centres and arranged for more Bibles and Christian literature to be shipped to Brazil. In October 1857, they were back again in Brazil, where they again rented the lovely home of "Gernheim" in the mountains, and where November 8, 1857,\textsuperscript{3} he baptized his first Brazilian convert, followed a few months later by the baptism of an old soldier and by two ladies belonging to the noble families\textsuperscript{4} of the land. Dr. Kalley again used the daily paper to call attention to two books now available in Portuguese -- The Divine Authority of the New Testament.\textsuperscript{5} The article was

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{Ibid.}, pp. 47-48.
  \item \textit{Ibid.}, p. 51.
  \item \textit{Ibid.}, p. 59.
  \item \textit{Loc. cit.}
  \item \textit{Ibid.}, p. 60.
\end{itemize}
addressed "To those who do not wish to be deceived" and was signed as always with a pseudonym -- this time -- "One who has become a believer by rational conviction".\(^1\) This fact should be noted clearly -- Dr. Kalley affirmed again and again that he had been brought by rational arguments to consider the claims of the New Testament. A few weeks after the first announcement he again uses the "Correio Mercantile" to call attention to the books; this time this explanation -- "Would you permit an unknown friend to ask you instantly to give attention to a book, written with the holy design of lifting up to you the perfection of your nature and your happiness, and directing your attention to God. It is a book which demands your examination".\(^2\) The Doctor then made a further appeal to reason with another paragraph as follows:

"If Bacon, Pascal, Boyle, Newton, Locke, and Leibnitz examined Christianity and recognized it as true, how are you able to say that you have examined truth and happiness with impartiality, if you do not wish to examine it."\(^3\)

The article closed with the announcement of a printshop where the said books could be obtained. There were also in the same paper an article -- "The testimony of Rousseau concerning Jesus".\(^4\)

There was as yet no public meetings except the "family worship" conducted in the home of Senhor Gama, Pitt, Kalley, and occasionally in other homes. Articles in the daily papers always

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under pseudonyms, and colporteur work on the streets and roads; there had been wide acceptance of the articles in the press, and now the Roman Catholic authorities were becoming alarmed; a threat of persecution began to hover over the work. Dr. Kalley was dividing his time between writing, making contacts with the Diplomatic Corps, and with Brazilian Society, and visiting the homes where "family worship" was being conducted to administer the Lord's Supper. On July 11th 1858, a Senhor Pedro Nolasco de Andrade was baptized in the city of Rio de Janeiro in a family worship service in the home of Senhor Gama, which was also called "casa de oracao" (house of prayer). This first baptism of a brazilian convert was taken as the beginning of the organization of the church, although several years elapsed before it had an organization with elders, deacons, and an elected pastor. A young lad, Joas M.G. dos Santos was present at this first baptismal

1. Ibid., p. 70.
2. Loc. cit.
3. Ibid., p. 73.
4. This was to be the name given to worship centres for most of the century. The Evangelical places of worship were forbidden to have an external appearance which resembled a church. Supra, p.
5. Rocha, op.cit., p. 73. This was the practice in the beginning of all the evangelical churches in Brazil. Usually with the first baptism was also the first Lord's Supper, however Kalley had begun to celebrate the Lord's Supper in August 1856, but with converts from Madeira and England. There this date in July 1858 became the date of the beginning of the existence of the Church. It was called simply Igreja Evangelica (Evangelical Church) until later the word Fluminense was added to distinguish it from the Presbyterian Church. The word "Fluminense" was at this date the nickname for all who lived in Rio de Janeiro -- later it became "Carioca".
6. Rocha, op.cit., p. 73.
service, who was baptized six months later, and then trained at Spurgeon's College in London, became a famous pastor of this church in later years.

The "family worship" in the house of Gama in the district of Rio called "Morro de Saude" was attracting more visitors: Rocha quotes from Gama's report on the 16th of May, 1859 --

"The morning service lasted from 10 o'clock until one, and the afternoon from 3 to 6 o'clock."3

He also elaborates on how the people are enjoying the study and examination of the Word of God. It was at this time that the first storm of persecution broke.4 A series of complaints had been lodged with the British Charge d'Affaires, the Hon. W. Stuart, against Dr. Kalley -- charges that he was preaching to people in his home and to his patients, and that he had been previously expelled from the Madeira Islands for this crime against the laws of the land, and desiring his expulsion from Brazil.5

Mr. Stuart demanded6 from Kalley an explanation of the truth of the charges and a promise that he would cease from all efforts to convert Roman Catholics to Protestantism, and if not to leave the area. Dr. Kalley immediately took two actions: first, he

1. Loc. cit. The baptismal date was January 9, 1859.
2. Infra. See Section on Joas M.G. Santos.
4. Previous molestation had been limited to difficulty in securing license to sell Bibles on the street, and petty annoyances.
5. Rocha, op. cit., pp. 93-94. Also see mention of constitution in another chapter of this paper.
6. Ibid., p. 94.
petitioned for an opportunity to take an examination to validate his diploma to practice medicine in Brazil. Next, Dr. Kalley put eleven questions to three of the leading jurists of the nation; questions concerning worship under the new Constitution, and concerning the rights of a foreigner to have "family worship" in his home and leave the door open for others to enter and participate with him in the acts of "family worship". The first six questions dealt with the rights and privileges of the Brazilian citizen in the matter of worship; the last five with the foreigner. The last question was really an interpretation of two articles of the Constitution.

The three jurists gave answers that fully defended the actions of Dr. Kalley, and revealed that in the view of these men, Dr. Kalley had not at any time violated the laws of the land. He sent this information in a letter to British Legation with an explanation that the only Bible sold or distributed in Brazil was that of the Roman Catholic translation by the Priest Antonio Pereira de Figueiredo. He also gave a description of the type of worship conducted by himself and his helpers in their "casas de oração"

1. His examination in Lisbon gave him right to practice in Portugal and in all her territories. Brazil however was no longer a Portuguese colony.
2. Ibid., p. 95. The jurists names were Dr. Nabuco, Dr. Urbano S. Pessoa de Mello and Dr. Caetano Alberto Soares.
3. Loc. cit.
4. See Appendix for list of these questions.
houses of prayer). From the standpoint of worship this explanation is highly important.

"As to my preaching: --

Each morning and each evening all of my family meets with me for a "family worship". We read a part of the Bible, we converse about its contents, we read or sing one or two hymns, and we unite in prayer to God Almighty. Whenever one of our guests wishes to join us he is welcomed.

On the Lord's Day we spend more time, both in the morning and evening, in this occupation, than we do on other days, but the purpose and the manner is the same. Seated around a table in the dining room, we read verses of some passages of the Scriptures, sometimes each taking his turn. Always we converse as freely and familiarly as at any other social meeting. We make prayers and sing some verses without any form whatsoever of a service."

The Brazilian government agreed with the three leading jurists that such worship was within the laws of the Constitution of the land (1824), and that Brazilian citizens were not guilty of any crime in attending such "family worship" or practicing it in their own homes. The precedent had been now established and a legal decision reached. Protestantism within these limits could live and grow within the land; and this it did throughout its formative years. One of Dr. Kalley's laymen -- Senhor Manuel Jose Viana,

1. Rocha, op.cit., pp. 98-99. "No dia do SENHOR gastamos mais tempo, de dia e de noite, nesta ocupacao, do que nos outros dias, mas e no mesmo proposito e da mesma maneira. Sentado a roda da mesa, na sala de jantar, lemos versos de alguma passagem das Escrituras, as vezes cada um por seu turno. Sempre conversamos tão familiar e livremente como in qualquer outro tempo de entretenimento social. Pazemos oracao e cantamos alguns versos, sem forma alguma de servico."

2. The legality of this was tested later in a persecution in which a large part of Dr. Kalley's congregation in Rio were sent to jail, tried and released. Idem.
laboured in the north of Brazil five years, from 1868 to 1873, as a colporteur and conducting daily "family worship", until a church was finally organized by Dr. Kalley. It was this type of laymen's "family worship" conducted by the layman Willis Robert Banks that laid the foundation for an entire Presbytery along the southern sea-coast of the State of Sao Paulo, and the "family worship" of "Manuel de Malo" family that laid much of the foundation of another presbytery in the western triangle of the State of Minas Gerais, the Viega family in central Minas, the Jouver family in the Brotas area of the state of Sao Paulo, and scores of other centres all over Brazil.

Dr. Kalley established a mold that had both positive and

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1. Rocha, op.cit., Vol. III, pp. 50-51. This church known as the "Igreja Evangelica Pernambucana" became a strong and very influential Protestant centre. The faithful early work of Senhor Viana has been referred to in various reports of the work in that area. He evidently was a fearless and faithful layman.

2. Infra. See Article on Banks, Chapter 6.

3. Infra. See Article on Manuel de Melo, Chapter 6.


6. It also remained a key instrument in the hands of missionaries for several decades. Rev. Blackford used this as revealed in Dr. Gaston's account of a visit in Blackford's home. "It being Blackford's custom to hold family worship at 8.00 o'clock in the evening I proceeded with them to the lower apartments of the house where the servants and some other inmates of his premises joined us in the service. He read and sung in the Portuguese, giving me an English and Portuguese Testament in which I had no difficulty in following the reading of the chapter. The principal prayer was in English, but he closed with the Lord's prayer in Portuguese, thus adapting the exercise to my want of knowledge of the language of the country, and also in part to the comprehension of the others present."

negative elements: on the positive side -- every believer became a missionary and every believer's home became a centre of evangelism -- this was certainly in keeping with the spirit and practice of the primitive church and a powerful instrument for evangelizing. And it was within the limits of the laws of the land. On the negative side: there were several factors -- these laymen were held under the strong paternalistic grip of one man -- Dr. Kalley; it was he who paid bills, administered the funds, decided what was heresy and what was gospel, and the final court of appeals for every sort of problem. From the standpoint of worship, the laymen's service was never a complete church -- the sacraments at times were not administered for periods of months and even years, and when administered it became considered as part of a public testimony and public duty, not as a means of God's Grace, or in any mysterious way associated with His special promises and Presence. The Protestant service became *trabalho* (the work), the *crente* (believer) went to the service to "learn" and "to work". This concept of the Church promoted an active personal participation of every convert, and contributed to make the Evangelical Churches of Brazil a dynamic and growing institution. Many European Churches are now attempting to implement a similar program, but there was a tendency to neglect other elements of worship. The mechanics and magnitude of the task tended to obscure devotion and love.

Mrs. Kalley was the daughter of Mr. William Wilson and Sarah Morley; her father was a partner in the Morley mercantile firm of stockings and lace and members of the Congregational
Church. 1 Her father had established a residence at Torquay on the coast where she had been active in Sunday School, and in night classes 2 for the working men, where she had taught the young William Pitt, who later followed them to Illinois and to Brazil. About the time Sarah Poulton Wilson had married Dr. Kalley, 3 one of her uncles -- Mr. John Morley had joined the Plymouth Brethren, 4 and had built with his own money a Plymouth Brethren preaching hall, 5 although the correspondence 6 between the Morleys and the Kalleys reveals that Dr. Kalley did not fully agree with all the doctrinal details of this group. This Mr. John Morley was a zealous Christian, a Director of the British Bible Society, 7 where he threw his influence to help Kalley and Brazil; personally he had supported one of Dr. Kalley's colporteur -- Senhor Francisco Jardim, for more than thirty years. 8 This was the home to which

3. Loc. cit. ff. Sarah Wilson had gone with her father to accompany her brother to Egypt and Syria. The brother was ill and died with tuberculosis in Bierut where he was buried in the Cemetery of Strangers: Dr. Kalley's first wife had died a few days previous, and they met in the cemetery. They were married later that year in England.
5. Rocha, op.cit., Vol. III, p. 24. This was known as the "Iron Room", because it employed both wood and iron in its construction. Later he built at the same place a large stone building seating 800 people.
8. Ibid., p. 190. During this time they had a nice home in Clapton, London. Mr. John Morley died January 1, 1896. See also Ibid., Vol. III, p. 21, where it is recorded that he also helped to buy a house for this colporteur.
the Kalleys went on their furlough, and their influence especially over Mrs. Kalley was considerable. Through this influence one of Dr. Kalley's assistants, Rev. Richard Holden, a former episcopal minister, eventually became a member of the Plymouth Brethren. The Kalleys remained Congregationalists, but their work was greatly influenced by this constant contact, and through them the early worship patterns in all Brazil.

Both Dr. and Mrs. Kalley were talented poets and musicians and under their ministry was produced a hymnal -- *Salmos e Hinos* which remained until the middle of the twentieth century, the most popular and widely used hymnal of all the various denominations in Brazil, and is still used by many churches. They had written some songs during their stay in the Islands, but now they began in earnest. The first edition of *Psalmos e Hynos* was published in 1861, and on the title-page states it is

"Para o uso daquelles que amam a Nosso Senhor Jesus Christo. Efésios 5. 18-20."²

It was printed in Rio de Janeiro by the Typographia Universal de Laemmert. It was an edition with only the words³ and no music, and contained eighteen Psalms and thirty-two hymns,⁴ making a total of fifty in all. Two of the hymns were quite long and divided into four numbers.

2. Ibid., p. 111.
3. Ibid., p. 111.
4. Ibid., p. 115.
In 1865, Dr. Kalley printed a second edition of Psalmos e Hinos using the same printer, and this time with twenty-five Psalms and fifty-eight hymns.¹ In 1868 he printed a third edition with one-hundred hymns; the fourth edition was printed in London in 1873, with one hundred and thirty-eight hymns, and the fifth edition also in London with one hundred and eighty hymns.² The sixth edition was printed in Edinburgh at the Ballantyne Press in 1879, and was identical with the fifth; the seventh edition was also printed in Edinburgh, by James Gemmel, 1883.

During this time Mrs. Kalley had written some hymns and printed them with music; the first being Bendito Jesus! Divino Pastor,³ (Blessed Jesus, Divine Pastor) which she wrote in 1864, and put to the music of Thomas Seele written in 1655. Mrs. Kalley began a class of music and also to direct a choir in the church which she taught to sing the four parts, and in 1868 she prepared the first edition of the choral music which she had printed in Leipzig. The title page read:

MUSIC SACRA ARRANJADA PARA QUATRO VOZES
Vinde, regozijemo nos no Senhor; celebremos as glorias de Deus nosso Salvador. Apresentemo nos ante a sua faca com louvor e celebremo lo com Psalmos. Psalmo XCIV 1-2.
Lipsia Estamparia de Musics de C.G. Roeder

This book contained seventy-six pieces of music. It also contained an exhortation⁴ from Mrs. Kalley to sing more rapidly than was common

¹. Ibid., p. 125.
². Loc. cit.
³. Ibid., p. 112.
⁴. Ibid., pp. 126-127.
⁵. Loc. cit.
in Brazil in order to express the joy "a santa allegria que deve caracterizar o culto dos Remidos pelo precioso sangue de Cristo", (the holy joy which should characterize the worship of those Redeemed by the precious blood of Christ), an exhortation\(^1\) which fell in large measure on deaf ears. The Portuguese Christians accustomed to singing the slow, soft, and minor dirges of the Roman Catholic Church have never caught the joyful singing of the German Reformation or the Evangelical Revival of Britain. Also the fact that early Evangelical worship in Brazil was conducted in homes or halls called "houses of prayer" which had no outward resemblance to churches, and the fact that they were a tolerated minority, through the formative years also contributed to make their singing seem slow and sad in comparison with some other Reformation churches.

Mrs. Kalley's work in the Portuguese translation and adaptation of the great wealth of German hymnody corresponded with a similar effort being made in England, Scotland, and the United States to bring into English the treasures of German hymnody which had been accumulating for several centuries. In the year 1786 Dean George Ludwig von Hardenberg of Halberstadt, had collected\(^2\) in five volumes, a hymnological catalogue of the first lines of 72,733 German hymns. Schaff says that nearly one thousand of these are "classical and immortal". The treasures of this hymnody enriched the churches in

1. Ibid., p. 126. "ocustome de pronunciar as palavras com grande lentidão não corresponde a santa alegria que deve caracterizar o culto dos Remídos pelo precioso sange de Cristo". (The custom of pronouncing the words with great slowness does not correspond to the holy joy which ought to characterize the worship of the Redeemed by the precious blood of Christ).

many nations -- they passed in Swedish, Norwegian, Danish, French, Dutch, English, and the modern American hymnbooks. John Wesley was one of the first English divines to appreciate its value, and to reproduce them in English. His contacts with the Moravian Church on the continent and in Britain made him very conscious of some of its value. While his brother Charles Wesley was producing original hymns, John "freely reproduced several hymns of Paul Gerhardt, Tersteegen, and Zinzendorf."¹ The English Moravian hymn-book as revised by Montgomery contained about a thousand abridged and poorly translated² German hymns.

A Miss Frances Elizabeth Cox had published in London, in 1841, a volume entitled "Sacred Hymns from the German",³ with a new edition including the German text in 1865. In Scotland Mrs. Eric Findlater and her sister, Miss Jane Borthwick⁴ of the Free Church of Scotland, published in 1854 a volume -- "Hymns from the Land of Luther", translated from the German by H.L.L., concealing their names by the initials which signified the words of the title. In 1855 and 1858, Miss Catherine Winkworth published in London a first and second series of Lyra Germanica,⁵ which went through many editions. She also in 1863 published a Choral Book for England with many hymns from Lyra Germanica partly remodelled, with seventy-

¹. Ibid., p. 510.
². Loc. cit.
³. Ibid., p. 511.
⁴. Ibid., pp. 511-512.
⁵. Loc. cit.
two others translated by her from the German. In 1848, Edward Bunsen had published in London *Hymns for Public and Private Devotion*, in which were many translated from the German by Arthur Tozer Russel. Many others were busy in the same task. Schaff states that Miss Jane Borthwick in the *Lyra Germanica* had attempted more to reproduce the spirit of the German hymns than the exact or literal translation. The Kalleys had come in contact with the German colony in Petropolis immediately after their arrival, and had used the German hymn-book *Liederbuch fur de Jugend* as early as 1859.

The Kalley's association with the Congregational and Plymouth Brethren of England left them free to use hymns, and not be bound to the use of only the Psalms. There was no mention of any church division or struggle as in North America where churches were not only divided over the use of hymns but even over the use of translations of the metered Psalms. But this association was further

1. Loc. cit.
2. Schaff, *op.cit.*, p. 511 ff. writes of Richard Massie, Luther's *Spiritual Songs* (London: 1854), and *Lyra Domestica* as translations from Spitta's Psaltery and Harp (London: 1860; second edition 1864). John Kelley, *Paul Gerhardt's Spiritual Songs* (London: 1867). He also states that James W. Alexander (Presbyterian minister in New York City d. 1859) as the best translator of Gerhardt's - *O Haupt voll Blut und Wunden* (0 Sacred Head now Wounded), as well as several other famous hymns from the German and Latin. Some of his translations were published in the *Mercerburg Review* and then passed into many American hymn-books.
3. Loc. cit.
4. H.R.F. Braga, *op.cit.*, p. 110. Christina Faulhaber, later Christina Fernandes Braga, received in April 1859 a copy of this book as a reward for attending faithfully the Sunday School and choir practice. The book is still in the Braga family, which is still a prominent family among Evangelical circles in Brazil, and has been often a host to the writer.
reflected in the type of hymns Dr. and Mrs. Kalley wrote or adapted from the German; they reflected deeply the subjective side of pietism and the task of evangelism; they were short on the great objective hymns of worship. This mark was left indelibly on all the Evangelical worship in Brazil. This has been partly offset by choral singing of adaptation of Christmas and Easter of the church classics, which also came through the German colony churches. The Brazilian evangelicals have never suffered from a militant antipathy against good music or good singing as has occurred in some periods of Scottish and American Presbyterianism. However the worship patterns do reflect a pietistic subjectivism, and the social complex of their formative years, that of a "tolerated" and at times a "persecuted" minority group. It has been difficult to outgrow this outlook, but it is changing.

Dr. and Mrs. Kalley returned to Scotland in 1876 where twelve years later he died. During his twenty-six years in Brazil he had not only been the instrument to open the doors to evangelism among the Brazilian people, but he had witnessed the formation of an Evangelical community scattered throughout the nation over which he had left a strong influence in the field of worship. While the Church of Scotland was still legislating against permitting laymen or even students of Theological Colleges into the pulpit, 1

1. The Acts of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland convened at Edinburgh May 24, 1855, with abridgment of Proceedings of Assembly and Commissions from August 1854 to June 1855. Page 33, Section XIII..."An Act prohibiting all the ministers from giving permission to any person or persons to engage in the public ministry of the Word or lead the devotions of the congregation of the Church of Scotland, except such as have been ordained or admitted as ministers of the Church, or to probationers who have been regularly licensed by the Presbytery of this Church to preach the Gospel."
in Brazil, Dr. Kalley had helped to institute a pattern of lay preaching in the molds of *family worship* -- a pattern that was spreading over the vast hinterland and being effectively used for the evangelization of the nation. The Sabbath was kept in the spirit of the Old Testament and no one was admitted to membership who did not keep the day free from secular employment. Many new converts were asked to seek other employment before admission to membership in the Church. It was a singing church but the singing never reached the triumphant joyful notes of the German Reformation. In spite of Mrs. Kalley's constant urging for more joyful expression, the singing tended to become slow and slower, and unspirited, reflecting the struggles of "Pilgrim" through a very difficult land beset with temptations, and persecutions, yet with a duty to share his faith with the pagans around him. What it lacked in love, joy, and devotion, it made up in courage, heroism, and disciplined faithfulness. It was a church with its face set like a flint to be faithful and to evangelize Brazil, and to become eventually one of the most "rapidly growing Evangelical Churches" in all mission lands. Missionaries from other Boards and Denominations entered the door he had opened and added their contribution. Some of these contributions must also be noted.

1. This struggle with music was also undoubtedly affected by a Portuguese inheritance from the "dirge" music of the Roman Catholic Church and the fatalistic sad ballads sung in the Portuguese "fados" or night clubs in Portugal.
Ashbel Green Simonton

Four years after the arrival of Dr. and Mrs. Kalley, and during the month that Dr. Kalley was confronting his most serious moments with the Brazilian authorities, with a threat of deportation for conducting religious services\(^1\) in his home, Rev. Ashbel Green Simonton arrived at the port of Rio de Janeiro, August 12, 1859.\(^2\) Simonton was the first missionary sent to Brazil under the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions; he was not, however, the first Presbyterian minister to labour in Brazil. On his arrival\(^3\) at the city of Rio he met Rev. J.C. Fletcher who had already spent many years at the Port of Rio de Janeiro working with sailors, conducting services on board ships, in the service of the "American Seaman's Friend Society".\(^4\) He had been in Brazil before Dr. Kalley, in fact his letter\(^5\) in 1843 to Dr. Baird of the American Bible Society in New York, had been the cause of Dr. Kalley's interest in Brazil and his subsequent going there as a missionary.

4. \textit{Ibid.}, p. 103ff. Fletcher reported that more than ten thousand sailors a year passed through the port, and on each Lord's Day a special flag was flown from the mast of one of these ships to indicate there would be Divine Worship in which he would preach to the sailors. Simonton also participated in these services helping Fletcher. On Fridays Fletcher visited the ships leaving tracts and speaking to as many of the sailors as possible.
5. \textit{Infra.}, p. 188.
J. C. Fletcher was a Presbyterian minister, in 1854 he was agent of the American Bible Society and helped in the American Legation. He was son-in-law of Rev. Cesar Malan,¹ a famous Swiss pastor, and in 1869 to 1873 was American Consul² in Porto, Portugal. He is most remembered now for sharing in the authorship of a book — Sketches of Residence and Travels in Brazil, which is an amplification of an earlier book by Daniel Parish Kidder. This book was published in the United States (Philadelphia: Sorin and Ball, 1845) and in the amplification with Fletcher it went through various editions, and was finally translated into Portuguese as a valuable historical document; Fletcher was elected to membership in the "Historical and Geographical Institute of Brazil".³

Fletcher is important in the study of worship in the fact that he probably more than any other missionary made Protestantism attractive to the Court circles of Rio de Janeiro -- to the government officials who occasionally attended the preaching of that winsome, gracious man as he made Christ real to the thousands of sailors, and then as he mingled with the intellectually and socially elite of the land. Also it was probably he who introduced Simonton to...

2. Rocha, op.cit., Vol. III. p. 117. He was also very interested in natural sciences and made an extended trip up the Amazon in company with the famous Prof. Agassiz.
the use of the Episcopal liturgy -- the **BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER**, which Simonton used repeatedly in his early ministry when he could not have music and singing to accompany his sermon, and with which he was buried.

What concepts and practices of worship did Simonton bring to Brazil? He did not bring a Presbyterian Book of Common Order; at that time the Presbyterian Church in the United States did not possess one. Simonton was born at West Hanover, Pennsylvania, January 20th, 1833. His Mother's father, the Reverend James Snodgrass was pastor of the Westhanover church during the period of fifty-eight years and two months. Mr. Snodgrass was of Scotch-Irish decent, his forebears having come from the North of Ireland. He was pastor of this church at the time Simonton was born, at which time Simonton was dedicated to the Lord and to His Service as a minister of the Gospel. Simonton's father, Dr. William Simonton, was a physician and politician -- twice elected to the United States Congress. He was an elder in the church, a strict observer of the Sabbath, and maintained family worship. Simonton was thirteen years old when his father died. He attended the Harrisburg Academy and the College of New Jersey, a College which had been founded by the New School Presbyterians. After graduation he had taught school in the South at Starkville Academy in Mississippi for a year, returning home with

1. Philip S. Landes, *Ashbel Green Simonton* (Forth Worth, Texas: Don Cowan Company, 1956) p.5. Philip Landes was a missionary of the Presbyterian Church in Brazil.
2. **Loc. cit.**
3. Landis, **op.cit.**, pp. 5-6.
4. Andrew Landale Drummond, *Story of American Protestantism* (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1949) p. 127. "...this 'College of New Jersey' had been founded by the revivalist party in the Presbyterian Church to replace the 'Log College' at Neshaminy which came to an end with the death of Gilbert Tennant (1746)."
the avowed intention of studying law. At this time even though he had been baptized as a child and attended church, he did not consider himself a Christian and "refused to say grace" at the table, as he said because he was not yet a Christian. He returned to his home in 1854, while making plans to study law, a new pastor came to the Presbyterian Church in Harrisburg, where the family then lived. He was already keeping a Journal and on 31st of October, 1854, he made this entry:

"Wednesday is lecture evening and now, since the arrival of Mr. Robinson, our new minister, I am minded to attend."

The following Spring on March 10th, 1855, he noted in his journal that there had been a revival in town, in various churches, and especially in the Methodist and Lutheran churches. He also noted "There have been professions in our Church (Presbyterian) and there has been nightly meetings during the week." As he continues the account he mentions his own decision:

"Again last evening an invitation was given and considering it my duty to accept it, I remained together with nearly twenty others. This is an important step and I trust in the right direction. Religion is an all important subject, infinitely more important than others that engage our attention. I have always believed and known this and have often felt it too. I have lived long enough and reflected closely enough to assure myself not only that the affairs of eternity are of much greater moment than the affairs of time, as eternity is longer than time, but that even in this life to be a Christian is the highest wisdom; that to attempt to satisfy an immortal soul with any of the honours or riches of the world is supreme folly. And often as these reflections occupied my mind, I have wished that I was a Christian. And at times I have feebly resolved and attempted to become what I felt I should be. I commenced secret prayer and reading of the Bible and continued this practice for a long time.

During the Princeton revival I felt to some degree interested and made some effort to get an interest in the Saviour's love. But soon that feeling passed away and I was left as before or worse than ever. And now as these meetings commenced and I saw others seeking to save their immortal souls, I have determined in reliance upon the promises of God's word to make one honest effort, and if it fails, I am undone.

The influence of the kind of theology which developed out of the "Sum of Saving Knowledge", and Federal Theology, is quite evident here. Man is making an advantageous decision in a rational way because time is less important than eternity, and man must seek to save his immortal soul, so he will make one honest effort. This is not the joyful acceptance of God's gracious gift — it is a bargain with God. He then continues:

"My object in remaining was principally to make a public declaration of my intention to place myself on the Lord's side and mortify that stubborn pride which struggled hard to prevent me...I have sat still long enough to wait to be converted, now I am resolved in God's promised strength to go forward and endeavor to serve Him, whether a bright light shines about my path or not;..."

In the Journal under date of May 3rd is this entry concerning his joining the church:

"On Tuesday evening the Session of the Church met with those who desired to connect themselves with her, and after examination admitted twenty-one candidates. It was a solemn meeting and one eventful either for good or evil. Each one was conversed with separately for a few minutes and then the Session retired into Mr. Robinson's study.

I was of this number and trust of right. It is a most solemn and important step and I have reflected seriously and prayerfully before taking it. One thing has troubled me much. It is to know whether I have exercised a true faith and repentance for sins. The promises of the Gospel I see

1. Journal, March 10, 1855. The underlining is mine.

2. A small book which was often printed with the Westminster Confession of faith. There is some question as to its authority.
and am assured are open to all and I am conscious too of a desire to make them mine and a fixed purpose to plead them before God until I obtain them, but are they mine? Have I now put my trust in Christ?"1

Three days later on May 6, 1855, Simonton placed in his Journal his covenant with God. It is in the definite form of a two-sided contract with God -- a bargain with God. It is a bi-lateral covenant (suntheke) and not the unilateral (diatheke) made for us in Christ which asks a joyful, grateful, loving, "Amen of the whole man, but which is not a bargain made with God." In his covenant were five paragraphs of his side of the bargain and one on God's side. One paragraph read:

"I have engaged in the fear of God to discharge every duty inculcated in His Holy Word and to study that Word with sincere prayer for guidance in fully comprehending it."

Soon after this Simonton made plans to attend Princeton Seminary. On October 14th 1855 he writes in his Journal:

"Heard a sermon by Dr. Hodge on the duty of the Church as a teacher. He spoke of the absolute necessity of instructing the heathen, before success in the spread of the Gospel could be expected, and showed that any hope of their conversion based upon the extraordinary agency of the Holy Spirit directly communicating truth were unscriptural. This sermon has had the effect of leading me to think seriously of the foreign missionary field. The little success apparently attending missionary operations had tended to dissuade me from thinking of going. But I see I have been wrong. That the heathen are to be converted to God is clearly revealed in the Scriptures...It is, I feel convinced, a matter to be taken into consideration, whether since most prefer to remain, it is not my duty to go."

He had rationalized that eternity was more important than time and therefore it was the part of wisdom to try to save one's soul, now

1. The underlining is mine.
he rationalizes that it is his duty to go to the mission field since the heathen will be converted, but they must be taught first, and "since most prefer to remain, it is my duty to go."

Under this compulsion he made application to the Board of Missions, and August 12, 1859, he arrived in Rio de Janeiro the first missionary of the Presbyterian Church of the United States of America. The Journal reveals very little about his worship services beyond the fact that he preached. His attitude toward his own baptism -- that he was not a Christian until he had made his decision in the revival, reveals some of his understanding of the sacraments. In his covenant with God he mentions the Lord's Supper in these words:

"...I think I begin to see and feel that it is my great privilege to sit at His table and call to remembrance His great love wherewith He has loved even me."

The "Table" was a place to remember "His great love", but there is no intimation that it is in any sense, as the Reformers understood, a means of grace, or a time of special presence. It is a time to remember what Christ did for his people in the distant past. His Journal reveals a constant anxiety about his soul's standing before God. August 13, 1860 he makes this entry:

"...and here I would enter upon a second year...to be more careful of my inward life, to seek after holiness and entireness of consecration to Christ. Every sin, every sinful indulgence is not only a direct blow at the life of my soul, but it tends to destroy my usefulness and success. I record this for a warning and solemn reminder to be kept ever in view during the second year of my missionary labours."

Another look at Presbyterian worship in the United States at this time would help to understand Simonton. Robert Baird
published in 1843 and 1844 an account of Religion in America.\(^1\) Baird was an outstanding Presbyterian in the United States, who during the years between 1835 and 1843 made a number of journeys through Britain and Continental Europe, and finally at the request of friends in Europe, especially in Germany, wrote a History of Christianity in America. It was well received in Germany; later there was an edition for Britain, and finally an American edition. Chapter Five or Book Five of this work treats of "the discipline of the churches -- the character of American preaching -- and the subject of revivals." In this section he states concerning the Lord's Supper:

"In many of our churches the sacrament of the Lord's Supper is administered once in three months, in many once in two, and in others once a month. Some time before, the pastor gives notice that he will meet at a certain time and place all such as wish to join the church on that occasion, and receive the communion for the first time. He meets with them, converses with them, and learns the state of their minds, as far as it is possible for man to judge. In many cases the persons come to him repeatedly to lay open their hearts and receive his counsels. If he believes that they have met with the change of heart of which the Saviour speaks in his interview with Nicodemus, he encourages them in the resolution to join the church. If he thinks they are not prepared for this important step, he advises them to defer it for a season, that they may become so."\(^1\)

Here the concept and practice concerning the Lord's Supper is seen as connected with the joining of the Church, and the minister is to judge if the person has had the New Birth in the sense of the conversation of Jesus with Nicodemus. It was the badge that could be put on before the world if they could demonstrate they had experienced

this great spiritual change in their inner life. It was a badge more than a means of grace. Baird continues:

"...The day arrives for administering the Lord's Supper; the preparatory services, including a sermon, are gone through; the moment comes for commencing those which relate to this sacred ordinance. Before he commences them, the pastor in many churches, calls upon all those who are now about to join the church to come forward and take their places before the pulpit. He reads their names, aloud, and baptizes those of them who have not been baptized before. He then puts certain questions to the adults, embodying the chief articles of the church's creed, and to these they answer in the affirmative. This is sometimes followed by his reading out the form of a covenant, which they must give their assent to keep."  

Baird then printed an example of the type of covenant which was commonly used at this time -- it is very similar to the covenant in Simonton's Journal which probably had been prepared by the pastor for all to take. The method outlined here for the Lord's Supper compared with the practice of both Simonton and his brother-in-law Blackford who came to help him a year later. Their first celebration of the Lord's Supper came after they had baptized a convert and accepted another who had been baptized in his childhood in the Episcopal Church. It was also celebrated in the nature of a badge. As the work grew and the missionaries visited the scattered congregations, whenever there was a baptism, there was also a celebration of the Lord's Supper. The expression of Baird -- "the preparatory services, including the sermon are gone through", is revealing of the attitude of the times. It was indeed something "that was gone through", and the covenant was very like a business

1. Loc. cit. The underlining is mine.
2. Simonton has a tendency to take all the credit he can, or a tendency to not give others the credit.
contract -- a bargain with God.

Baird's description of the 'character of American Preaching' is helpful in understanding Simonton and his colleagues who followed. Baird gives ten characteristics:

"The first characteristic of American preaching is simplicity...the second characteristic lies in its being serious and earnest...a third characteristic of American preaching is its dwelling much upon immediate reconciliation with God....The fourth...is found in its being highly doctrinal...A fifth...lies in its being systematic or consecutive...A sixth...may be called philosophical...A seventh...is its directness...An eighth is its faithfulness...the ninth characteristic of American preaching is that it is eminently practical...The tenth...is that it speaks much of the work of the spirit."

Baird also comments that while the Episcopal and Congregational clergy wrote their sermons and read them in delivery, a large proportion of the Presbyterian and Baptist, and nearly all the Methodist and Cumberland Presbyterians "neither write their sermons in full, or read any considerable part of them." He also mentions the study habits of the itinerant preachers, and the fact that when they could repeat the same sermon a number of times in different places, it tended to improve.

The characteristics of the American preaching given by Baird, although written for European readers in defense of American churches, are probably a fair description in general of Simonton and his colleagues. Simonton was converted in a Presbyterian Church which belonged to the "New School" Presbyterians; he had attended the College of New Jersey which was founded by the "New School" and was

1. Ibid., pp. 186-196. The underlining is not mine but Bairds.
marked by great revivals at that time. Simonton, however, had chosen Princeton Theological Seminary which was affiliated with the Old School, and when he returned from Seminary, he allied himself with other former members of the English Presbyterian Church, in which he had been converted, to help form the Pine Street Presbyterian Church of Harrisburg. This may have indicated a shift in theological views, or there may have been other considerations such as friends, convenience, etc. The fact that the first Presbytery organized in Brazil by Simonton and colleagues was affiliated with the Synod of Baltimore, which belonged to the "Old School" Presbyterians may be an indication of theological leanings, but it may also have been more the nature of an historical accident.

After spending two years in Brazil, Simonton hurried home because of his mother's illness; while in the States, Dr. Backus, pastor of the First Presbyterian Church of Baltimore, had invited him to serve as substitute pastor while he went on a vacation.¹ This church had been greatly influenced by Dr. Chalmers and the Free Church of Scotland and had adopted in part Dr. Chalmers² financial scheme for missions. Christmas in Baltimore was spent in the home of a family named Murdoch,³ in his Journal under date of February 23, 1863, he records:

1. Landis, op.cit., p. 41.
2. John C. Backus, HISTORICAL DISCOURSE (Baltimore: C. Stanley Slicting, 1895) pp. 54-55. Backus tells of his visit to Scotland and receiving personally from Thomas Chalmers a copy of his "Christian Economics" which he brought back and had published in America and that his church in Baltimore adapted Chalmers' financial plan. This brochure is found in the Library of Princeton Theological Seminary.
"On January 28th (1863) after many questions of her fitness, Helen Murdoch consented to an engagement of marriage with me and March 19th has been named as our wedding day..."
The ceremony was performed by Dr. Backus in the presence of about ninety friends and relatives. These ministerial and family connections with the Church of Baltimore, as well as the fact that it was attempting an ambitious missionary programme, may well have been the ties which led Simonton to desire to link the first Brazilian Presbytery to the Synod of Baltimore. If Simonton took sides in the New School and Old School controversy, he did not mention it in his Journal.

Simonton's attitude toward the Roman Church was conditioned also by legislation in the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of America. As early as 1835 the Assembly had reached a decision that the Roman Catholic Church was not to be recognized as a Christian Church:

"Resolved that it is the deliberate and decided judgment of this Assembly, that the Roman Catholic Church has essentially apostatized from the religion of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, and therefore is not to be recognized as a Christian Church." 2

Ten years later in 1845 it had declared the baptism of the Church of Rome invalid.

"The question presented to this Assembly by overture from the Presbytery of Ohio, 'Is baptism of Church or Rome valid?' is one of very grave character, and deep practical importance. The answer to it must involve principles vital to the peace, the purity, and the stability of the Church of God. After a full discussion, carried through several days, this Assembly has decided by a nearly unanimous

1. Loc. cit.
2. Assembly Digest, Book VI, Section 83, p. 560 (1835).
vote (173 yeas to 8 nays) that baptism so administered is not valid."1

Simonton's attitude, as well as the attitude of his colleagues, toward the congregations on the frontier without pastoral care, would have been affected by other Assembly legislation. In 1798, the Assembly had ruled:

"...earnestly recommend to all vacant Congregations under their care, to meet together every Lord's day, at one or more places, for the purpose of prayer and praise, and reading the holy Scriptures, together with the works of such approved divines as they may be able to procure; and that the Elders be the persons who shall pray, and select the portions of Scripture and other books to be read by any proper person whom they may appoint."2

Also a "Pastoral Letter to Frontier Churches", had been sent out which contained among other things this paragraph:

"The profanation of the Lord's day, and the neglect of those religious exercises which humanize and sanctify the heart, we are apprehensive may be too prevalent among you. We know that from your peculiarly destitute and unsettled circumstances, you cannot spend your Sabbaths as many among you no doubt wish; we therefore earnestly recommend to you, while in your present circumstances, to form small societies in which you may meet every Lord's day, for the purpose of social prayer and praise, reading

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1. Assembly Digest, Book III, Section 13, p. 103 (1815). Ten reasons were listed by the Assembly for taking this decision, yet it was recognized that the Reformers were not rebaptized nor did they rebaptize -- "Luther and his coadjutors being duly ordained presbyters at the time when they left the Romish communion, which then, though fearfully corrupt, was the only visible Church in the countries of their abode, were fully authorized by the word of God, to ordain successors in the ministry..."

The eighth reason they gave for rejecting Roman baptism was that the 11th canon of the Council of Trent declared that the efficacy of her ordinances depended upon the intention of the administrator, therefore no one could know with certainty that they had been duly baptized...This argument however would be only partly valid as they upheld the validity of the Reformer's baptism and ordination.

2. Assembly Digest, Book III, Section 25 (p. 109) (1798).
the Scriptures and sermons of some of our most approved and pious divines. Where you have not Elders and Deacons, regularly ordained, who may lead your worship, we think you ought to choose from among yourselves those whose knowledge, talents, and religious deportment are most conspicuous. By this method your social attachments will be cherished, your habits of worship improved, and you will be gradually ripening for the full establishment of the ordinances of the gospel.

We hear with pain that you are peculiarly exposed to visits from men unauthorized by the Churches, unsound in the faith, and of unholy and immoral lives, who call themselves preachers. We exhort you to be very careful, neither to admit nor encourage preachers, with whose principles, connections, and characters you are unacquainted.”

In 1856, the Assembly approved the action of the Presbytery of Louisiana in stating:

"...it is not inconsistent with the principles of our Church for Ruling Elders, in the absence of the Pastor, to read the Scriptures and explain them; and to endeavor to enforce the truth upon the conscience, by suitable exhortation..."  

Here was developing a tradition of urging the small groups of immigrant Christians, and those who lived in the frontier settlements beyond the reach of a regular pastor, to form small societies to meet on the Lord's Day to pray and read the Scriptures and good sermons. Where there were Elders or Deacons they should take the initiative in either leading or selecting a leader, but the meetings should be held even without an ordained Elder, and "ruling Elders" in the absence of pastors could go a step further and "enforce the truth upon the conscience by suitable exhortation."

This was a departure from the "Reformed Churches of Scotland

1. Ibid., Book III, Section 27 (p. 110) (Year 1795), the underlining is mine.
2. Ibid., Book III, Section 26 (pp. 109-110) (Year 1856). The underlining is mine.
and the Continent, but it was in harmony with the practice of John Knox1 in Scotland before the Reformation of 1560, and in harmony with the "Church of the Desert" in France during the period of persecution. In Brazil Simonton, Blackford, Lane, and other missionaries would begin within these practices, but the exigencies of the frontier of Brazil modified this still further.

Simonton's Journal also indicates that he was very conscious of making history, and wanted his part recorded. His parents had named him Ashbel Green, after a notable Presbyterian theologian, Dr. Ashbel Green,2 who was for twenty-five years pastor of the Second Presbyterian Church of Philadelphia, Chaplain to Congress from 1792 to 1800, and author of a History of "Presbyterian Missions".3 The men honoured in this History made a deep impression upon young Simonton, and helped him to see things in an historical perspective. In his Journal under date of June 3, 1854, he records his reflections over a choice of vocations -- He refers to an address he had recently heard from Dr. Shields:

"There is too, as Mr. Shields remarked, a great day coming -- an era in the world's history -- when vast results are to be brought about and great changes wrought, and they will be honored who are the instruments in this work..."4

2. Landis, op.cit., p. 5.
3. Loc. cit.
4. The underlining is mine. Simonton's full diary is in the library of Princeton Theological Seminary, also selections from this Journal have been published in Portuguese. These references were copied from the Journal in Princeton.
Dr. Shields as the agent of the Bible Society was making an appeal for Missions and the Bible. This deeply affected Simonton's concept of history and the men honored who are instruments in the great new day dawning for the world. The words "duty" and "honour" are often in his Journal. On October 14th, 1855, soon after arriving in Princeton Seminary he records in the Journal:

"Heard a sermon by Dr. Hodge on the duty of the Church as a teacher...That the heathen are to be converted is clearly revealed in the Scriptures...It is I feel convinced, a matter to be taken into consideration, since most prefer to remain, it is not my duty to go."

At the same time he records:

"Even if I should go and labor and die without being permitted to see this promised time, I have a part in it. I may be made instrumental in preparing...The history of missions shows that there is a preparatory process employed...the refusal of some to go to discouraging stations only renders the duty more imperative on others."

Again on October 10th 1857, he records after a long conversation with Dr. Wilson, of the Board of Foreign Missions:

"I am ready to go and I feel more than ever that it is the path of duty."

When later he had two men prepared to receive the sacrament of the Lord's Supper -- his first two converts in Brazil, one a revived Episcopalian, and one a Portuguese from Romanism, he writes that

1. The underlining is mine.
2. He had been named after the great Presbyterian Historian of Missions, Dr. Ashbel Green. The underlining is mine.
3. The underlining is mine.
4. Journal, The underlining is mine.
it is "an honor"\textsuperscript{1} he does not deserve. He is very careful to record his first\textsuperscript{2} Sunday School class in Portuguese, even though it consisted of five little children -- three American of the Eubank family and two German children of the Knaack family. His sense of history made it an occasion to be carefully marked. His Journal constantly swings back and forth from this sense of duty, honour, and history, on one hand, to a sense of spiritual unworthiness on the other.

His Journal does not mention Fletcher who has been for years preaching on the ships in the harbour, and agent of the American Bible Society, as well as associated with the American Legation, but two weeks after he arrived he records\textsuperscript{3} that he preached on board the ship John Adams, and that the singing was very poor under his leadership; two weeks later he is again preaching\textsuperscript{4} on the same ship with three Captains and their wives in attendance, and that he is invited to dine on board another ship -- the "Dolphin". His entry in the Journal of October 10th 1859 registers again preaching on the John Adams and that he is using the Book of Common Prayer of the Episcopal Church. He gives as his reasons\textsuperscript{5} the fact

\begin{enumerate}
\item \textit{Journal}, December 31, 1861.
\item \textit{Journal}, April 28th, 1860. These Eubank and probably also the Knaack children had been teaching Simonton English, that is they had been trading lessons -- Simonton taught them English and they taught him conversational Portuguese.
\item \textit{Journal}, September 12, 1859.
\item \textit{Journal}, September 26, 1859.
\item \textit{Journal}, October 10, 1859. The underlining is mine.
\end{enumerate}
that he had not been able to successfully direct them in public
singing, and that it was in an effort to conciliate the situation,
and finally that he believed that it would truly make the worship
service of more value to all. He apparently had not wished to
follow the pattern established by Fletcher, but became reconciled
to the situation, and acceded to the wishes of the people involved,
and in the end saw the value of using at least a part of the ritual
of the Book of Common Prayer. To what extent he did use it, or
adapt it in his ministry in Brazil, is not known. He does not
mention it again, and his description of worship services are
extremely brief. There was prayer and a sermon, and singing
sometimes, and a closing prayer. In his Journal of April 11, 1860,
he mentions spending time in the home of Dr. Kalley in Petropolis
and participating in the worship service there. He states that
it was a great privilege to attend and participate in the services
which were so simple and evangelical.

"He seems to be a man of faith more than any other thing.
I was deeply impressed with his apparent confidence in the
continual presence of God, in his glory and holiness, and his
sense of constant communion with God. His discourses present
the full truth without any great depth or intellectual
grasp."1

The second week of January 1862 was a week of prayer closing with the
public baptism of Senhor Camilo Cardoso de Jesus, who was accepted
along with Mr. Melford, into church membership.2 They both then

1. Journal, April 11, 1860. This quotation is translated back into
English from the Portuguese edition. The underlining is mine.
2. Mr. Melford was a North American, agent of the Singer Sewing
Machine Company, and had been baptized as a child in the
Episcopal Church. He was not rebaptized, but made a profession
of faith.
received the sacrament of the Lord's Supper and this date -- Jan 12, 1862, was declared the date of the organization of the first Presbyterian Church in Brazil.¹ This first baptism and Lord's Supper was conducted partly in English and partly in Portuguese. It must be remembered that the Presbyterian Church in America did not as yet have a Book of Common Order; they had only a revision and adaptation of the Westminster Directory.

Simonton's first sermon in Portuguese he places under date of May 19, 1861. His own description is as follows:

"Having, about the first of May, rented a room at number 31, Rua Nova do Ouvidor, I began to give lessons twice a week in English and Portuguese, as a means of getting access to the natives and bringing them to attend a Bible class on Sunday. This Bible class was first held on May 19th, at 3 p.m. It was with some tremor that I awaited the hour. Two were present and seemed interested. I began with the Gospel of Matthew. The next Sabbath three were present, the third more, and on the fourth I was surprised to see the room fill up with men and women. It was a gladsome sight to see so many natives willing to receive religious instruction. On last Thursday in consequence of the desire for instruction, I commenced a week evening service at which several were present. It is with great delight and gratitude that I find the way opening for my preaching the Gospel."²

Out of all this came two men who the next year did become members of his church, but it is important to note the method: his contacts were made through giving English lessons, and his congregation on

1. This method of organizing churches was practiced by all denominations in the beginning. Sometimes it was years before a formal organization with election of elders and deacons, could be arranged, but the missionaries reasoned there had to be something to tie to, and to which others could join their forces. Later the preaching points were classified as congregations, under the care of a mother church somewhere in the land. The word congregation came to mean a secondary type of church under the care of a fully organized church.

2. The underlining is mine.
Sunday afternoon were his English pupils, and the worship hour was a study in the Book of Mathew. Simonton had not found his stride as a missionary when death claimed him. He had arrived in 1859 and died in 1867 -- eight years later. The first two years were spent in learning the language and customs of the people, and two extended trips to the United States also must be extracted from these eight years. During this period he married, set up a new home in Brazil, a baby was born and his wife died. The closing months of his life were made difficult with physical sufferings. Yet out of the fragments of these eight years he left a lasting imprint on the Church of Brazil. His unflinching sense of duty even to death left its indelible mark. His sense of history and his determination that he and his colleagues were writing a new and glorious chapter of missionary history guided his every move and helped him to set careful patterns. The field was surveyed, a church and Presbytery organized, even though the first church consisted of only two converts and the Presbytery the missionaries on the field. A religious journal was published and a proto-seminary was training four Brazilian young men to serve as pastors. In the field of worship his great contribution was probably to imbue his converts and co-workers with a sense of duty to carry out the missionary commission and write a new and glorious chapter of history. His energies went into the planning and initiation of the campaign; what he would have done in consolidation remained unknown. His early death left the Presbyterian work under the leadership of his fellow missionary and brother-in-law -- Alexander Latimer Blackford.
Alexander Latimer Blackford

Alexander Latimer Blackford was the second missionary of the Presbyterian Church of the United States, to go to Brazil. Blackford was born on a farm in Jefferson County, Ohio, January 6, 1829. His early life had been spent in the rural frontier with his parents who were pioneers. He graduated from the Washington and Jefferson College in 1856, and from Western Theological Seminary with the class of 1859, a year later than Simonton graduated from Princeton, and arrived in Brazil also a year later. Both men had been sought out personally by Dr. J. Leighton Wilson, the Secretary of the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions while they were still in Seminary, and had approved and recommended them to the Board, which also accepted them. Blackford had married Simonton's sister Lillie, and had a great admiration for Simonton. After Simonton's death December 9, 1867, Blackford inherited the place of leadership in the mission. Blackford wrote in the Journal --

"His mantle has fallen to me & I must try to fill his place. To do it as he did I cannot hope to. May God give me grace to fill it to the glory of his own holy name."  

Theologically, Blackford's sympathies seem to have been with the "Old School" in contrast with the "New School" in the States. At least in 1869 when in the United States the merger of the Old School and the New School was proposed, the missionaries in Brazil were asked to vote as they were affiliated with the Synod of Baltimore. In this Blackford cast his vote against the merger;  

2. In this vote Robert Lenington and H.W. McKee voted in favour of the merger, and Blackford, Conceicao and Pitt voted against it.
an act which probably indicates "Old School" leanings. His ministry however in his cooperation with the Anglicans in the city of Sao Paulo, and his adaptability to the primitive conditions of the frontier reflect the openness which characterized the attitudes of the "New School". His contribution to worship is seen as much in what he did not record as in what he did write.

Emilio Willems of Vanderbilt University in his social studies "Followers of the New Faith"¹ made this observation:

"To understand the frame of mind in which the early missionaries sought to lay the foundations of their creeds in such countries as Chile and Brazil, one must be aware of the fact that their attempts were to a large extent continuous with the evangelization of the frontier."²

This was true for social studies, it was also true for an understanding of the contribution in worship which these pioneer missionaries brought to Brazil. Their "frame of mind" and their practices reflected the frontier evangelization in America. To understand Blackford requires not only a study of his writings, but also a study of what was happening to worship on the frontier of North America.

1. Emilio Willems, Followers of the New Faith, Culture Change and the Rise of Protestantism in Brazil and Chile (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 1967). This is a sociological study in the relation of cultural changes which were in progress in Brazil and Chile at the time the Protestant missionaries began their work.

2. Ibid., p. 10.
Charles W. Shields, while Professor at Princeton College, published\(^1\) in 1864, an eloquent and stirring appeal to the Presbyterian Church in the United States to reconsider its stand on liturgy, and restudy its roots in Reformational worship. Concerning Presbyterianism in the United States of America, he refers to the fact that at the time of its official organization and adoption of its Constitution, which included a revised edition of the Westminster Directory for Public Worship, such leaders as Drs. Rogers, McWhorter, Ashbel Green, and others were in favour of preparing a Book of Common Order\(^2\) and had in fact prepared such a book, but for the sake of peace in the church it was not officially adopted, and apparently forgotten in the evangelistic conquest of the West. Shields points out that the original Directory had been extensively altered\(^3\) at the time to include developing needs in the New World. He pointed out in detail some of these alterations; also the fact that there were some experiments in liturgy going on in the "St. Peter's Church" in Rochester, and that the board had permitted the publishing of two types of manuals -- Miller on Public Prayer and Sailor's Companion. He also mentions that the "Eutaxia" has been published by Baird, and that a movement is going on in Scotland to recover ground lost

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2. Ibid., p. 23. This is also referred to at great length in Bairds "Eutaxia" of 1855. See Supra, p. 152ff.

3. Ibid., pp. 22-25.
in the field of worship. While affirming that the genius of
presbytery would not tolerate an "imposed liturgy",¹ and that --

"...in a land so vast and varied as ours, anything
like strict uniformity of worship is, in the nature of
things unattainable. It is unreasonable that a congregation
in St. Louis or New York should have all its appliances of
devotion exactly like those of a congregation in the interior
of Pennsylvania, or of Kansas, and that such a rigid
correspondence does not, in fact, exist throughout our bounds..."²

yet he pleads for something to be done to recover more of what
should rightly belong to the true worship of God.

"...it cannot be denied that in too many cases there is
neither 'a just proportion between the several parts of public
worship',³ nor any evidence of the required carefulness that
they 'may be performed with dignity and propriety, as well as
to the profit of those who join in them.'⁴ The matter, form,
and arrangement of them have been left to chance of impulse.
The psalms, hymns, and Scripture readings, or lessons, are
selected at random, or upon no obvious principle; and the
prayers are long rambling effusions of what happens to come
uppermost in the mind. All is vague, crude, and unedifying;
and the congregation, sympathizing with the preacher, are glad
to dispatch their devotions and come to the sermon, where they
can have something more orderly and intelligible."⁵

This is Shields description of the typical Presbyterian service; not
of the more extreme non-conformists which had no roots in a Book of
Common Order. This would have been the type of worship common among
the Presbyterian Churches where Blackford, Simonton, Schneider, and
other pioneer missionaries to Brazil, had worshipped before setting
out to mission lands. They brought with them no Book of Common Order,
for such did not yet exist in the United States, nor for that matter

¹. Ibid., p. 27.
². Ibid., p. 28.
³. A quotation from the Directory.
⁴. A quotation from the Directory.
⁵. Shields, The Book of Common Prayer, pp. 29-30. The underlining is
   mine.
in Scotland at this time. The "Renewal of Worship" had only just begun, and several decades were to pass before either Church would recover from the dearth of worship into which it had fallen.

Shields quotes with approbation the statements of the late Dr. Miller, concerning the defective forms or modes of public prayer then current in the Presbyterian Church: -- the repetitious, the tedious, the irreverent, the incoherent, the unseasonable, the political, the complimentary, the didactic, the rhetorical, the sarcastic, etc. He argued that it was a gross abuse of the doctrine of spiritual gifts and influences to rank such effusions as utterances of the Holy Ghost, or to impose them upon a worshipping assembly as 'their' prayers. Shields argued that this had also contributed to the degradation of the sermon as well as the total worship hour:

"...it has increased the taste for a style of 'sensational' preaching which but few miniters can acquire or sustain; and on the other hand, has rendered all public prayer or praise a mere foil to the sermon. The pulpit has become the rival of the rostrom, and mere intellectual entertainment substituted for devout communion with God. The people take refuge from the service in the discourse, and the discourse is elaborated at the expense of the service. Whereas, the need of careful preparation for the one exceeds that for the other by as much as what is offered in the form of prayer or praise to God, is more momentous than what is addressed in the form of mere argument or appeal to man."

Turning to the study of what this did to the worshipper Shields had this to say:

"We affirm it to be undeniable as it is lamentable, that in many of our congregations a growing suppression has been taking the place of all proper expression of devotional feeling. Judging by appearances, in some cases, the great

2. Ibid., p. 31. The underlining is mine.
mass would seem no longer to go to church to worship God, so much as to hear choirs and sermons. They sit between the pulpit and the organ, in mute compliance, while their prayers are performed by proxy. With all our boasted Protestantism, we have in the heart of our communion the essence of the Roman ritual, a 'vicarious service', of which the people are but auditors, and in which, sometimes, they can no more individually participate than if priest and choir were praying and singing for them in a separate performance.\(^1\)

This paragraph is valuable not only to interpret the attitude of Presbyterian missionaries who went to Brazil in the middle of the nineteenth century, and as the founding fathers left their mark upon life and worship in the Brazilian church; it also serves as a guide in analyzing the worship patterns within large sections of the Presbyterian Church in Brazil. Shields was a voice crying in the wilderness as was Baird,\(^2\) Van Dyke,\(^3\) and a few others; his voice was not appreciated at the time.\(^4\) As the Brazilian Church charts its future in the field of worship, the words of Shields reveal what can happen to the life and worship of a church under certain concepts, and what are possible alternatives in seeking a way out.

Blackford kept a "Journal Record of Mission Work in the City of São Paulo, Brazil, from October 9th 1863 to December 25th 1868. It is briefly written -- at times almost in code, but it has served as a very valuable source of historical research. From the standpoint of worship it is revealing only in its barrenness and

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1. Ibid., p. 35. Except for the words 'vicarious service' the underlining is mine.
2. Baird wrote Eutaxia in 185.
3. Van Dyke was a leader in the movement for a Book of Church Order. Finally Van Dyke was Chairman of the Committee appointed in 1903 to prepare an American Presbyterian Book of Order.
4. Shields eventually went to the Episcopal Church.
in the texts and subjects used. Blackford founded the Presbyterian work in the city of Sao Paulo, and to an extent the work in the State of Sao Paulo, but it was the city of Sao Paulo that occupies the centre of his account. He begins with some Preliminary Notes about the arrival of Simonton as the "first missionary of the Pres. Board of For. Miss. in Brazil", then his own arrival, the organization of the church in Rio with two converts, of their preliminary journeys, and then the Board's decision that the Blackfords occupy the city of Sao Paulo, and their arrival there Oct. 9, 1863. His first entry on the work in Sao Paulo reads:

"Here we found one Christian family: -- Mr. Pitt & wife Eng. Mr. P- was an elder in Dr. Kalley's ch. in Rio. Sr. Bastos, one of our Portugueses Golpts. had already been here for several weeks & had good success in his work. Dr. Kidder, Mr. Fletcher, Mr. Corfield & perhaps some others had visited this province in former years, as Bible agents. For several years Bibles have been on sale in this city & several other places in this province. In 1862 Sr. Silver, as colptr. of the Birt & For. Bib. Soc. spent about eight months in this province. He was perhaps a month in this city. His success in his work was very God."

The Mr. Pitt mentioned here as an elder of Dr. Kalley's church in Rio was already here carrying on Dr. Kalley's type of evangelism -- that is, "family worship" to which the neighbours are invited. Pitt's influence contributed to make this method of evangelizing a part of the Presbyterian programme, although the instructions for sacred and family devotion given by the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, and printed along with the Westminster Confession and Directory for Public Worship, had specifically ordered that it not be used in this manner.
"At Family Worship a special Care is to be had, that each Family keep by themselves, neither requiring, inviting, nor admitting Persons from divers Families, unless it be those who are lodged with them, or at Meal, or otherwise with them upon some Lawful Occasion."1

Blackford's first entry concerning preaching is:


At this time there was a large group of Britishers in the city, some in business for themselves, but most of them working for an English company in the construction of a Railroad. An English reading room had been provided for them. In this room Blackford preached in English to British and Americans on the text -- "There is one God and one Mediator between God and Man, the man Christ Jesus". There is no mention of singing or prayer or any other part of the service. The next entry into the Journal is more than one month later. It read:

"Sab. Nov. 29th. Preached at the house of Mr. Pitt. No. 5, Rue Boa Vista, Rom. 5:1, to page 29 of manuscript, -

1. The Confession of Faith, Together with the Larger and Lesser Catechisms, compiled by the Reverend Assembly of Divines, sitting at Westminster, Presented to both Houses of Parliament. The Fifth Edition. (Edinburgh: Printed by James Watson in Craig's-Cross, 1707) "To which are annexed two Sheets of Church-Government with the Scriptures at large." p. 466. Section VI of the Division of the Publication which bears the subtitle "Directions of the General Assembly concerning Secret and Private Worship and Mutual Edification; for cherishing Piety, for maintaining Unity, and avoiding schism and division." This section was written by A. Kerr. Note: This edition also affirms on page 468 that the "Sum of Saving knowledge..." was "agreed upon by the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, and received by the General Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland. With the Practical Use thereof."

2. Journal Record of Mission Work in the City of Sao Paulo, Brazil. From October 9th to December 25th 1868. by Blackford. Future references to this will be Journal Record...Sao Paulo.
Eng.-Present 6 persons. Same day in the afternoon held a Port. service, discoursing on John 1:1-3. Present 7 or 8 persons.\textsuperscript{1}

In the next three entries are much the same expressions:

"Sec. 6th. Preached at the house of Mr. Pitt. No. 5 Rua Boa Vista. Rom. 6:23, Second part of Sermon 2nd. Same evening had a service in Port. discoursing on John 1:4. Present 6 or 8 persons.

"Sab. Dec. 13th. Preached at house of Mr. Pitt, Rua da Constituicao; John 14:27, applying to the latter part of Manuscript No. 5, on Rom. 5:1. Present 7 persons. Sermon 3rd. Same afternoon preached in Port. to 8 persons on 2 Tim. 3:16. The sermon contains the substance of the first 22 answers of the Shorter Catechism."\textsuperscript{2}

He then mentions the good report of Bible sales by his colporteur and of preaching in English in the house of a Mr. Carr where were present the family of Mr. Carr and Mr. Pitt, and the Blackfords. The text this time was Matthew 11:28.\textsuperscript{3} This was January 3, 1864. He conducts the burial service for a Mr. John Bolt, a Blacksmith in the service of Mr. Sharp -- the English superintendent of the Railroad Company. The man died of typhoid fever and apparently was not affiliated with any church. On Jan. 10, 1864, Mr. Schneider preached in the house of Mr. Pitt in the morning; in the afternoon Blackford leads a prayer meeting reading Acts 1. In the next entry on Jan. 13th he mentions baptizing a three month old child of a British family who are members of the parish of Por Skewett, England, now living in the interior of the Province of Sao Paulo, working for the English Railroad Company. Blackford evidently

\textsuperscript{1} Journal Record., Sao Paulo.
\textsuperscript{2} Journal Record,, Sao Paulo. This record is found in the Archives of the Presbyterian Seminary in Campinas.
\textsuperscript{3} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{4} Loc. cit.
reports this back to England for he names the Rector of the church in England -- a Rev. Edward Freak Lewes. The next entry:

"Preached in Eng. at House of Mr. Pitt; 2 Pet. 3:18. Present 9 persons. Same day at 5 p.m. prayer meeting at same place."

During the next three weeks he is conducting services, either in Mr. Pitt's house, or his own, or in the office of Robert Sharp and Sons, the superintendent of the English. His texts have been:

1 John 3:1; Col. 1:12-15; Rom. 8. Heb. 9:27-28; Isa. 49; Rom. 8:1; I. Tim. 2:5 (which is a repeat); Mathew 1 and 2; Col. 1:16-24; Heb. 9:27; Mat. 3. The next series of entries are extremely brief:

Sab. Feb. 21st. 11 a.m. Preached in Sharp's office to 9 persons. Matt. 8:23. Extempore. Same day. 5 p.m. preached in Port. in my own house to 5 persons. Acts. 5:30-31.
Sab. Feb. 28th. Preached in Eng. in Sharp's office to 17 persons. I Tim. 1:15. 5 p.m. Preached in Port. in my own house to 7 persons. John VI; 35.
11 a.m. Sab. Mar. 6th. Mr. Schneider preached in the dining-room of Sharp's barracks, to 11 persons. 5 p.m. Preached in my own house, in Port. to 8 persons. Acts 16:30-31.
11 a.m. Sab. Mar. 13th. Preached in the house of Mr. D. Fox (engineer) to 16 persons. Rev. 3:20. first clause.

1. Ibid.
The sermon texts indicate that he was presenting doctrine -- Jesus the one Saviour and Mediator, prayer, and the Church. Mr. Pitt, the elder from Kalley's church, began to take charge of the services -- later he was ordained a minister. Mr. Fox, the Anglican head of the Railroad Company, is cooperating and when no one is present he reads from the Book of Common Prayer. This mention of the Book of Common Prayer makes it evident that the Blackford is at least acquainted with this book and makes no adverse criticism of it. He does not, however, make any allusion to his type of worship beyond mentioning that he preached and from what text. The preaching is unquestionably the big thing -- the important part of his programme. There is no mention in these services of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper until May 29th, 1864 -- nearly eight months after his first service in Sao Paulo.

1. Journal Record... Sao Paulo.
2. Rocha, Lembrancas, p. 209ff. He was ordained a Presbyterian minister August 16, 1869. He did not have any formal theological training, but natural gifts, and had served as an elder in Dr. Kalley's Church before moving to Sao Paulo.
"Sab. May 29th. Preached in Eng. to 26 persons, on Rev. 3:20, last clause, or 3rd pt. Followed immediately the celebration of the Lord’s Supper in Eng. & Port. - (our first Communion in Sao Paulo), Seven of us in all participated in the Lord’s Supper, viz. Mrs. Blackford, Jos. Lakin, Mr. and Mrs. Pitt, Mr. and Mrs. Bastos & myself. 2 1/2 p.m. Sab. School. Present 9 scholars. Read. Matt. 8. 4 p.m. Preach - in Port. to 28 persons, on Rev. 3:20 1st pt. Baptized Maria Koenig, legitimate child of Ernest Koenig & Leisette Koenig and his wife. Maria was born March 28th 1864. Natives of Switzerland. Proclaimed for the 3rd time the Bans of marriage between Frederico Andras Eineke & Elisabeth Berger."

Previous to this the entry of April 17th mentions the beginning of the Sunday School.

"Sab. Apr. 17th. At 11 a.m. Mr. Schneider preached in Eng. to 13 or 14 persons. Same day began a Sab. School at 3 p.m. present 7 children. Same day at 4 1/2 p.m. preached in Port. to 29 or 30 persons. John 3:3."

Also in the entry on the Sunday following the first Communion service is an interesting comment:

"Sab. June 5. 11 a.m. Preached in Eng. to 22 persons. Matt. 11:28. At 2 1/2 p.m. Sab. School. Present 7 scholars. 4 p.m. Preached in Port. to 28 persons. Rev. 3:20:2nd part. In the evening had conversation with George Smith, a native of England, 25 years old. He is the son of pious parents -- United Presbyterians -- by whom he was well instructed in his youth, or childhood. Went to sea at the age of 14, since when he had led a careless & wicked life, until last Sab. during our Communion service, he was powerfully convicted of sin. He believes he has now been enabled to cast himself wholly on Christ for salvation; & has found peace in believing in him. He gives evidence of a thorough work of grace in his heart. He has eminently correct views of the sinfulness & frailty of the natural man, of the true nature of saving faith & of the new birth."3

There is another entry during this period that casts light on what was happening:

1. Journal Record...Sao Paulo.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
"Sab. Apr. 21. At 11 a.m. Preached in Eng. to 13 persons. Rom. 6:22. at 3 p.m. Sab. School six scholars. At 4½ p.m. Preached in Port. to 22 persons. John 3:7. At night went to prayer-meeting at Sr. Bastos. Present 24 persons. Sr. Bastos has been holding a nightly meeting in his house for some time."  

Senhor Bastos was one of their Portuguese Colporteurs, also influenced by Kalley, and who had been sent to Sao Paulo to sell Bibles and evangelize several weeks before the arrival of Blackford. He was carrying on in his "family worship" meetings in his home and having good success. In this meeting there were 22 present when Blackford visited.

The Journal continued in the same vein through the remainder of the year. In February of 1865 he visits a place called Brotas, an interior town where Jose Manuel de Conceicao had been vicar before his conversion to Protestantism. The Journal reads:

"Jan 31st started for Brotas, & arrived there Feb. 1st. & was entertained in the house of Jose Manoel. Sab. Feb. 5. preached in the village to 10 persons. Tues. I preached in the house of Antonio Francisco de Goveia to about 40 persons. Found many interested in the truth, and a few who have perhaps already found & embraced it. Weds. night the 8 held service in the house of Sr (do not remember his name). With the family and neighbors about 15 persons present. Thurs. 9. preached in this same house to about 30 persons.

The means by which this work was begun & this far carried on were besides certain indirect influences of Jose Manoel de Conceicao - a few Bibles, New Tests & other books put in circulation there also by Jose Manoel. The first to declare themselves openly in favor of the truth were Ant. Martins Borges e Ant. Francisco de Goveia, who now lose no occasion of advocating it."  

This trip reveals the missionary from the western frontier of the

1. Ibid.
2. Supra. p.
4. Journal Record...Sao Paulo, Jan. 31 to Feb. 9, 1865.
United States adapting well to the simple and rude frontier of Brazil. However his meagre record only stated that he preached in the humble homes; does not record his text, and as always, nothing about the remainder of the service. The next entry records his return to Sao Paulo and reveals his method of teaching the Catechism.

"Thus. Feb. 16 again arrived in Sao Paulo. During my absence services were maintained in Port. by Mr. Chamberlain Sab. at 2½ Present over 20 persons. 4 p.m. Treated of Question 98 of S. Catechism."

Solid doctrinal teaching and the explanation of the Catechism were supremely important in this rugged missionary's life. He reflected well the Presbyterianism of Western United States of his time. March 5, is their second Communion service in Sao Paulo. Simonton is present; Chamberlain had some six people ready to make their profession of faith, be baptized and receive the Lord's Supper. This was to become the pattern for the future -- when anyone was ready to make a public profession of faith, he was to be publicly baptized and admitted to the Lord's Supper which would be celebrated immediately after the profession of faith and baptism. It went together -- it was a privilege, and a duty, it was a testimony and a public badge.

"Sab. Mar. 5th Communion Sab. 10½ a.m. Mr. Simonton preached. Six persons were received on profession of faith & baptized, viz: Manoel Fernandez Lopez Braga, Miguel Goncalves Torres, Antonio Bandeira Trajano e Jose Maria

1. Mr. Chamberlain had come to Brazil for health reasons and became enchanted with the mission work, joining it he gave many long and happy years to the work. He was especially successful in getting young men to enter the ministry, and in serving as peace maker in the mission.

2. Journal Record... Sao Paulo.
Barbosa de Silva, all natives of Portugal; and Anna Luiza Barbosa da Silva, wife of the latter, of the above & her daughter Olimpia Maria da Silva, both Brazilians.

Eighteen persons in all partook of the sacred emblems. Besides those above mentioned, were Ant. Gulart, Sr. Bastos & wife, Portuguese, Mr. Pitt & wife - English, Gaspar Feldman, Swiss, Martelina , German, Geo. Chamberlain, Jas. S. Simonton, Rev. A.G. Simonton, my wife & myself. 2½ p.m. Sab. School. 3 p.m. Preached on Matt. 5:14-6 to 28 persons. 1

This was the third Communion service in nearly one and one-half years of missionary work in the city of Sao Paulo. One of the newly baptized was clerk and cashier in the store owned by Mr. Pitt; two of the young men were recently from Portugal and later became outstanding pastors in Brazil, while Pitt was becoming the acknowledged leader of the nucleus in Sao Paulo. From March 26th to April 25th Pitt was completely in charge 2 of the work in the absence of the missionaries.

Blackford dominated the Presbyterian Mission in Brazil during the next decade after Simonton's death. His sincerity and dedication was never questioned 3 but he was not an easy man with whom to work. He was direct, stern, and uncompromising. He apparently was too stern for the Latin temperament, and in 1877 became the Brazilian agent for the American Bible Society, a position in which he was highly successful. 4 In later years he returned to the employ of the mission and laboured in the North of Brazil but spending much time in writing articles of controversy and apologetics. 5 His

1. Journal Record... Sao Paulo.
2. Ibid. Again in October and November he is again in charge of the Sao Paulo preaching.
4. Ibid., p. 41.
5. Ibid., p. 42.
contribution in the field of worship can be compared to that of
the rugged itinerant, pioneer preacher of the American West of his
period. It was a proclamation of the Gospel with strong emphasis
on repentance and a disciplined, ordered life. He laid the
foundation of the principles of Christ\(^1\) but larger aspects of the Good
News and fuller elements of worship in the grateful and loving
response to the Creator and Redeemer -- these aspects of the
Gospel were left for later missionaries and pastors to present.

\(^1\) Cf. Hebrews 6:1-2ff.
Edward Lane -- Pioneer missionary of the Southern Presbyterian Church

Among the missionary founding-fathers of the Evangelical Churches of Brazil must be listed the name of Edward Lane, pioneer missionary of the Southern Presbyterian Church. Few missionaries to Brazil have ever understood so well the Latin heart and in return received from the Brazilian such love and loyalty. In the field of worship he left an abiding inheritance.

Edward Lane was born near Dublin, Ireland, 1837, was orphaned at an early age, and although heir to lands and property, was one day taken by a strange lady away from the parish school at Blanchardstown, Ireland, and taken to New York where he was left to be lost among the multitudes of the new world. A most unusual stream of providences followed one after another that prepared the

1. Edward Lane and Mr. and Mrs. George Nash Morton came together; however the Mortons remained only a short time in Brazil and during that time led a schism within the work, and although in many ways an outstanding educator, left little contribution in the field of worship.

2. The Southern Presbyterian Church legally known as The Presbyterian Church of the United States as against the Northern Presbyterian Church legally known as The Presbyterian Church of the United States of America, came into existence during the Civil War in December 1861.


4. Documents and letters within the possession of the family. A letter from J.B. Allison - son of the family at Stony Point, N.Y. who gave Edward Lane a home for several years, confirms the story of the property which Edward Lane should have inherited.

5. A little village near Dublin.
young lad for missionary service and led him to Brazil. A German surgeon, who had nursed him through an attack of fever, loved him and planned to educate him as a physician. Then the surgeon died and again he was left alone. He lived for a time with a family at Stony Point, New York, where he learned to make brick -- a knowledge which he later used to great advantage in Brazil where he supervised the making of bricks for the first Seminary building as well as churches. He taught school and attended college. He went to the South planning to attend the Presbyterian Seminary at Richmond Virginia; plans which were interrupted by the four years of Civil War between the States. During the War years he served at Camp Lee as assistant to the surgeon in charge. As the dispenser of medicine and director of the nurses he personally visited almost every cot with spiritual comfort as well as material. As hospital steward in the difficult months during the closing years of the war another activity entered his life:

"As supplies ran low and starvation seemed imminent... Mr. Lane would quietly fill his purse with some gold, buckle on his revolver and start in a box car for some of the remotest districts not yet exhausted by the forages of the enemy... Proceeding in his car to his designed field of exploration he would mount a horse or mule and ride from farm to farm begging and buying, tempting the most reluctant housewives with a glitter of a little gold, and collecting all his prizes at his car. Many a firkin of butter was toilfully brought before him on horseback. At night he slept upon the floor amidst his goods, wrapt in his blanket and relying alone upon his stout heart and his revolver to protect himself from violence..."  

2. This was the wealthy Allison family with political and military connections who wished to take him into their family, but he chose to study for the ministry.  
3. Copied from an old letter in the possession of the Lane family.
Col. Palmer in charge of Camp Lee wrote:

"I had many opportunities of judging a man whose equal I have rarely seen. Entire self-abnegation was the basis of his character...He was gentle, kind, self reliant, abounding in resources, modestly self-asserting, considerate, and yet the most amiable firm man I ever saw...Everybody at Camp Lee loved him. They felt it an honor to serve him. He had only to request and his wishes were gratified. I have seen him during the latter part of our trying service accomplish what appeared to be impossible...It was for these reasons that the affairs of that post were so successfully managed. I got the credit which he deserves, but I never lost an opportunity to let others know who was the real cause of it all. I never knew a more fearless person..."

As the tragic Civil War ended, the impoverished Church of the South which had been forced to close its Theological Seminary due to the conscription of the young men, now re-opened in 1865, and Edward Lane was among the members of the first class. Fourteen of these men graduated three years later; of the fourteen, four volunteered for foreign service, and Lane was one of these, going the next year to Brazil to found the first mission of the Southern Presbyterian Church in that land. Campinas was chosen as the centre of the work where Lane became pastor of the church which he founded. Next a school -- Collegio Internacional -- was founded, the first of the Evangelical schools in South America. Then began a period of itinerant evangelism in the field around Campinas while retaining his position as pastor of the church and a position in the school. One of his biographers wrote of this period.

"There were many years of journeying into the interior when almost all of the trips were made on the back of a small gray mule of swift gait and wonderful endurance. With the

1. Copied from old correspondence in the archives of the Lane family. The underlining is mine.
playful humor of St. Francis of Assisi he sometimes called this mule his brother missionary. There were days when they traveled the lonely roads in silent companionship, the hot sun beating down upon them. Sometimes they went from early morning till late at night without food. There were nights when they had no shelter but a rough shed where the pack mules and their drivers rested; but here Mr. Lane read to the men from his Bible, by the flickering light from a little lard lamp and a bit of rag. After fifteen years of traveling up and down these dusty trails there came to be a strip of country two hundred miles long by a hundred miles wide in which it was said there was hardly a town, a hamlet, or little scattered group of huts to which he had not brought the Light of Life to shine for a little while at least."

The Camp Lee Hospital had been the centre or at least an important part of a revival\(^2\) which had:

"...extended from post to post, and from camp to camp, until there was scarcely a regiment or company in the Southern Army which was not affected by its gracious influence...From the hospital the revival spirit was carried back to the camp and each new convert became an evangel to bear the gospel tidings to others...."\(^3\)

Lane was involved in this movement and was prepared like D.L. Moody\(^4\) for his future work in Brazil. He understood how to deal with men with love and directness. He was fearless. He understood the heart of the orphan and the lonely, as well as the people of the professions as the German Surgeon in New York and the wealthy political family in Stony Point who had given him a home...

\(^1\) Mildred Welch, op.cit., pp. 7-8.


\(^3\) Beardsley, op.cit., p. 244. Beardsley has an entire chapter dedicated to the Revival during the period of the Civil War.

\(^4\) Ibid., p. 262. "Mr. Moody was on the field to minister to the wounded after the battles...These army experiences were an invaluable training for his future work and served to bring out the qualities of directness, promptness in meeting emergencies, and a skill in organization..."
and love. He possessed a true genial, aristocratic, Irish soul and during the twenty-three years he laboured in Brazil he left a gracious mark upon the Church. He inspired his converts and friends to share in the work of Evangelism. It was he who found and trained Wingert* who became the outstanding colporteur of South and Central Brazil. He gave the title "Bible Reader" to the laymen he left in charge of the congregations he founded. For them he founded and published a monthly booklet -- O Pulpito Evangelico which carried to his Bible Readers each month a complete sermon to be read and help with difficult Bible passages. He was chosen by the Brazilian brethren to preach the opening message at the organization of the first Synod of the Presbyterian Church of Brazil.\(^4\)

Herculano de Gouvea paid great tribute to his gifts of oratory and power to move an audience, but made this interesting observation:

"In a discourse of Dr. Edward Lane, the most simple, the well known little things became great. It was the miracle of the word used by an eloquent man who also felt what he was saying...There is a sweet tradition about the eloquence of Dr. Edward Lane: However to hear him, to feel him and to admire him is a different thing. How very well this illustrious preacher influenced this land. Let us bless his illustrious name."\(^5\)

1. Infra. See Chapter 6.
4. Actas do Synod da Igreja Presbyteriana no Brazil 1888, p. 3.
This same biographer has one chapter "Coracao bem formado", in which he speaks entirely of the great and generous heart of Edward Lane. This with his sincerity was a great contribution to Evangelical worship in Brazil. In a land of "role playing", in a land of superficial attitudes toward religion, of oratory for the sake of oratory, this man with a loving heart and a great grasp on the sternal truths of redemption that he had seen thoroughly tested during the tragic years of America's Civil War, this man with a dedicated life, a sublime faith, and solid simple teaching left a gracious influence upon the faith and worship of all who knew him. He sought to lead men to a living encounter with Christ, but it was not mere subjectivism. He laboured hard to establish a school and a Theological Seminary. He founded the "O Pulpito Evangelico" publishing sermons for his untrained "Bible Readers" to share with the isolated congregations in order that they might be led into the deeper things of the Christian Faith. In the rude interior mud and bamboo houses he administered the Lord's supper with a clean white tablecloth and simple dignity which the simple illiterate believer did not find foreign or strange. Dr. Lane used the daily

1. Mr. Lane was President of the first Board of Directors of the Seminary and the present Seminary building was erected on land which he had bought and his family gave to the Church for the Theological Seminary. In a letter (Dec. 14, 1891) written to his wife three months before his death he stated:
"We are on an exploring trip and I am determined if the Lord wills to start the Evangelization of the country between Casa Bianca and Ilheraba. I trust the Lord will give me health to found the Seminary -- this is my part." (Lane Family Archives)

2. Julio Ferreira, Historia...op.cit., Vol. I, p. 118. Here is a description of the Lord's Supper in a rude house, dirt floor, but a table in the corner covered with a white cloth and the elements and a Bible.
newspaper to announce his services. Week after week appeared in
the Gazeta de Campinas such announcements as:-

CULTOS EVANGELICOS. On Sunday the 24th of this month the
following religious exercises were held in the Evangelical
Presbyterian Church at the corner of Portico and Lusitana:
At 10½ hours of the morning Sunday School directed by
Mr. Lane.
At 11½ hours a worship and preaching service conducted
by Mr. Lane on the Text Mathew 21:22. "And all things, whatso-
ever ye shall ask in prayer, believing ye shall receive."
At 6 hours preaching in English by Mr. Morton.
At 7 hours a worship service with preaching by Mr. Lane.
The text was the Parable of the Sower. Mathew 13:3-9.
On Wednesday the 27th at 7 hours was also a worship
service with a lesson on the Gospel."

There was nothing spectacular or hurried; only a solid and
sincere approach to the task.

In 1892 the plague of Yellow Fever returned to Campinas in a
violent form. It had already taken the lives of two missionaries
along with hundreds of the inhabitants. When the plague returned
the third year, the schools were closed, and nearly everyone left
the city. Mr. Lane remained to nurse the sick, comfort the poor,
and bury the dead. In an hour of extremity he gave to a fellow
worker the remedy he had guarded for himself in case he became
stricken. A few days later he became ill and after five days of
suffering died alone without a minister or doctor to aid him. A
humble illiterate servant made a wooden box and carried the worn-out
body to the cemetery and recited from memory a verse of Scripture.
In later years a grave-marker was placed over the spot with these
words in English and Portuguese:

1. Gazeta de Campinas 28 de Marco 1872. The writer found many
such announcements in archives in the City Library of Campinas.
"I count not my life dear unto myself."¹

His faithfulness to the work even unto death was his last great contribution to the life and worship of the Church in Brazil and it was not forgotten. Perhaps no missionary contributed more to the establishment in Brazil of a New Testament concept of worship.

By the year of his death there were many more missionaries in Brazil, and the Evangelical Churches were firmly established in the land. The next chapter will consider indigenous Brazilian influences upon Evangelical Worship within the land beginning with a study of concepts of worship and its practice in the ministry of some of the first Brazilian Protestant leaders. The first is probably also the most important - that of ex-priest José Manoel de Conceição, first Brazilian to become an ordained Protestant minister.

¹. The writer has visited this cemetery many times.
PART III

INDIGENOUS BRAZILIAN INFLUENCE UPON EVANGELICAL WORSHIP
CHAPTER IV

CONCEPTS OF WORSHIP AND ITS PRACTICE IN THE MINISTRY OF THE FIRST BRAZILIAN LEADERS

José Manoel da Conceição -- Ex-Priest and Itinerant Evangelist and First Ordained Evangelical Minister.

On June 28th 1900 there appeared an article in "O Puritano", the official Publication of the Presbyterian Church of Brazil, entitled "Rev. Jose Manoel da Conceicao por A.B. Trajano". The article read as follows:

"It is now twenty seven years that Rev. Jose Manoel da Conceicao left this world of labour and temptations to be received in the heavenly mansions by his heavenly father. This long space of time has not been able to erase the precious memories, the longing for him, which remained in the hearts of all who knew him and heard his preaching, and who witnessed his admirable and true ministry as he laboured in the service of God.

When we heard him proclaim the Gospel and we saw that the evangelist accompanied his preaching with an example, faithfully fulfilling to the fullness the precepts of his preaching, it produced in our souls an effect so inspiring, so edifying, and so long lasting, that it can never be forgotten or erased from our memories.

I saw the Rev. Jose Manoel da Conceicao in this Capital city in Sao Paulo, in Lorena, in Soracaba, and in the village of Cutia; I gazed with wonder upon his utter humility, his faithfulness, and his complete dedication to the service of Jesus Christ, and I still remember perfectly all of this, because the labours of this servant of God was not that of an ordinary common evangelist, but a living example -- a model of true apostolic evangelization, and thus the memory of him -- a memory with tender longings for him, lasts even until today, and it still stimulates and inspires me to imitate his dedication to the full limit of my strength."

A.B. Trajano was one of the first four young men who studied for the

2. The first to be ordained was the ex-priest Conceicao, but he did not pursue any lengthy theological studies with the missionaries. In fact his culture and training was probably superior to that of the missionaries.

The names of the other three men were -- Cerqueira Leite, Miguel Goncalves Torres, and Modesto Perestrello Barros de Carvalhosa.
Presbyterian ministry in Brazil. Trajano was the oldest of the four and also the last to die. He did excellent work in the theological courses, and was licensed by the Presbytery of Rio de Janeiro, August 22, 1870. He went immediately to Borda da Matta in Minas Gerais to work as an evangelist. Five years later, August 10, 1875, he was ordained and the following year he became pastor of the Presbyterian Church in Rio de Janeiro, the mother church, which had been organized by Simonton in 1862. Trajano served this church until 1893 -- he was serving as the illustrious pastor of this mother church when he wrote the above article.

What he stated as his personal tribute to the memory of the ex-priest Conceição, probably could have been said by all the Brazilian pastors and evangelists who had any contact with Conceição. It also could have been said by the missionaries who learned to evangelize in Brazil from him. He left an indelible mark upon all Protestantism in Brazil.

Conceição was not only the first priest in Brazil to leave the Roman Catholic Church to become a Protestant minister, but Trajano states he was the first illustrious Brazilian to openly face the full storm of persecution in breaking with the Roman Church.

Conceição told the story of his life in a small book entitled

1. This little mountain congregation was a daughter church of the church in Brotas. Some members of that church had moved to Borda da Matta and became the nucleus of a new Presbyterian Church in that region.

2. See Blackford's Journal Record of his experiences with Conceição at Brotas in the months mission previous to organization of the Church, and during its organization in Chapter 3.
"Profissão de Fé Evangélica pelo Padre José Manoel de Conceição". (Profession of the Evangelical Faith, by Padre Jose Manoel de Conceição) -- a book now out of print and difficult to find, but which was reprinted in 1900 in successive editions of O Puritano. Conceição states that he was born March 15, 1822, in the city of São Paulo, Brazil -- the son of a Portuguese stonemason who worked in constructions. He was raised and educated by a priest -- José Francisco de Mendonça, who was brother to Conceição's grandfather. His first teacher was, he stated, "the virtuous Heliodoro de Vasconcellos" whose influence combined with that of the priest with whom he lived led him to choose the priesthood. However, at eighteen years of age he began to read the Bible and in the Genesis story of the creation of man and woman he began to seriously doubt the Roman doctrine of celibacy. Shortly after this a conversation with his French teacher of drawings and designs led him to further question the teachings of the Church. His teacher had passed in front of the altar of the church without taking off his hat; in the discussion that followed in which the young zealous Conceição threatened bodily harm to his teacher, the French professor attempted to explain that love to one's neighbor and to God were more important than the zealous performance of these externals.

1. The writer did not have access to the original book, but is quoting from the republication of it in "O Puritano". A biography was written in Portuguese by Rev. Boanerges Ribeiro -- O Padre Protestante, which also is a principal source in this study.
3. Loc. cit.
4. Loc. cit.
This conversation left a deep impression on the life of young Conceição.

The next experience which led him to think in the direction of Protestantism was his contact with English and European Protestant families in a village near to his uncle's church. He stated:

"I frequently visited an iron factory in Ypanema (in Sorocaba in my Province) visiting there the Godwin family whose father -- Mr. Godwin was Superintendent of the department of steam engines. I was deeply moved to see and observe the complete silence which reigned there every Sunday; it was an English family. Later when I was admitted into their fellowship I saw the entire families read the Bible and the devotional books. Later I visited almost all the German families and everywhere I found the same picture of worship and religion. I began to deduct the following arguments: who knows -- perhaps these strangers have as much religion as the Brazilians? Who knows -- perhaps their religion is the same as our religion? And! who knows -- maybe they are more religious than we, seeing that they are more civilized than we are."

Here again is seen the tremendous influence the Protestant immigrants had in preparing the way for Protestant missions in Brazil.

He next mentions his friendship and indebtedness to a liberal Danish or German physician who practiced medicine in the same village, and with whom he studied the German language as well as History and Geography, and some rudimentary things about medicine. Dr. Theodoro Languaard, in addition to teaching Conceição German, had put him in touch with German literature, both in the arts and medicine. This medical knowledge -- this ability to read the

1. Ibid., p. 1 ff.
2. O Puritano, June 14, 1900 (Anno II, Num. 5).
latest medical books of Germany, became very valuable to Conceiçâo in the later years when as an itinerant evangelist, he ministered to the Brazilian people in the interior who had no access to a physician. Writing in later years concerning this period of his life he stated:

"I was destined to the priesthood, but the reading of the Bible, and my contacts with the Protestants made me a bad candidate, and later a very very poor Roman Catholic Priest. All of the other priests with the exception of the Bishop himself, joined in calling me a Protestant Priest."2

Conceiçâo stated that although troubled in this way, yet the tolerance of the Bishop, and the fact that he was by nature rather isolated from others, made it possible to continue studying for the priesthood. There was however one more shattering experience.

Conceiçâo passed his examinations and went to Sao Paulo to be ordained, but he was advised a few moments before the ceremony that he would not receive ordination; he had not played the necessary politics to find a sponsor in the clerical courts. It was a great shock to discover the part politics played in the Church. For a time he resolved to abandon his career, but was persuaded to return and was ordained a deacon on September 29, 1814, and began his priestly work as an assistant to his great-uncle, Padre Mendonca, in Sorocaba. The hierarchy of the Roman Church did not fully trust him so he became a padre encomendado, which meant that he was sent

1. As an itinerant evangelist Conceiçâo often served as a nurse and physician to the sick in the homes where he was being entertained. This he did in payment for his entertainment as he usually travelled without money.

   Cf. this with the story of Willis Robert Banks in the valley of the River Juquia.

and removed at the will of the authorities. He was first sent to Limeira, where he ministered to the immigrants from Europe speaking to them in their own German language; he did not charge for his services and he recommended that they read the Bible. The bishop kept him moving from place to place throughout the Province of Sao Paulo, but everywhere he counselled the people to read their own Bible and confess their sins directly to God. The Bishops without knowing it were laying out the future itinerary of the Brazilian Reformation in their diocese. ¹ A few years later as a Protestant minister he would cover this same area preaching the Good News that he had earlier tried to proclaim. The Roman authorities were becoming alarmed, and at the same time Conceição knowing that he could no longer approve the dogmas taught or the practices of the Roman hierarchy, requested permission to leave the ministry. The bishop in turn suggested another course -- he would be appointed "vigarato de vara"; and become a deputy of the bishop without priestly responsibilities but serving as needed or desired. Conceição accepted this suggestion and bought a little farm near São João de Rio Claro, where he settled down to become a farmer.

Blackford visiting the area of Rio Claro heard of this strange priest -- former vicar of the city, and went to visit him. The priest found it a most welcome visit, and soon went to Sao Paulo to converse more with Blackford; within a matter of months he had resolved to renounce the Roman Catholic priesthood and join the

Presbyterian Church. On October 23, 1861, he made his profession of faith in the little meeting house which was serving as a church for the Presbyterian work in Sao Paulo. He was then forty-two years of age. On December 16, the following year he was ordained to the ministry by Simonton, Blackford, and Schneider, who had on that day organized a Presbytery for the express purpose of ordaining Conceição.

The conversion of Conceição had a great influence upon the beginnings of Protestantism in the interior of Brazil; first in calling attention to the Protestants and secondly in establishing a pattern of evangelism and worship. Boanerges Ribeiro who wrote an excellent biography of the ex-padre said:

"It was the conversion of the priest that called the attention of the capital of the Province (Sao Paulo) to the worship services of the Protestants; among the turbulent students of the law school there were some who began to take it very seriously..."1

He then mentions some of the students who began to appear at the home and worship services of the Presbyterian missionary to make inquiry; among them was Pedro Perestrelo da Camara who bought a Bible in English, and took with him some gospel tracts. But more important for the subject of preaching and worship was the pattern Conceição was to set and the influence he was to have over the missionaries and the young men entering the ministry, as well as the little congregations in formation along the trail that he was pioneering.

Boanerges Ribeiro wrote:

"Jose Manoel da Conceição furnished bridge-heads, opening for the new movement the entire province of Sao Paulo and the South of the province of Minas Geraes; filling the lack of men by a constant itineration which eventually wore him out; and breaking down the natural timidity of the missionaries, uniting them with his fortunes."

The ordination of Conceição heralded the dawning of a new day in Evangelical worship in Brazil. For one-half century the immigrants had quietly conducted family worship in their homes and "casas de oracao", Kalley had enlarged the picture somewhat invited his neighbours to share the family circle. Colporteurs had sold Bibles from hamlet to hamlet, and village to village, but now a programme of intensive and direct house to house evangelism was beginning. God had raised up a man -- a Brazilian ex-priest, one who understood the heart hunger of the land, and how to approach the need. At this stage it was not to be mass evangelism, although there would be open-air meetings in city "pracas" and open fields, but the main thrust was now to be house to house along the highways on the long, long trails.

Ribeiro wrote:

"The hour of destiny was approaching in which the young national church would create her own method of pioneering and evangelical preaching: that difficult and exhaustive battle of the highways and byways, from plantation to plantation; the personal and direct contact with the person being evangelized; prayer kneeling on floor of beaten earth, and above all the tremendous power of a man possessed of the Holy Spirit, and ready to sacrifice himself preaching to each family in particular from house to house, from individual to individual, from soul to soul. In this courageous trail-blazing there was no incidents of oratory that so enchants our mixed mentality,

1. Ibid., pp. 135-136.
nor was there the brilliance of well selected and well paid preachers, but there was the propagation of an interior fire that illuminated a life and through that life the highways of Brazil."1

In three years this man "radically transformed the map of the Reformation in Brazil." With the Bible in his hand and the peace of God in his heart he went from house to house along the roads of Brazil, explaining the word of God, praying with the people and communicating to the people the conviction that what he was saying was the truth. In one of the first places where he preached as he began this life of the itinerant St. Francis of Brazil he reported that two hundred persons gathered to hear him. He sent to Blackford a list of ninety names of persons converted, but mostly it was family by family. He returned to Sao Paulo to get a supply of Bibles for people who wanted to study for themselves. His report stirred the heart of one of the young law students who had bought a Bible from the Presbyterian missionary and had begun to attend some of the services. This young man Perestrello de Barros e Carvalhosa volunteered to accompany Conceição to Sorocaba. This was an historic journey -- Carvalhosa became so enchanted and convinced of the Gospel that he hastened to return to Sao Paulo where he made his profession of faith, was baptized, and began his long career as colporteur, student, pastor, and leading liturgical writer2 of the Presbyterian Church. On this trip he stopped at the home of Sr. José Carlos de Campos, on the banks of the Sorocaba River. "Alo da casa" he

1. Ibid., pp. 144-145. The underlining is mine.

2. Infra. See the next section on Carvalhosa.
greeted from a distance. Entering the house with a Bible in hand and opened to John 3:16 he asked to read about God's great love to all mankind and His gracious offer of forgiveness on the simple grounds of faith. Then spreading a coloured handkerchief on the floor of the room -- a floor that was only beaten earth, he poured out his heart in a tender prayer for the family that had been part of his parish when he had been priest in that city. Senhor Jose Carlos de Campos had gone to make confession to Conceiçao in former years, now was deeply impressed, and cast his lot with the new faith, giving land to construct a church building and with his large family becoming the nucleus of a church^1 in that community of Votoantin -- a few miles from Sorocaba.

The pattern was soon established -- Conceiçao with or without one of the young men from the church, was on the streets of the cities and on the roads going from house to house, asking the people if they knew they were sinners and that God loved them -- asking permission to read from God's Word, kneeling on his coloured handkerchief and praying for their faith and conversion. Getting when possible a list of names of the persons making a decision for Christ and sending this list to missionary Blackford in Sao Paulo. As soon as possible Blackford or another of his helpers was on the same road visiting the families indicated. Boarerges Ribeiro, the

^1. The church is still today one of the good churches of Brazil -- the writer has often spoken in it. The family of Sr. Jose Carlos de Campos became prominent in the Presbyterian Church; one daughter became the wife of William Kerr and the mother of the writer's daughter-in-law. Members of this family have often recalled for the writer the memories of that first visit Conceiçao made to their father's home after his conversion.
cautious and diligent biographer, traced this trail from village to village and city to city over a space of a few years; tracing at the same time the map of the first Presbyterian Churches of the interior of Brazil.

In the years previous to his conversion, Conceição had in reality preached the Protestant message of faith in Jesus Christ, he had refused to charge for marriages and funerals, and his conduct had so appalled the bishop that he was kept on constant move -- never more than a few years in each place. These were the places he now visited again; these were the first centres of the new Presbyterian Churches. Sorocaba, Taubate, Ubatuba, Brotas, S. Joao do Rio Claro, Limeira, Campinas, Braganca, Atibaia, etc.

Three young men\(^1\) that were to become outstanding ministers and pastors of the Presbyterian Church were now faithfully accompanying Conceição on these journeys -- the most faithful companion was Carvalhosa, but also Miguel Torres and Antonio Pedro were often his companions. These young men were being trained by the missionaries to become pastors, but their most important training came from Conceição as they shared with him the dust of the highways, with God's word, with faith, with tears, seeing faith spring up in the hearts of men and women. They shared with him also the sporadic persecutions -- the dogs, the stones, the insults, and learned to count it all joy.

\(^1\) Boarnerges Ribeiro, *op. cit.*, pp. 191, 164, 147, 151, 156, 187, etc.
A map showing the journeys of this modern St. Francis reveals the almost incredible story of his journeys. In the four months prior to the meeting of the Presbytery in July 1866, he had traversed, largely on foot, a distance comparable to a journey from Inverness to London, preaching, teaching and healing as he went. In student days he had made a rich friendship with a German physician in Sorocaba, who had taught him German, and put him in contact with the best German books on medicine. With this knowledge Conceiçã o had become efficient in treating the common illnesses of Brazil, and when he asked for entertainment for a night, he often repaid with medical and nursing care for any one sick in the household. This made him a much beloved person on the tours, and established a pattern of service and nursing which the missionaries followed. In a land with large areas without any kind of medical care, the simple knowledge possessed by the average missionary and pastor were often invaluable.

His first biographer, Colonel Fausto de Louza, who had given Conceiçã o shelter and care the night of his death, described the method, the humility, and dedication in which Conceiçã o lived during these last years of his itinerating ministry:

"Arriving at a farm, if he resolved to stay there for a time, he sought some lean-to or shed which would serve as a shelter, often built by his own hands and covered with branches; if, however, his visit was to be brief, he asked lodging in a house, preferring one of modest appearance; and before leaving such a house he searched for some way to express his appreciation by serving as a nurse to any sick

1. Vide Appendix.  This is a map prepared by Boanerges Ribeiro one of the biographers of Conceiçã o.
person, consoling those in sadness, or even performing some menial task as sweeping, washing, etc....

His frugality was such that anything satisfied him; a few eggs, milk, a little corn-meal or mandioca flour, herbs, coffee and sugar were almost always his simple fare. When such food was given to him, he humbly gave thanks; but if nothing was offered, he did not beg, but bought a small quantity as he had need; conforming to the command of Jesus Christ to his disciples, he did not possess a purse for the road, nor two tunics, nor sandals, nor staff, and even the money which he carried for his frugal support was limited to a few pennies.1

With all this he was at heart a great scholar, reading fluently Portuguese, German, French and English, always at work on translations which were often made on mere scraps of paper. He observed and described any unusual plant or animal life he chanced upon in his journeys and made notes concerning the geography and geology of the terrain. He wrote sermons, hymns, and commentaries as he travelled. From time to time he sent articles to his friends and to the Imprensa Evangelica to be published.

Conceição would return from these long treks thoroughly exhausted, but after a few days rest was on the road again. Christmas week of 1873 Conceição was on his road back to Rio and a well needed rest. However he never arrived in Rio de Janeiro. Forced to change trains on the road he had taken shelter for the night in a railroad station. His ragged clothes and bare feet convinced a policeman that he was vagabond, and he was taken to a jail, where he remained for three days and nights awaiting confirmation from Rio de Janeiro as to his identity. When released from prison he had not enough funds to continue his journey by train, so he started

on foot. He staggered into the little village of Iraja and fell beside a little store. A soldier of the state militia carried him to a nearby military infirmary, where the director, Major (later Colonel) Fausto de Souza supervised the treatment of the unknown wayfarer. It was Christmas Eve and the spirit of Christmas probably entered into the scene, for the military men changed the clothes of Conceição and gave him a bath and fed him broth, and gave him the necessary medical care. Conceição thanked them and asked to be left alone with God. As the bells of the neighbouring chapel announced the midnight mass, the spirit of Conceição left the body for its final home. Major Fausto in those few moments of contact with the sick and dying man was led to cast his lot with the Protestant people. He wrote a biography of Conceição, became an open defender of the Evangelical Faith, and translated from the French one of the classics of Evangelical literature in Brazil, *Cristo e Tudo* (Christ is All). Evangelical faith was now finding itself in truly Brazilian molds. The next section will examine the life and ministry of one of the young men closest to Conceição -- one who through a long lifetime in the Protestant ministry sought to consolidate as well as evangelize, and who became the outstanding liturgical leader of the Presbyterian Church in Brazil.
Modesto P.B. de Carvalhosa -- Evangelist, Pastor, and Author of a Book on Lay Worship -- 2nd Ordained Brazilian Pastor.

In Blackford's Journal Record of Mission Work in the City of Sao Paulo there is an entry made immediately after his return from the preaching mission in Brotas in which the Church there was organized. The entry reads:

"During my absence, Sr. Pedro Perestrello da Camara, a student of the 1° ano (year) called to buy an Eng. & a German Bible. He took also a few tracts, Imps. Evangs. &c., read with interest, came to church & now -- has for some days openly declared himself a Prot. His case is exciting attention among the students & others of his acquaintances."¹

Simonton, in a letter to New York in 1866 also mentioned this young man as one who had begun to make a deep impression upon the missionaries:

"The young student Perestrello has applied himself with great zeal and industry to studies preparatory to licensure as a preacher of the Gospel. His piety, intelligence, zeal, and humility commend him to our full confidence and render plain the advisability of permitting him to enter upon a course of study. I feel the want of books appropriate. Will you send me by the first opportunity the book of questions and answers in Dr. Hodge's course published by his son. I do not know the title. Senhor Perestrello reads English quite fluently. We need a library...."²

Lessa³ mentions Carvalhosa as a candidate for the ministry before

1. Journal Record...Sao Paulo, Nov. 25th 1865.
2. Board Letters III, April 18, 1866.
3. Vicente Themudo Lessa, Annaes da 1.ª Egreja Presbyteriana de Sao Paulo (1863-1903) (Sao Paulo: 1938). This history of the First Presbyterian Church in Sao Paulo was the first serious attempt by a Brazilian to write the history of Protestantism in Brazil and is an important source of materials and information concerning the early Presbyterian missionaries and pastors. Hereafter it will be referred to as Lessa, Annaes.
the Presbytery August 18-20, 1870, and gives his full name —
Modesto Perestrello Barros de Carvalhosa:

"The 6th meeting of the Presbytery was held 18 to 20th of August, 1870, in Rio...0 Rev. Chamberlain, pastor of S. Paulo presented as candidates for the ministry the young men Antonio Bandeira Trajano, Miguel Goncalves Torres and Modesto Perestrello Barros de Carvalhosa, all members of that church. After being duly examined they were received. Trajano and Carvalhosa were submitted to all tests demanded and were licensed in the session of 22nd..."¹

Carvalhosa was a native of Madeira, the island where Dr. Kalley had worked, but made his profession of faith in the Sao Paulo Presbyterian Church under the ministry of Chamberlain and Blackford. He had attended services only four months before making his decision to accept Christ and enter the ministry. During these four months he not only attended the services in Sao Paulo, but had accompanied the ex-padre Conceição on one of his preaching tours as far as Sorocaba, where apparently he left the preaching mission to hurry back to Sao Paulo to be present on Communion Sunday and make his profession of faith. He apparently had been greatly influenced by the ex-priest, and understood Conceição as perhaps no other minister or missionary. He later accompanied Conceição on many of his preaching missions, and his own life and ministry was greatly marked by this contact with Conceição.

The Presbyterian Missionaries opened a Theological Seminary in Rio de Janeiro in 1867 with three professors — Simonton, Schneider, and Dr. Carlos Wagner, the pastor of the Lutheran Church in Rio de Janeiro, and with three students — one of whom was Carvalhosa, the

¹ Lessa, Annaes, pp. 85-86.
other two being Trajano and Torres. The Seminary was closed after three years, and after graduating these three plus a fourth who entered during the term. Trajano and Torres were also Portuguese -- Trajano had been in Brazil eight years and Torres only two and one-half years before going to the Seminary. Carvalhosa was particularly gifted in English and taught this subject at the primary school while doing his Seminary studies. After completing three years of study he was licensed in 1870 and ordained the following year, July 20, 1871.

His first church at Lorena had a vast evangelistic field that reached a hundred miles to the north of his church. In 1875 he was transferred to the church at Campos in the province of Rio de Janeiro and ten years later he was called to the church in Sao Paulo which he served from November 1885 to October 1888, during which time he also directed the mission school known as "Escola Americana". From Sao Paulo he went to Parana where he served as pastor of the Curitaba field, 1888-1893, during which time the area made great advance in evangelism and in self-support. In 1893 he was transferred again to Sao Paulo to assume the pastorate of a newly organized church, which later became the famous Igreja Unida which church he served until his death August 23, 1917.

In the field of evangelism he carried on the methods of the ex-priest Conceição. Carvalhosa was a scholar -- he aided Blackford in the translation of the New Testament from the original Greek into Portuguese. He translated F.L. Patton, Compendium of Christian Doctrine; Binnie, Book of Order, and The Church; J.C. Ryle, Commentary on St. Mark, and wrote many articles for the
Imprensa Evangelica. But it was in the field of worship that he made his most lasting contribution. He was apparently more alert to the first rustling of the revival of worship in Europe, and in certain limited circles in the United States, than were his missionary colleagues. He was concerned that the Brazilian Presbyterian Church -- His own Church, should share in the recovery of its Reformation roots not only in doctrine, but in worship. With this vision in his mind and this burden on his heart, he compiled and wrote the first Manual of Worship ("Manuel de Culto") for use in the Presbyterian Church in Brazil. Like the first Methodist Instructions for worship compiled by Ransom¹ this was not prepared for the use of the Missionaries or even directly the use of the ordained pastors who had studied at the seminary; it was prepared for the use of the lay preachers. As he stated in the Preface of his instructions:

"A FORM FOR THE SUNDAY WORSHIP

The congregations which are deprived of a regular ministry still ought to meet on Sundays to worship God. The worship will be directed by ruling elders or in the absence of them by deacons. Where there are neither elders or deacons then some members of the congregations will be chosen by the congregation and they will serve.

The people living in whatever locality that desire to give to God rational worship which is according to the teaching of the Sacred Scriptures may meet for this purpose in some convenient place and choose a reader to preside at the services.

The forms of worship which are given are especially prepared to guide those who are not accustomed to direct a public worship service. The order is that which is generally observed in the Presbyterian Churches of Brazil.

At the hour to begin the divine worship, the persons who will attend, should be in the church, seated in a decent manner, grave and pious.

¹. See Chapter 6 - Bible Distribution.
During the worship all should give serious and reverent attention, abstaining from reading anything except what the minister or reader is reading or quoting. They should also abstain from whispering one to another, or greeting the people present or those who are entering, they should abstain from looking around or sleeping, or anything that is irreverent.

The mothers and nurse maids will do all possible to keep the little one quiet, and when they cannot do this they take them out to a convenient place, where the crying of the children will not disturb the other people. The people will remain standing during the prayers.

The person who directs the worship will begin by saying -- "Let us call upon the Lord our God." 

Some of this sounds similar to instruction in the Directory for Public Worship but certainly not the initial instruction where the members of any community are invited to organize themselves into a worshipping community and choose one of their midst to read the parts of this "form of worship". After the initial instruction Carvalhosa gave a beautiful invocation prayer which was to be read by the one directing the worship service; the prayer closes with the Lord's Prayer although there is nothing in the rubric to indicate that the people are to join in repeating it. The rubric then continues:

"When the prayer is finished the congregation will sing a hymn. The leader of the worship service will choose the hymn and then read the hymn, and then he will read the following invitation to sing --

LET US SING IN PRAISE OF GOD THE HYMN.... (saying the number of the hymn that he has chosen)."

The rubric then continues:

2. Ibid., p. 21.
"When the song is finished the person directing the worship will read a chapter of the Sacred Scripture appropriate to the subject of the sermon which he will read later.
When he has finished reading the one directing the worship will say --
LET US PRAY." 1

This prayer is a long prayer of thanksgiving, intercession, and supplication, and follows closely the earlier forms of the Calvin, Knox, etc. This may indicate that he had received a copy of Baird's *Eutaxia* which had been printed in 1855 and 1856. It at least indicates a knowledge of something more than the Westminster Directory of Public Worship. This would have been possible as he had a good knowledge of English and had been serving as chairman of the committee for the Book of Order for the Brazilian Church. He had helped to adapt the American Revision of the Westminster Directory for Public Worship -- adapting it to the Brazilian situation. He had also translated Binnie's *Book of Order* and *The Church*, as well as Patton's *Compendium of Christian Knowledge*. 2

The revised and adapted Westminster Directory of Public Worship had been adopted as part of the Constitution of the Presbyterian Church of Brazil, 3 but Carvalhosa's *Manual do Culto* (Manual of Worship) was never an official document of the Church or a part of its Constitution. After the prayer which is to be read -- and there was never any apology for reading a prayer, the rubric

1. Loc. cit.
2. Lessa, Annaes..., pp. 256-258.
3. The Book of Order (Livro de Ordem) which Carvalhosa had helped to draft had as Part III Directory of Worship (Directorio do Culto Divino) a translation and adaptation of the American revision of the Westminster Directory of Public Worship.
continues:

"When the prayer is finished, the people will be seated, and the person directing the worship will choose and read a hymn, to be sung by the congregation, and he will say --

LET US CONTINUE OUR WORSHIP SINGING HYMN.... (Here he will give the number of the Hymn). When the hymn is finished, the one who has charge of the worship will read a SERMON."¹

The rubric continues:

"When he has finished reading the sermon, the one who is in charge of the service will say --

LET US PRAY

The people will stand up and remain in prayer during the prayer."²

Here Carvalhosa had a beautiful written prayer of thanksgiving for the Word of God and a supplication that the instructions may remain engraven upon the hearts, that all may go out to do the will of God, etc. This prayer like the others was to be read by the one directing the service. The rubric then continued:

"Then shall be sung a hymn which shall be chosen by the one in charge of the service, and during the singing of this hymn an offering will be taken for some religious purpose.

The hymn and the collection will be announced in the following manner

LET US GIVE PRAISE TO GOD SINGING THE HYMN....

While we are singing this hymn an offering will be received for ... (here announce the purpose) which will be considered as part of our worship of God.³

When the hymn was finished the one in charge was again to say

LET US PRAY

and asking the people to stand he would repeat the Aaronic blessing

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¹ The footnote here states that books of sermons can be obtained in the Evangelical Bookstores.

² Carvalhosa, Manual do Culto, p. 25.

³ Ibid., pp. 26-27.
as a prayer not as a blessing. This prayer was also written to be read and closed with -- "This we ask for the love of Jesus. AMEN." A footnote stated that the blessing with hands uplifted was only to be given by ordained ministers.

Following this was a second alternate form of Sunday Worship which was basically the same with different prayers. The fact that by 1892 such a form of worship was prepared by this Brazilian pastor is all the more remarkable when it is remembered that the Presbyterian Church in the United States did not as yet have a Book of Common Order. It is also remarkable in that the prayers were written to be read and that the layman directing the service was to read a sermon to the people and not to attempt to preach without due preparation.

The Presbyterian missionaries who laboured in Brazil at this time did not bring with them a Book of Common Order because such a book did not yet exist either in the Presbyterian Church of the North or of the South until after the close of the century. The first official move in this direction came when:

"...it seemed good to the General Assembly of 1903, hearkening to the desire of many pastors and churches, to appoint a Committee of Ministers and Ruling Elders who should prepare, 'in harmony with the Directory for Worship, a Book of Simple Forms and Services, proper and helpful for voluntary use in Presbyterian churches, in the celebration of the Sacraments, in Marriages and Funerals, and in the Conduct of Public Worship'."

This paragraph taken from the Preface of the First Book of

Common Worship prepared by the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, was thus first authorized by the General Assembly of 1903, and was to be in harmony with the Westminster Directory of Public Worship, and to be purely voluntary. It was a step taken in answer to the desire of many pastors and churches. The Preface continued:

"This work has been continued, in faithful obedience, and in humble reliance on the Holy Spirit, through nearly three years of patient labour, and has been submitted, in its progress, to two successive Assemblies. The principles by which the work has been guided were approved, and its completion was ordered. This having been done, so far as God enabled us, in the Book herewith presented, it is now published for the purpose contemplated by the General Assembly of 1905."1

After the authorization of the General Assembly of 1903 the Committee worked and presented its working plan and labours to the General Assembly of 1904 and 1905; it was approved and copyrighted in 1905 and 1906, but not published immediately.2 The chairman of this Assembly Committee was Henry van Dyke3 pastor of the famous Brick Presbyterian Church of New York City and considered by Drummond as the "church's most eminent literary man"4 of the period. The Preface stated that the Book was in response to the desire of many pastors and churches, yet it was not a total desire on the part of the Presbyterian people because:

1. Ibid., p. iv.
2. The earliest edition that the writer has found was in 1912, although authorized in 1905, and apparently a small edition did appear in that year. Cf. Drummond, op.cit., p. 385.
3. Henry van Dyke was chairman although the Committee was composed of ten other ministers and five ruling elders. Their names appear with the 1912 edition.
"Even at the end of the century Dr. Henry van Dyke, of the Brick Presbyterian Church, New York, could only persuade his cultured congregation to join in the Lord's Prayer by allowing objectors to remain silent!"1

Carvalhosa was thus more than a decade ahead of the Presbyterian Church in the United States, however he probably knew some of the liturgical awakenings that were beginning in America, Scotland, England, and Germany. Echoes of the Oxford Movement had reverberated around the world, and Keble's *Christian Year* had been edited in the United States as early as 1834.2 Dr. Nevin, in the German Reformed Church had published his *Mystical Presence*,3 as early as 1846, and Baird had published the *Eutaxia*, in 1855. In that same year the St. Peter's Presbyterian Church, Rochester, New York, had published its own *Church Book*, containing prayers and responsive readings from the Psalter. In 1864, C.W. Shields, Professor at Princeton Seminary, had reissued the almost forgotten alternative *Prayer Book*, submitted by the English Presbyterians at the Restoration (1662), and conservative Presbyterians like A.A. Hodge of Princeton were in favour of restoring the "Te Deum" and the "Apostles' Creed", and other liturgical elements to their rightful place in the Reformed Worship.

On the Continent Claus Harms, archdeacon of St. Michael's Church in Kiel had been awakened from his skeptical position by reading Schleiermacher's *Reden über die Religion*, had resolved in

3. The "Mercerburg Movement" was small in the almost obscure German Reformed Church, but its impact upon both American and Scottish liturgy was considerable.
1817, on the three hundredth anniversary of the Reformation to republish Luther's ninety-five theses, and had added to them ninety-five theses of his own against the "papacy of reason." His appeal swept across the country awakening the church to consider again the reality of worship.

"Thesis 27: According to the old faith God created man; according to the new faith man creates God, and when he has finished Him he says Aha!

Thesis 32: The so-called religion of reason is without reason or without religion, or without both.

Thesis 43: When reason touches religion it casts pearls away, and plays with the shells.

Thesis 71: Reason runs mad in the Lutheran Church, tears Christ from the altar, throws God's Word down from the pulpit, casts mud into the baptismal water, mixes all kinds of people in sponsorship, erases the inscription from the confessional, hisses the priests out and all the people after them."1

Harms' action was shortly followed by the Agenda of 1822 issued by Frederick William III, the Prussian king, who declared:

"If anything is to come out of this matter we must return to Father Luther."2

This was followed in 1847 by J.H.A. Ebrard's Reformirtes Kirchenbuch,3 published at Zurich, and widely read over the continent. In England Anthony Sparrow's small unpretending book of 1657, A Rationale upon the Book of Common Prayer, had been reprinted in 18394 under the care of Rev. J.H. Newman; in 1820 Dr. Richard Mant

1. Luther D. Reed, The Lutheran Liturgy, p. 150.
2. Ibid., pp. 150-151.
3. Hageman, Pulpit and Table, p. 69. Ebrard was a member of the theological faculty in Zurich. He wrote one of the influential books of the century.
and Mr. D'Oyley had published their *Book of Common Prayer with Notes Explanatory, Practical and Historical*, from approved writers of the Church of England, a work which cited at full length passages from Sparrow, L'Estrange, Comber, Nicholls, Mathew Hole, Wheatley and many others. In 1855 appeared the Rev. Francis Procter's *History and Rationale of the Prayer Book* which went through nine editions by 1870.

In Scotland, in 1857, Dr. Robert E. Lee, minister at Old Greyfriars' in Edinburgh was beginning his liturgical reforms, which, had he been more congenial in his personal relations with fellow ministers would probably have led to a much more rapid improvement in the field of worship. Mathew Leishman of Govan, the leader of the Middle-Party speaking of Lee's subsequent defeat and humiliation at the General Assembly wrote:-

"I did not speak on Dr. Lee's motion yesterday... Dr. Lee was very insolent and offensive, but sustained a defeat which he evidently was not prepared for." 3

James Fleming Leishman stated that he:

"...had a genius for rubbing people the wrong way, his advocacy in consequence prejudiced many against all ritual changes, and even set back the hands of the clock of ritual reform." 4

Dr. Lee's so-called innovations were not really innovations; they were in fact a partial return to the practices of Calvin, Knox, and

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1. Ibid., p. ix.

2. Ibid., pp. ix-x.


4. Loc. cit.
the first one hundred years of Reformation worship in Scotland. He asked the people to kneel for prayer, and stand for praise, and he read some of his prayers -- all this John Knox had practiced. His theology may have been somewhat latitudinarian,¹ and he may not have had real interest in the liturgies of antiquity. He was censured by the General Assembly,² and advised to discontinue the reading of prayers, an advice which he seemed to have followed after memorizing the prayers he wished to say. In the meantime Andrew Bonar, minister at the Canongate in Edinburgh, published Presbyterian Liturgies³ with Specimens of Forms of Prayer for Worship as used in the Continental Reformed and American Churches. This was first published anonymously, but later confirmed as the work of Bonar. He apparently was convinced that a liturgical restoration was necessary, but did not wish it to be associated exclusively with the theology he associated with Dr. Lee's name.

This was not the only movement in Scotland; the General Assembly in 1849 had appointed a committee to prepare forms of service for those, at home or abroad, who were without a minister, and in 1858 appeared a book entitled Prayers for Social and Family Worship.⁴ The Church Service Society was organized January 31, 1865,⁵ which began small but grew until it contained about one third of the clergy

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3. Andrew Bonar, Presbyterian Liturgies... (Edinburgh: 1858).
5. Ibid., p. 176.
of the Church of Scotland. A group of Scotland's leading scholars wrote books and pamphlets concerning the origins and history of Scottish worship, and in 1867 published the *Euchologion or a Book of Common Order.* 1 During the next fifty years *Euchologian* ran through a large number of successive editions and met a long-felt need in the Church. The *Euchologion* set forth an order of service for ordinary Sunday use and also orders for the ministration of Holy Baptism, for the Celebration of the Lord's Supper, and some other offices. It also provided a *Table of Lessons* from the Old and New Testaments for each Lord's Day. There were two prayers before the sermon and a General Intercession and Concluding Prayer after the sermon. It included the Lord's Prayer and the Apostles' Creed. In the fifth edition (1884) the Nicene Creed was given preference to the Apostles' Creed in the communion service. Some individual churches such as St. Giles prepared their own *Book of Common Order for Sunday and Week-day Services...* 2 However it was not until 1923 3 that an official service-book was issued for voluntary use "by authority" of the General Assembly. It was based upon the *Euchologion* and was entitled *Prayers for Divine Service.*

Carvalhosa's book therefore belongs to this earlier group of individual writers, and like theirs, it was never the official *Manual of Worship of the General Assembly of the Church of Brazil.* To the exact extent Carvalhosa knew this American, British, and

1. Ibid., pp. 176 to 181.
2. Ibid., pp. 181-182.
3. Ibid., p. 182.
Continental literature can only be conjectured; his library has
now been given to various institutions, but enough can be traced to
know that he was familiar with some of these works. Carvalhosa's
first edition appeared in 1874, and the second in 1886, while he
was a busy pastor in the interior of Brazil, with a very large field
in which laymen conducted the services on most of the Sundays. He
prepared the book to help them conduct Sunday worship services.
Copies of these editions have apparently completely disappeared,
but copies of his third edition of 1892 can still be found, although
they are rare. There is some evidence that he had before him at
that time a copy of a Manual of Forms prepared by Archibald Alexander
Hodge in America in 1882. On the title page of both is the
quotation from I Corinthians XIV; 40 -- "Do all things with decency
and in order", and this second quotation -- "Accurate verbal prepar-
ation is felt by all to be necessary for the edifying performance
of certain special services". The fact that these two quotations
are both located on the title page of each book and in the same
format on the page, although in two different languages - English
and Portuguese, leads one to conjecture that Carvalhosa did have

1. The family of Carvalhosa has given the writer some of his
personal library.

2. The writer has searched and inquired throughout Brazil for a copy
of these first two editions and has been unable to locate one.

3. A copy of the third edition is to be found in the library of the
Presbyterian Theological Seminary in Campinas, Brazil.

4. Archibald Alexander Hodge, Manual of Forms for Baptism, Admission
to the Communion, Administration of the Lord's Supper, Marriage
and Funerals, Ordination of Elders and Deacons, etc. (Philadelphia:
Presbyterian Board of Publication and Sabbath School work, 1882).
Hodge's Book in hand. However there is one important difference -- Hodge's Book of Forms is only for the special services and does not include anything for the Sunday Worship hour. Furthermore Hodge gives explicit reasons for not including a Sunday worship service:

"Notwithstanding the fact that the founders of all the several national branches of the Reformed Church prepared and used written formularies of public worship (as e.g. Calvin, Knox, the authors of the Dutch and the German Reformed Liturgies, and in the next century Richard Baxter), the genius of the Scottish and American Presbyterianism has discarded them as uncongenial and the matured judged of our Church has pronounced them to be inexpedient. The action of our recent General Assemblies from 1873 to 1875 proves that the mind of the Church is decidedly averse to the recommendation 'by authority' of even the simplest forms for special services. With this jealous care for the freedom and spirituality of the Church the compiler of this little manual is in perfect sympathy."

The Brazilian scholar Carvalhosa seemed to have chosen to cast his lot as far as possible with the Reformers and not with the Americans on this point. Hodge gave rubrics for the Lord's Supper stating when the minister shall offer solemn prayer of Invocation, Consecration, Confession and Supplication, but does not give a formal prayer. He does however place a formal didactic prayer in the children's baptismal service and in the Order for the Solemnization of Marriage, which closes with the Lord's Prayer. He also suggested the chanting of some Scriptures and the Gloria Patria in the baptismal service, but stated in a footnote that the baptismal form is a slightly modified version of that which is found in the Liturgy of the Reformed Church.

1. Ibid., p.3. The underlining is mine.
2. This is an interesting sidelight as Hageman in Pulpit and Table, pp. 84 to 108 treats of the relation of this Liturgy to Europe and later its influences upon Europe.
in America. However Hodge does state that "accurate verbal preparation is felt by all to be necessary for the edifying performance of certain special services, as for instance the administration of Baptism, the Lord's Supper, the admission of the baptized to full communion..."¹

Carvalhosa issued his third edition while pastor at Curitiba, Parana -- with its vast interior field. He mentioned that the third edition was "enlarged" (muita augmentada), which probably meant that the first two editions were simply his instructions and forms for his "readers" in the direction of the regular worship services, but upon receiving a copy of Hodge's Manual of Forms he had translated and adapted these also and added them to his book so that it could serve the pastors and missionaries for Baptisms, the Lord's Supper, etc. The fourth edition was published in 1906, after he had been called to the city of Sao Paulo. He mentions in the Introduction that he had added to the book a form for the Laying of the Corner Stone of a church, and for the Dedication of a Temple, as well as selected passages of Scriptures for special occasions. However his main concern is still for the churches that do not have a regular ordained ministry. In the Introduction he stated:

"Those who are deprived of the regular ministry of the Word, but desiring to worship God 'in Spirit and in Truth' will find in this Manual how to direct the public worship service, Forms for the Sunday worship, for the solemnization of weddings, for the Invocation of the Blessing of Matrimony, in the absence of a Minister; the Form to conduct a Funeral service."²

¹ Hodge, Manual of Forms. P. 3.
² Modesto P.B. de Carvalhosa, Manual do Culto. The underlining is mine.
This introduction is a serious reminder of the fact that in the interior of Brazil, even when there was no minister still weddings and funerals went on, and laymen had to bury their dead without the blessing of an ordained clergy. The wedding vows at this time (1906) in Brazil were first administered by a civil magistrate and the religious ceremony which followed was properly only a blessing. In the rubric of Carvalhosa's third edition of the Manual it was stated:

When it is not possible to have a minister present to invoke the blessing of God on a wedding, the elder or the person accustomed to direct the worship service may call a meeting of the church or congregation to ask that God will be pleased to bless the newly-married. This same person who is accustomed to direct the worship may read some passages of the Scripture that refers to marriage and direct the prayers. For this purpose he may observe the following or a similar order:"¹

Following this rubric was a short lesson about marriage as it is taught in the Scriptures, and the presentation to the congregation of the man and woman who have already been legally married by the civil magistrate; after this was a prayer to be read asking God's blessing upon the man and woman and the new home they were instituting. This prayer closed with the Lord's Prayer and the rubric suggested that when convenient they could sing a hymn or song that is appropriate to the occasion.

In the rubric at the beginning of the Form for Funerals there were these words:

"In the absence of a minister this office may be done by a ruling elder, by a deacon, or by any member

¹. Ibid., p. 93.
of the church nominated for this purpose. The person who will officiate at the time of burial, arriving at the house of the dead at the hour marked for the funeral service, will take his place at the foot of the casket and recite solemnly and with pauses, the following passages of Scriptures."

The Manual then gave several passages that should be read and followed this with a prayer to be read. After this the rubric again called for a hymn if it is convenient, and then more Scriptures to be read. Passages from I Corinthians, the Gospel of John, and the Book of Revelations were then given, but the rubric gave permission to read other Scriptures that were similar. After these Scriptures the rubric stated that the one officiating could then, if convenient, speak some words about the Christian faith and about the reality of death, and the Christian hope. After this was another prayer to be read. At the cemetery more Scriptures were read, followed by the committal service, and a prayer closing with the Blessing of Hebrews 13:20-21. In a closing footnote the one officiating is admonished that it is not necessary to state whether the person being buried died impenitent or not, and that only God is the final judge. All of this could be used by an ordained minister, but it was put in such a way that the untrained and unordained laymen could officiate for the burial of the dead. In the tropical climates where embalming was not practiced, it was necessary to bury the dead within a matter of hours after death, thus it was often impossible to wait for a minister to officiate, even though he were in a neighbouring town.

1. Ibid., p. 97. The underlining is mine.
The fifth edition of Carvalhosa's Manual was published in 1924, a short time after his death by Mattathias Gomes dos Santos, pastor of the Unida Church in Sao Paulo. He had succeeded Carvalhosa as pastor of this church and begins the edition with a short Preface entitled "Duas Palavras" (Two Words). In this Preface he stated:

"Some months before leaving this world the Rev. Modesto P.B. de Carvalhosa declared to us that he was entrusting to the Unida Church of Sao Paulo the future printing of the Manual and asked us to make such improvements as would make it more complete for the work of evangelization."¹

This clearly stated that in 1924 it was still a personal publication and not the property or responsibility of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Brazil, even though it was as he stated "a part of the evangelical tradition of our country". The fifth edition had very few alterations except for changes in language. Following this were a few editions without any radical changes. Finally in 1968 the Casa Editora Presbiteriana published an edition of this Manual do Culto (Manual of Worship) without any Introduction or Preface, without any historical statement, or acknowledgement that it was the property of the Unida Church, or that it had been compiled by Carvalhosa. There were no basic changes made in the structure of the book except in the rubrics which no longer stated that Congregations deprived of an ordained ministry could choose one of their elders, deacons, or members to conduct the worship service according to the Forms given; the rubric simply stated -- "quem

dirigir o culto começa-lo-a convidando à igreja a ORAÇÃO (Whoever directs the worship will begin by inviting the Church to PRAYER). The prayer which immediately follows, as well as the second and final prayer, have been enlarged and altered more in line with modern Books of Common Worship of the Presbyterian Church in the United States and Scotland. It is not however a slavish translation of prayers, but an adaptation to the Brazilian actual situation.

The rubric for the Lord's Supper was not changed, but the wording of the prayer of Consecration was slightly altered, but not the prayer of thanksgiving. The rubrics and Scriptures for the Funeral service remain the same, although the final prayer was altered and closes with the Apostolic benediction. There is no alternate Sunday worship service, but in the main this book is following the rubrics and forms prepared nearly a century ago on the frontier for the use of lay-workers. This illustrates as perhaps nothing else how the molds of lay leadership in worship still affects church life in Brazil; this Manual is at the present the only Manual of Worship, official or private, belonging to the Presbyterian Church of Brazil. A Commission for the preparation and publishing of a new Book of Common Worship was appointed several years ago but for various reasons has not functioned. So this little Manual prepared by Carvalhosa, although it no longer carries his name or mention of him, is still the main guiding light for Presbyterian worship in Brazil.
João M.G. dos Santos - Pastor Congregational Church in Rio
Dr. Kalley's successor and leading pastor in Rio for more
than 30 years

João Gomes da Rocha in *Lembrancas do Passado*, his documented
history of the labours of Dr. Robert Kalley in founding the
Congregational Church in Brazil, first mentions João Santos in
relation to the first convert baptized in the city of Rio de Janeiro.
He stated:

"...o Sr. Pedro Nolasco de Andrade, Brazilian, was
baptized on July 11, 1858, and was the first believer
baptized by Dr. Kalley in Rio de Janeiro, in the 'House
of Prayer' in the 'family worship' service, in the suburb
called 'Saude'.

We believe that Sr. João M.G. Santos was present on
that occasion but he was not baptized until six months
later."¹

The next mention of this young man is six months later.

Rocha stated:

"Sunday, January 9, 1859 two Brazilians, Philip Nery
and João Manuel Goncalves dos Santos, were baptized and
received as members of the Church."²

In a footnote on this same page Rocha stated:

"Rev. João M.G. dos Santos was the active pastor of
the 'Igreja Evangelica Fluminense' (The Evangelical Fluminense
Church) from 1875 to 1911, and honorary pastor from 1911
until the date of his death June 20, 1928."³

He was therefore one of the first converts of Dr. Kalley in Brazil
and became the pastor of the work when Dr. Kalley could no longer
continue for reasons of health.

².
³.
It is apparent that for reasons\(^1\) not fully known, Dr. Kalley was not interested in planting a large number of churches throughout the interior of Brazil; his plans called for a good mother church in Rio and one in the north of Brazil, with a large number of lay-evangelists and colporteurs planting the Gospel seed over large areas. Eventually the planting of churches would either be taken up by the Brazilian Christians, or by Mission Boards with larger resources in men and money. For these reasons Kalley was not the first missionary to ordain a Brazilian pastor, although he did organize the first Church, and had his workers scattered over the nation. He had no school to train his successors. At first he had dreamed of sending some young men to Basle to the Basle Missionary Society training centre. He visited the school in Basle in the hope of finding a man trained and ready to carry on his work. The man he chose went to the Orient instead.\(^2\) Then it was resolved that Sr. João M.G. dos Santos should go to London and study in Spurgeon’s College. At this time he was not only an elder but also the Secretary of the Fluminense Evangelical Church,\(^3\) and its

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1. His reasons were probably a mixture of personal, financial, and semi-theological. He was not accepted as a missionary by the Church of Scotland. His ordination was only semi-official as a group of pastors in London had acted without denominational authority in ordaining him. He had his personal income which allowed him to live and work as a missionary and his wife’s relatives in the London area gave some financial support for his colporteurs. But this was limited. He had become distrustful of large organizations; even the British government had failed him during the persecutions in Madeira giving as excuse that he did not belong to the Church of Scotland any longer.


acknowledged lay leader. All communication from this Church with the Kalleys who were at this time in Britain, was made by João M.G. Santos. It had been his ardent desire for many years to be trained as a pastor and finally August 8, 1872, he left for London to study in Spurgeon's College, where he studied from 1872 to 1875. In 1875 he returned to Brazil where he assumed the pastorate of the Church founded by Dr. Kalley -- The Fluminense Evangelical Church -- and remained its pastor for the next thirty six years, and its honorary pastor until his death in 1928. Rocha stated:

"...with his studies finished, three years later, he assumed the pastorate of the Fluminense Evangelical Church, an office which he exercised for long years with dignity and sacrifice, as a faithful servant of the Lord."4

As one of the first converts, and as heir and successor, of the founder -- Dr. Kalley, this man exercised a very great influence over the Evangelical Churches of Brazil. In the archives of Spurgeon College, there is little special mention of him beyond the fact that he was enrolled and faithfully attended classes; however it is possible to know some of the emphases of the College during the years of 1872 to 1875, and thus to assume certain

3. Loc. cit. Also in Spurgeon College Library Book LIV-0850 in the Register of Students is his name and number and subsequent history as pastor in Rio de Janeiro.
5. Neither the writer nor the librarian at Spurgeon College could find any special mention in the old archives.
contributions to João M.G. Santos' concept of the life and work of the Church and its worship patterns.

Pastor's College, as Spurgeon's College was then known, published in 1872-3 and in 1873-4 an "Annual Paper" copies of which are preserved in the library of the present school. The "Annual Paper" of 1872-3 contains three "Tutors' Reports" which reveal much about the atmosphere and teaching of the School.

G. Rogers reports:

"Lectures on Theology and Biblical Studies have been delivered to the whole College with scarcely any interruption during the past year;...A larger number of students than at any former period have availed themselves of the class of elementary instruction in the Hebrew language. Homiletics, both theoretical and practical have had a full share of attention. Regular classes have also been held for Elocution, Logic, and the Greek Testament. In order to enable each Student to deliver a sermon before the whole College soon after the commencement, and another towards the close of his Collegiate course, arrangements have been made during the past year, by which two sermons may be included in the engagements for each week....The discussions and criticisms upon the sermons are equally open to all the Students and afford the most suitable opportunities for practice in extemporaneous speaking..."1

The Tutors' Report by D. Gracey2 in the same year majors on the Latin and Greek studies -- they are reading in Latin the first, second and third books of Eutropius' History of Rome, Virgil's Aeneid and Livy. In addition to classical Greek they are reading St. John's Gospel, the Acts of the Apostles, the Epistles of Jude, Ephesians, Colossians, and the Hebrews. A. Ferguson3 gives a

2. Ibid., pp. 10-11.
3. Ibid., p. 12.

The 1873-74 Paper has Spurgeon's message as the Principal's Report. In this he especially pays tribute to Mr. G. Rogers as the Tutor of the College. After tracing the career of Mr. Rogers he stated:

"...Amidst all the changes that have been going on in the theological views during his lifetime, and particularly in his own denomination, Mr. Rogers has faithfully adhered to the old evangelical truth; he has been a Puritan from his childhood, and is a Puritan still. He has a well-defined creed, and is not ashamed to own it..."

This Paper contained a long personal report of C.H. Spurgeon. He stated:

"...Nearly three hundred brethren are now bearing witness to the gospel of our salvation as regular ministers who were trained among us, and a more considerable number are acting as evangelists, colporteurs, and lay preachers; indeed under the last designation, we have trained several hundreds of young men. Our principle as to reception into the college with a view to the regular ministry is this -- We receive only those who have preached for about two years, and have proved their calling of God; and these we do not pretend to make into preachers, but simply to aid them to obtain an education ....we are able to make a careful selection and reject very many....If that end be the publication of a plain and straightforward gospel in a plain way, it has certainly not failed in its design...The men who preach extemporaneously and who preach from a full heart, need less a change of sphere than those who read highly elaborated sermons and preach less from the heart than from the head. The success of our students depends upon the fact that, like the first generation gospel-preachers they cease not to teach and preach Jesus Christ, and in his name to look for signs and wonders following. This has secured for them the friendship and goodwill of all who love the old truths, and have no sympathy with the innovations of modern times....Our hearts plead continually for the missionary spirit to move among our brethren, that

1. Annual Paper descriptive of The Lord's Work connected with the Pastor's College, 1873-74 (London: Printed for the College by Passmore & Alabaster, 1874) pp. 3-4. The underlining is mine.
very many of them may carry the gospel to the regions beyond, both in our own land, among the churches in America, and in the colonies and, better still, among the heathen...

The Librarian of Spurgeon's College after carefully examining all the existing records of how Spurgeon conducted his worship services in the Metropolitan Tabernacle pulpit wrote as follows:

"In the Metropolitan Tabernacle Pulpit Mr. Spurgeon observed a very simple liturgy. The central thing was the sermon which he carefully prepared in full manuscript. There were three hymns and a prayer." 2

During the month of September 1873 while João M.G. Santos was studying at Spurgeon's Pastors' College, living and studying in the basement rooms of the great Metropolitan Tabernacle, these sermons were preached and these hymns sung:

123 -- by Isaac Watts (1719) on Ps. 126.
957 -- by Alber Midlane (1861) Revival Sought.
473 -- by Phillip Doddridge -- Mourning over Transgressors.

Sept. 14, 1873. Clearing the Road to Heaven
Text. Isaiah 62: 10. Scripture read before Sermon
42 -- Scottish version of Ps. 42 (1641).
15 -- by Charles H. Spurgeon (1866).
645 -- Charles Wesley -- "O for a heart to praise my God
A heart from sin set free."

Hymns 149, 451, 445.
149 Paraphrase of Ps. 149 by Henry Lyte (1834)
451 The Holy Ghost is Here, by Spurgeon (1866)
445 The Promised Comforter, by Harriet Auber (1829).

1. Ibid., pp. 5-6.
2. A part of a letter of personal correspondence from the Librarian S.C. Jeal, under date of April 8th, 1963, shortly after the writer spent time in research in the archives of Spurgeon's College in April 1965. The underlining is mine.

421 — Altogether Lovely, by Samuel Stennet (1787)
    Majestic sweetness sits enthroned
    Upon His awful brow
    His head with radiant glories crowned
    His lips with grace overflow.

816 — Love the Source of Love — by Clare Taylor (1742)

684 — My heart is fixed, by John Andrew Rothe (1728)
    Tr. by John Wesley 1740.1

João M.G. dos Santos did not become a Spurgeon in the city of Rio de Janeiro, but he seems within his abilities to have attempted to follow this pattern more closely than he did the mold of Dr. Kalley. He was by nature more of the pastor-teacher, but his training both under Kalley and under Spurgeon had been for evangelism — the bringing men to a decision for Christ. He was for many decades the leading pastor in the city of Rio de Janeiro — loved and respected by all. His concepts and practices of worship resemble that of the English Baptists and this influence reached many parts of Brazil. But it was worship fitted to a Brazilian mold.

Alvaro Reis

Among the names of Brazilian pastors who left a lasting imprint upon the Brazilian Church in the field of worship must be mentioned two additional names -- Alvaro Reis and William Kerr. Alvaro Reis had been dedicated to the Lord by his mother in the church in Sao Paulo, but his personal decision to follow the Lord came under the ministry of Edward Lane and John Boyle who were missionaries in charge of the field of Mogy Mirim, near to Campinas, where Alvaro Reis had taken employment caring for the new Railroad engines that had just been installed. He made his profession of faith with missionary John Boyle and received his Seminary training under Edward Lane while beginning his work as itinerant evangelist. Lane gave him more or less the equivalent of his own seminary training at Richmond which Reis studied eagerly while busy in itinerant evangelism. Ferreira mentions that four new churches were organized in his fields of evangelism while studying to be ordained. Ferreira described him as "the powerful evangelist of Mogiana". During these years as an evangelist and student his literary and polemical genius was already evident. One sermon which he published was entitled "O Clamor das Pedras" (The Cry of the Rocks) based on the text Luke 19:40; a sermon which demonstrated considerable archaeological studies and was an attempt to prove

1. Lessa, Annaes...op.cit. p. 537.
3. Ibid., p. 344.
4. Loc. cit.
that the "stones" confirmed the Biblical Revelation. This sermon was reprinted again and again not only by the Presbyterians but by all denominations. The Baptists republishing it as late as 1959.\(^1\) He had also during this period initiated his polemic with the Roman Catholic Church,\(^2\) in a study of Roman Catholic persecution. He was accepted as a minister by the Presbytery of Minas in 1897 and the same year was elected pastor of the "Mother Church" in Rio de Janeiro -- the church founded by Simonton. His going to this church has been described by the historian:

"The going of Alvaro Reis to the Church at Rio was like a magic touch to awaken the Church and unleash its energies."\(^3\)

Reis was thirty-eight years\(^4\) of age when he was elected pastor of the Church at Rio, and his pastorate there lasted twenty-eight years;\(^5\) he died at the age of seventy-one. He re-edited his book "O Martyr Le Balleur;" a book which dealt with the attempt of the French Huguenots to establish the Protestant Church in Brazil in the time of Villegaignon, and their martyrdom.\(^6\) He founded\(^7\) a paper -- O Puritano which was a semi-official and later official

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1. Sermoes de Alvaro Reis (Rio de Janeiro: Casa Publicador Baptista, 1959) This book contains four sermons by Alvaro Reis; the first is "O Clamor das Pedras". The fact that this was published again many years after his death, and by another denomination, reveals some of the impact this man had over all the Churches of Brazil.

3. Ibid., p. 345.
4. Lessa, Annaes...pp. 540.
5. Ibid., p. 541.
7. Lessa, Annaes...p. 541.
organ of the Presbyterian Church for many years. He was also a Mason and mingled easily with the social, political, and intellectual elite of the nation. He was at his best in a good polemic and was deeply anti-Roman Catholic. With the Mother Church as his pulpit and the O Puritano as his paper he cast his influence to every corner and every denomination of the land. Above all else he was a great evangelist -- one of Brazil’s greatest pulpit orators -- a great preacher. He was a self-made scholar who read extensively until the end of his life, and understood what he read. But he had been converted and trained in the rough and tumble of itinerant evangelism in the hinterland of Brazil. Preaching to him was the all-important task -- the proclamation of the "Good News". In his annual Report\(^1\) to his Church in 1904 he made a revealing statement concerning his pastoral outlook:

"As you well know your pastor spends more time in evangelistic work than in pastoral work properly speaking. And that our social atmosphere is either religiously indifferent or idolatrous, and that we are constantly compelled to catechise. It is well to note that our Church has three evangelists who are dedicated and have been greatly blessed. They are Rev. Franklin do Nascimento who is now occupying the pulpit of the churches in Nitheroy and in Ubatuba; the Rev. Mattathias Gomes dos Santos, who each month visits the vast municipio of Manhaussu, in Minas, and Sap José do Calgado, and the nearer part of the State of Espírito Santo, the most prosperous field in Brazil, and each year has a great number of professions of faith; and the third evangelist is O Puritano" which is scattered all over Brazil and goes even to the remote islands of the Pacific.

\(^{1}\) Relatorio do Movimento Espiritual da Egreja Evangelica do Rio de Janeiro durante o Anno de 1904. This is quoted again by his successor the Reverend Mattathias Gomes dos Santos in 1939 in Anuario da Igreja Crista Presbyteriana do Rio de Janeiro 1939. Pastor Mattathias Gomes dos Santos is emphasizing how the church has always been deeply interested in evangelizing the surrounding area. The underlining is mine.
In an editorial in the "Puritano" June 4, 1914, concerning the "Evangelization of Brazil", he laments the poorly trained ministry that does not know how to preach the Gospel. He stated:

"The principal part of public worship is the preaching of the Gospel. In the Apostolic Church the preaching was the excellent part of the public worship. There is reference to few prayers being part of the public worship and we have no reference to the hymns sung on such occasions, neither in the Acts of the Apostles nor in the Epistles...it is incontestably certain that the important part of public worship in the Primitive Church, of this there is no doubt -- it is the preaching of the Word -- this is the part that stands out in the Apostolic worship...Therefore preaching is the principal part of the public worship, and it should be done with entire faithfulness to the public, with the greatest of judgment, with all possible unction, and with great clearness and demonstrated power, to the end to convince those who are contradicting the truth, and for those to yearn to know the truth that liberates, instructs, sanctifies, and saves...

...The efficiency of the worship does not depend upon the gifts of oratory and the eloquence of anyone whoever they be, but depends upon evangelical preaching, upon being very faithful, very clear, very instructive, very evangelical, and coming out of a heart that is converted, incontestably preceded and accompanied by the power of the Holy Spirit to make disciples and to make believers."

Reis had been trained theologically by Edward Lane and trained in the field under John Boyle, and he reflected the type of pioneer evangelism American missionaries brought from the frontier of North America and developed in the hinterland of Brazil. He conducted his worship services with dignity and simplicity. The Central all-important part was preaching, but in later years his preaching was often deeply polemic attacking Romanism and what he considered liberalism -- but polemics with dignity. He did much to bring honour to the Brazilian Protestant pulpit.

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1. cf. this with the previous references to pioneer evangelism in the North American frontier.

2. See Chapter 3 -- American immigrants.
William Cleary Kerr

The historian of the Presbyterian Church of Brazil, Julio Andrade Ferreira, in his *História da Igreja Presbiteriana do Brasil*, wrote concerning Dr. Kerr:

"O Rev. William Kerr, a meticulous type of man, one well equipped to write the "Framatica Elementar da Língua Hebraica" (Elementary Grammar of the Hebrew Language). The chairs that he occupied and taught during my time were enough to occupy the time of three professors. I do not know how he was able to be President of the Supreme Council (Moderator of the General Assembly) Secretary of the Board of Home Missions, Reitor of the Seminary, Professor in the Seminary, and the zealous Pastor of the Church in Brazil... I must declare that I never saw a more upright man or man with more integrity. His personality...is certainly the explanation of the stable and constructive phase of the life of the Seminary from the days when I was a student until recently. He came to stay only a year away from his beloved church in Sorocaba, and remained here until his death. With tears we saw him separated from the service." 1

These words of tribute from a man who was a student of Dr. Kerr, and later co-labourer in the Seminary with him, and historian of the Church, describe in part, one of the men who exercised great moderating influence in the Evangelical circles of Brazil. As President and Professor in the Theological Seminary over a long period of years an entire generation of pastors in the Presbyterian Church came under his influence. As a strong leader in the Church his influence reached to all Brazil.

Many influences had gone into the making of this outstanding Brazilian leader. He was Brazilian born but of Scottish-American and German parentage. He belonged to a new generation of Brazilian pastors who had not been trained by foreign missionaries. He was

also an independent thinker who hated imitation, sham, and role playing. His Scottish-American grandparents had owned the "Memphis Gazette", but at the end of the civil war his grandmother a widow with two young sons, her paper confiscated by the Union Army, and her home destroyed, resolved to attempt to seek a new fortune in South America. One of the sons became an illustrious engineer in Brazil, married a brilliant young German governess, and became the father of William Cleary Kerr. The plague of Yellow Fever took away William's mother while he was only two and he lived for a time with friends who baptized him into the Roman Catholic Church. At the age of nine he was in Santos, attending Sunday School in the Episcopal Church where he made his profession of faith. A few years later he was in Rio making plans to go to England and enter the British Naval service. During this period he attended the preaching of the great Presbyterian pastor -- Alvaro Reis, and resolved to remain in Brazil and dedicate his life to the Presbyterian ministry. He then went to Lavras to study in

1. J.C. Nogeira, Uma Grande e Valorosa Familia p. 1. Unpub. Mans. The family archives and research of J.C. Nogeira indicate that the family roots go back to the Normandy Invasion of william the Conqueror in 1066. One of the soldiers established himself in England and then on the borders of Scotland where the Clan Kerr developed. At least the Kerr family does descend from the Kerrs of the Borders of Scotland. The grandfather died before the war but the widow had dedicated the "Memphis Gazette" to promote the Confederate Cause.

2. Ibid., p. 2.


4. Information given by Kerr family.
the Christian Institute\(^1\) in a preparatory course to enter the Theological Seminary in Campinas. On his graduation from this preparatory school in Lavras he was asked to represent his class in an oratorical address. The subject of his address was "The Martyrs of Science"\(^2\) -- an address in which he spoke of the various men who had suffered under the Roman Catholic Church for daring to express their opinions in scientific research in a manner contrary to the dogmas and pronouncements of the Roman Church. He then proceeded to announce his great satisfaction to be a Protestant and have intellectual liberty to think and make free investigation of the Truth.

This commencement address indicated how his mind was to work throughout his long career as a leader in the Evangelical circles of Brazil -- it was an open-minded integrity and honesty. In later years he became a convinced follower and defender of conservative theology, but it was a position that he felt integrity and honesty forced him to defend.

He finished his Theological Studies at the Seminary in Campinas in 1916, and went immediately into a pastorate at Votarantim, a suburb of Sorocaba, caring for a congregation of people who had made their profession of faith under the ex-priest

1. This later was known as Gammon Institute.
2. O Puritano Anno XV. N. 732. December 1913. p. 7. The editor of this religious Journal was Reis who had helped to influence Kerr to study for the ministry and was greatly impressed by this address and its promise for the future of the Church in Brazil.
Conceição. 1 His biographer devoted one chapter to "The Preacher" in which Kerr's preaching is described as calm and deliberate, except when on rare occasions a particularly vexing problem was confronting his flock. Then he could be extremely energetic. He is described as possessing "magnetic and attractive moral qualities" that drew people to him as he spoke:

"...in a simple manner as one who speaks the truth, without fear of contradiction, he spoke from the heart, without hypocrisy, dissimulation, cowardice...egoism, uncleanness...Possessed such a character that no other evangelical brother could withstand him...

In the noble art of preaching William was a master of homiletics. He studied and followed the great expositors." 2

The biographer stressed that he never imitated anyone in the pulpit, and that whether in the pulpit or in conversation he was always the same -- "himself, and only himself, and never anyone else". Nogeira contrasts him with many of what he called the typical pastors that had appeared in the land, and this paragraph is extremely revealing of a cold legalism and professional intellectualism that was developing in some of the churches:

"If we could make a photograph of our preachers, we would be able to make a typical picture of them all, as a victim of nervous dyspepsia, suffering with toothache, hat down over their ears, eyes fixed on the pavement of the street. In the pulpit with an iron scowl on their faces, a fixed look as a blind person, with a determined goal or target, a high pitched and penetrating voice from beginning to the end, carefully practiced gestures, academic oratory, dry, metallic, and monotonous, convincing only by their boredom, without one window of illustration to let in some fresh air. Pharisaical oratory, obstinate, shameful, mean, and standardized..." 3

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1. See Chapter 4.
3. Ibid., p. 10.
Nogeira may have been somewhat unfair to characterize all the ministers in this way, however he knew them well and wrote this after many long years in the Presbyterian ministry with them, but whether typical of the majority or not, it was indicative of the superficial and artificial **role playing** which had been mentioned repeatedly in this study. Nogeira states that "Happily William Kerr was not an imitator, either from weakness or from envy." Nogeira wrote:

"And because he was what he was, without vacillation, he was a powerful teacher of doctrine, a concise expositor of the basic things of Word of God." ¹

In 1926 he was invited to take the Chair of Old Testament in the Theological Seminary in Campinas, a chair which he occupied until his death in 1956. His search for truth had led him to a conservative position, the spirit which has characterized his pre-seminary oration -- "The Martyrs of Science", remained with him to the end; he determined that his students should know all the possible interpretations and options, confident that truth would make its own radiant appeal.

He was greatly concerned for good preaching, but he was equally concerned for meaningful liturgy. A paper which he wrote and read at a meeting of pastors, and which was then published in one of the Evangelical journals² of Brazil revealed his concern in

¹. Ibid., p. 10.
². Revista de Cultura Religiosa Vol. II. July-September 1923. This was published four times a year under the direction of Epaminondas Mello do Amaral and Miguel Risco Junior -- two leading Evangelical ministers of the period.
the matter of liturgy. He had been asked to speak on "The Preparation of the Sermon", but his paper pointed out certain liturgical weaknesses that he had observed in Brazil.

"It is more than probable that there are a larger number of ministers that are failing in the general preparation of the worship service than in the preparation of the sermon." This was a new note to be sounded in the Brazilian picture. Carvalhosa had published edition after edition of his little Manual do Culto, but it had been prepared especially for the use of lay evangelists. It had been a guide in Portuguese for the new missionary, however the exigencies of frontier worship in the rude and simple environment surrounded by semi-literate people had militated against following very closely even the simple guidelines given by Carvalhosa, but now Dr. Kerr was heralding a new note -- the need of something more than preaching.

Dr. Kerr, as Professor of Hebrew, was perhaps Brazil's greatest exegete; he was also a careful and diligent pastor whose sermons were the fruit of careful preparation, and were preached amidst a flow of tears. He wrote:

"without diminishing the importance of the other parts of the worship service, as the prayers, the hymns, the reading of the Scriptures, which have as their objective to prepare the people to hear the message of the minister, the sermon is a part of the worship which merits especial care and all the attention of the minister. It is not easy to preach with dignity to the same audience two or three times a week." 3

1. Ibid., p. 65. The underlining is mine.
2. See Chapter 4, Carvalhosa.
The paper continues with excellent homiletical advice and then turns to the peculiar Brazilian problem -- the urgency and the fascination of evangelism which made the pioneer pastor neglect the discipline of preparation.

"The evangelistic work, fascinating as it is, constitutes sometimes an obstacle to your study habits...It becomes necessary to use good sense in the division of your time."¹

This exhortation in comparison with the appeals of Alvaro Reis reveal a great step forward. With Reis the great emphasis was on preaching. It was the important thing. With Kerr preaching is still central, but also a concern "for the larger number of ministers who are failing in the general preparation for the worship service than in the preparation of the sermon".

His personal library contained the Book of Order of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America (1910),² and other liturgical literature.

Dr. Kerr made a real contribution to Brazilian worship in the area of sincerity and integrity. In a land of superficial religious ceremonies and role playing, Dr. Kerr's example and teaching stood out like a mountain range; however in the field of ordered worship the contribution he wished to make was clouded

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1. Revista de Cultura Religiosa...op.cit., p. 65.
2. The writer was given this and other similar books from Dr. Kerr's library after his death.
by a theological struggle that was entering the land. That struggle was destined to divide the Independent Presbyterian Church into three bodies, it also slowed the normal liturgical development for all Evangelical Churches within the nation. That struggle belongs to Chapter eight. The next chapter discusses the influence the Brazilian Roman Catholic Church exerted directly and indirectly upon the emerging Evangelical Churches.

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1. The theological struggle was focused more in the Independent Presbyterian Church -- a denomination that had come from a Schism within the Presbyterian Church in 1903. The explicit issue had been masonry but the real issue had been a struggle between a church coming to maturity and missionary paternalism. The Independent Presbyterian Church had no missionaries from North America or Europe to help them interpret the theological trends coming into Brazil and soon the Church was split in three different directions over theology and liturgy. This struggle clouded the liturgical picture for some decades in all Brazil.
CHAPTER V

THE INFLUENCE OF PORTUGUESE-ROMAN CATHOLICISM UPON EVANGELICAL WORSHIP

The Protestant Church in Brazil was planted in a land where the Portuguese Roman Catholic Church had held an undisputed monopoly for three centuries. Its converts came either from Romanism or from a culture whose norms and attitudes had been determined and maintained by the Roman Catholic Church. Because of this the life and worship within the Protestant Churches have been influenced greatly by Portuguese Roman Catholicism. This influence contributed to a skeptical and superficial attitude toward religion among the intellectuals and to an animistic superstition among the masses. These attitudes were deep-seated and were often carried over into the Protestant Churches. This was especially true when the transfer into the Protestant Church was largely influenced by factors such as marriage, social relations, or any cause that had not been accompanied by serious theological reflection and commitment to Christ. The influence was also reflected in a reaction to everything associated with the old-religion or "old-law" as it was sometimes referred to. Another contribution of the Roman Catholic Church was a tolerant attitude toward lay-leadership which had developed in the hinterland where the scarcity of priests had forced the adherents of the faith to rely on the sacristan or lay-brotherhoods.

In November 1805, Henry Martyn, on his way to becoming a
missionary to India had stopped for a few days at Bahia, Brazil. This was five years before Lord Strangford's Treaty of Commerce between England, Brazil, and Portugal had permitted the entry of Protestant immigrants. He wrote:

"When shall this beautiful country be delivered from idolatry and spurious Christianity? Crosses there are in abundance; but when shall the doctrine of the true cross be held up."1

Martyn made this observation concerning a city that boasted it contained a different church for every day in the year; some of which were beautifully and expensively decorated. The decadence of the religious situation was also expressed by Gustav Warneck, in his famous Outline of a History of Protestant Missions From the Reformation to the Present Time. He wrote:

"...The Catholicism, indeed is of a kind that according to even Catholic testimonies, is more heathen than Christian, and its morality is on a sadly low level. There are many crosses but no word of the Cross; many saints, but no followers of Christ."2

His testimony is significant in that he did not include in his book the missions to Catholic countries.

The Roman Catholicism which the Portuguese brought into Brazil had already suffered great alterations and adaptions in Portugal; it had accommodated itself to centuries of African Moorish and Mohammedan domination,3 and in the process had adopted elements

3. Gilberto Freyre, Brazil, An Interpretation (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1945), p. "For eight centuries the Hispanic or Iberian peninsula was dominated by Africans. Arabs and Moors left their trace there..."
of faith and practice that were more Islamic and African than Christian. By amalgamation, accommodation, and assimilation, antagonistic conceptions of life were resolved by what Freyre has called a "compartmentalized" life:

"A people with the "split" or Dr. Jekyll-Mr. Hyde personality...psychologically richer and culturally more complex than simpler peoples by the fact that they have developed a special capacity to maintain contradictions and even to harmonize them."1

This capacity to "compartmentalize" life and belief enabled the Portuguese Roman Catholic people to adapt themselves to Islamic elements in faith and life; it allowed its adherents to hold an intellectual cynicism in regard to the teachings of the Church, and at the same time permitted the illiterate masses to assimilate much of African magic and animism. Portuguese Roman Catholicism had been softened by North African sensuality and Moslem voluptuousness, becoming a "...liturgy, social rather than religious, a softened lyric Christianity with many phallic and animistic reminiscences of the pagan cults...a Christianity that was lyrically social, a cult of the family rather than a religion of the church or cathedral..."2

During the Inquisition thousands of Portuguese Jews had superficially accepted Roman Catholic baptism rather than suffer death or banishment. On Sundays they went to Church but in private they "scoffed at our Lord". This had added to the cynicism and

1. Freyre, Brazil An Interpretation...p.3. This was also an African contribution to Brazilian culture. See Chapter 7.
superficiality within the Church. The secularism or irreligion of the private "plantation chaplain" under the control of the "Master of the Big House" on the isolated landed estates within Brazil did not improve the religious situation.

"He was a member of the patriarchal family, with the rank of a bachelor uncle or an old widowed grandfather, rather than that of a priest rigidly under the control of his bishop. He was under the direction of the planter, who sometimes paid him generously for his good services. He not only took care of the religious or devotional activities of whites and slaves, but was also the private tutor of the boys, the one who taught them grammar, Latin and sacred history and prepared them to enter military or naval school, law school,..."¹

In the traditional families every generation had to have a priest; the younger son was thus often made a priest against his will, a procedure which resulted in many priests in Brazil who had no predilection for the work of the Church and little inward desire for piety. These men drifted with the times and made the best of what was to them an undesired situation. The plantation chapels were often adorned with portraits of French and North American revolutionaries² instead of the traditional saints. These chaplains drifted naturally to politics, wealth and women. Their morality, often criticized, probably compared well with the level of the people they served. Richard F. Burton, British Consul at Santos, Brazil 1866-70 who travelled widely throughout Brazil and wrote of his travels³ found them liberal, goodhearted and hospitable and

¹ Freyre, New World in the Tropics, pp. 87-88.
² Freyre, The Mansions and the Shanties, p. 94ff.
noted that parishioners made little of the curate keeping a "woman" or "housekeeper" and even defended polygamy for a new country:

"...in a new country where polygamy morally justifies itself, the evils being more than compensated for by the benefits."1

George Gardner, who also travelled widely in Brazil in this period describes2 the same situation in the north of Brazil. He describes meeting a vicar in Ceara about 70 to 80 years of age, who with his six sons was a perfect patriarch. One of his sons also a priest, was Chief Magistrate of the Province and a Senator of the Empire. He lived with a woman cousin by whom he had ten sons and was the father of many others. The off-spring of these unions were not mistreated; the expression "Happy as the son of a priest",3 was proverbial throughout the land, and today some of the best families in Brazil trace their descent to a vicar or curate.4

These conditions within the Roman Catholic Church of Brazil contributed along with other factors to produce a characteristic Brazilian attitude toward worship: the intellectuals participated in the religious rituals and celebrations as a social and family affair without any deep-seated convictions concerning the doctrines or ethics of the Gospel, while at the same time the illiterate masses drifted into a superstitious folk-religion filled with magic

1. Loc. cit.
2. George Gardner, Travels in the Interior of Brazil, Principally through the North of Provinces (London: 1846).
4. Ibid., p. 450.
and animism. These two levels of Brazilian worship have been the object of many observations by both Brazilians and foreigners alike; and while it is a valid observation also in other countries, it has become accentuated in Brazil, and it is an attitude which has been carried over by the Brazilian into the non-Roman Catholic religions and has infiltrated Protestantism to a serious degree.

Ruy Barbosa, one of Brazil's greatest statesman, one who figured largely in the formation of the First Republic (1889-1930) and in the writing of its first decrees and its Constitution, who became its first Minister of Finance, and who won world fame in the Second Hague Conference in 1907, has also pointed out these two levels of worship which mark Brazil -- the skepticism of the intellectuals and the superstition of the masses:

"Once the faith of the people is destroyed, the upper classes drift into indifference, and the lower classes fall into the most deplorable idolatry." 1

A.L. Blackford, Pioneer missionary of the Presbyterian Church charged the Roman Church with contributing to the Superstition and unbelief in Brazil. Writing in 1876 he stated:

"...a few of its dire results may be mentioned as follows: The most debasing ignorance and superstition pervade the minds of the masses...the intelligent, educated and thinking classes are driven into unbelief and indifference. It is so in Brazil. The unlettered classes are grossly superstitious and idolatrous...intelligent men, who have any claim or make any pretensions to education, do not hesitate to declare their disbelief in many if not all of the doctrines of the

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religion they have been taught....in such cases men, without a knowledge of the truths of the Bible, naturally seek refuge in Rationalism and infidelity, and not a few are driven into absolute atheism."1

Paul Byers, one of the contributors to the book — Espírito e Mensagem do Protestantismo, wrote concerning Brazil:

"Indifference is very common among the men and women of all classes. The double standard of morality permits the men to live far from the religious and Christian ideal, that men of conscience soon come to consider all religion with scorn. The belief in the occult is spreading rapidly among the intellectuals. Positivism exercises great influence upon the men in the higher institutions, with many others indifference becomes agnosticism and atheism. The great majority is nominally Roman Catholic, however they do not attend Church, do not confess, or commune, do not like the priests, and have much mental reserve about the authority of the Church...without a new presentation of Christianity the future signifies the victory for atheism."2

Samuel Gammon, twenty years a missionary evangelist and educator in Brazil, commenting on the statement of Rui Barbosa added:

"As a result of Rome's influence in Brazil during these four hundred years, we find that the educated classes are almost entirely given over to radical skepticism in some one of its many forms, and that the uneducated masses are sunk in a system of superstitious idolatry that is much more closely akin to the ancient and modern paganism than to the religion of Jesus Christ."3

Gammon, however, did not take into account the fact there were many good priests, and that they faced almost insurmountable difficulties. The land was so large and their numbers were so few,

1. A.L. Blackford, Sketch of the Brazil Mission, p. 4.
2. Paul Byers, In Brazil, Espírito e Mensagem do Protestantismo Published under the direction of William K. Anderson (Sao Paulo: Junta Geral de Edueacao Crista, 1953) pp. 336-337. The underlining is mine.
travel so difficult, that the Romanism in many parts of the hinterland of Brazil, and even in the cities, developed with an inadequate system of catechism and pastoral care into a "People's Folk Religion" a religion created at the grass-roots level out of Indian, African, and Portuguese folklore, blended together with a minimum of orthodox Catholic doctrine.

Brazil has often been called "the most Catholic nation of our time", and one reads "there are more Catholics in Brazil than in any other country in the modern world", yet the Church in Brazil has never had an adequate number of priests to care for their people. The Brazilian youth or Brazilian men as they say "have no vocation for the Church". In 1947, almost half the priests in Brazil were foreigners -- Germans, Italians, Spanish, Frenchmen, Dutchmen, Poles, Portuguese, and others. Since World War II there has been an influx of North American priests, but not all have remained -- some have found the Brazilian Roman Catholic Church so different from the American Catholic Church they felt that the working conditions were incompatible with their desires. In 1950 in the United States of America there were 44,000 priests for 30,000,000 Catholics, while in Brazil there were 6,383 priests for all Brazil which at that time

2. Loc. cit.
4. The writer was informed of one group who desired to return because of the superstitious practices they found within the Church.
numbered 50,000,000 baptized Catholics. Many of these 6,383 priests were engaged in teaching orders and fully occupied away from the parishes. Also the priests (like physicians and dentists in Brazil) were found mostly in the cities. In 1960 the ecclesiastical hierarchy included 129 bishops and 10,016 priests, 4,616 of whom were secular, the others belonging to various religious orders. 94% of the population is claimed by the Roman Catholic Church as baptized members; on this basis there would be about one priest for each 60,000 of the faithful.

In 1936 Padre Pascoal Lacroix published in Brazil a book which became a classic for the Roman Catholic Church and for social studies of Brazil. The title was _O Mais Urgente Problema do Brasil - O Problema Sacerdotal e Sua Soluçao_ (The Most Urgent Problem of Brazil -- The Problem of the Priesthood and its Solution). This publication deals with the grave problem faced by the Roman Catholic Church in Brazil arising from the few priests they have had to cover the vast geographical areas of Brazil. He states quite frankly

1. Loc. cit.


that "the lack of priests constitutes our great and urgent problem."\(^1\) and "without doubt our religious situation is precarious and almost desperate."\(^2\) Again he says -- "the question of the priesthood is for us a matter of life and death".\(^3\) He presents the problem of the great and scattered population which makes indispensable the maintaining of a large number of colleges, hospitals, and chaplains all over the nation\(^4\) which absorbs so many of the ordained priests, that in 1936 probably not more than 2,500 priests\(^5\) were available to care for parishes, and many of these are old and ill; for them the problem of travel and communication is serious. Lacroix deals frankly with the consequences of this scarcity of priests:

"Only in the nineteenth century the lack of priests in Brazil deprived millions of the inhabitants of the great blessings of religion, above all of the preaching of the Gospel, the Confession and Communion and through the lack of these, of true earthly happiness and finally of eternal salvation."\(^6\)

But Lacroix goes farther and states frankly that the scarcity of priests has resulted in a very superficial religion throughout the land:

"...the historical and real result in Brazil was a religion of externals, making the present religion of the nation superficial, or really only a half-religion, more external than interior -- an immense loss and of incalculable consequences for the entire nation."\(^7\)

1. Ibid., p. 5. The underlining is mine.
2. Ibid., p. 8. The underlining is mine.
3. Loc. cit. The underlining is mine.
4. Ibid., p. 53.
5. Ibid., p. 59.
6. Ibid., p. 63. The underlining is mine, also the translation of Lacroix's statements.
7. Ibid., p. 64. The Portuguese reads -- "Dai resultou historica e realmente no Brasil a exterioridade da Religiao, tornando-se superficial a religion corrente no pais, antes uma meia-religiao, mais exterior do que interior, -- prejuizo imenso e de consequencias incalculaveis para o pais todo." The underlining is mine.
Commenting on the conditions during the early part of the nineteenth century in Brazil due to the lack of priests:

"...the priests only had time to baptize, perform weddings, funerals, feasts, etc., but not to preach and administer the sacraments, not even to carry the sacrament to the dying. Religion was reduced to a few exterior acts, prayers, masses and feasts, these with the solemn attendance of the brotherhoods. There were no more catechisms for the children, nor preaching on Sundays. The people lived and died in the most complete religious ignorance."  

Lacroix makes this judgment upon Brazilian Catholicism:

"In fact because of this lack of priests, Christianity has not yet given to Brazil what it ought to give and is able to give...This lack has reduced our Catholicism to a half-Christianity, a very small Christianity, weak and superficial, only a defective pretense."  

The fact that Lacroix was able to publish these facts with the full permission of his superiors, and with the "Nihil Obstat" of the censor, reveals how seriously the Roman Catholic Church itself felt about the lack of an adequate priesthood to serve Brazil. The "popular Catholicism" or "folk-religion" which has developed throughout the interior of Brazil, and even in the great cities, has elements of Indian, African, and European folk-religion mixed with Catholicism creating a syncretistic religion with its own peculiarities. In the urban centres the Roman Catholic ingredients were more pronounced forming a veneer under which the "folk-religion" was practiced. It assumed different forms, but for the most part the religion centres around an idolatrous worship of Saints, in which the image is taken to be the saint itself. There is, however, no

1. Loc. cit. The underlining is mine.
2. Ibid., p. 66. The underlining is mine.
love or devotion to the saint; only a respect for his power. Religion becomes a technique for controlling the supernatural, in which prayers, promises, pilgrimages, masses, novenas, all serve to reinforce the ties between "bargaining agents", and the official liturgical ceremony is assumed to have an inborn efficacy to please the Supernatural entity. When a saint fails to respond to the prayers, promises, pilgrimages, etc., the result is punishment of the image, as for example immersing it head down in a well until the favour is granted. An ineffective saint is discarded and removed from the family litany.

"Religion is propitiatory rather than expiatory and faith does not imply a commitment to positive moral principles." The judgment is a generality and suffers as all generalities from oversimplifications, but points in a general direction. Prayer is not thought to be dependent upon the formal religiosity or specific moral condition of the person, neither upon "Divine Grace", but rather it is believed to operate as a magic incantation. Some prayers are considered stronger than others and may be beneficial or harmful according to the way in which they are recited. Some prayers recited backwards have a very different effect. This quality, already inherent in the Portuguese Romanism brought to Brazil, developed and expanded in the Brazilian "folk-religion" and opened the door ever more widely for it to be associated with

2. Handbook for Brazil, p. 238. This Handbook being prepared by a group of writers, it is impossible to give credit to the exact author.
fertility rites and traditions, and with criminal associations. Many outlaw gangs -- the famous "Cangaceiros" of the interior of Brazil -- men who were the counterpart of the "Jesse James" or "Robin Hood" gangs in other parts of the world -- who lived by raiding cities, robbing the traveller, and sometimes helping the poor -- these gangs had a "Father Confessor" to whom they went before and after their murdering expeditions, or who often accompanied them. This did not offer to them any theological or emotional difficulties -- neither to the "Cangaceiro" nor to the "Father Confessor" -- it was simply the manipulation of supernatural power in a world of magic.

Erodice Queiroz was for fourteen years a professional Brazilian "Cangaceiro" -- a bandit and hired gunman, associated with one of the most famous gangs of "Cangaceiros" of Brazil. After having been in prison seventy times, and with his body well marked with bullet scars, was converted in a little Protestant chapel, and spent the last years\(^1\) of his life as an Evangelical lay evangelist and colporteur. In a little booklet "Porque Deixei a Indústria do Crime",\(^2\) (Why I left the Industry of Crime) he told the story of his years as a "Cangaceiro" and his conversion, and his later years as a lay-evangelist. When he was first invited to attend a Protestant chapel in the city of Santos, his immediate reply\(^3\) was "Eu sou católico, apostolico, romano, e praticante", (I am a

1. Queiroz lived in Campinas near the home of the writer and died in 1969.
3. Ibid., p. 28.
practicing Apostolic Roman Catholic). By the word practicing (praticante) he meant that he was not only a baptized member of the Roman Catholic Church, but also that he went regularly to confession and to mass. In the midst of his description of his many crimes and murders he wrote:

"As a faithful and practicing member of the Apostolic Church I confessed many times to the Priest -- Padre Cicero de Jazeiro in Ceara -- to whom I confessed all my deeds (i.e. as a hired professional killer), hearing from his lips the declaration: Go my son, Our most holy Mother Mary forgives all your sins."  

and he adds:

"This priest was the patron priest of our band of bandits. I confessed also to many other priests, always faithfully fulfilling all the penitences which they required. I prayed daily with my Rosary, and carried about my neck on a chain certain "special short prayers" and the small blessed images of saints, a crucifix, and many "strong prayers" to such saints as Saint George, Saint Crispin and "Peter who gives" -- the Apostolic Creed, and other charms with which I judged my body was protected against the bullets of my enemies and invisible to my persecutors..."

This concept of Christianity was a kind of utilitarian magic which gave its devotees forgiveness and protection while in their sins and crimes, but it did not call them to make a joyful and loving response to a loving Creator and Redeemer for his gracious acts toward mankind.

Queiroz was converted in a little Baptist Church, confessed his crimes to the police, was condemned to ten years in prison; his

1. Ibid., p. 30. The Portuguese reads -- "Como Catolico, Apostolico, Romano, praticante, pois me confessei muitas vezes com o padre Cicero, de Jazeiro, no Ceara, a quem contava todos os meus feitos, ouvindo de sua boca a declaração: "Vai meu filho, que nossa mae Santissimo perdoa os pecados."

2. Ibid., pp. 30-31. The translation is mine.
exemplary conduct led the prison keeper to make Queiroz his special assistant, and even to carry the keys of the prison. After five years he was granted conditional liberty, secured a position on the Railroad, from which he retired after a few years due to a disease of the eyes. He then gave his full time to the work of lay evangelism and working as a colporteur.

Queiroz entered into a **living encounter** with Christ and into **serious Bible Study** and thus became quite free from his former concepts of religion, but many who identify themselves with the Protestant churches for social and secondary reasons have carried strong vestiges of this former concept into areas of Brazilian Protestantism. It has militated against a New Testament concept of worship. God did things for those who worshipped and punished those who did not. Disasters came to a home because of neglect of worship. **Elements of magic manipulation of the supernatural penetrated the Protestant faith.**

Old fertility rites became a part of Brazilian Roman Catholic "folk-religion." Many were carried over from Portugal, but others developed out of the African and Indian traditions. The infant Jesus was identified with Cupid, while the Virgin Mary and the saints were identified with concerns for procreation and love more than concerns for chastity or ascetism. Freyre states unequivocally that "the great national saints are those to whom the imagination of the people has come to attribute a miraculous intervention in bringing the sexes together, in impregnating women, and in protecting
motherhood", and that none of the other saints "ever attain the importance and prestige of these patrons of human love and agricultural fecundity", and describes it as a Christianity that has "taken on the quasi-pagan characteristics of a phallic cult".

In the popular feast of St. John the girls sing

"Dai-me noivo, S. Joao, dai-me noivo
Dai-me noivo, que me quero casar.

(Give me a bridegroom, St. John, dai-me bridegroom
give me a bridegroom, for I wish to marry)

São Goncalo do Amarante is the saint to whom the barren, the sterile, and the impotent clint, and some of the songs addressed to him by men and maidens alike are filthy and obscene. He is also assigned the speciality of providing husbands or at least lovers for lonely old women. St. Anthony also shares in these chores. The sociologist assures us --

"It is the image of this saint that is frequently hung head downward in a cistern or a well in order that he may fulfill his promises as speedily as possible. The more impatient ones place him in old privies."  

Barbosa, Gammon, and others have been wrong in attributing the scepticism of the upper classes, and the superstition of the lower classes, entirely to a negligent and decadent priesthood, but they were not wrong in their analysis of the actual religious situation of Brazil; in this analysis all observers of Romanism in Brazil, non-Roman Catholic and Roman Catholic are in agreement.

2. Loc. cit.
3. Loc. cit.
4. Ibid., p. 255.
Getulio Vargas, who seized power in Brazil in 1930, and remained dictator until 1945, and who was elected President in a free and open election again in 1950 (1950-54); in 1925 while serving as actual head\(^1\) of a provisional government during a period of national disorder, published that year an article in a leading Newspaper\(^2\) contesting the claim that Brazil was truly a Catholic nation. He stated:

"Concerning amendment No. 10, stipulating that almost all Brazilians are members of the Roman Catholic Church -- I find in the first place this affirmation is very contestable. In order for a person to be "Catholic" it is necessary that he know the doctrine, accept all its doctrines, and those who practice in these conditions include only an elite, a small select minority.

The high society adopts a skeptical and elegant Catholicism. The great ignorant mass is in a phase of fetichism -- the worship of saints and various miracle workers."\(^3\)

However, the scepticism and atheism of the "elegant Catholicism" of "high society", the intellectual elite, did not keep them from attending the Roman Catholic festivals, and an occasional mass, or the traditional Roman Catholic holidays which tend to be public

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2. The paper was "O Paiz" August 29, 1915.
3. Saraiva, op.cit., p. 45. The Portuguese reads: "Quanto a emenda no. 10, estipulando que a Egreja Catholica e de quasi totalidade brasileira, acho em 1 lugar, essa afirmaçao muito contestavel. Para que uma pessoa se diga Catholica e preciso que conheca a docirina, aceita todos os seus dogmas. E a pratique n'essas conidiaes, ha apenas uma elite, uma minoria selecionada.

A alta sociedade adopta um catholicismo skeptico e elegante, E a grande massa ignora esta na phase fetichista de adoraçao de Santos com varias especialidades milagreiras." The underlining is mine.
holidays. Religious statues stand in the offices of government buildings, and the bishops are called to bless the new public buildings when they are inaugurated. This, says Wagley, is "because the Brazilians are traditionally Catholic".

The worship of the "high society" of this "elegant" catholicism of the socially and intellectually elite, has produced what some sociologists call "role-playing". This "role-playing" in religion probably has other roots too, but the lack of deep abiding religious convictions among the intellectuals is an inheritance which the Romanism of Brazil has passed on to the emerging Protestant Churches -- a characteristic which is evident to all who participate in or study the Protestant Churches of the land. Worship is seen and felt as a "role" that the Protestant must participate in -- he may be disciplined if he neglects to attend the services which are marked as Communion Sundays. It is now his duty and his "role", so he puts on his best suit and plays his part, but how often without any sense of the "real presence" of God in the Word and Sacraments, without expecting to hear the Voice of God speaking to him, or to make a joyful and loving response to the good and gracious acts of his Creator and Redeemer.

The illiterate masses coming from the "folk-Romanism" of

2. One brilliant sociologist in Brazil told the writer that this religious "role-playing" was the curse in Brazil of the intellectual in both the Roman Catholic and Protestant Churches, and in politics as well.
3. This scepticism may be in part a fruit of French Positivism, and in part an innate inheritance from the Portuguese and the African, but there can be no question of the Roman Catholic contribution to the scene.
the interior, into the Protestant churches, often find still clinging to them elements of the superstitious fears, and concepts of the utilitarian and magical aspects of religion. As one writer stated:

"Even among Protestants, whose doctrinal rigidity is more pronounced, elements of folk religion are perceived. God and the Devil are seen as antithetical personalities of equal strength. Sickness and material misfortune are considered to be in retribution of moral deviation, even though the transgressions be unknown to the sufferer. Cure from sickness and economic well-being, on the other hand are the reward of goodness. It is expected that a financial contribution to the church will be as bread cast upon the waters, to be returned in kind with interest."1

These elements detract from a full Reformational concept of worship. The freedom and joyful response are partially replaced by a sense of duty and a calculated manipulation of supernatural resources for personal ends. It has also softened the movement from Romanism into "Spiritism" and the development of many brands and degrees of "Pentecostalism" among both Protestant and Catholics.

PROTESTANT REACTION

On the other hand Protestantism in Brazil has been influenced by "reaction" against Romanism and things associated with Romanism. This was true in Scotland even against Episcopalianism, and in Britain in the Puritan reaction against Romanism and the absolutism of the Church and State, but it was especially true in some areas of Brazilian Protestantism. The "reaction" has also been against both the empty "externalisms" of Brazilian Romanism, unaccompanied

by any demonstration of pious devotion, and against the evident lack of ethical and moral fruits in the lives of both priests and people.

In 1962 a Survey Commission authorized by the International Missionary Council and the Commission on World Evangelism of the World Council of Churches, after a careful and lengthy examination of the Christian ministry in Latin America and the Caribbean, made a report which was edited by one of the Commission — Mr. Wilfred Scopes. In this report were several paragraphs especially relevant to this study:

"...any visitor to the Evangelical Churches of Central and South America is impressed by the reaction to Roman Catholicism, implicit in the whole pattern of those churches. In the more extreme circles, to pronounce an opinion or practice as Catholic is to equate it with something unchristian or unbecoming. Thus there is a tendency to abandon everything that savours of clericalism and 'churchiness'. Ordination is often regarded as unnecessary, and the full-time minister must win respect and allegiance only through proof of his dedication and ability, for no status is conferred by any laying on of hands. In these extreme circles a minister in robes would be a scandal in the pulpit. Even reference to ministerial support may prove a delicate subject since it evokes the thought of professionalism in a bad sense and equates religion with another money-making business. The Lord's Supper is administered at long intervals because there is a distrust of all that is termed 'Sacramental'. The repetition of the Lord's Prayer in a service of worship is regarded as popery. Church architecture must be of the plainest kind — even a plain cross is forbidden in many churches. Here is Puritanism in its extreme form, reminiscent of the early Pilgrim Fathers..."

1. The underlining belongs to the original report.

This report includes all the Protestant Churches in Latin America and the Caribbean. It is to be noted that he calls them "Evangelical Churches" and states in part of the report -- "Protestantism which in Latin America is preferably termed Evangelicalism". He notes the reaction to Romanism which is "implicit in the whole pattern of life in these churches". This reaction was in part imported with the missionaries, but became accentuated in the reaction to the kind of Romanism in the land.

The reaction is also against the lack of Christian ethics and morality in the Roman Catholic Churches, but is magnified into an "unhealthy legalism" which in turn is reflected in the whole pattern of worship.

"This Puritanism is reflected in behavior. There is healthy insistence that religion and ethics belong together with an unhealthy spirit of legalism and a lack of balanced judgment on social behavior. For example, smoking and drinking are regarded as deadly sins. Alcoholism is certainly a scourge, and almost any positive action for the solution of this problem has been of evangelical inspiration. It has been said that the greatest contribution of the Evangelical Churches in the countries of Latin America is the setting up and the demonstration of standards of integrity in the common ways of life."1

THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH AND LAY LEADERSHIP

The "very small Christianity, weak and superficial, only a defective pretense", as described by Padre Lacroix, contributed to another facet of Protestant worship -- that of lay leadership. Emilio Willems, in his sociological study of the rise of the Protestant Church in Latin America, made pertinent comments

1. Ibid., pp. 27-28. The underlining is mine.
concerning the scarcity of Roman Catholic priests, and the effect of this upon the people's religious life:

"Handicapped by a chronic scarcity of priests, the Church holds a rather peripheral position so far as the peasantry is concerned. Most rural parishes cover enormous areas with a widely scattered population and numerous chapels or "preaching points" served only by one or two priests at intervals from several weeks to several months or even years. And whenever a parish happens to be vacant -- a rather common situation -- the people may not see a priest for several years.

Under such conditions the priest becomes a kind of circuit rider whose time is completely taken up with baptizing infants, celebrating masses, and marrying couples who have been living together anyway. There is neither time nor opportunity for religious instruction. Whatever orthodox practices of Catholicism there may be it is merely peripheral to the practice of folk Catholicism. At any rate one may safely conclude that as a rule the peasantry is largely controlled by religion, but very little by the Roman Catholic Church."1

This people "largely controlled by religion" but deprived of a regular priesthood, developed many kinds of lay brotherhoods. One of the most interesting from the viewpoint of worship was the order that helped people to die in the Christian faith. They were called the "de ajude morrê", (help to die). The Roman Catholic had always desired the ministry of a priest as he approached death for "extreme unction", and confession, but due to the scarcity of priests, it was seldom possible in the interior of Brazil. To meet this spiritual need Brazil had invented or followed a system that had been used in Europe during the time of the Great Plague,2 when the "Art of


2. The Great Plague began in Europe about 1349, and some estimates state that it "swept away half of the population of Europe".
Dying"\(^1\) literature had been developed, to guide one layman in helping another layman to die without the ministration of a priest. Some of the early interior customs have been the subject of research of a Brazilian sociologist -- Jose Nascimento de Almeida Prado,\(^2\) who has written about the "Funeral Works in the Hinterland". (Trabalhos Funebres na Roça). He found an old handwritten notebook entitled "Protestação da Fe" (Professions of Faith), in which were sixteen statements of faith and prayers, united in such a way that a layman could read them to a dying man, and thus help his faith in that difficult hour. The prayers were called in the language of the people "reza de ensina morrê" (prayer to teach how to die) or "de ajude morrê (help to die). The instructions indicated that each community should have a person instructed in how to use this book. If the dying person were able to speak, he should repeat them aloud with this lay leader, if not, he should whisper them, or in extreme cases only "accompanhando o coração" (accompanying in the heart). The first act in this "Notebook of Prayers for the Dying", read:

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1. John T. McNeil, *A History of the Cure of Souls* (London: Harper & Row, 1951. pp. 157-162. McNeil commenting on the "De arte moriendi", (On the Art of Dying) by Jean Gerson (d. 1429) stated: "Gerson's aim was to provide material by which 'one friend might support another in the article of death'. The dying friend is first admonished to attend to the salvation of his soul. Six questions to be asked of him are then set down with proper answers. There follow prayers to God, Mary, his guardian angel and patron saints. The sick man is induced to take the Eucharist, and if time permits, legends, histories, and prayers are read to him. An image of the Crucified, or of a specially revered saint is held over him..."

"In the name of the Holy Trinity, Father- Son- Holy Spirit, I protest (Protesto) in the presence of God, and the most Holy Mary, My Mother; my Guardian Angel, and of all the other angels, and of the Holy of the Court of Heaven, THAT I WISH TO DIE IN THE HOLY ROMAN CATHOLIC FAITH.

The next three articles are all concerning the faith --

"I protest from this moment to the last hour that I firmly believe all the Articles of the Holy faith, according to the understanding of the D.D. Catolico, because the Church sent him;

From this moment until my last hour I reject, and condemn, and detest (abomino) all the heresies which the Roman Catholic Church abominates and repudiates and declare that I wish to die in this faith;

I believe firmly that I am able to obtain and have blessedness, not for my merit, but through the merits of the passion of Jesus Christ, my Redeemer, and that without Him no one can be saved;2

The next part is a confession of sins:

"I confess the many things in which I have offended my God and that I have been most ungrateful of his help and blessings, by which he concedes his infinite grace, and I desire that all adore Him.

I am deeply sorrowful in the depths of my soul for all the offences that I have committed against my God, and my neighbor, and I am sorrowful not only because of the punishment of Hell, [a phrase of old Portuguese!3 but because God is infinitely good and worthy to be served and loved...I protest that I do not wish to consent in anything against the faith or against any virtue...; I protest that if in the last battle, because of weakness of spirit or temptation of some demon, or any other thing, to fall into that which God does not permit, in some despising of God or doubt against God, and the mystery of faith, that from this moment with my perfect judgment I revoke and deny all that I say."

After this profession of faith and confession of sins committed and which may be committed in the agony of death and its

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1. Ibid., p. 13.
2. Loc. cit.
3. I could not translate this.
terrors, the prayers for the dying enters into a more complete surrender to the will of God.

"I protest that I will conform myself to the holy will of my God, and I now surrender myself into his highest providence, with all my thoughts, my words, works... I wish that my God shall be honored and glorified;

I protest that I adore my Lord Jesus Christ, Son of the Living God, the true Creator and Redeemer of the world, to whom I surrender my heart, and soul and spirit and I am sorry that I have been so ungrateful, and that I have not taken advantage of all the tribulation and pain that he bore for my soul."1

Much of this first part of this could have been uttered by Protestants. The merits of salvation have been because of what Jesus Christ suffered for mankind. The next part contains more that belongs to the papal interpretation of salvation. He now prays that his sufferings that he must endure until death may be placed along side the sufferings of Jesus, that is, united to the sufferings of Jesus for our sins.

"I protest that all that I must suffer from now to the last moment of my life, I wish to be united to the sufferings and tribulations of Jesus Christ, my Redeemer, with the infinite merits of his life, his Most Holy Passion, and Death on the cross -- All this I offer in satisfaction for my sins."2

This part is in direct contrast to the earlier confession of faith in which he placed all on the merits of Jesus Christ and alone on Jesus Christ. This may indicate a composite document -- the first written by the Jansenists and the latter by others. The prayers continue but now the prayers are to Mary:

"I venerate and adore the Queen of Heaven and Earth, Most Holy Mary, Mother of God, and my Mother, in whose very many great mercies I now deliver the great business

1. Ibid., p. 14.
of my soul's salvation, and I ask because of her burning heart and because of all that she suffered in this world, and because of the wonderful mercies which have appeared to me, that she accept me and pray for me."¹

"I venerate my holy Guardian Angel, and I give to him a thousand thanks for the many mercies which he has worked for my soul, and I ask that he defend me until I am safe in Glory."²

The word translated "venerate" is in the Portuguese "venero" which is a stronger word than venerate in English and includes in common usage a meaning very akin to "worship". After these prayers for mercy to God, Jesus Christ, Mary, and the Guardian Angel, there is an interesting expression of forgiveness to others, and asking forgiveness of them:

"I forgive with all my heart all who have offended me in this world, and I ask forgiveness of all to whom I have given a bad example or offended with words or deeds, and I make supplication that by the wonderful mercy of Jesus Christ that they pardon me, in order that God may forgive us all."³

This is a most beautiful and interesting prayer and statement of forgiveness. The next step of final surrender to God is also impressive:

"I protest that I do not desire health, nor death, nor life nor sickness, but only that God will fulfill in me His Holy Will; if it please God to take me out of this mortal world soon, I surrender to him my heart, my soul, and my spirit."⁴

The next statement is concerning indulgences that he hopes to gain and if he gains more than he needs he hopes to share with others:

2. Loc. cit.
4. Loc. cit.
"I will try to gain all the indulgences that from this instant until the last moment of my life the highest priests will grant to me, and I will apply to my own life what is necessary, and the rest I will apply to the souls most near to see God by the argument of faith these will pass from the...and for all that the high priest will give to me to pray to God." ¹

This paragraph is written partly in old Portuguese of the interior and difficult to translate accurately. But the thought is clear. The dying man in his sufferings is expecting to receive indulgences for himself and perhaps will have some to share with other souls in purgatory who are near to seeing God. It is not clear who he is designating the "high priest" but it is one who has something to do with the granting of the indulgences. Here indulgences are for purgatory as well as this life. It was comforting to the dying to think such thoughts of sharing these merits and indulgencies. The prayers and protests end with a final protesto and prayer for the day of judgment.

"To end this my Protest I ask the Most Holy Mary, my Guardian angel, the Saint of my name, and all the blessed angels, and heavenly saints that they testify that this is my last will, and may they be present and be my Protector in the terrible Day of Judgment and I also ask that a sigh and a tear which my Lord Jesus Christ...on the arms of the cross to cleanse my soul that I may obtain eternal life. Amen." ²

So ended the prayers and confessions of faith which were to be read to the dying person. However there was another page of instruction for the person who "ajude morrê" (helps to die) or "ensina defunto" (teaches the dying) as they were called in the instruction.

¹. Ibid., p. 15.
². Loc. cit.
The dying person was never to be left alone, always two persons were to be present and preferably not of the immediate family, but "gente de fora", (outside people) in addition to the person who "ensina defunto" (teaches the dying). One of the reasons of the prayers was "p'ra eles esquece do mundo", (for him to forget the world). When the dying person could no longer speak, the "ajude morre" continues to whisper the prayers to him. If possible in the last moments he is to permit the family to bid him good bye and receive from him a blessing and allow both the dying and the family to "pidi perdaõ" (ask forgiveness). There was a special prayer to be prayed when the dying was in the last agony called "Clamores da ultima algonia", which was prayed in silence. It read:

"Jesus, Jesus, Jesus, into your hands I commit my soul. Receive my last spirit Jesus Jesus Jesus. Maria, most holy mother of Jesus Christ and my mother, pray for this Sinner who is your child Mary. Mother mother of Mercies defend us from our Enemies, help us in this dangerous hour, Jesus Jesus Jesus Lord, you broke this my prison, I wish to offer to you the sacrifice of true repentance in calling upon your name, my most sweet Jesus. I am sorry to have offended you -- you are my Lover and my Sufferer. Forgive me my Jesus by your holy wounds, by your most holy death, passion -- Jesus Jesus Jesus -- o Divine Word that became man, in the most pure womb of the most holy Mary. Grant to me the merits of your incarnation, Jesus, Jesus, Jesus Christ, king of peace, defend me in my dangers and struggles. Jesus conquers Jesus reigns, Jesus rules and Jesus defends us from all evil. This is the cross of divine redemption -- Depart and flee enemies of the souls redeemed by the blood of Jesus.

Jesus Jesus Jesus, I most firmly believe in all that the Roman Catholic Church believes, which you My God taught her, and I hope to be saved by your mercy, I profess to love Jesus Christ above all things -- I value the title deed of the sacred cross; Jesus of Nazareth, King of the Jews, Jesus Jesus Jesus -- strong tower, defend me when I say heal me of the mortal infirmities of my soul. Lord I have sinned very greatly, I am sorry in the depths of my soul that I have
offended you, heal me most loving Jesus, through the pleasure of your mercies, Jesus Jesus Jesus -- into your hands I commit my spirit, cleanse my soul which is burning with this sorrow, I cry for your mercy, most loving Jesus, your most powerful mercy, Jesus: Jesus I am sorrowful, Lord I believe, I wait, I hope Lord, Sweetest Jesus, Jesus and Mary -- protect me and defend me -- a thousand times Jesus."1

The structure and wording of these prayers and protestations for the dying seem to indicate that it was the work of more than one hand and of slightly different theologies. Some of the prayers and confessions were quite Evangelical or Protestant. But this special ministry of the lay person who is apparently without any ecclesiastical authority, but accepted by the community as the "ensina morre" (the one who teaches how to die) prepared the thinking of the Brazilian hinterland to accept and listen to the Protestant lay leader. Perhaps even more important -- the self-reliance of these isolated communities upon their own lay leadership in these important hours contributed immensely to their refusal to be absolutely subservient to the wishes of the priests. The Roman priest could forbid the people to listen to the Evangelical missionary, as they often did, but the people were accustomed to doing many things for themselves, so if they desired to listen, they would listen whether it pleased the priest or not. The priest in these communities was never as important as in the lives of the well organized parishes of Europe. Thus this lay leadership in Brazil's hinterland was another element of Brazil's Roman Catholicism that prepared the way for the rapid growth of the Evangelical Churches.

1. Ibid., p. 16. I have in the above quoted some of the Portuguese expressions in the orthography in which I found it. It represents the spelling and grammar of the semi-literate hinterland.
CHAPTER VI

THE EMERGENCE OF AN UNORDAINED EVANGELICAL LAY LEADERSHIP

Influence of Bible Distribution and Bible Reading upon Brazilian Protestant Worship and Lay Leadership

Protestant worship in Brazil was greatly influenced in the beginning by Bible distribution and the spontaneous formation of lay Bible-study groups which received little or no guidance from a trained ministry. This fact is illustrated in an early Methodist publication in Brazil.

In 1867, the Methodist Episcopal Church South sent a missionary to work among the American immigrants who had founded a colony near to the village of Santa Barbara, in the State of Sao Paulo. Here in 1871 he organized the first Methodist Church in Brazil, but it was in English among English speaking North American immigrants. In 1874 the General Conference resolved to establish a mission in Brazil among the Portuguese-speaking Brazilian people and sent the Rev. J. J. Ransom, who arrived in Brazil February 2, 1876. After making some journeys through the land and sensing the situation as it then existed, published a very interesting little booklet entitled O Culto Dominical or "The Sunday Worship". The book gains its unique interest from the Preface. In this "Prefacio" which Ransom writes in October,

2. Loc. cit.
3. J.J. Ransom, ed., O Culto Dominical (Corte: 1878) The word "Corte" was the word used to refer to the Capital city of Rio de Janeiro -- where the Emperor had his Court.
1878 he states:

"...In many parts of Brazil copies of the Sacred Scriptures have been scattered, and there are many who desire a simple worship service -- a worship that is rational, pure, and pleasing to God. There are places where no preacher has yet visited, where nevertheless there are those who desire a Sunday worship service in an intelligible language. To all these we make the following proposition.

In whatever city, village, hamlet, or neighborhood, where there are ten persons who will promise to make a congregation in a convenient place, in the morning, or both morning and evening, on Sundays, that they obtain this book, and one of them act as minister, saying in the right places the part that pertains to the minister and the others making the responses, and all together with the leader making the 'General Confessions', etc.

I believe that the forms are clear, so that no one can fail to understand all of what is in them, but if any doubt should arise in the minds of any one about what is written, would they please write to me, or inform me, and I will do everything possible to explain what is necessary.

In every place where this book is used, I beg you to write to me about it, and I will do all possible to help them to understand not only the letter, but also the spirit of the divine worship...."

This is an important and revealing document concerning both the extent and the effect of Bible distribution in Brazil. By 1878 Bibles and New Testaments had been sold, distributed, and given away in many places in Brazil where no missionary had yet arrived. Many hundreds and thousands of people had received a Bible, had read and understood enough of its contents to desire a worship service such as was described within its pages. Little lay-churches had been formed to read and study this book even before any Protestant minister had arrived. Because of the scarcity of an ordained ministry, and the vastness of the geographical area of the land, this type of lay-leadership was destined to continue for many decades, and continues...

1. Ibid., pp. 4-5. The underlining is mine.
until the present time, although most lay groups now have some association with a Protestant Church.

In the Preface of Ransom's book he states that the Methodist Church recognizes as valid any baptism made in the name of the Holy Trinity, even that of the Roman Catholic Church, but if any one reading the Bible, and this Book of Sunday Worship, desires to be re-baptized, that Methodist missionaries will do this for them. He also assures them that all children who die without baptism are assured of salvation. The Book is as he stated only the Morning and Evening Prayers of the Book of Common Prayer as adapted and revised by John Wesley, and further adapted for Brazil. But what is new and startling is the authorization for lay-groups that have never seen or heard a missionary, to use this book in their Sunday meetings -- that is, lay-groups which have come into possession of the Bible.

Antonio Barbosa, a Presbyterian colporteur travelling in the interior of the State of Paraíba encountered a group of people who had been converted by the simple reading of the Scriptures without any instruction from a missionary. They had also secured a Protestant hymnal with words but no music; this they were singing to the music of a Roman Catholic prayer liturgy. With only a Bible and a hymnbook they had formed an Evangelical gathering, a proto-church, but it was not an isolated instance; this was occurring in many areas of the hinterland of Brazil.

1. Ibid., p. 5.
2. Loc. cit.
3. The prayer for the government is changed to designate the Emperor of Brazil, etc....
The story of the entrance of these Bibles into Brazil coincides with the opening of the ports of Brazil to commerce with Protestant nations. The ports of Brazil had been opened to trade with friendly nations by the Royal Edict of January 28, 1808, and again November 25, 1808, the Emperor by formal decree issued at Rio de Janeiro, had welcomed commerce and industry, and granted to all acceptable immigrants, regardless of nationality or religion, homestead privileges on the same attractive terms of free land and initial subsidies as had formerly been reserved only for the Portuguese

setler. Almost within the same decade the great Bible Societies had been formed. The British and Foreign Bible Society had been organized March 7, 1804, in the London Tavern -- the first time an organization had been formed on completely interdenominational lines with the view of universal Bible distribution, that is to any and every place in the world that called for or needed Bibles. This was followed in 1816 by the organization of the American Bible Society with similar aims and views. Both of the organizations began to send boxes of Bibles to Brazil. Business men going to Brazil were contacted and asked to include in their baggage a box of Bibles. Many of these men had little interest in helping to distribute the Scriptures and simply left

3. Loc. cit. There had been a number of organizations during the preceding one hundred and fifty years for the distribution of the Bible, but none of these societies contemplated universal distribution of the Scriptures, nor contemplated or admitted the cooperation of the different parties or sections of evangelical Christendom.
the boxes on the docks for anyone to take and read. Some of course were destroyed but many copies of the Word of God found their way into the Brazilian homes, some to lie months, years, and even decades, untouched and unread, but later to bring forth an abundant harvest. Many volumes could be written about the conversions to Christianity resulting from the reading of these Bibles. The writer during his twenty years of missionary work in Brazil has come across many of these incredible stories.

The late Dr. William Kerr, who was for many years the president of the Presbyterian Theological Seminary in Campinas told the writer of a plantation owner in the eastern part of the State of Minas Geraes who returned from the city of Rio de Janeiro many years ago with one of these Bibles in his possession. He did not know what it was and had forgotten how he came into possession of it. It lay unopened and unread for years in his home. Then one day he began to read it. The Gospel narratives gripped his heart and he invited some of his neighbors to share it with him. As they read the Book of Acts and the story of the New Testament Church they felt a desire to form such a church in their community. But how? First they must be baptized, but who would baptize them? Then they agreed on a plan -- first all the men who wished to participate in the new faith would together baptize in the river the man who had first received the Bible -- then he should baptize them. This is exactly what took place. In time a Presbyterian missionary crossed their path and explained to them that they were Evangelicals -- that they were Protestants. A Presbyterian
Church was organized that later sent two of its young men to the Seminary to train to be ministers. Stories such as these number in the hundreds.

Shortly after the writer arrived in Brazil he was riding in a commercial plane across the great central part of Brazil when an older missionary pointed out the window to a village and a little church. There he said is an interesting story. A cattle rancher had become angry with his neighbors and resolved to murder them and flee the region. He prepared for the deed and the flight. The night before the day marked for his murderous deed, as he waited for the day to dawn he began to read a book that his wife had received from a stranger. It was the New Testament. As he read the book, the story of God's love gripped his heart and alone in his room he knelt asking God's forgiveness. In the early morning he saddled his horse to ride to the neighbors he had planned to murder and told them of his former plans and what he had found in the Book. They became interested and wished to learn of the Book. Together they read and a group of believers was formed before any missionary or minister visited the community. There today is a Presbyterian Church and a company of believers.

It was this kind of situation that prompted both Ransom and Carvalhosa to prepare a Book of Worship that would enable such groups of believers who had received a Bible and faith, but had no pastor, to find a way to worship God as a group of believers.

2. Supra., p. 286ff.
The open reception that these Bibles received in Roman Catholic Brazil in the nineteenth century is a fascinating study. Why was the Brazilian heart so receptive? Why did the good seed of the Word fall into such fertile soil? There were undoubtedly many factors involved, but some credit must be given to an element of Jansenism within the priesthood of the Roman Catholic Church of Brazil.

Jansenism.

It is impossible at the present time to estimate with accuracy the full extent of Jansenism in Brazil at the time the Protestant colporteurs and missionaries were distributing their Bibles and preaching their Puritan idealism, but historians believe that Jansenism had left its mark on three levels: first, an appreciation of austere piety at least as an ideal; secondly, a reverence and hunger for the Sacred Scriptures; and finally an independent attitude toward Rome.

There were many strands in the Portuguese-Roman Catholicism in Brazil. Sociologists have written about the plantation chaplains and their deep involvement in secular things; about the Jesuits and their schools and work among the Indians, and their expulsion from Brazil because of their involvement in politics; some have written of the struggles between the various orders; but only a few have noted the Jansenist strand. Padre Heliódoro wrote in the "Revista Eclesiastica Brasileira", an interesting research in

this field under the title -- **Uma teologia jansenista no Brasil** (A Jansenist Theology in Brazil). Leonard\(^1\) was probably the first Protestant historian to study this phenomena and its influence upon the reception of the Protestant missionary and especially his Bible distribution. He called it "jansenismo brasileiro" (Brazilian Jansenism).\(^2\) Kidder\(^3\) who had visited Brazil during the year of 1837 to 1840, during the period between the reign of Dom Pedro I and Dom Pedro II, when Brazil was ruled by Regent Feijo,\(^4\) had been agreeably surprised by the open reception given to the Bible by Roman Catholic priests in some of the places he visited. Some had opposed him, but as he travelled over Brazil distributing Bibles many priests were anxious to receive a copy and helped him to distribute them. He mentions a priest in Pernambuco\(^5\) who not only received gladly a copy of the Bible, but encouraged him in the distribution. He mentioned another in Iguassu\(^6\) who helped him in the distribution of the Bible. Equally interesting was the fact

3. Daniel Parish Kidder, *Reminiscencias de Viagens e Permanencia no Brasil* (Sao Paulo: Livraria Martins, 1940 and 1943) Translation by Moacir N. Vasconcelos of the English Sketches of Residence and Travels in Brazil in two volumes. The Portuguese Translation will be referred to as Kidder, Tr. Vol. I or II.
4. Diogo Antonio Feijo was a Roman Catholic priest and served as Regent before Dom Pedro II was old enough to be crowned. He sincerely desired a reformation of morals and religion in the Roman Catholic Church -- even to the extent of breaking with Rome and making a church in the molds of English Anglicanism which was popular in Brazil at this time.
that this Methodist missionary mentioned the possibility of using the Catechism of Montpellier\(^1\) as a study book to accompany the distribution of Bibles in the schools in the province of Sao Paulo. It was available in Brazil at the time and Kidder did not use it, he said, because it was:

"...not very efficient in the formation of a base of religious principles sufficient to resist the treacherous processes of infidelity..."\(^2\)

This book Instructions générales en forme de catechisme, had originally been prepared by Francois-Aime' Pouget, director of the Seminary of Montpellier, printed in Paris in 1702 by order of the Bishop of Montpellier, Charles-Joachim Colbert, who was considered an ultra-Jansenist, but it had been condemned by pontifical decrees in 1772.\(^3\) First the Italian translation was condemned in 1721, then the English translation in 1725, and the Spanish edition in 1727. Portugal and Brazil, however had resisted the papal demand at this point and it was still a popular book in Brazil. It had been re-edited in Brazil as late as 1892,\(^4\) which was after the fall of the Emperor. It was printed in Brazil in connection with a book of Geography\(^5\) and used in the parochial schools throughout the nineteenth century. Artur Cesar Ferreira Reis in his work concerning Spiritual formation of the culture in the Amazon\(^6\) stated

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1. Ibid., p. 267.
2. Loc. cit.
4. Ibid., p. 37. footnote.
5. Loc. cit.
that the book had been the great inspiration of the Bishop of Belem, Frei Miguel de Bolhões e Souza, in his service there during the first half of the nineteenth century and had contributed to the spiritual formation of the area.

Another Jansenist book which was widely used in certain sections of the Brazilian Roman Catholic Church was the famous Theology of Lyon which had been published in six volumes in Lyons in 1780, under the patronage of the Jansenist archbishop, ¹ Antoine Malvin de Montazet. It was probably more widely used than the Catechism, and although it had a papal decree against its use since September 17, 1792, and the papal nuncios in Brazil thundered against its use, yet the Brazilian commission of censure was not only Jansenist, but dominated by the Regalism of the Emperors. ² But even before the arrival of the Emperors in Brazil in the closing years of the Colonial government, the bishop of Rio de Janeiro had defended this work against the attacks of the papal nuncio Monsenhor Lorenzo Caleppi. ³

This Brazilian Jansenism in the earlier period was in part a reflection of the prime minister-dictator, the Marquis of Pombal, who during the reign of Joseph I (1750-1777) had ruled Portugal with an iron hand. He had shared the anti-clericalism⁴ which dominated both the courts of Lisbon and Madrid at the moment. He had

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¹ Leonard, op.cit., p. 37. footnote.
² Ibid., p. 38.
³ Ibid. cit.
⁴ Herring, op.cit., p. 226.
stripped the Jesuits of much of their land and wealth, and in 1759 had banished them from Portugal and Brazil. Pombal had supported Jansenism in his struggle against the Jesuits, and also because of his respect for the ideals of the Jansenists. This had carried over into Brazil for a full half century before the arrival of the royal family in 1808. The parliaments of France had supported Jansenism after it had been condemned by Clement XI, in 1713, largely because it was a movement for a purer society, and because the Gallicanism of France naturally was opposed to ultra-Montanism. Pascal's famous "Provincial Letters" had defended some of the positions of Jansenism. All of these factors had combined to strengthen the regalism and anti-Jesuitism of the Emperors of Brazil, and the Jansenistic partiality of its commission of censure.

Leonard quoting from the book *Dictionnaire des Heresies*, written by Migne, in the treatment of the Catechism of Montpellier, charges the Catechism with teaching that:

"the reading of the Sacred Scriptures, of both the Old and the New Testament, OUGHT TO BE THE DAILY OCCUPATION OF THE FAITHFUL." 1

This proposition, the *Dictionnaire des Heresies*, stated is false, injurious to the Church and contrary to its uses. But this catechism and this "Theology" had been welcomed in some sections of the Roman Catholic Church of Brazil for a century, even though

2. Loc. cit.
there were few copies of the Bible available. The reception which Kidder received led him to write:

"We are firmly convinced that no other Catholic country exists where there is more tolerance or liberty of feeling towards the Protestants..."  

One of the best examples of the liberal influence of this theology is found in the liberal and intellectual priest Diogo Antonio Feijo, who was elected deputy of the State of Sao Paulo (1826), minister of Justice (1831) Senator from Rio de Janeiro (1833) and finally Regent (1835-37), and who constantly used his authority to elevate the spiritual life of his nation. He worked strenuously to make it possible for the priests to marry legally, sought the help of the Moravian missionaries to work among the Indians, and even sought a plan to separate the Brazilian church from Rome, as one Brazilian historian said -- "a type of Anglican Church transplanted to our country".  

In that intellectual climate the priests friendly to Jansenism were often very cooperative with Kidder in his first attempts at Bible distribution. The Normal School in Rio de Janeiro asked for twenty copies of the Bible, Ubatuba asked for eighteen, Niteroi asked for fifty. When Kidder proposed to the legislative Assembly of the Province of Sao Paulo a plan to give each school in the Province, twelve copies of the New Testament in the

Figueiredo\(^1\) translation, his offer was favourably received\(^2\) and apparently would have been acted upon had not an Anglican chaplain insinuated that the Figueiredo version was not entirely accurate. In the tension that followed the offer was neither accepted nor rejected; it was simply put aside for the time being; in the meantime Kidder's wife died and he returned to the United States.

There was some opposition to Kidder and his Methodist companions in this work, but it was limited largely to a few priests in Rio who published some violent articles in their magazines;\(^3\) however in the main the priests in the interior received gladly his books, sometimes perhaps just to show their independence, or because of the scarcity of reading material, but "received them gladly" was the common story.

Kidder\(^4\) mentions that in 1823 a North American visiting Pernambuco had left in the Customs office a large box of Bibles for any one who cared to take them and had not confronted opposition.

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1. This version was made by a Roman Catholic Priest in Portugal from the Vulgate and was the only Bible distributed by Dr. Kalley. George Nash Morton in his report to The Missionary February, 1869, stated that it had been approved by the Pope. It used the word penitence instead of repentance. In Kalley's defense before the Government 1859, he declared that he had only distributed this approved Roman Catholic version (Rocha, op.cit., Vol. I, p. 98) Kalley also in the Correio Mercantil, widely read in Rio, in March 9, 1864, published a strong defense of this version stating "...there does not exist in the Portuguese language a new edition of any other book so exact and perfect a translation as the London edition of the New Testament of Padre Pereira de Figueiredo". (Rocha, op.cit., pp. 239-240).


3. Rodrigues, Religioes Acatolicas, pp. 205-207, etc.

This was some sixteen years before Kidder arrived in that area. He mentions in detail a priest in Pernambuco with whom he had dined, who was very concerned that the Bible be widely distributed among the people. Concerning this priest Kidder wrote:

"This 'clerico' is about fifty years of age and looks much like Feijo. He made some of his studies in Portugal and some in Brazil. He was chaplain of the "Presidio de Fernando-de-Noronha", but had suffered some persecution of the bishops because of his opinions, but he did not seem disturbed because of these circumstances. In his opinion the distribution of the pure and simple Sacred Scriptures among the individuals or families that were disposed to receive them and to read them, was at the moment the best way to serve the country."

This priest represented many of his time, but his persecution by a bishop also demonstrated the division within the Roman Catholic Church between the Jansenists and those who favoured the Jesuit position. Kidder noted that he had a well-worn and well-marked Bible, and seemed to possess the faith of an Evangelical.

Rome had already condemned Jansenism, and the struggle between Rome trained anti-Jansenist priests and the older regalism and Jansenism continued until the end of the century. As late as 1892 a copy of the Catechism of Pontpeller was reprinted in Rio de Janeiro. But gradually the control of Rome was strengthened over the Church itself; the end of the reign of Dom Pedro II was the end of "regalism" and was hailed by the Jesuits as a great triumph for the Church. Atheism and infidelity and indifference continue to dominate the intellectuals, while the masses drifted toward

2. Loc. cit.
4. Lacroix, O Mais urgente problemas do Brasil.
African "Spiritism" and animism, but the Roman control of the church itself became much stronger. James Porter Smith, missionary to Brazil, writing in 1925, in a survey of all the Presbyterian work in Brazil, saw this early period of Jansenist influence as a time of opportunity for the Protestant propaganda. He wrote:

"Without overlooking the then aroused antagonism of Romanism to the preaching of a pure Gospel in Brazil or elsewhere, it is highly probable, humanly speaking, that the first half of the century was a very propitious time for the entrance of the Gospel into Brazil. The Regent, who was the liberal Roman Catholic priest Feijo, gave evidence of this when he took steps to invite the MORAVIANS to begin work among the Indians in 1636. This was foiled by the strenuous opposition of a bishop. What would have happened had they come?"

It was not only the missionaries who saw this period as the golden opportunity; the Brazilian protestant leaders now see it as well. Smith quotes from a leading historian of the Evangelical Church in Brazil:

"One of the closest students of the history of the Evangelical Church in Brazil, Rev. Vincente Themudo, is of this opinion; and adds, commenting on the statement quoted above, and speaking of the present: "We do not see such magnanimity today. There stand the bishops and all the clergy increasingly intolerant and intriguing, promoting from one extreme of the country to the other a campaign full of hatred against Protestantism.""

Without doubt the stand of Jansenism within the Roman Catholicism of Brazil was an important element in preparing a welcome reception for Colporteur and his Bibles.

2. Ibid., p. 105.
The thrilling story of the colporteur in Brazil is hinted at in many reports, but never fully written. In an address given by Edward Lane at the General Assembly of the Southern Presbyterian Church at Huntsville, Alabama in 1871, less than 2 years after missionaries from this Church had entered Brazil, were these words:

"Another branch of our work has been to pay some attention to the German population who are very numerous and found in every town and village. It is estimated that there are twelve to fifteen thousand in the Province of Sao Paulo... while this population are mainly Protestant, they are as truly without the Gospel as the national. It became therefore a matter of great importance to obtain if possible an earnest and faithful man who could act as colporteur to these nationalities. GOD RAISED UP A MAN FOR THE WORK, a pious German who emigrated from Texas seven years ago and was shipwrecked on the Island of Cuba, and then found his way to Sao Paulo. WE FOUND HIM ON ONE OF OUR JOURNEYS and set him to work. His NAME WAS MR. WINGERTER. He was willing to undertake it and bear its hardships and dangers.

For many months he has now been engaged in distributing the Word of God in these several languages: Portuguese, English, and German. He speaks all sufficiently well to render important service, to pray with those who let him, to read to those who cannot read, and go in advance of the heralds of the cross."

The missionary historian now would look back and say these were the "heralds of the cross"; with ox-cart and pack mules they threaded their way slowly through the trackless interior, sleeping wherever they could, often preparing a rude meal by the wayside; occasionally assaulted and beaten, yet often welcomed as Abraham welcomed the angels to his tent door. Wingerter was one of these

1. Edward Lane, A History of the West Brazil Mission, Prepared by Reverend Edward Lane II and read at the Jubilee Meeting December 1, 1936 (Manuscript). The underlining is partly in original and partly mine.

2. The total number of these colporteurs must have reached several hundred, but Wingerter was one of the most successful.
men who spent long years on these trails.

The story of his early life was incredibly sad and difficult. He was born in Germany but early had migrated to North America, settling in Texas where he lost his wife and children from accidental poisoning. He decided to emigrate to Brazil with a colony of Southerners who had lost their fortunes in the Civil War, and now were determined to try anew in Brazil. A soldier-of-fortune, Frank McMullan, had chartered an old and un-seaworthy vessel to transport the colony to Brazil. The ship encountered a storm and was ship-wrecked on the coast of Cuba, where the passengers waited until another ship was arranged to take them to New York and begin their journey again. This time aboard the ship "North America" they sailed from New York April 22, 1867, and arrived in Brazil some two years before Dr. Lane, who soon found him on one of his journeys and persuaded him to enter the life of a colporteur—a work to which he gave the rest of his life. His first years as a colporteur were with Dr. Edward Lane and the Presbyterian Mission with headquarters in Campinas, but travelling all through the interior of the Province of Sao Paulo and Minas Gerais, and into the Province of Matto Grosso and Goias. In later years he worked with the American Bible Society, always a friend of missionaries and always a winsome "herald of the Cross". The letters of many missionaries and Brazilian pastors contain repeated references to this man, his faithful and successful labours for Christ, and his

1. Judith MacKnight Jones, Soldado Descansa! (Sao Paulo: Jarde, 1967), pp. 89-100. This classic was written by one of the descendents of the passengers on the Derby, and the Colony which settled in the area now called Villa Americana.
kindnesses to other workers.

In 1877, Mrs. Lane wrote concerning Mr. Philip Wingerter:

"In these seven years I suppose there has never been an hour or occasion, in which he has not been found humble, patient, earnest, self-sacrificing, laborous, untiring, willing to toil anywhere, or at anything that the emergency of the work demands, but happier in proportion, as he is more directly engaged in extending a knowledge of the Gospel. Will you say such a man is a hero? A hero without wealth, education, family or fame, but with graces that make men meet for a great crown, even the great crown of righteousness."¹

Mr. Wingerter was only one of the hundreds of colporteurs and evangelists engaged in selling and distributing the Bible throughout the interior of Brazil. In addition, it was the accepted custom of every "believer" to carry Bibles to distribute or to sell. The writer was being entertained in the home of a Presbyterian Elder in the hinterland of Brazil in a home which has given several workers to the Presbyterian Church. Years before when a member of the family had been seriously ill they had sent for a physician who was a Protestant. The physician had accepted the hospitality to sleep a few hours before making his long return journey horseback. After he left they had discovered in the bedclothes a small black book -- it was a Bible and it led to their conversion and later membership in the Presbyterian Church. Only in later years did they learn that the Bible had not been accidentally left in the bed.

This family became a family of "believers" and sharing their new faith with neighbours their home became the nucleus of a little Presbyterian congregation which later grew into a Church. This process was repeated again and again throughout the interior of Brazil.

¹ James E. Bear, Mission to Brazil (Nashville, Board of World Missions, Presbyterian Church, 1961) p. 12. The underlining is mine.
The Brazilian writer, Maria de Melo Chaves,¹ in Bandeirantes da Fe, relates an interesting story of how the Gospel came to her family and her community -- of the geographical isolation, of the power of the Bible to enlighten and convict, of the work of the laity in the evangelization and conservation of the Evangelical churches. Her story graphically sets forth the state of spiritual poverty and illiteracy of the hinterland of Brazil in the middle of the nineteenth century, especially that in the region known as the "Triangulo Mineiro", and how the evangelical churches were planted. Her own people were awakened to the faith through the reading of a Bible left by a Presbyterian missionary. This, with the occasional visit of a missionary nourished their faith and led to the final establishment of strong Presbyterian churches throughout the area. Her story is typical of what happened in many communities of Brazil.

This Christian lady tells the story of her own childhood on a large plantation (fazenda) where her grandparents were sincere Roman Catholics;² although the nearest church and priest were about twenty miles away in a small interior village. Often they had gone on horseback through the night to attend the religious festivals and were faithful in giving to the saints. At night they read devotional

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¹ Maria de Melo Chaves, Bandeirantes da Fe (Bello Horizonte, 1947). The French Protestant historian Leonard thought this book so interpretative of early Protestantism in Brazil that he had it translated into French. The title Bandeirantes is borrowed from earlier secular Brazilian history. The Bandeirantes were the trail-blazing pioneers who explored and pushed back the eastern boundaries of Brazil while seeking gold and Indian slaves.

² Ibid., p. 11.
books, repeated the Lord's Prayer, and the Apostles' Creed. 1
During the period while her father was still a lad, a Presbyterian missionary -- John Boyle, had established residence in a village in the general region and had begun to distribute Bibles and Testaments. The Catholic families were warned about the "false Bibles" and of the Protestant heresies.

The conversion of her father and her father's brother -- "Uncle David", began with doubts about the Roman Catholic religion in which they had been baptized; doubts generated by moral lapses in the personal life of the only priest 2 they knew. This Uncle David began to doubt the truth of the Church, and then became conscience smitten for his doubts; to compensate and gain forgiveness he had made penitence with fastings until his health had been broken. 3 While convalescing, a neighbour, Senhor Jose Querino, had visited him, and had left a book which his brother had received from a man travelling through the area. In the conversation the sick man was further disturbed to learn that his neighbour also knew about the priest's immoral life. Both men had heard of a missionary -- John Boyle, 4 in the city of Baggagem, who had been accused of distributing "false Bibles" and both men wondered if this book might be one of those. As soon as the neighbour departed, the convalescent began to read the book secretly. It was a copy of

1. Ibid., pp. 48-49.
2. Ibid., p. 22.
3. Ibid., p. 22.
4. John Boyle was one of the great pioneer missionaries of the Presbyterian Church.
the New Testament which had been distributed by John Boyle. He became enchanted with its pages, but also developed a serious feeling of guilt in betraying his Church. So guilty did he feel that he hid the book whenever a visitor entered the room.

However one day while this "Uncle David" was secretly reading his new book, a visitor entered so quickly that the sick man was unable to hide it. As the conversation continued the visitor asked if the book belonged to him. He explained that it had been left by a friend, that he did not know what it was, but feared that it might be one of the "false Bibles" being scattered throughout the country. The visitor gently allayed his fear, explaining that he had come to know the Protestant missionary, and that the Bibles he distributed were not false -- that they were exactly the same Bible that his priest possessed. He also said that he was convinced that the Protestants were right. The two men agreed to secure a Bible from the Priest and to compare the two books on a Sunday. As soon as the sick man was able he visited his priest, and requested a copy of the Bible to read for a few days. The priest refused to let the man see a Bible, explaining that the Church prohibited lay people from reading it. Infuriated and disappointed he sought out his Protestant neighbour and together they began to pass their Sundays reading the Bible together. Later they learned of a few Protestant families who were meeting in homes in a neighbouring community, where each Sunday they read and studied the Bible, and occasionally

2. Ibid., p. 27.
received a visit from a missionary. Plans were made to attend this little home meeting at the next visit of the missionary, but in the meantime the uncle spent every spare moment reading the Bible. Some weeks later he attended the meeting in the neighbouring community, met the missionary, and invited him to visit his home. The missionary came and remained three days reading and explaining the Bible to the people of the household. At the end of these days "Uncle David", his wife Maria Isabel, and three daughters, invited their neighbours to witness their public profession of the Protestant faith as they had learned it from the Bible. This was the beginning of a series of events which resulted in the eventual establishment of a number of churches and congregations in that region. These two families were soon meeting every Sunday to read and pray together.\(^1\)

About this time the father of Maria de Mello Chaves was married. He was still a Roman Catholic, and following the custom of the region, he went to confession before the wedding. The priest was more concerned about politics and explained to the young man that if he would promise to vote for the priest's party in the coming election he would absolve him of all his sins without confession. This infuriated the young bridegroom to the extent that he resolved to leave the Roman Catholic Church. He began to read the Bible beginning in Genesis 1:1 and reading through until he came to John 3:16. While reading this verse his doubts and fears disappeared, and he resolved to follow the path he saw in the Bible. He immediately

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1. Ibid., p. 31.
sought out his brother David and together they made the long journey to find the nearest Presbyterian missionary. Arrangements were made for a preaching service in his home as soon as the missionary could come. An entire day was spent in riding from home to home inviting the neighbours to attend the service and on July 15, 1898, the parents of Maria de Melo Chaves, in the presence of their neighbours, made public profession of faith. The missionary officiating this time was Rev. Charles Morton and the text preached from was Luke 10:50, and the hymns sung were from Salmos e Minos the book prepared by Dr. Kalley. This service was conducted in the rude farm home, and arrangements were made to have another visit from the missionary six months later. During the next six months of waiting this newly converted man nourished his spiritual life by constant Bible reading and prayer, and when the missionary returned several others were ready to make their public profession of faith. After this the family and community passed a period of three years without a pastoral visit. Each Sunday however was dedicated to an extended "family worship", to which the neighbours were invited. The service consisted of much Bible reading and an attempt to explain it as best they could, and also many prayers. This became for the community a sort of church.

During this time Maria de Mello Chaves was born, and her father made a journey of one hundred and thirty miles to invite a missionary to come and baptize the child. This was the first

1. Ibid., p. 74.
2. Ibid., p. 75.
Protestant baptism of a child in that neighbourhood, and he preached in the open air to the gathering of neighbours and friends. This little girl grew up to become, while yet in her girlhood the leader of the Sunday School and worship services conducted each Sunday morning in her father's home. In later years, married and living in another city, she wrote *Bandeirantes de Fe* -- the story of the birth of the Protestant work in the "Triangulo Mineiro". The pattern was a common one -- first people dissatisfied with the Roman Catholic church because of its lack of ethics, then the reading of the Bible which some colporteur or missionary had distributed in the area; this to be followed with some contact with a missionary and the public profession of faith followed by an occasional visit of the missionary. In the meantime between these visits, which at times were marked by years, the little group of believers carried on an extended "family worship" each Sunday morning -- a service to which the neighbours were invited. On the occasional visit of the missionary pastor there would be a number of new believers ready to make their profession of faith. The coming of the pastor was like the coming of a bishop; official acts such as baptism and the Lord's Supper were reserved for his coming, in the meantime the regular worship service was directed by unordained laymen.

The author of *Bandeirantes da Fe*, tells how her father saw all his brothers become "believers", through his testimony and helping them to read the Bible for themselves. One brother, Virgilio, refused to read the Protestant Bible, so the believer brother had at great cost bought a beautiful Roman Catholic Bible.
Reading this Roman Catholic Bible five other brothers became "believers" and largely through their families, sprang up the Presbyterian churches¹ in Doradoguara, Agua Limpa, Monte Carmelo, Abadia dos Dourados, and Perdizes. At the time the book was being written (1934-35), the authors younger sister, Salome, was the lay leader of the newest church -- that of Perdizes. This little church with a roof of "babasu leaves", and bamboo seats, received a visit of Dr. C. Darby Fulton, the General Secretary of the Board of World Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States (Southern Church), who paid high tribute to the spirituality and dedication of the "believers" he encountered in that little church.

One fact must be noticed -- the worship patterns were being established as a simple Bible study directed by a young untrained girl. All the official acts had to wait for the occasional visit of the ordained pastor, who had many, many such congregations scattered over his vast field. Usually the pastoral acts of the year were all accomplished at one time in the midst of evangelistic services. Baptism, the Lord's Supper, discipline, etc. all this occurred in a short visit of the ordained pastor.

Bandeirantes da Fe, presents in story form an outline of what happened in many places in Brazil:

"1. The people were very religious, spiritually neglected, immersed in superstition, but spiritually hungry.
2. An inferior, inadequate, and often immoral rural priesthood generated doubts concerning the faith.
3. A Protestant Bible fell into the hands of some member of the community. It may lie dormant some years before being read.

¹ Maria de Mello Chaves, Bandeirantes da Fe, pp. 187-188.
4. When an individual did read it, he immediately felt so challenged that he desired to share it with a neighbor -- soon two or more friends and their families would pass their Sundays reading and discussing the Bible and praying.

5. Eventually contact was made with a Protestant minister and they were received into the membership of the Evangelical Church with a public profession of faith and baptism before their neighbors.

6. These homes established "family worship" which was enlarged on Sundays when the neighbors were invited to share and participate.

7. There was an occasional visit from a Protestant Missionary or Brazilian pastor -- although these visits at times occurred only at intervals of months or years. At these visits there was evangelistic preaching, and usually some of the neighbors who had been catechized and taught by the "believers" were ready to make their public profession of faith and be baptized.

8. Eventually the nucleus became a congregation with more frequent pastoral visits and finally a local church is organized.

9. After the organization of a church, very frequently the scarcity of ordained ministers required that several churches with their outpost preaching points remained under the care of one ordained man. This necessitated that even at that point in the development of the local church, the average regular Sunday worship service was directed by poorly prepared lay leadership. Even those who possessed intuitive ideas of a better service lacked liturgical literature or teaching, and were left to their own imagination, invention, and emotional demands. At times this could have charismatic and spiritual manifestation of real value, at times it became severely legalistic, formal, and void of real elements of worship. But Bandeirantes de Fe is only one of the many such stories. The Bible was being distributed -- sold or given away, throughout the interior, and wherever it was being read "believing congregations" were being formed.

The early letters and reports of the missionaries are sprinkled through with almost incredible accounts of what single copies of the Bible accomplished. In the Campo Alegre field:

"One man there heard about the Bible and wanted a copy very much. He asked the priest for one, but was put off for months. He was told again and again by his religious leader that the coveted copy of the Bible had not come for one reason or another. After a year of such disappointments, the farmer went to a missionary and bought a Bible for much
less than the price which the priest had demanded....When
the missionary from the Oliveira field visited this place
in 1928, he found six adults ready for profession of faith
and received them at once, as well as baptizing nine
children."

The one chronicling this report added -- "The Holy Spirit
had done His Work, for these children of darkness had seen the
light only through the reading of God's Word. Every time after-
wards the missionary from Oliveira preached to from sixty to
seventy-five people."

While Jose Ozias was pastor of the Lavras Church and its
large surrounding field he reported on one journey to the south-
east of his field --

"five persons professed their faith who had never heard
a sermon, but who owned Bibles. Thirteen children in two
families were also baptized...In Sao Joao de Nepomucena twenty
persons were eager to unite with the church. Fifteen were
received at one time and the others waited, so as to be
better prepared...They were learning to read the Bible, to
sing hymns, and were studying the Catechism..."2

The story of the beginnings of the Protestant work in Piumi
is another romance of what the Bible accomplished without a minister.

Sydenstricker wrote:

"After Campo Bello Dr. Gammon rode a long distance on
horseback to Pimenta where he preached and rested before
riding on to Piumi. Here ten persons professed their faith
and six children were baptized. Most of these received
into the church were heads of families. Fifteen or twenty
more persons expressed a desire to profess their faith on
a return trip. The majority of those who made a profession
of their faith had never seen a minister or attended public
worship. They had only studied God's Word and talked about

1. Margaret Sydenstricker, History of the Mission, Unpublished
Manuscript, p. 33. The underlining is mine.
2. Ibid., p. 30. The underlining is mine.
it in conversation with others. From Saturday afternoon until Wednesday morning believers came and inquired about the Gospel. There had been preaching on Sunday, Monday, and Tuesday in the Municipal Hall. On Wednesday morning the Lord's Supper was celebrated in the home of the only church member in Piumi. 

In another account the report read:

"One man came sixty miles to be baptized. Another came on a six day journey to see the missionary, who was away. He and five others had been transformed through the reading of the Bible and other religious books. One man was given a Bible which the priest later destroyed. When he was converted, although poor, he saved to buy a Bible which cost twenty cruzeiros from the bishop. Now he came ready to make his profession of faith." 

The Sydenstricker document also tells of Patrocinio where there was only one Bible in the town, and this was passed from one to another, and before the arrival of the missionary a small group of average attendance of twenty-five were meeting regularly in the home of lady and her husband who were now believers.

The founding of the Presbyterian Church at Arapua was linked to a New Testament. Some residents of this community had attended a wedding in another town, Rio Paranaiba, and were entertained in the home of a Protestant Christian, Ze Soares. As the group from Arapua were expressing their gratitude for the hospitality shown them, this Ze Soares offered their leader a New Testament. It was not received graciously, but under the circumstances, could not be refused. The man put it into the inner pocket of his coat, a garment used only for the most important occasions, and happened not to wear that coat

1. Ibid., p. 26. The underlining is mine.
2. Ibid., p. 28. The underlining is mine.
3. Ibid., p. 29.
for some months. Then one day at a festive occasion of his family he was wearing the coat and noticed the Book which he offered to his brother to read. This brother read the book, the New Testament, and soon became a believer, as the Protestants were called. Soon also his wife and the large family of brothers became "believers", and formed the nucleus of a new congregation in Arapua.

The pattern is simple: one man reads the Bible and soon establishes a form of "family worship" in which his family and servants, household and friends, are sharing. It is very simple as most of these men are at best semi-literate, struggling through the difficult words of some of the chapters. The a simple conversation concerning the probable meaning of the chapter and prayer. Part of the time a hymn will be sung. When neighbours join, the procedure is still largely the same thing. On Sundays the "family worship" frequently took on the name of Sunday School, with a few more hymns, but the basic pattern remained. For many "believers" in the hinterland of Brazil this was for years their only worship service.

These isolated Bible reading little "Church in House" Evangelical communities must be seen, however, in the light of another element - that of the vast geographical areas and the scarcity of ordained ministers.
Geographical Influences upon Evangelical Worship in Brazil

Mention has been made of the influence of Geography upon the Roman Catholic Church of Brazil. The same influences came to bear upon the Evangelical Churches. The first Presbytery of the Presbyterian Church in Brazil was organized December 16, 1865, in the city of Sao Paulo with three missionaries, Simonton, Blackford, and Schneider, and with no laymen or ruling elders present. The limits of this Presbytery were the "Empire of Brazil", a region stretching approximately 2,600 miles in each direction -- north and south and east and west. Already these three missionaries had established churches in Rio de Janeiro, Sao Paulo, and Brotas.

Between Sao Paulo and Rio was a distance of four hundred miles by land, but the journey was generally made in part by sea and in part by land, while Brotas was two hundred miles deeper into the hinterland, reached by horseback.

This was the first Presbytery in Brazil -- its membership three ordained missionaries and no ruling elders; its geographical limits the Empire of Brazil; it occupied territory already stretching nearly one thousand miles in length. As the work progressed, other

1. Journal Record of Mission Work in the City of Sao Paulo, Brazil, from October 9th to December 25th 1865. Dec. 16-18, 1865. Hereafter this record made by Blackford will be referred to as Journal ...


3. These churches were considered organized when they had baptised converts and administered the Lord's Supper. They were not fully organized with elders and deacons etc. until later.

4. The Brotas church had been organized November 13, 1865, that is the previous month with eleven people being baptized in a little rude hut made of upright poles, and a straw roof and dirt floor. They had received the sacrament of the Lord's Supper at that time.
missionaries arrived and Brazilians were ordained, the fields were gradually subdivided; but even these areas remained incredibly large. Itinerant missionaries penetrated the interior by horseback, mule-pack, ox-cart, and wagon, on journeys that lasted weeks and months established preaching points and churches which were often visited only once or twice a year. It was a thrilling saga of the planting of churches, but the scarcity of a trained and ordained leadership left its indelible mark and mold on patterns of worship.

The challenge of this vast geographical area is reflected in a popular missionary hymn sung in Brazil to the tune --"From Greenland's icy mountains..." but the Brazilians sing about the vastness of their nation --

"From the vast Matto Grosso
Northeast to Ceará...."

The planting of the Gospel seed, and then of the churches is a tale of brave men on long and lonely journeys. Mention has been made of Edward Lane's travels through fifteen years on muleback over an area two hundred miles long and one hundred miles wide where hardly a town or hamlet had not received repeated visits of the missionary.

The Gospel seed planted thus by the wayside produced fruit and soon little congregations were established which were meeting regularly on the Lord's Day to read the Bible and pray together. A "Bible Reader" was chosen from among the little congregation and Lane set about furnishing him with at least a minimum of helps. One was the publication of a monthly booklet called O pulpito Evangelico (The Evangelical Pulpit) which published a monthly sermon
prepared or selected by Lane. In the "Revista da Missoes Nacionaes", of January 31, 1888, there appeared a notice concerning this publication stating that it was being published in Campinas by Edward Lane to furnish sermon material to the lay readers.

"This publication has for its purpose to publish every month one evangelical sermon, and with it if the space permits the explanation of some difficult portion of the Scriptures.

On Sundays when the brethren meet together to worship God, the presbyter, or the brother who directs the service is able to read a sermon for the edification and instruction of the people of God.

Dr. Lane, who has assumed the responsibility for this useful publication, deserves the full support of our churches...This comes to fill a crying need in our great field of work..."1

Mr. Lane carried on this publication for many years as one of the most cherished parts of his labours. He was conscious of the fact that the majority of Brazilian pulpits of his time were filled each Sunday by semi-literate and untrained laymen, who had been converted to Protestantism, who loved God and the Church, but who had few tools in their hands with which to work. He earnestly desired to help them, and to this end he was publishing monthly this little booklet with at least one evangelical sermon and one serious Bible study. As this announcement in the Presbyterian journal stated, the purpose was to give the layman who directed the service a sermon which he could read in the pulpit.

It is interesting that Dr. Lane used the old Scottish term "Reader", and at this phase in the history of the mission there does

not seem to have been any special resentment against "reading a sermon" in these gatherings of believers. Dr. Lane had left Ireland as a child, and was not yet at that time a Protestant, but it does appear that he more than his other American co-workers used the Scottish term "Reader" to designate the layman who were occupying the pulpit in the absence of an ordained man. It appears repeatedly in his reports and letters. In a report written in 1879, he wrote:

"A new preaching point has recently been established in a place called Rocinha, a dozen miles from Campinas. The Bible Reader of the Campinas Church will go there and to Rebocas in the absence of the minister. In this last mentioned place a small church will soon be organized."

Dr. Lane mentions the employment of a Bible Reader:

"Caminpas Church: three sermons are preached on Sundays, two in the Portuguese language and one in English. The weekly prayer meeting and the monthly concert are not doing very well, due in part to the rationalistic and atheistic influences which prevail in the city, and also to the lack of a vigorous pastoral work among the people. An active and consecrated Bible Reader has been contracted during the last months to work in the city and in the suburbs..."

This report places one Bible Reader on a salary much as the colporteurs had been.

Lane's story was similar to many others. Joao Fernandes Dagama was another of the long long trail. Dagama was born in

2. This term was seldom used by other missionaries except those associated with Lane.
4. Ibid., pp. 116-117. The underlining is mine.
the Madeira Island November 4, 1830. At the age of sixteen he had been driven from his home by persecution which had aimed at decimating the Protestant population in the Madeiras. He had fled to the Island of St. Kitts and then on to Springfield, Illinois, where he had studied and been ordained by the Presbytery of Springfield, and the following year he had gone to Brazil, where he had a fruitful ministry, 1873-1890. Dagama preached and travelled throughout the Province of Sao Paulo and organized the following churches: Rio Claro, April 13, 1873; Dois Corregos, March 21, 1875; Sao Carlos, April 25, 1875; Araraquara, June 3, 1879; Pirassununga, January 10, 1885; and Boa Vista de Jacare, October 18, 1891.

In the 62nd Annual Report of the Mission made in 1899 there is included a paragraph from Dagama's report for that year:

"I have in the Rio Claro Church five preaching places; in Sao Carlo de Pinhal which is forty miles distant, three preaching places; in Araquara distant seventy miles there are nine preaching places. Pirassununga distant forty miles has nine preaching places. The total number admitted to membership during the year was twenty four."  

Here was a man attempting to be pastor to four organized churches which were between forty to seventy miles distant from his home base, and in connection with each church were three to nine preaching points which he tried to visit -- four churches and twenty-six preaching points scattered over long distances reached only by poor roads.

The same Annual Report which had included Dagama's mentions

a city on the sea-coast Ubatuba:

"Ubatuba is 150 miles south on the coast. The church numbers about eighty members and is growing although it has never had a pastor. An Elder from Rio served it last year while acting as Bible-reader...The churches of Ubatuba, Campos, Petropolis, Resende, and Nitheroy are supplied from Rio..."1

Here is the mother church at Rio taking care of five other churches; they were able to do this by using consecrated laymen from the mother-church, and also in the local churches. An ordained, trained pastor could visit these churches only occasionally. The same report mentions that Carvalhosa, who was pastor at Sao Paulo, was sending a "monthly pastoral letter" to the Church at Juquia where a resident layman (Willis Robert Banks) reads them to the people and conducts regular worship.

In Dagama's report of 1888,2 he mentions that his field is approximately one hundred and twenty miles by eighty miles; that he is caring for four organized churches and twenty-two preaching points which are reached by railroad and by horseback. He also has three day schools in this field; he is assisted by two Bible-readers and one Colporteur, as well as by numerous unpaid local workers in each church and preaching point. This Report also mentions that the Province of Parana, which is as large as Pennsylvania and Ohio, is now calling for workers. Later this field was occupied by Lenington, Landis, Carvalhosa, Harold Cook and others.

1. Ibid.
2. Fifty-first Annual Report, Board of Foreign Missions, Presbyterian Church, U.S.A. 1888.
The Revista de Missoes Nacionaes, of March 31, 1889, published a letter received from Carvalhosa who at that time was the only ordained minister in the entire State of Parana. He had just returned from a visit to the field in which he had travelled horseback more than five hundred miles. He wrote:

"On the 26th of this month I arrived home after my journey of more than a month. During this trip I have the privilege of celebrating the Lord's Supper seven times, and preaching twenty-six times in eleven different places. I received thirty members, twenty-eight by profession of faith and two by letter and baptized seventeen children. I organized the church in Guarape on the 17th of February with seventy communicant members and their children, one elder and one deacon elected and ordained at the occasion of the organization.

The Elder, Lieutenant Francisco de Paulo Pretz, has been directing a meeting of the believers in his house each Sunday. He is one of the most important persons in this place."2

The letter also tells of another important member of the newly organized church in Guarape -- a Hollander by the name of Jacob van der Broke, who was operating a large sawmill there. Here is another typical interior story. A man with a field larger than Ireland, travelling over it and preaching only in the main centres requires more than a month. In one centre a military official has been the leader of a group of believers who have met in his home on Sundays, until finally on this visit of the ordained minister he was able to organize a church with seventy adult communicant members and their families.

Again in June 1891 the Revista de Missoes Nacionaes reported

1. At this time it was not yet a State but a Provincia.
that the church in Faxina had finally been given a resident pastor, the Rev. B. Ferraz de Campos. It had been during the preceding seven years under the care of J. Zacharias of Sorocaba, who also had under his care the churches in Itapetininga, Tatuhy, Bella Vista, and Guarehy. The church at Faxina now reports one hundred members. Zacharias in making his report of his work at Faxina stated:

"During the seven years that I was pastor of the Evangelical Church of Faxina I visited this city fourteen times and preached one hundred and fifty-six sermons."1

This report reveals that a church of one hundred members was visited during a seven year period, a total of fourteen times in which one hundred and fifty-six sermons were preached. The pastor, the Rev. Zacharias, had also five other growing churches under his care; this meant that in each congregation about five-sixths of the preaching was done by the local elders. Many of these overworked pastors died young; the same issue carried the death of Rev. Antonio P. Cerqueira Leite, who had preached at the opening message of the Presbytery and left the pulpit feeling ill to die in his sleep that night.

John Boyle was another of the great pioneer missionaries, and his letters often revealed the setting and practice of worship, as it was adapted to, and mingled with, the evangelism in a pioneer field. In a letter written to the Board of Missions and published in "The Missionary" October, 1880, under the column "Letters from

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Missionaries”, he describes his home base in a little town called Mogy Mirim, and his travels into the “sertão”, -- the backcountry. He wrote:

"...Our worship is held in a large back room of a house in the center of the town. The congregation is usually small, but I have been encouraged lately by the appearance of strangers. We have Sabbath School and two sermons on Sunday, and prayer-meeting on Wednesday night, and the monthly concert service... when I am not present the services are conducted by the school teacher or the elder. In a future letter I will give a fuller account of our church there....

Ten miles east of Mogy Mirim is the village of Penha where we have a very flourishing church of about forty members. At the beginning of this year I had them elect two elders and two deacons. The deacons are both Germans, one of the elders is a Swiss blacksmith, and the other a Brazilian carpenter -- a blackman. With the assistance of Brother Morton I ordained them on the first Sabbath of January. For five years the regular Sabbath and Wednesday night service was conducted by Senhor Teixeira, the school teacher. At the beginning of this year he removed to Mogy Mirim. Since then the service has been conducted by Senhor Conrad the Swiss elder...."

The Church at Penha had been started a few years before by Edward Lane, and became a flourishing church under the ministry of the local school teacher -- Senhor Teixeira, with only an occasional visit from the missionary -- Edward Lane. Nor for the first time the church has two ordained elders and two ordained deacons. The two deacons are German immigrants, and one of the elders is a Swiss immigrant. This again reveals the influence of the European immigrant upon the early Protestant churches of Brazil. This influence is seen repeatedly in the early reports and undoubtedly accounts for some of the successes in planting Protestantism in Brazil. The school teacher who has led the church through five

1. The Missionary, October 1880. The underlining is mine.
years of splendid growth, had moved to Mogy Mirim where he continued his splendid lay work. Mr. Boyle's report continued telling of his journey with a German Colporteur to a little town called Casa Branca (White House), and a description of his services there.

"About 6½ o'clock I went around to the house where I had promised to preach. I had about thirty to hear me principally women and children. I preached in the dining room at the back part of the house. The old man across the street was having a "resa" (prayer) and recitation of prayers in his house.

I preached on the love of God and salvation by faith: we sang 'Vou viajando sim' (I am travelling yes). Wingerter (i.e. the German Colporteur) and the woman and her children helping me. I always tell them when I sing that Jesus and his disciples sang the night he was betrayed, that Paul and Silas sang in prison at midnight, and that Paul told all Christians to sing. They paid close attention to the whole service. The dining table was my pulpit. Before I began a little fellow about five years as full of fun and mischief got on the table and amusing himself by making faces at his companions. His mother called him several times but he did not seem accustomed to obey. Wingerter put his finger to his nose (Brazilian style) locked at him and said, 'Now Johnny jump down and be a good boy for Jesus loves good children.' The little fellow got down and was good as possible.

While I was preaching about God being our Father and loving us the boys had their eyes fixed on me with the most serious attention. During my last prayer the woman of the house was called to the door and I heard some one begin to abuse our service in loud and angry tones. It was the old man across the street. He asked what was going on. She said "Preaching of the Gospel!" He screamed out, "The Gospel indeed! This is the Gospel perverted. It is Protestantism. A Thing of hell! You and all here are excommunicated! What an infamy! This thing in a Christian family! Turn those fellows out, shut your doors!"

The poor woman was of course very much frightened. I closed my prayer and as he became quiet I read the hymn "A Voz de Jesus me fallou" (The voice of Jesus spoke to me). But she asked me not to sing so I closed by saying that the sons of God and disciples of Jesus need not fear."1

The letters of John Boyle were full of such experiences.

1. Ibid., p. 229. The underlining is mine.
In the Annual Report of the Executive Committee of Foreign Mission of the Southern Presbyterian Church in 1890 are some gleanings from the reports of Boyle:

"The most notable event of the year in the work of this mission was the extended evangelistic tour made by Mr. Boyle and his family. Leaving Baggagam on June 19th they were gone three months and travelled six hundred miles. The party consisted of Mr. and Mrs. Boyle and their three sons, Mr. Lorenzo who is an elder in the church at Mogy Mirim and colporteur of the American Bible Society with a mule driver, and two servants.

On this journey Mr. Boyle preached in many places and under varied circumstances of great interest. Sometimes the service would be held in the chapel of a Roman Catholic Church, the women in the audience all squatting on the ground as they do at their masses, and the men standing in and around the door, while the preacher himself stood on the platform in front of the altar, with a large image of Our lady of the Abbey, reputed to work miracles, looking at him through a glass door behind him.

Sometimes the service would be in the court yard of the town before a large audience of men, Mrs. Boyle being the only lady present....

...At another farm house Mr. Boyle spent a week ...

Several families of the neighbors came and it was as Mrs. Boyle described AN OLD FASHIONED CAMP-MEETING. Mr. Boyle preached every night...On Saturday night a touching scene was presented. Twenty-two adults having been examined, stood in a circle around a little improvised pulpit and fully consecrated themselves to the Saviour. On Sabbath morning sixteen children were baptized...on Saturday night the whole company sat down to partake of the emblems of the Saviour's redeeming love. The emblems were served in a tin cup and plate, says Mr. Boyle, but the Holy Spirit was in every heart...."1

Bernardino Souza, a Brazilian Pastor, reported visiting his field, described in detail his meetings in the homes of farmers and ranchers, in church buildings, his baptism, and sacramental services. In all the report included about four thousand two hundred words

which indicates the scarcity of men to make reports to the official
Journal of the Church. He stated that he travelled thirty-six days,
preached forty-eight times, received fifty-nine adults into the
Church, baptized fifty-five children, had four weddings, one funeral,
and disciplined thirteen persons. Most of the baptisms and
professions of faith in this report were made in the services held
in homes. The fascinating thing in these reports is that these
local congregations meet to study the Bible, converse together, with
only local leadership, and then when the ordained minister arrives
once a month or once every three or four months, there are always a
group of men and women ready to make their profession of faith and
be baptized.

Twenty days after this report was published, there was
another report from this same pastor who had again visited part of
his field. This report does not mention miles travelled or time
demanded, but stated that he had preached forty-eight times, given
the Lord's Supper twice, baptized seventeen, and received twelve new
members, had conducted two funerals and officiated at two weddings.
Again most of these services were in private homes which served as
the meeting place of the believers.

Alva Hardie (1873-1945) was another, although somewhat later,
pioneer missionary of the long trails. For forty-five years (1900-
1945) he travelled over large geographical areas of Brazil planting
the Good News and churches. In the brief "Memorial" history of

1. Katherine Hall Hardie, On Eagles' Wings (Richmond, Virginia;
The William Byrd Press, 1956). This was a memorial edition
written by his widow in collaboration with other missionaries.
his work written by his widow, but based upon his daily "Journal", are interesting descriptions of these journeys. She describes in detail one of these journeys of three weeks in which he preached twenty times, received thirty-one into church membership, baptized twenty-two children, and administered the sacrament of the Lord's Supper at nearly every preaching point. The journey begins at Campinas, then by train to Ribeirão Preto for the night, then on to Araguari, in the State of Minas Geraes. Here in addition to preaching in the church he spends the day visiting "crentes" (believers). Then a forty mile trip to Baggagem where he preaches for two evenings, and during the day visits the believers. Next is a twelve-mile horseback ride to a plantation where there is a preaching service and the sacrament of the Lord's Supper; the nineteen year old son of the Plantation owner is received into the Church on profession of faith. Then the return trip to Baggagem on horseback, where again a preaching service is held. Next day a fifty mile trip by automobile to Patrocinio which is the western end of one of the Railroads and where one "believer" lives. A preaching service is held in her home. Then a train to Cataira and a sixty-eight mile automobile trip to a place called Patos, where there is another service in the home of a believer, and a young man of nineteen and a married couple make their profession of faith. Two children also are baptized and the sacrament of the Lord's Supper is observed. Next morning there is an eighty mile trip.

1. Ibid., pp. 94-98.
to Carmo do Paranahyba with an afternoon preaching service in the home of another believer in the city of Lagoa Formosa. That evening a service in the home of a family that later furnished a number of ministers to the church. The next day was spent visiting in the home of believers and a preaching service taken in a home. The next day a trip on horseback over trails to the home of another believer with preaching service in the afternoon and night and the Lord's Supper at night also. This was in the home of an old man who had been a faithful believer for many years and that night thirteen young people made their public profession of faith and two babies were baptized. Several of these young people later became ministers. Again they rode horseback to the home of another believer where a service was held at noon and three men received into the church on profession of faith and several children baptized. An afternoon preaching service was held in another home and in another home at night. In the evening service a man and his wife made their public profession of faith. At this place a man rode horseback sixteen miles to get flour to make bread for the Communion service as they had no bread. The missionary mixed the flour with water and baked it over the coals to have bread for the Communion Service. Five miles farther on in another home Hardie again preached and administered the Communion; here five adults were received into the church on profession of faith and six children were baptized. Then another service in a believer's home some miles farther in the country. Then a twenty mile journey to Sao Francisco das Chagas where again several adults made profession
of faith and children were baptized, and the sacrament of the Lord's Supper administered. On the next forty mile journey on horseback they lost their way and were forced to hire a guide, but arrived at the home of another Christian family where services were held. This family later furnished some ministers for the Presbyterian Church. The next Sunday he was in another congregation where a layman had been preaching regularly and had a thriving Sunday School. Several children were baptized and a seventeen year old girl joined the church. Then a six mile journey to Catia Station where they took a train to Lavras -- to his home.

This was not a new field -- the seed had been sown here for a number of years, but the Sunday Schools and religious instruction in between the visits of the missionary were entirely in the hands of semi-literate, but consecrated laymen. Christian believers invited their neighbours to share the "family worship" and Sunday School in their homes along these forest trails; where sometimes they went for months or years without a visit of the ordained missionary. Baptism and the Lord's Supper waited for these occasional visits. The norms of worship were established along these lines.

In 1936 the Hardies established residence in a town called Uberaba and began a church there with congregations in five other places -- Santa Rita, Monte Alegre, Ituyutaba, Tupaciguara, O Prata, and a much larger number of preaching places in the homes of "believers" scattered through the countryside. Mrs. Hardie's description\(^1\) of this work is interesting:

\(^1\) Ibid., pp. 214, 215.
"In Uberlandia the work continued to prosper. We were busy -- each day was full, with visits to make as well as having visitors continually besides the usual work and daily chores to be done.

We rarely sat down to a meal without "company" and often overnight guests. Sunday mornings we were up even earlier than on week days for we went to seven-thirty prayer meeting, came home to almoco (a breakfast-lunch) and to prepare for Sunday school at noon. The Lord's Day was our busiest day. We had callers throughout the afternoon, with choir practice if we were getting ready for something special. It was a time when we could really enjoy our friends and when they were free to come and enjoy our home. We had a light supper late in the afternoon just before going out again to church. The evening service on Sunday was the best attended of all, for that was when the Gospel was preached to strangers who happened in, or had been invited specially, as well as to the regular congregation."

Here is a vivid picture: the home constantly full of people coming and going -- staying all night, people who were looking and listening and deciding for Christ. An early Sunday morning prayer meeting, then breakfast and Sunday School at noon. This noon School was the pattern in the interior where there was no regular pastor and all was in the hands of laymen. Many came walking over the mountains and through the forests; before night they returned to their homes. But now with a pastor the noon day Sunday School continued, only the Sunday afternoon was spent in choir practice and visiting of friends and the Sunday night service was given over to evangelizing -- "that was when the Gospel was preached to strangers who happened in...". It was a thrilling story of planting the seed and planting churches -- every stranger was a prospect for the Gospel, every knock at the door a challenge. Mrs. Hardie wrote in her diary under date of December 1, 1936 these words:

"They lived better in the old days; they lived with more imagination. When strange, unplanned people came to
their door those old Biblical seekers after life suspected them of being messengers from God and treated them accordingly, invited them under their fig trees and learned of them. Oh much better to suspect that you are entertaining "angels unawares" than to miss the world they've brought you!"

There are aspects of this work that must be retained or regained if lost, but the programme of evangelism established a norm of church activity with little worship, and little concern for worship.

Harold Cook went to the Parana field in 1928 and his pastoral letters written between 1928 and 1932 are on file in the Museum in Campinas Presbyterian Theological Seminary. Under date of February 18, 1928 he addressed a letter to the Churches and congregations of Iraty, Papanduvas, Imbituva, Prudentopolis, Mandury, Pombas, Guarapuava, Anna Coroa and Turva. He was making his home in Ponto Grosso and also preaching in the capital city of Curityba. These churches were all in the southern half of the State of Parana, but were scattered over an area reaching some two hundred miles from east to west and one hundred miles from north to south, over extremely poor roads. In his second letter he reports preaching in Curityba, Porto Amazonas, and Iraty. In Iraty the lay leader, Mr. Estevan, has had to leave for health reasons and the work is temporarily without a leader. In Prudentopolis he had rented a house which has a store front which will serve as preaching hall with residence in the rear. Then he went to Anta Gorda and Mandury and to Ponto Grosso. In the third letter written from Prudentopolis May 2, 1928 he reports that in Mandury he has baptized two adults and

1. Ibid., p. 215. The underlining is mine.
administered the Lord's Supper. He rode in the truck of a Mr. Selano Keinert a three day journey from Prudentopolis to Guarapuava where he preached on a Friday and Saturday. Next he went to Turvo where he preached once in the house of a family named Balles and once in the house of a family named Earnest Rickli. Then he went on to Arvorado where he preached in the house of Senhor João Daniel. On Sunday he preached in the house of Senhor Jorge Haverth, where there were two professions of faith and the celebration of the Lord's Supper. He then preached in Pinhal Fino in the home of Senhor F. Schulze. From the 18th to the 23rd he preached in Guarapuava with more baptisms and professions of faith and the Lord's Supper. There is also a business meeting with the session of the church and a meeting with the Ladies Aid Society. Then two days in Prudentopolis and then to Curitiby for the presbytery meeting. This is typical of the work month after month.

In the next letter he asked that it be read publicly in each church and then placed on a bulletin board for all to read when convenient. He also mentioned in this letter preaching in Matto Branco to more than seventy persons and that a new family has arrived who have opened their home for a Sunday School which they will direct. In Imbituva two young people, Paulo Guilherme Yenke and his sister Rosa Maria Yenke, have been received into church membership by transfer from the Lutheran Church, and also the Lord's

1. Note these two things nearly always go together.
2. This family later furnished a large number of workers to the Presbyterian Church.
Supper was celebrated. In each letter there are more preaching points and he included a devotional talk to be read in the isolated congregations or preaching points which he cannot reach regularly. In the October he gives his schedule when he will be preaching in each place. In another letter he addresses the churches of Guarapuava and Imbituva, the congregations of Iraty, Anta Gorda, Mandury, Papanduva, Turvo, Pombas, and Prudentopolis, and sixteen different preaching points. He relates in this letter that a new preaching point has been in the home of one Senhor Henrique Pupo, and that the lay leader will be a Mr. Ladislau Zultanski. In the preaching point of M. Mallet is a class of catechumens being instructed by a lay leader -- Mr. Annibal Correia, and another layman Carlos Samboni living in Ponta Grossa is now preaching on Sundays in Iraty.

This gives an idea of the type of work that marked the beginnings of missionary in that area. He tries to reach the larger congregations at least every two months and the smaller ones when he can -- but each has a lay leader who leads the group in Bible study and prayers in the absence of the missionary pastor. Many of these lay leaders in time became gifted preachers and some became ordained pastors. In 1932 Rev. Cook was transferred to another area of the State and his November letter gave his itinerary for the month:

"Jaguarinhava 2nd; Fazenda Fogaça 3-4; Cerradinho 5-6; Barra Bonita 7-8; Pico Agudo 9; Jaboty 10; Fazenda"

1. The Brazilian church uses the term "congregation" to denote a partially organized church.
Pedroso 11; Japara 12; Barra Bonita 13,14 & 15; Terra Roxa 16; Fazenda Luiz Vicente 17; Pinhalao 18; Thomasina 19; W. Bras 20, 21 & 22; Fazenda Esperança 23-24; Affonso Camargo 25; Miguel Costa 26; Santo Antonio da Platina 27; Pedra Branca 28-29; Jasarezinho 30. Barra Bonito will be organized into a church Nov. 8th."

A pastor in a circuit such as this is little more than a bishop visiting his diocese, only in this case his preachers are laymen. This left its indelible mark upon the character of worship.

March 1911 there appeared an article in the Revista das Missoes Nacionaes, which was the official publication of the Board of Home Missions of the Presbyterian Church of Brazil, about evangelization which characterized the thinking of many in the Church. The article stated:

"The principal task of the Evangelist is to evangelize and because of the necessities of the situation of the young Evangelical Church in Brasil, our ministers are ordained not as pastors but as evangelists."

This admission or recognition of an actual situation is extremely revealing. Because of the actual situation in which the young Evangelical Church finds itself -- the situation confronting her at all times, because of this the young ministers are not ordained to really be pastors but to be evangelists. There was something enchanting and fascinating about the life and ministry of the itinerant evangelist -- his adventures, his welcome in the lonely frontier cabin where men and women pine with loneliness and social poverty, and the visit of the evangelist with all the

1. Revista das Missoes Nacionaes, March 1911 Anno XXV. No. 3. p. 4. The underlining is mine.
neighbours in the evening, all this had a charm, but there were men who wished to be pastors in settled churches. However this writer stated that the actual historical situation confronting the young Evangelical Church in Brazil forced them into evangelism. This vision clouded the total picture. The writer continued:

"The principal function of the Church is to propagate the faith, preaching Christ to the world, not to the church alone. Discussions of abstract, doctrines, essays on ethics, financial plans, denunciations of priests, criticisms of the Baptists, Sabatistas, or Independents -- all these elements ought to be reduced to a minimum. The first task of the church is to evangelize. Without conversions there can be no believers, nor a church. The evangelist that does not go, does not journey, does not evangelize, degenerates and becomes weak, he loses the evangelical flavor. The congregation that hinders the preaching journeys of the evangelist is unfaithful to Christ. A church that is not able to conduct public worship in the absence of its pastor ought not to be organized as a Presbyterian Church, and if it is already organized it ought to be reformed in the fear of God."

There was no name attached to this article -- it was simply signed "A Minister"; but the fact that it was accepted and published without comment in the official journal of the Church speaks of the general consensus; also the fact that the following issues contained no protests. This was the general feeling of a large segment of the ministers of that time. Faced with the need of evangelizing on every side they saw the "principal function of the church is to propagate the faith, preaching Christ to the world, not to the church alone." The pastors had spent their early years as colporteurs and itinerant evangelists on the "long trails", they knew this kind of work forward and backward; they could arrive at a frontier cabin tired and exhausted and give a message without
preparation or manuscript. They had not been trained in the discussions of abstract doctrines or essays on ethics; they saw only "the first task of the church is to evangelize". They felt convinced that any church ready to be organized should have elders and deacons who could enter the pulpit at any time and preach, and "a church that is not able to conduct its own public service in the absence of the pastor ought not to be organized as a Presbyterian Church." And any organized church which was using its organized power to keep its pastor from making these evangelistic journeys ought to be reformed -- to be disorganized and stripped of its power over the minister. The church that would hinder its pastor in making these itinerant journeys was "unfaithful to Christ". The work of evangelism, not worship, was the ministers task. This left its mark upon the church.
The Influence of the Sunday School upon Brazilian Evangelical Worship

The Sunday School has always played a very vital and integral part in the Brazilian Evangelical Churches. The great majority of Brazilian churches have developed out of out-post Sunday Schools, and in many places the Sunday School was the church -- the only church that many believers knew for years in their early Christian experience. Their concepts and practices of worship were formed in these associations. A study of Brazilian Evangelical worship should not ignore this contribution.

Brazil was opened to Protestant immigration and missionaries just as the Modern Sunday School movement came into existence in Britain, but in Brazil it served a very different purpose. In Britain it developed within the bounds of the parish church and served as an adjunct of the parish ministry, meeting an educational and social need. On the frontier of the New World, and of the mission field, in the absence of the parish ministry, the Sunday School along with the "family worship" of the "believers" became the nucleus of a new church and in many localities the only church that the people in that area knew. In the outpost Sunday School, which received an occasional visit of the missionary, men and women and little children learned to worship God under lay leadership.

It is not easy for the British or Continental churchman to comprehend the place the Sunday School has had in Evangelical work in Brazil. On the tombstone of Robert Raikes, in the church of St. Mary de Crypt in Gloucester are these words:
"Sacred to the Memory of Robert Raikes, Esq., Late of this City, Founder of Sunday Schools, who departed this life April 5th 1811, aged Seventy-five Years."

Raikes died three years after the ports of Brazil were opened to Protestant immigration. His Christian philanthropic dedication to the work of the Sunday School coupled with the fact that he had the "Gloucester Journal" at his disposal combined to make the world aware of the new movement. The Sunday Schools he founded had mixed objectives; first it was an attempt to stop the "profanation of the Lord's Day" when the children freed from labour on Sunday filled the streets with riot and swearing. His second objective was to instruct these children of the slums in reading, and writing, and thirdly to teach them the catechism and the Christian religion. To accomplish this objective he found four persons who were accustomed to instruct children in reading and engaged them at one shilling each to receive and instruct the children every Sunday. The children were to come soon after ten in the morning, stay till twelve; they were then to go home and return at one; and after reading a lesson, they were to be conducted to church. After church they were to be employed in repeating the catechism till half-past five, and then to be dismissed, with an injunction to go home quietly, and by no means to make a noise in the street.

2. Ibid., pp. 18-19.
3. Loc. cit.
In a letter addressed by Mr. Raikes to Mrs. Harris under date of November 5, 1787, he mentions that in some instances he has raised the pay of the teachers from one to one shilling and sixpence because he had discovered that the teachers were also giving gratuities to the children; he mentioned his own special gratuities to worthy students:

"To those children who distinguish themselves as examples of diligence, quietness in behaviour, observance of order, kindness to their companions, &c., &c., I give some token of my regard as a pair of shoes if they are barefooted, and some who are very bare of apparel I clothe. ...by these means I have acquired considerable ascendancy over the minds of the children..."1

That such a programme in England was meeting a social and religious need in the parish churches was evident to many people, and on September 7, 1785 was formed the "Society for the Establishment and Support of Sunday Schools throughout the Kingdom of Great Britain."2 The great impediment had been the expense of hiring teachers. The breakthrough came among the Wesleyans who having no funds for hiring teachers said: "Let's do it ourselves".3 The work had spread throughout England, Wales, Ireland, and some into Scotland.

When the Kalleys in 1859 began their work in Brazil, Mrs. Kalley had already in her youth been a successful Sunday School teacher at her childhood home in Torquay,4 England. She took this experience with her to Brazil but there it was different. In Brazil she

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2. Ibid., p. 30.
3. Ibid., p. 31.
organized Sunday School three years before the Church was organized. Dr. and Mrs. Kalley organized the first Brazilian Evangelical Church July 11, 1858 in the city of Rio de Janeiro. However three years before on Sunday August 19, 1855, Mrs. Kalley had initiated a Sunday School in her home with five children to whom she read the story of Jonas, taught them to sing hymns, and prayed to God with them. Seventy-five years later in the city of Rio de Janeiro the first History of the work of Dr. and Mrs. Kalley was written and it was entitled:

"Esboço Historico da Escola Dominical da Igreja Evangelica Fluminense." or

"An Outline or the History of the Sunday School of the Fluminense Evangelical Church."

This fact -- the idea of celebrating the anniversary of the founding of the Sunday School and not the founding of the Church, and the writing of the History of the First Brazilian Evangelical Church under the History of the Sunday School reveals the importance that the Sunday School has had in the history of Evangelical work in Brazil, and the respect which has been given to it. In Brazil the Sunday School has usually come before the Church and it is still the central feature of every local church.

2. Ibid., pp. 108-9ff.
3. Esboco Historico da Escola Dominical da Igreja Evangelica Fluminense (Rio de Janeiro, Rua Camerino, 102, 1932). This was written on the celebration of the seventy-fifth anniversary of the founding of the Sunday School by Mrs. Kalley.
4. The word "outline" could be translated "A Brief History".
Ashbel Green Simonton, the first Presbyterian missionary to Brazil of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, arrived in Brazil August 11, 1859. Nearly one year later he wrote in his Journal under date of April 28, 1860, these words:

"Last Sabbath, the 22nd I held a Sabbath School in my own house. It was my first Portuguese service. Eubank's children were all present. The Bible, a catechism of Sacred History and Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress were our Text-books."

Two years later on January 12, 1862, Simonton administered the sacrament of the Lord's Supper to two converts and declared organized the first Presbyterian Church in Brazil. It is of great interest that he had recorded so carefully the first Sunday School he had conducted -- simple though it was in his own home with the children of a close friend and associate.

Kalley taught each family of believers to have "family worship" and to invite their neighbours to share and to participate; in fact this was the only type of service Dr. Kalley was permitted to conduct in his first years as a missionary to Brazil. As the believers homes became more widely scattered each home became a nucleus of a church as the "family worship" on Sundays was more extensive and took on the nature and name of the Sunday School. As the laws became more tolerant, or at least were interpreted in a more tolerant manner, the family worship on Sundays became the community Sunday School but directed as a lay church.

The only thing that was lacking was the Sacraments. There was an opening hymn, a prayer, another hymn, the reading of a Psalm, Prayer or another hymn. Then a short study of the lesson with the entire group, followed by a division into classes which were often held in the same room, there being no other. Offerings were taken in the classes, another reunion of all for reports and announcements, more exhortation from the Sunday School Superintendent, exhortations which took on the nature of a short sermon, another hymn and the dismissal prayer. If the pastor chanced to be present and to preside the same order was followed. It was a little church service and the Sunday School grew to become considered another congregation with a little more organization and finally became a fully organized Church with a pastor. When this occurred it in turn became the centre of another group of outlying Sunday Schools where Bible study and worship was lay directed. Many times after the Sunday School had become a fully organized church it was placed under a pastor who had a series of such little churches under his supervision and the programme continued much as before. With or without a pastor the Sunday School went on in its usual form. Preaching services were at night and were designed to reach the unbeliever or the uncommitted. So deeply did this programme become ingrained into the traditions of the Brazilian Church that even today there are many strong churches that have no preaching service on Sunday mornings — only the Sunday School, and it is difficult, almost impossible to persuade them that the Sunday Morning hour could also
be the time of a church worship service. Preaching is reserved for the night service, unless of course there is something very special as the sacraments or a guest speaker. Then the Sunday School is shortened to make room for it.

The Sunday School in Brazil has served not only as an instrument to study the Word of God, but it has been regarded as the training school of lay workers -- training them to direct the worship service in the absence of the pastor. In the February issue 1912 of the Brazilian publication entitled *Revista da Missoes Nacionaes* was a long article by B. Garcia of Rio Claro, promoting the interests of the Sunday School. After admitting that many of the Sunday Schools were poorly organized, poorly understood, and poorly attended, he made an urgent appeal for the Sunday School as a training for the lay ministry in the pulpit in the absence of the pastor:

"...Our church have, humanly and spiritually speaking, greater need of good Sunday Schools than any other need. We have in the country some churches that have been organized for a long time, yet when the pastor is absent there are none that can regularly direct the worship service. It is a sad fact but it is a fact. But if each church and each congregation had a good Sunday School, well organized and well attended, there is not the least doubt that such a condition would not exist. The Sunday School prepares the believers for the work of God to the end that they shall be useful in the kingdom of God. The Sunday School puts the believer in direct contact with the word of life, which sanctifies and strengthens the heart."1

Senhor Garcia was undoubtedly presenting the typical Brazilian view of the Sunday School -- it was the training school for work.

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1. The underlining is mine.
He goes further:

"The condition of a church is precarious when to maintain the normal functioning of its devotional meetings, it must depend upon one man, even if he is the pastor. In the church of God there should always be believers ready to direct the congregations of the Lord, and in the public worship of God, in an acceptable manner to be able to say a word of welcome to Christ to the visitors... It is through the medium of the Sunday School that this is better obtained than through any other method. Let us then turn our hearts and attention of the church to the Sunday School."

The over-shadowing task of evangelizing Brazil confronted the Brazilian Church at every moment of its existence, and the concept of "o trabalho" (the work) coloured every activity. The Sunday School became not only a lay directed church, but it was the training school for laymen to enter the pulpit as laymen.

A study of the Annual Reports of the Churches of Brazil reveals how the Sunday School programme worked. An example is the Unida Presbyterian Church in the city of Sao Paulo. This church in its published Annual Report\(^1\) of 1925-1926 gave a fairly detailed report of the Sunday Schools being sponsored by that church. The report lists fourteen different Sunday Schools with eighty-four classes and one hundred and twelve officers and teachers. The places mentioned were:

"Central, Vespertina, Casa Verde, S. Caetano, Nippo-Brasileien-Barra Funda, Perdizes, Hygienopolis, Bella Vista, Villa Monte Allegre, Villa Queirroz, Nippo-Brasileien de Santa Anna, Tremenbe, and Bom Retiro."

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1. ANNUARIO da Egreja Presbyteriana Unida de Sao Paulo 1925-1926. p.6. This church published an annual report of its activities.
2. Ibid., p. 8. Two of the Sunday Schools were conducted in Japanese and one in Italian. The ones with the word "Nippo" were Japanese.
The Sunday School in Casa Verde met at three to four in the afternoon and was directed by a layman Senhor Joao C. Way. The Sunday School at São Caetano was functioned with three classes, and the preaching services were directed by visits from three different ministers and missionaries, and by various laymen — one of them being an Italian speaking in the Italian language, as the area had a large number of immigrants from Italy.

That report was published in 1926; today most of the places mentioned as out-post Sunday Schools, many of which were being conducted in the rooms of some Christian family living in the neighbourhood, have become strong churches with beautiful buildings and are conducting a similar outreach of Sunday Schools. This type of programme is not the exception; it is the general picture. What is important is that this was the first point of contact with Protestantism for the majority in these Sunday Schools — here they learned about the Good News. Here they learned to sing the Gospels hymns and to pray and worship God. Here they were converted and, on some visit of an ordained pastor or missionary, were baptized and received the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. And even after the Sunday School grew into an organized church, it was many times only one of several which the ordained man was pastoring along with his innumerable out-post preaching-points and Sunday Schools. In the by and large it was a lay-directed worship service, and this lay directed Sunday School remains until today the central feature of the local Brazilian churches.

1. Ibid., p. 9.
2. Ibid., p. 8.
The Spontaneous Rise of Gifted, but Untrained Lay Leadership, and their Influence upon Evangelical Worship.

The presence of the Roman Catholic Church during the long colonial history had created a spiritual hunger that the scarcity of Priests, confronted with the vast geographical areas to be covered, could not satisfy. Lay brotherhoods had sprung up to meet their spiritual necessities. This fact had created a situation and an atmosphere which opened the door for the Evangelical lay workers -- the colporteurs, evangelists, and simple believers with their "family worship", to enter and to minister to the spiritual hunger of Brazil's hinterland.

A similar situation had existed among the Protestant immigrants who had entered Brazil during the half century before the arrival of the missionary. Lay workers were found among the German colonists who had settled in various parts of Brazil. A vivid description of this lay-ministry was left by Thomas Davatz, a Swiss-German who served some years on one of the German colonies in the State of Sao Paulo, as a school teacher and lay-minister. Davatz described the

1. See Chapter V.
2. These colonies had begun to arrive in 1824. In some areas of Rio Grande, Santa Catarina, and Parana, these immigrants had received their land grants directly from the Brazilian government; in the State of Sao Paulo however, large landowners seeing the approaching end of slavery, had brought large numbers of poor German immigrants to Brazil in a form of indentured servants -- almost a form of slavery which was abused by various land owners. In spite of the difficulties many of the immigrants were able, after a few years to pay off their debts and begin to seek their personal fortunes.
4. Ibid., pp. 37-38ff.
immigration agents visiting Germany and Switzerland, trying to influence the people of Europe to go to the New World, and especially to the Fazenda Vergueiro¹ in the Provincia of Sao Paulo. He describes the fever of immigration created by the propaganda. Davatz arrived in the colony in 1855, and was hired to be the school teacher² of the colony. The school room that he used from October 1856 to the end of January 1858 was his own house in which even the bedroom became a class room. He taught thirty-five classes a week including eight at night and some on Sunday. There were one hundred and eight students which he divided into three groups, and to whom he taught reading, writing, arithmetic, music, and Sacred History.³ They were mostly children of Swiss families and some of them at sixteen or more years of age were still unable to read when he arrived.

He was informed that one of the colonists⁴ had during the Easter season, been asked to read sermons on Sundays and some of the holidays and also to read prayers in the burial service of the people. Davatz, as school teacher, was asked to take over this task of reading sermons and prayers to the people and reading prayers at the funeral services. He did not, however, administer the sacraments; the people went for years without either baptism or the Lord's Supper.

¹. European "share-croppers" or "parceiros", in place of the African slave. Senator Vergueiro thought this a great forward step. His plantation was often visited by the Presbyterian missionaries in later years after Davatz.


³. Loc. cit.

⁴. Ibid., p. 119.
He states:

"...besides my functions as school teacher I had to exercise also that of pastor to the living and the dead, naturally excluding the administration of the sacraments. From that time until my leaving Ibicaba the colonists had to content themselves with what I was able to give them in religious things, or with what I was able to choose from good books of prayers...After I left my predecessor re-assumed these functions. In another colony where there is a school I also read sermons for a while. In some of the colonies so far as I know there is no religious service. Until very recently there were no Protestant pastors in the Province of Sao Paulo. Because of this they could not hope to receive religious instruction and the sacraments.\(^1\)

He mentions that two Roman Catholic priests have visited the Colony occasionally, and that some Protestants have had their children baptized by the Roman Catholic priests so that they might receive the sacraments. Protestant weddings have been limited to a civil contract before witnesses. In the Colony both Protestants and Catholics are buried in the same cemetery\(^2\) which has no wall, and the funeral prayers and hymns are read by fellow-colonists\(^3\) or the school teacher. However the Roman Catholics sometimes were carried to a neighbouring city to be buried in a Catholic cemetery. The Protestants sometimes have only two friends who carry the coffin to the cemetery and bury it by themselves.

Davatz also mentions that as this colony progressed they followed the custom of the land and took their produce of the land

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1. *Loc. cit.* The underlining is mine.
to the village market on Sunday\textsuperscript{1} where it was sold and other things purchased -- after this they remained for worship. This was an old custom of the land. The Indians came to the Catholic centre on Sunday (Domingo) which was also the first and great day of the market (feira), while Monday was called "segunda-feira" or the second fair day, or second market day, and Tuesday was "Terca-feira" or third market day, and Wednesday was "Quarta-feira" or fourth market day, but Sunday was the first and great day of the market when everyone came and then could go to church in the village if there was a priest. In later years Simonton, Blackford,* Schneider, and other Presbyterian missionaries visited this colony, and a strong Presbyterian Church was established in the near-by village of Rio Claro where many of these Swiss-Germans went to live\textsuperscript{2} as soon as they had fulfilled their land-contracts of labour. But for many years even after a Presbyterian church had been organized in Rio Claro, it was under the care of a missionary pastor whose field included many other churches and preaching points. Their spiritual care, as in the days of Davatz, was largely in the hands of a local layman; the difference was that occasionally an ordained man did arrive to administer the Sacraments. Today Rio Claro has several

\textsuperscript{1} Ibid., p. 21.
\textsuperscript{2} Ibid., p. 23. Davatz quotes from the Almanaque of Rio Claro of 1873 which lists eight families who had carriages or wagons to rent or use for public service, and six of these were Swiss or German names.

* In Blackford's Journal Record... is this note. "From Oct. 22nd, to Nov. 18th (1863) I was absent on a journey among the German Colonies. Visited Campinas, Limeira, Sao Joao do Rio Claro, Piracicaba, & the colonies of Sao Jeronymo, Ybicaga, Sao Lourenco, & Angelica."
strong churches with resident pastors, but each church has its own wide circuit of preaching points, out-post Sunday Schools, and congregations which are under the supervision of the pastor in Rio Claro.

However one of the interesting things that emerged in this type of church expansion was the leadership and ministry of gifted and outstanding laymen -- men without any formal training, and often only semi-literate, but men who moved with an almost apostolic zeal and power in the evangelizing and consolidation of the Evangelical Work. In the beginning they were simple unlettered laymen struggling to conduct a "family worship" service. The Bible had so many words that they found it difficult to pronounce or understand. They had a little Sunday School in their home or became a "lay reader". Suddenly the "family worship" and "home Sunday School" exploded outward and these laymen emerge as dynamic and intuitive leaders often evangelizing an entire region. Many names could be given and many stories should be written about the emergence of these untrained lay leaders and their exploits. For this study one will be selected and traced in some detail -- that of Willis Robert Banks.

WILLIS ROBERT BANKS -- LAY PREACHER

In the year 1910 the Rev. Robert E. Speer, Secretary of the Board of Foreign Missions, of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, received a letter from a lay preacher in Brazil giving the following information:
"...I am a Mexican [American] son, but born in Brazil. I am chame to wirt you a suchr letters but I do move by necessity or...love. Ar now 13 years that the Providence of God collocate me here. I cam as a hired man and little by little with the grace of God and family worship, we organized em a Presbyterian Church. We are now near 200 members communigants, but they ar very pour people. This country has near 30 thousand hibitants and not one preacher from no church. I am only the evangelist on these zone! These parts of the State has ben isolated without good communications with Citys above the mountain. Or locomotion here are all by water. The country hes dotted with explende riaveres for small shipes aur boats, etc. And I say see you that God has plenty people on this place.

Seeing the Grace of God in these my imperfecte work, I culdent stand no moor the desieres to dedicate my self only on these work....

....Sir, the principlal objects of these letters hes ask my beloved brethren the grat favour to send us a missionary to these zone...."

This letter written by Willis Robert Banks is in broken English for he was born in the interior of Brazil and largely self educated, even in Portuguese. His story is typical of what happened in many places. The area of his work is now a strong presbytery and has furnished outstanding pastors\(^1\) for the Presbyterian Church of Brazil.

In the archives of the Presbyterian Church in the little city of Castro, in the State of Parana, is this entry in the Records\(^3\) of the Church:

"On the 21st day of January 1894, after being examined, Willis Robert Banks made his profession of faith and received

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1. A copy of this letter is in the archives of the Presbyterian Church in Sao Paulo. See Appendix.

2. The Rev. Amantino Adorno Vassao, pastor of the mother Presbyterian Church in Rio de Janeiro -- a church generally known as the Cathedral Church, former Moderator of the Presbyterian Church in Brazil, is from this area. Both he and his father were evangelized by Willis Robert Banks. This is also true of his assistant pastor. The writer has visited and spoken in these churches.

the sacrament of Baptism. On the same occasion was celebrated the holy supper of the Lord, the celebrant being the Rev. Thomas J. Porter."

The story of this man and his ministry reads like a chapter of the Book of Acts. He was born November 15, 1864, in a little village in the forests of Southern Brazil. His parents Joseph Robert Banks and Ambrosina Gibson Banks had come to that part of Brazil seeking their fortune. At a very early age he married a young Roman Catholic girl, and lived for a while with her parents on their plantation. From a brother-in-law who was a school teacher, he learned enough mathematics to become an "agrimensor" (one who measures land) and worked for a time measuring land for the government. During this time he received a copy of the New Testament which one Sunday afternoon he read casually -- when suddenly as he read in the Book of Acts, he seemed to hear a voice saying to him "Go and Speak". This emotional experience left him subdued and shaken for some weeks. A few months later he bought a two-volume book of Medical advice -- the Chernoviz which he studied carefully and began to practice among the poor neighbours. The next important step in his life was to accept employment as partner and worker in a bakery in the little country village of "Castro". His partner in this venture was a newly converted member of a little Presbyterian congregation which met each Sunday in the home of a layman Senhor José Marques, who also directed the services and preached a little sermon each Sunday. It was in the nature of "family worship" with the neighbours invited in to share and participate. At the great and continued insistence of the wife of his business partner he attended for the first time in
his life a Protestant service. He was delighted with the simplicity and openness of the fellowship and became a regular attendant. Some months later when the Presbyterian missionary -- Thomas Porter, visited the congregation, he made his profession of faith and was baptized and also received the sacrament of the Lord's Supper.

Some months later during a visit of another Presbyterian missionary, the Rev. Bickerstaph, the wife of Banks also made profession of faith. Next came an invitation from a man with whom he had entered into contact during his service as surveyor or measurer of land. This was an invitation to supervise a farm on the Juquia River along the southern sea coast of the State of Sao Paulo. This meant two days journey in a wagon pulled by eight horses, one day by train on to the coast, two days on an ocean vessel, and three days journey by river boat up the river Juquia. They arrived late on Saturday night and went directly to the house that had been prepared for them. The next Sunday morning some of the neighbours came in to greet them as well as the labourers over whom he was to have supervision. About the middle of that Sunday morning Mr. Banks spoke to the friends gathered around his new home -- "We are religious people", he said, "and it is our custom on Sundays to offer our worship to the Lord. If any one would care to join with us in our "family worship" it would give us great pleasure."  

1. The above information is based upon records in the Castro Church and conversation and documents in the home of a grandson of Willis Roberts Banks -- this grandson is now a Presbyterian pastor in the same area where his father worked so many years.

2. Izaltina banks Leite, Willis Roberto Banks, O Pioneiro Da Evangelizacao do Litoral Sul-Paulista, (Sao Paulo: 1963) p. 11. This was a booklet written by the only child of Mr. and Mrs. Banks.
present accepted the invitation, and he for the first time in their new home sang from Dr. Kalley's Salmos e Hinos the hymn "O Filho Prodigo",¹ (The Prodigal Son). Mr. Banks had made his profession of faith only a year before and Mrs. Banks only a few weeks before this occasion. Mr. Banks then read a portion of Scripture and prayed. This service was not made with the intention of evangelizing the region, but simply sharing that day their home and its customs. However the next Sunday those who had been present returned again and brought their friends. They were persons who were interested in hearing of this "New Way" as they called it. The following Sunday the crowds were still larger -- soon people were coming on long journeys to hear the Bible explained -- and many arrived Saturday evening to be able to spend the entire Sunday.

The idea of social service has always accompanied the preaching of the Gospel. There were no hospitals or physicians, no medical or social care, as well as no pastors in the entire area. Mr. Banks had previously bought the two-volume book of Medical Advice -- the Chernoviz and with the aid of this both he and Mrs. Banks began to care for the people as best they could. They also taught them hygiene and nutrition; some of the medical results were quite astonishing. An appeal was made for a visit of a Presbyterian pastor from the city of Sao Paulo -- one hundred miles distant over the mountains. Soon a visit from the Rev. Modesto

¹ This was also written by Dr. Kalley -- it is No. 132 of the Hymnbook Salmos e Hinos.
Carvalhosa\textsuperscript{1} resulted in the organization of a Presbyterian Church which in time grew into an entire Presbytery. But for many years there was only an annual visit from an ordained minister; the remainder of the year they were cared for by this consecrated layman.

Finally a small church was built by Mr. Banks and his company of "believers". There was no ordained minister to lay the "corner stone". The scene is described\textsuperscript{2} by their daughter:

"At the laying of the corner-stone was my father and my mother, and some of the believers who were helping in the construction, and myself. The ceremony was simple and none of us were able then to imagine the outreach of the work that would radiate from there to all the region. My father, went up to a stone placed at the right side of the foundation, at the front of the future temple, directed the ceremony, leading in the singing of hymn 139 of the book 'Salmos e Hinos'.\textsuperscript{3} After this he read a passage from the Bible, and with his arms lifted up to heaven, he prayed to God, asking his divine blessings for the temple that would be built."

In the pastor's report to the annual meeting of the "Unida" Presbyterian Church in Sao Paulo, presented April 17, 1904, on page six under the heading -- "Missions of our Church" was this report:

"This church has as its task in the Missionary field the churches of Juquia, Atibaia, Itabaia, Jundiahy, Lapa, and Bom Reteiro.

The work of Juquia continues to be done by the brother-elder Senhor Willis Robert Banks who directs the worship and the Sunday School. The efforts of this brother has

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1. Modesto Carvalhosa was one of the first three ministers ordained in Brazil. At this time he was pastor in Sao Paulo.

2. Izaltina Banks Leite, op.cit., 14 ff.

3. The title of the Hymn was "Vem Espirito Divino" (Come Holy Spirit) which also had been translated and adapted by Dr. Kalley. It was generally sung to the tune of "Pass me Not Oh Gentle Saviour".
been accompanied by the blessings of God. Rev. Erasmo Braga visited the church in December of last year and found there much enthusiasm. During his visit in Juquia he received by profession of faith eighteen persons and baptized twenty children."

This report showed that the Church in Sao Paulo had under its care and jurisdiction six smaller churches -- one of these was the church at Juquia nearly two hundred miles distant over the mountains. It has been visited once that year by an ordained pastor who found it in the midst of great enthusiasm and while there received eighteen persons into the Church and baptized twenty children. This report does not mention that he also administered the Lord's Supper which he unquestionably did administer at each annual meeting. The visit of the pastor was during the year of 1903, but the subsequent part of the Report shows that during the year of 1904 it was impossible to visit the field of Juquia even one time. It read:

"JUQUIA MISSION. This mission is the oldest of our church and in spite of the great distance it is from us and of the great poverty which reigns there, it has given the most abundant fruits.


O trabalho do Juquia continua a ser feito pelo irmão presbytero Sr. Willis Roberto Banks que dirige o culto e a escola dominical. O esforço desta irmão tem sido acompanhado pela benção de Deus. O Rev. Erasmo Braga visitou a igreja em Dezembro passado e encontrou nella muita animação. Durante sua estada em Juquia recebeu elle a profissão de 18 pessoas e baptizou 20 menores." This church published a booklet of the reports of each officer and department. The underlining is mine.
The church organized there was placed by the Presbytery under the pastoral care of Rev. Erasmo Brava and of the undersigned [Carvalhosa], but the work of instruction of the people and the preaching of the good news in that region is done by our missionary, the zealous and dedicated Willis Robert Banks.

The church could not be visited this year by the pastors of this church, but according to my information, there has been no failure in the worship or Sunday School on Sundays in the picturesque chapel that the congregation of the region erected on a little hill on the banks of the Juquia River.

More than twenty people are awaiting the visit of the pastor in order to make their profession of faith. The salary of Brother Banks is in large part gathered by himself and in part by believers here in Sao Paulo. I am sorry to say that the amount received during this year was only sufficient to send our devoted missionary ten payments this year. We could not send the other two which he has the right to receive.

I wish the brethren to realize the importance of this evangelistic work which our brother Banks is doing in the region of Juquia and to pray earnestly that God will bless it to the end that it will produce still more abundant fruits...."1

1. Ibid., p. 7. MISSAO DO JUQUIA. Esta Missao e a mais antiga de nossa Egreja e a que a pesar da grande distancia a que se acha de nos e da grande pobreza que ali reina, tem dado frutos mais abundantes.

A egreja alli organizada foi, pelo nosso Presbyterio confiado aos cuidados pastoraes do Rev. Erasmo Brava e do abaixo assinado [Carvalhosa], mas o trabalho de instrucao do povo e propaganda do Evangelho naquella regiao e feito pelo nosso missionario, o zelozo e dedicado presbytero Willis Roberto Banks.

Nao pode a igreja ser visitado este anno pelos pastores mas segundo estou informado, nunca faltou culto e escola Domincal, aos domingos, na pitoresca capellinha que a congregacao erigio sobre um outeiro a margem do Rio Juquia. Estao esperando visita de pastor para fazerem sua profissao de fe: vinte ou mais irmaos.

O sustento de Irmao Banks e em grande parte angariado por elle mesmo e, em par angariado entre alguns irmaos em S. Paulo.

Sinto dizer que a quantidade recebida durante o anno ecclesiastico (725. 000) foi apenas suficiente para mandar ao nossodevotado missionario dez mezadas de setenta-mil reis cada uma. Nao lhe mandaremos as outras duas e a que tem direito.

Desejo que os irmaos se convencam da importancia do trabalho evangelico que o nosso irmao Banks esta fazendo na regiao do Juquia e roguem fervorosamente a Deus que o abençoe a fem de que produza fructos ainda mais abundantes...." The underlining is mine.
In the "Pastor's Report" to the same church in April 1906, there is another reference to this work at Juquia and its lay leader -- Willis Robert Banks.

"The work of evangelization of Juquia continues to be done with love and dedication by the zealous elder of the local church, Senhor Willis Robert Banks. The church is under the care of Rev. Erasmo Braga and the undersigned Carvalhosa, the first of which visited the work in June of the last year and found them in good spirits and prospering.

On that occasion he received twenty-five brethren on confession of faith and baptized forty-one children. He also celebrated the Lord’s Supper. All of the believers of the region have a meeting every three months in the chapel which they constructed on one of the picturesque little hills on the banks of the Juquia River, and on the other Sundays in five different communities where they have a worship service, and study the Book of God, and the shorter Catechism in classes.

Brother Banks gets part of his salary from land which he cultivates. This church sent him during the year the two monthly gifts of 70 000 that we were owing him from last year...

...I regret that the financial circumstances in which we find ourselves do not permit us to continue to subsidize the work of this brother, but I am certain that the lack of this help will not lessen his zeal and dedication to the evangelical cause...."1

1. Ibid., April 1906, p. 6. The Portuguese original reads: "MISSAO DE JUQUIA...O trabalho de evangelização de Juquia continua a ser feito com amor e dedicação pelo zeloso presbitero da Igreja local Sr. Willis Roberto Banks. A igreja está confiada aos cuidados pastoraes do Rev. Erasmo Braga e do abaixo assignado Carvalhosa, o primeiro dos quais a visitou em Junho passado e a encontrou animada e prospera.

Por occasio de sua visita recebeu 25 irmaos por professao de fe e baptismo e baptizou 41 menores. Celebrou, tambem, a Ceia do Senhor. Os crentes reuem-se em um pitorecos oueiro na margem do rio Juquia, e nos outros Domingos em cinco bairros diferentes, onde celebraram seu culto e estudam em classes o Livro de Deus, e a breve Catechism.

O irmão Banks tira o seu sustento em parte da terra que cultiva. This igreja enviou-lhe durante o ano as duas mensalidades of 70 000 cada uma que lhe tinha ficado devendo do ano passado...

...Sinto que as circunstâncias financeiras em que nos achamos nao nos permittam continuar a subvencionar o trabalho deste irmão, but estou certo de que a falta deste auxilio em nada ha de arrepeecer o seu zelo e dedicação pela causa do Evangelho..." The underlining is mine.
These quotations taken from the Report of the Brazilian pastor of the Church in Sao Paulo, which although nearly two hundred miles distant, and over the mountains, is still the nearest church with an ordained minister, reveals some of the greatness of this unlettered lay leader. The year 1906 passed without a visit from the ordained pastor, yet the work went on. It expanded over a large area into five different communities over which this layman became a sort of travelling bishop. In addition to directing worship and the Sunday School and selecting other laymen to direct the services in his absences, his little home became a little hospital where his sterilized razor opened abscesses and executed light surgery and his home-made salves became famous for healing wounds. His wife and daughter opened a primary school where hundreds learned to read and write, and the four operations of arithmetic, and from which many returned to their homes to teach the rest of the family what they had learned. It was a story of sacrifice and suffering. It was the story of a layman sharing his "family worship" and his faith with his neighbours. Once a year or every two years an ordained man came to administer the sacraments, but the norms of worship were established by laymen -- it was lay worship, a sort of community family worship directed by these untrained, self-taught zealous laymen.

This programme has much to commend it; it was under God an incredibly effective instrument to reach the hinterland of Brazil. The QUESTION now confronting the Brazilian Evangelical Church is how to retain this zeal and adapt it to the changing circumstances
and supplement it with a larger concept of the Church. It is the question that the writer of the Book of Hebrews faced in chapter six verses one to three:

"Let us then stop discussing the rudiments of Christianity. We ought not to be laying over again the foundations of faith in God and of repentance from the deadness of our former ways, by instruction about cleansing rites and the laying-on-of-hands, about the resurrection of the dead and eternal judgement. Instead, let us advance towards maturity; and so we shall, if God permits."

Bank's daughter in later years after her father's death, in describing their understanding and concept of the work her father had done, wrote:

"O trabalho era completo: Crava e falava em publico, e fazia visitas domiciliares..."1

which translated reads:

"The work was complete: he prayed and spoke in public and visited the homes..."

As she had seen it, and as they had seen it, the ministry was essentially "o trabalho" (work), and to make that work complete was to pray and speak in public and to visit the homes.

For the time and the place and the workers, this probably was a "complete" work -- it was certainly an effective saga of evangelism. It represents a devotion and a dedication which the Presbyterian Church of Brazil can ill afford to lose; but a new generation of Brazilian Christians are now asking themselves -- is this a complete picture of the New Testament Church, or are there elements of growth and worship and outlook which were lacking in that concept,

1. Isaltina Banks Leite, op.cit., p. 27.
and which could be added without losing the vision of evangelism?

The task for the new generation of ministers has problems. It is sometimes difficult to build on another man's foundations. The Scopes Report on the Christian ministry in Latin America pointed out some of the problems faced. First it paid tribute to these laymen who have been the secret of the church's phenomenal growth:

"The churches have grown mainly through the witness of the laity. It is a fact that the person just converted is the most impressive witness to the faith."1

But the report continued noting a reaction against "theology", among the Brazilian believers and a bias in favour of the simple layman with his open Bible rather than the trained and professional pastor.

"There are other characteristics of the Evangelical Churches as a whole. Two may be mentioned briefly. "This is not theology, this is the Gospel", is a phrase often heard. In the minds of many Evangelicals the old dichotomy exists between scholarship and piety, study and inspiration. The acquiring of academic degrees does nothing to commend a minister to his people. The very word "theology" is often suspect. In such circles it would be necessary to clarify the relation between the work of the Holy Spirit and the duty of studying..."2

These unlettered laymen who had emerged as unordained apostles to Brazil's hinterland were great men. Had they been born in other circumstances many of them would have passed very high in an intelligence test; but they were born and grew up where there were few schools. They were of the people and understood the hunger and

2. Loc. cit.
spiritual needs of the people; they spoke the language of the common people. Without a well-thought out theology, without the sacraments, and without liturgy, they confronted men with Christ and brought into existence the hundreds of little churches that are scattered through the hinterland of Brazil. Thousands of their converts are drifting to the great urban industrial centres where churches are different. A new age is dawning in Brazil for the Evangelical churches both in the hinterland and in the urban centres. Will they be able to retain the evangelistic thrust, consolidate their gains, and also advance into a greater fullness of the Gospel of Christ? The problem is further complicated by certain social and political factors which are discussed in the next chapter.
CHAPTER VII
SOCIAL AND POLITICAL FACTORS IN BRAZIL THAT HAVE INFLUENCED EVANGELICAL WORSHIP

In every nation there are social and political factors that influence its religious life. The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Brazil recognized this in a quotation that appeared in their Minutes in 1932, relative to the Committee of Faith and Order that had recently met at Lausanne.

"The following types or families of Churches were represented in the Conference: the Orthodox, the Anglican, the Lutheran, the Reformed and Presbyterian, the Congregational, the Methodist, the Baptist. It is to be regretted that the Roman Catholic Church did not take part. Each of these types is based upon distinctive views of the redemptive work of Christ. The original faith and order of the founders of the respective churches were profoundly influenced by the spirit of race and nationality, by temperament, degrees of culture, the personality of the founders and fathers, controversy in the formative period, grades of scholarship, and methods of Scriptural interpretation..."†

Among the factors that have influenced Evangelical worship in Brazil are ethnic and racial predilections and social attitudes derived from the three peoples who constituted the beginnings of Brazil -- the Portuguese, the Indian, and the African, and certain social attitudes derived from the structure of the government and from French Culture. First the ethnological.

The Portuguese

In attempting to make a social or psychological analysis of

† Apendices das Actas da Assemblea Geral da Egreja Presbyteriana do Brazil das sessoes realizadas em Presidente Soares, Minas, 10 a 16 de Março de 1932. (Lavras: Imprensa Gammon). The quotation is from a reply of the Reformed Churches' Executive Committee to the Committee of the Conference of Faith and Order.
the Brazilian or the Portuguese people one turns to the writings of Brazil's greatest sociologist -- Gilberto Freyre. He wrote:

"It would be difficult to imagine a people more fluctuating than the Portuguese. The feeble balance of an agonism being reflected in everything that pertains to them, conferring upon them an easy and relaxed flexibility that is at times disturbed by previous hesitations, along with a special wealth of aptitudes that are frequently discrepant and hard to reconcile for the purpose of a useful expression for practical initiative...His is an 'imagination that carries him away...leading him to exaggerate to the point of lying', while at the same time he is possessed of a 'practical mind always attentive to reality and the useful'. He exhibits 'vanity' and 'scruples touching his honor', He has a 'taste for decked himself out in pomp and finery', that occasionally makes him ridiculous, but he is also capable of great 'simplicity'.

He is at once melancholy and 'talkative sociable'; he is generous, negligent, a scatter-brain in business matters, lively and easy-going when it comes to 'understanding things', Always waiting for 'some miracle or some Golden Fleece that will solve his difficulties'.

These social characteristics appear in the life and worship of the Brazilian Church. It fluctuates between extreme imaginative programmes which are divorced from reality, and very simple relaxed down-to-earth facing of very difficult situations. The Portuguese-Brazilian possesses a sense of the dramatic that rises to the occasion naturally without rehearsal, and without fears. At one time the "taste for pomp" will lead to the ridiculous, at least in the eyes of another culture, but at other times the capacity for true "simplicity", an elemental simplicity that is startling in appearance. He is at the same time "melancholy" and a most lively conversationalist. The most calm session can suddenly be transformed into the most turbulent scenes of discussion, and the point made,

can return to gentle calmness. He can cruelly wound an opponent in conversation or debate; but can as quickly forgive and rush to make amends.

Freyre quotes from Aubrey Bell,¹ the English critic, concerning the Portuguese character:

"Considered as a whole, the Portuguese character gives us the impression of being 'vague, imprecise', is the opinion of the English critic and historian Aubrey Bell; and it is this lack of preciseness that permits the Portuguese to unite within himself so many contrasts that are impossible of adjustment in the hard and angular Castilian, whose aspect is more definitely Gothic and European.

The Portuguese character, Bell goes on to say, is like a river that flows along very calmly and then of a sudden hurls itself over waterfalls. It is capable of passing from 'fatalism' to 'outbursts of heroic effort', from 'apathy' to 'bursts of energy in private and revolutions in public life', from 'docility' to 'outbreaks of harshness and arrogance'; it is a character that is 'indifferent yet with fugitive enthusiasms, one marked by a 'love of progress and change', one that exhibits sudden spurts, and in intervals between impulses, delights in a voluptuous indolence that is Oriental, in nostalgic longings, romantic ballads and 'with intervals of intense utilitarianism...falling from idle dreams to a keen relish for immediate profit, from the heights of rapture to depths of melancholy and suicidal despair', combining 'vanity with...pessimism', and 'indolence with love of sport and adventure'."²

This quotation of Freyre in which he is quoting from Bell, whom he says was one of those who "best understood the people and the life of Portugal", is extremely revealing for a study of Brazilian Protestant worship. An Anglo-Saxon observer is impressed by this dual role and this at times "vague, imprecise" character of the worship, yet in a given hour the capacity to sum up and analyze succinctly a given task or proposition; an activity which may be

followed by a complete and utter neglect of the plan. The moving from apathy and fatalism to the short dramatic outbursts of heroic activity to be followed again by a melancholy and fatalistic despair. The Evangelical worship of Brazil can pass quickly from days and weeks of the most drab, unfeeling, vague, imprecise worship, to days of great outbursts of energy, drama, colour, tears, emotion, and somewhat irrational attempts of the seemingly impossible. One of the writer's friends who is a student of Brazilian sociology has stated that all of life for the average Brazilian is "role playing" and hoping for "miracle" to happen. This is especially evident in those Brazilians Protestants who for various secondary reasons have passed from the Roman Catholic folk-religion to Protestantism without any deep comprehension of Evangelical theology or without any personal commitment to the "Living Lord". In such circumstances it is quite natural for the ethnical inheritance to outweigh what has traditionally¹ been a part of the Reformed and Christian faith.

The Indian

Serapian Leite, who collected and published in Portuguese the records and reports of the Jesuit missionaries to Brazil, reports which were made to Rome and kept in Archives, states that

¹. The writer is aware that national Christian traditions have always varied, but also contends that believers who have made deep commitments to the "Living Lord" have certain characteristics in whatever land or culture they have been born and educated.
the King of Portugal called the Jesuits and gave to them the mission of the spiritual conquest of the new world of Brazil, and especially the evangelization and civilization of the Indians.¹ The Jesuits complained that the Indians had no real chiefs or city culture, and therefore no organized religion,² therefore instead of only converting a chief and winning an entire tribe, they were given the task of converting the Indians one by one. The reports quoted reveal that the Jesuits found a nomad people, with practices of cannibalism, polygamy, drunkenness, and little idea of morals except related to a particular property, and even this was very limited. They had a capacity to learn easily and rapidly but a special "facility to forget".³ There is a complaint that the women are inconstant in their marriage and church vows. The older women would promise to come to catechism classes but did not arrive. They would show good will toward the missionary and apparently made progress in understanding the catechism, but just as easily they returned to their old customs whenever it was convenient. One complaint in these old records was that they "could quickly feel things but never very deeply", and that "their repentance of sins was never very deep". Also that they seemed to place little value on the things they possessed. Confronted with the priest and their sins, the Indian would freely confess and make many promises of repentance and the

². Ibid., p. 6.
³. Ibid., p. 7.
renouncing of evil habits, but he easily returned to his sins. The reports stress the "weak consciences".的研究 Anchieta's Letter 333 is full of such complaints of the Indian character. Another worker is quoted as observing that "there are none that live as a Christian when they are not in the presence of the priests", and a European observer of the early period was quoted as stating in his opinion "they were incapable of real belief in God".2 Nobrega tells of a conflict with the first bishop because the Jesuits were permitting the Indians to retain some of their old funeral customs of music, cutting of hair, etc. Nobrega was in favour of permitting the Indians to keep many of their customs providing they do not drink excessively. In spite of these difficulties the work of the Jesuits continued, although at times it appears to have been quite superficial. Padre Yate reports that in twelve years, (1581 to 1592) he had baptized seven hundred, and heard twenty-seven thousand, four hundred confessions, with sixteen thousand seven hundred communions, and further states that all in his area were now baptized into the faith. The Jesuits of this period reported that the Indians did believe in life after death -- that the soul went to a wonderful land that had no evil, where there were many camp fires beside a beautiful river where there was nothing to do but dance forever. But this was only for the "brave", not for the "cowardly",

1. Ibid., p. 8.
2. Ibid., p. 10.
4. Ibid., p. 13.
5. Ibid., p. 34.
6. Ibid., p. 18.
they must suffer as a "bad spirit" or become a lowly animal.\textsuperscript{1}

Anchieta wrote\textsuperscript{2} that the Indians believed in animism, that good and bad spirits filled the land and they explained through these all the mysteries that surrounded them. The evil spirits were sometimes called "curupira", or Igupiara". Among the Indians were religious leaders called "Pages\textsuperscript{3}" who dwelt in darkened huts and received offerings from the people, and boasted they could control the supernatural and mysterious. In Portuguese these magicians were also called "curandeiros", or those who could "cure" the sick.

This was the background of the religious beliefs and practices which the Indians brought into the Roman Catholic Church and later into the Protestant circles of Brazil. They are worthy of real consideration; first there was no real sense of sin except perhaps in cowardice. The "happy forever" after death was only for the brave, and no coward entered there. There were thus no deep religious convictions and the resulting unfaithfulness in matrimonial and religious vows. There was a genial acceptance of the priest's message and a promise to faithfully attend the catechism class but very poor attendance. When attendance was reached and it appeared that they had understood the instruction and accepted it genially and happily, it was quickly and easily forgotten\textsuperscript{4} as soon

\textsuperscript{1} Ibid., p. 18ff.
\textsuperscript{2} Ibid., p. 19ff.
\textsuperscript{3} Ibid., p. 21ff.
\textsuperscript{4} Robert Southey, History of Brazil (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, and Orme, 1810, p. 223. Southey here quoted from an old Jesuit letter an episode that illustrates the superficiality and inconstancy of the Indian converts -- "a Jesuit one day found a Brazilian woman in extreme old age, and almost at the point of

[Contd.]
as the priest was out of sight. The religious leaders were magic men, who lived in dark huts and shrouded in mystery, and their powers were for the control of the good and evil spirits who lived in the land, the forest, the lakes, and mountains -- spirits that could render service or inflict harm.

The records seem to indicate that the Indian maidens were happy to give themselves to the Portuguese white-man without asking any guarantees in return. No matter how badly he treated them or neglected them they were generally in a better situation than married to an Indian man. They were accustomed to planting the corn and building their hut, and raising the children. If one man left them, another would soon come to take his place. In these conditions Indian blood and Indian traditions poured deeply and abundantly into the mainstream of Brazil. The children took the father's Portuguese name, but the beliefs and superstitions were Indian.

An understanding of this Indian inheritance and its impact upon the life of the Christian Church explains many of the problems and heart aches of the missionary and pioneer pastor. These old attitudes, superstitions, religious concepts, fears, and hopes are

Contd. from p. 422]
 death. Having catechized her, instructed her as he conceived in the nature of Christianity, and completely taken care of her soul, he began to enquire whether there was any kind of food which she could take...Grandam, said he, that being the word of courtesy by which it was usual to address old women...If I were to get you a little sugar now, or a mouthful of some nice things which we get from beyond the sea, do you think you could eat it? ...Ah my grandson, said the old convert my stomach goes against everything. There is but one thing which I think I could touch. If I had the little hand of a little tender Tapuya boy, I think I could pick the little bones; but woe is me, there is nobody to go out and shoot one for me!

(Vasc. Chr. da Comp. I. Section 49)
not always completely washed away in Christian baptism. In muted and transformed forms they show themselves in the ranks of Brazilian Protestantism today.

Leite also quotes from letters 67-68\(^1\) of Anchieta in which the difficulties of trying to raise up a native ministry of priests were fully discussed. Neither the Indians nor the "mestíços" (mixed blood) have "perseverance" to be priests. In a letter written by Anchieta from Piratininga (Sao Paulo) July 1554 he says "the mestícos like the Indians are not gifted for the religious life", and gave as one of the reasons the "difficulties in living a continent life in a land where the women are the first to provoke them". He further argues "it is better to admit this, and it would be better to send the young Brazilians who desire to be priests to train in Coimbra, Portugal, and remain there in trade for Portuguese priests even though the priests are old and sick". Leite commenting on this reminds the reader that Anchieta came ill\(^2\) to Brazil, yet in spite of his infirmity, remained and did a great work. Leite also tells of the organization of a **lay order** because of the shortage of priests, but among these dedicated "Irmãos da Casa" (brothers of the house) there were serious problems of moral discipline, because as he says "the land was too lax", that is the customs and laws of the land were too loose and undisciplined. In this consideration it may be remembered that Leonard noted\(^3\) that

\(^{1}\) Leite, *op.cit.*, pp. 431 of Vol. II.
even at the present time two-thirds of the Roman Catholic priests now serving in Brazil were from foreign countries. Even with these precautions the reputation of the priests in Brazil has never been good. This problem apparently related to an ethnic inheritance, though not necessarily alone from the Indian, is reflected in the problems of discipline and order within the Evangelical circles. The traditions and social outlook of the Indian are probably stronger than the blood inheritance would indicate.

The African

In attempting to assess the contribution of the Africans, both as slaves and as free men, to the worship practices of the Christian religion in Brazil, it is of value to note some of the reactions of these same tribes of people in their first contacts with Christianity within their native Africa. In 1856 J. Leighton Wilson, after eighteen years as a missionary in Africa, and then serving as one of the secretaries of the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions in the United States, published a book entitled Western Africa. Concerning the work of the Roman Catholic Church in the Kingdom of Kongo he wrote:

"It was the great error of the missionaries, perhaps we should say the grand defect of Romanism, that they presented the benighted inhabitants of Kongo with a system of superstitious observances so nearly allied both in spirit and form, to the one which they aimed to extirpate. It was utterly impossible that one of two systems so nearly related could ever have supplanted the other; and all therefore, for which the inhabitants of Kongo were ever indebted to the missionaries, was for a burdensome accession to those superstitious ceremonies that had already crushed them almost into the dust."
The new religion had no more to do with their moral and intellectual natures than the old one. It imparted to them no clear views of the sublime truths of the Gospel, and left them in as great ignorance of the true Gospel plan of salvation as it found them.1

This strong criticism of Roman Catholic missionaries to the black man of Africa has been echoed by Brazilian statesman, both Catholic and Protestant. However Wilson also gave some palliating explanations that may have helped to make the failure of the Roman Missionaries appear much worse than it was in fact. He explained how few of the Roman Catholic missionaries had ever really mastered the languages and how little they often knew of what the native people were actually thinking and saying. This was compounded however by an African trait and capacity that manifested itself later in Brazil with equal dexterity. Wilson wrote:

"It cost them no effort to appear easy and natural in a character foreign to their own -- and to maintain their own private views and principles inviolate in strict consistency with the outward exhibition of views and principles of the very opposite character -- in other words, to appear to be zealous Roman Catholics, when in reality they were but the most besotted pagans on the face of the earth."2

This observation and judgment of the African in his own native Africa is a most valuable insight to the history of the African under Colonial Catholicism in Brazil and his contribution to the Brazilian national character, and subsequently in part to his contribution to Protestant worship. This Brazilian ability to compartmentalize and act a role has often been attributed to the Portuguese, but here Wilson places it still earlier in the African

2. Ibid., p. 341. The underlining is mine.
contribution which came to Brazil both through Portugal and directly through the African slaves.

Wilson also mentioned how this contributed to a synthesis of religions in Africa in the days before the slaves were brought to Brazil. He stated:

"The African race have a wonderful capacity for conforming themselves to any circumstances in which they may be placed, and they can adopt almost any number of religious creeds without being disturbed by their incongruity, or the direct antagonistic character which may exist among them. The religion of Senagambia is a complete medley of paganism, Judaism, and Mohammedanism; and it is difficult to say which of the three occupies the most prominent place, or exerts the greatest influence upon the character of the people. The prevailing philosophy on the subject is, that by combining the three they are sure to secure the aggregate good of the whole."

The strange capacity to hold secret beliefs in the heart and to appear easy and natural in the performance of religious rites that are the complete opposite of what they really believe was carried to Brazil, and enabled them to keep alive secretly and clandestinely, the old African faiths while being forceably baptized in mass into the Roman Catholic faith of the land. This capacity, combined with the tendency to use religion as a magical means of securing power over nature and their enemies, blended together in a concept of syncretism in order that "by combining they were sure to secure the aggregate good of the whole". This process was already in full development in Africa.

"In Northern Guinea, paganism and Judaism are united; and in Southern Guinea, paganism, Judaism, and some imperfect traces of a corrupted form of Christianity. In the former

1. Ibid., pp. 220-1. The underlining is mine.
region of the country Judaism is more prominently developed; some of the leading features of which are circumcision, the division of tribes into separate families, and very frequently into the number of twelve; the rigid interdiction of marriage between families too nearly related; bloody sacrifices, with the sprinkling of blood upon the altars and door-posts; the formal and ceremonial observance of new moons; a specified time for mourning for the dead, during which they shave their heads, and wear soiled and tattered clothes; demoniacal possessions, purifications, and various other usages, probably of a Jewish origin...

Wilson pointed out however that the predominant character of any synthesis in Africa always remained their old African beliefs, in which animism, demonology, witchcraft and fetichism are the predominant elements. The belief in "one great Supreme Being who made and upholds all things is universal"; he wrote, but qualified it with this explanation:

"The prevailing notion seems to be that God, after having made the world and filled it with inhabitants, retired to some remote corner of the universe, and has allowed the affairs of the world to come under the control of evil spirits; and hence the only religious worship that is ever performed is directed to these spirits, the object of which is to court their favor, or ward off the evil effects of their displeasure..."

The belief in a future state of existence was also universal, although he had no clear or satisfactory notions of the place, circumstances, or conditions of his future life. The idea of transmigration was also common. Along with a well developed system of beliefs in a whole hierarchy of evil spirits that must be appeased, courted, and pampered, was the universal belief in fetishes. The visitor to Africa:

1. Ibid., p. 221.
2. Ibid., p. 209.
3. Ibid., p. 209.
"...steps forth from the boat under a canopy of fetiches, not only as a security for his own safety, but as a guarantee that he does not carry the element of mischief among the people; he finds them suspended along every path he walks; at every junction of two or more roads; at the crossing place of every stream; at the base of every large rock or overgrown forest tree; at the gate of every village; over the door of every house, and around the neck of every human being whom he meets.

They are set on their farms, tied around their fruit trees, and are fastened to the necks of their sheep and goats, to prevent them from being stolen. If a man trespass upon the property of his neighbor in defiance of the fetiches he has set up to protect it, he is confidently expected to suffer the penalty of his temerity at some time or other. If he is overtaken by a formidable malady or lingering sickness afterward, even should it be after the lapse of twenty, thirty, or forty years, he is known to be suffering the consequences of his own rashness."

These words of Wilson describing Africa could be used to describe vast areas of Brazil where the "folk-religion" of the people under the banner of Roman Catholicism has held sway since the days of colonial slavery. Fetiches dominate and rule the lives of the people, fetiches that often go under two names -- one a Christian name, and one belonging to the old African hierarchy of evil spirits.

It is not an easy task for converts to rid themselves of these influences. Wilson, writing as an American, saw the lingering influence of these superstitions in North America:

"It is almost impossible for persons who have been brought up under this system ever to divest themselves fully of its influence. It has been retained among the blacks of this country, and especially at the South though in a less open form, even to the present day, and will probably never be fully abandoned, until they have made much higher attainments in Christian education and civilization." 2

1. Ibid., p. 214.
2. Ibid., p. 215. The underlining is mine.
Wilson then lists some of the tangible remnants of the African beliefs in North America. Perhaps the most far-reaching has been the temptation to think of religion as a utilitarian instrument or means to reach a still higher good -- something which Herberg, a later writer, calls the "American Way of Life". But in America the African was brought face to face with Protestant Puritan ethics and demands which enabled him to forget in part his African heritage.

In the Portuguese Roman Catholicism of Brazil, already softened and sensualized by African and Islamic influences, he found a fertile field to cultivate his native capacities for "role playing", and to compartmentalize and syncretize his beliefs -- giving both an African and a Christian name to his objects of belief -- the evil spirits he must appease and pamper, and thus "secure the aggregate good of the whole". In the early centuries of slavery the African counterpart was often carried out somewhat secretly and clandestinely, but by the middle of the nineteenth century the African elements of Brazilian beliefs came more into the open and have been studied by sociologists and ethnologists.

These African influences within the "folk-religion" of Portuguese Roman Catholicism slowly drifted away from the Catholic Church into concrete forms of a new religion called "Spiritism", which in turn falls into at least three main divisions with definite regional characteristics. The first "Brazilian Congress of

1. Prominent among these are Nina Rodrigues, Artur Ramos, Edison, Carneiro, Goncalves Fernandes, etc.
Spiritism" was held in the city of Rio de Janeiro October 18 to 26, 1941 which resulted in official publication of literature defining their positions. One of the speakers who presented written papers in this Congress was Laurenco Braga who later published his work and then added to it other books attempting to explain and purify the movement. In this interpretation Laurenco Braga states:

"We must divide Spiritism as it actually exists in three parts, namely:
-Law of Kardec: -- the doctrine, philosophy and science of Spiritism.

He then goes on to say that Black Magic will probably disappear from the earth about the year 2200 due to the general progress of the human race and the end of perverse thinking on this planet. He stated that because Kardec had written extensively on the philosophical and scientific side of Spiritism he would not write on that division but would attempt to explain "Umbanda" or White Magic which he stated came to Brazil from Africa. He stated that it is a very old practice in the human race and in his books presents a strange and awesome syncretism of African animism and Roman Catholicism. He stated:

"God, our God, in the language of the "caboclos" (the mixed Indian) is Tupa, in the language of the blacks is Zambi Maior, for the people of the Oriente he is Ala, for the "esoteristas" he is the Absolute and for the materialist he is Nature. But who is God? What is He? God in his essence is the greatness that is inconceivable to the human intelligence of this planet; however we may accept the

following definition: -- God is a being that is omniscient and eternal, who radiates a fluid that is universal, penetrating all things, creating animating and reviving all things and from this fluid comes the wise and immutable laws by which we are directed.

Jesus, or our Lord Jesus Christ, is in the language of the blacks called Zambi Menor, Oxala, and the Lord of the Good End. For the Catholics, He is the same God that is one of the Holy Trinity.1

He had a unique explanation of Jesus Christ, who for them is the highest under God, though known to the Blacks generally as Oxala. He asks the question "Where was Jesus during the eighteen years between the age of twelve and thirty? He then answers:

"We must remember that during that period there existed on the earth a wise, intelligent and virtuous man called Joseph of Arimathea. This man was the chief of a Sect of the "Cabala" (the secret sciences such as Masonry etc.) This Sect had many disciples with various degrees of moral, spiritual and intellectual advancement, had as one of its most advanced disciples John the Baptist.

Joseph of Arimathea, seeing in Jesus, when he was twelve years of age, a very advanced and spiritually developed spirit and recognizing that he was predestinated, educated him very carefully, developing in him the gifts of being a medium, a gift that he already possessed in a latent form, and taught him all the mysteries of the Cabala and all the philosophy of the Sect of which he was chief. This education lasted eighteen years until Jesus reached the age of thirty...

With a missionary spirit in a human body, with a superior intelligence, a good soul, and very much advanced because of previous incarnations through which he had passed, and having received the scientific and philosophical teachings of Joseph of Arimathea...."2

This is his explanation of Jesus who represents to them the highest place next to God, though known by different names. Mary the Virgin is identified with the African Goddess Iemanja; John the Baptist with Oriente; Saint Sebastion with Oxoce; St. Jeronimo

1. Ibid., p. 45.
2. Ibid., pp. 46-7.
with Xango; St. George with Ogum, etc....A thorough catechism has been developed in the strange syncretism. With the use of fetiches, rituals, cabalistic signs, appropriate music, fire, smoke, religion becomes for them a method of controlling the supernatural forces, gaining advantage of enemies, gaining success in life, that is, always a means to a selfish and personal advantage. This is now one of the most dynamic and leading influences in Brazilian thinking. Officially they number in the millions, but the number of professing members of the Roman Catholic Church who secretly attend Spiritist meetings, and whose philosophy of religion is more determined by Spiritism than by Christianity -- that number no one knows, but it must be very great.

When these people are converted to Protestantism -- to the Evangelical Faith, they do not immediately forget all these concepts and attitudes; and this is especially true if their conversion to Protestantism happens to be conditioned by secondary considerations and not by any encounter with the Living God. All Protestantism in Brazil is and had been affected by this African inheritance.

The contribution of the Negro to Brazil was not all negative; much of it was positive and dynamic. He brought a love of life, a sense of humour, a genial disposition and an adaptability. One historian has said:

"The Brazilian owes some of his most distinctive and charming traits to the infectious qualities of his Negro compatriots, if not to his own Negro blood. The typical

1. Catechismo de Umbanda (Sao Paulo: Circulo Internacional de Umbanda, n.d.).
Brazilian is carefree and uncomplicated -- and almost always gay. There is no sullenness in his soul."

J. Leighton Wilson who had lived among them for so many years in their native Africa wrote:

"No one can live among them without being impressed with their natural energy of character; their shrewdness and close observation; the skill and cunning with which they can "drive a bargain"; and the perfect adroitness with which they practice upon the unsuspecting credulity of white men."\(^2\)

Wilson mentions their skill in agriculture,\(^3\) their storing of provisions for their future wants, and their skilful but limited fabrication\(^4\) of implements of warfare and articles of adornment. And as he saw them more than a century ago in Africa stated: "There is no obstacle to their elevation which would not apply equally to all other uncultivated races of men".\(^5\) The African brought with him a love of rhythm of motion and sound which has affected the whole Brazilian pattern of music.

"The subtle rhythms that haunt so much of typically Brazilian music today, the simple, short melodic line, the repetition of phrases, derive in large part from the chants in the religious rituals of the Sudanese, and from the songs for every occasion of daily life which were so much a part of the African tradition. Brazilian composers have drawn inspiration from Negro folklore, from the rhythm and melody of Negro rituals."\(^6\)

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3. Ibid., p. 381.
4. Loc. cit.
5. Ibid., p. 380.
The Negro brought his rich heritage of art. The temples of Bahia are decorated with wooden figures carved by Yoruban Negroes; the churches throughout Brazil are full of images, sacred vessels, candlesticks, and other religious objects of rare delicacy made by Negroes out of wood, clay, or metal. He brought his own religion which he practiced secretly for three centuries, but which has now developed into the "condomble" of Bahia, the "macumba" of Rio de Janeiro, and the "spiritism" practiced throughout the entire land of Brazil. Within the Roman Catholic Church he has worshipped Jesus Christ, the Virgin, and the traditional saints under both the Christian names and the African names with which he has identified them. Within the Protestant Churches with its Puritan ethical demands this influence has been more subtle; yet it has been an inescapable reality. The capacity which Wilson noted in Africa -- "to appear easy and natural in a character foreign to their own -- to maintain their own private views and principles inviolate in strict consistency with the outward exhibition of views and principles of the very opposite character" in other words to appear to be loyal devoted Protestants when in reality they are not truly converted people -- this capacity has brought disappointment and tears to many missionaries and pastors. It is not a unique capacity of the Brazilian, the Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde personalities are found even in Scotland, but the extent of this African heritage in Brazil leaves the Anglo-Saxon missionary always unsure of his position and

1. The Deacon Brodie tavern is still a tourist attraction in Edinburgh, Scotland.
accomplishments in the land. The African utilitarian concept of religion with its fetiches and charms that "work" for him has contributed greatly to the success of the Pentecostal "Healing Movement" which has swept Brazil in recent years. Religion in these circles is not seen as man's response to the love and goodness of the Creator and Redeemer-God but as a "utilitarian instrument" through which to gain material benefits. A vast amount of patient teaching will be required to bring some of these Pentecostal movements of Brazil to comprehend the theological and practical elements of New Testament Evangelical worship.

The Influence of French Positivism upon Evangelical Worship

Although the English gained the first commercial and trade privileges in Brazil and made Brazil during the first half of the nineteenth century almost a colony of England, yet Brazil's cultural ties during that same period were with France, when not with Portugal. Hernane Taveres states:

"French cultural influence was so great that the fourteenth of July used to be a national holiday."1

French was the second language studied in all the schools; not to be able to speak French was a social disgrace in high society. This influence was shared with English and American in later years but the French contribution remained as a permanent part of the Brazilian mold.

Braga and Grubb in their Survey of the Brazilian situation in

1. Hernane Tavares de Sa, The Brazilians (New York: The John Day Company, 1947) p. 25. He was a Professor at the University Sao Paulo.
1932 attributed some of the agnosticism and atheism of the intellectual elite to this influence:

"The type of civilization developed in Brazil is that of Southern Europe. The intellectual life of the country has been strongly influenced by French literature and thought. Agnosticism has become widespread among the intellectual classes. There does not prevail however, in Brazil, an aggressive hostility to religion. Without breaking with the Church of Rome the masses are drifting towards spiritualism and cults which are reviving animistic beliefs. Throughout the whole country and even among the educated classes, a dense ignorance of the Bible and of the essentials of Christianity is found."¹

Sumrall makes a similar observation:

"It would be impossible to estimate the uncalculated thousands who are atheists at heart; even many priests are among the disbelievers. No doubt French rationalism has been a powerful factor in moulding the minds of modern thinkers. One is rather amazed to see the many French translations on the bookshelves of Latin America and the relatively few North American translations."²

Simonton, Blackford, Lane, Boyle and all the early pioneer missionaries mentioned this French influence in their reports and letters. Such excerpts as this:

"We had a long discussion with some infidels who are teaching the people that the Bible is only a fable, and that the Christian religion is something made out of the ancient theology of India."³

Many influenced by French syncicism and unbelief gave their support and even membership to the Protestant Churches in their effort to break the tyranny of Rome, without actually reaching a

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1. Braga and Grubb, op.cit., p. 129. The underlining is mine.
2. Lester F. Sumrall, Through Blood and Fire in Latin America (Grand Rapids; Michigan: Zondervan Publishing House, 1944) p. 245. The underlining is mine.
3. Julio Andrade Ferreira, Historia... Vol. I. pp.116-117. The quotation is from a report of Edward Lane in the city of Piracicaba.
commitment to the Living Christ; and even among those who did there hung over the intellectual scene this shadow of unbelief. It was hard to escape it. To combat it the pastors often resorted to legalistic methods, but this only betrayed a lack of deep faith on their part as well. It is an inheritance which the church in Brazil must honestly face as it seeks to charter its future course.

**Political Structures and Worship**

The political structure of any nation exerts directly and indirectly an influence upon its social patterns including its religion. This is true under a monarchy or under democracy, under a tribal system or under a socialistic dictatorship. Brazil has had very little real democracy. First it was under the rule of Lisbon the captaincies and the great plantation owners. Later under political bosses and periods of dictatorship, and military governments with short periods of developing democracy, its concepts of rule became that of the strong man. This has been softened in Brazil by a French cynicism which has given lip-loyalty to the "boss-man" but found a way to "dar jeito"\(^1\) or seem to obey the law while in reality doing pretty much as they please within the circumstances.

The concept of the "big-man" in politics does invade the church. The local people are often content to let the professionally

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1. "dar jeito" is a Brazilian expression which defies literal interpretation, "make a way" might serve. Its connotation is make a way against the law or custom without entering into open rebellion against the law.
trained minister carry the responsibilities which should be shared by the congregation, and the trained professional ordained minister too often reflects the political picture and is jealous of his authority, his prestige and his power. This was accentuated at times when a local church had been accustomed to lay leadership and then suddenly received an ordained minister from the distant Theological College or Seminary, who arrived with a completely different orientation and vocabulary. When a tension developed the minister felt that his pride and honour were at stake and asserted himself according to the political pattern of power. When this occurred, and it is a frequent happening, there was a real temptation to become a "little dictator" in the church. The "strong man" complex and practice has been carried into the Presbyteries, Synods, and General Assemblies; in times of crises it makes for rapid decisions and efficient government, but it has a tendency to rob the individual of the sense of his personal response to God in worship. However in Brazil this has not been as serious as it might appear; the Brazilian mentality of not taking any threat too seriously, and to "dar jeito" in unhappy situations, has permitted the local churches and individual Christians to go their own way in worship. This however involved an understanding of Evangelical worship which not all possess. The political structure has left its impact upon the religious life of the nation.
Evangelical worship does not depend upon Cathedrals, trained choirs, and pipe organs, and the Reformation sought to recover the Pauline concept that all of life for the redeemed is sacred and is worship. Yet man has always intuitively felt that in the hours he set aside as a time for special adoration of God, that certain associations were not as appropriate as others for the worship of a holy and loving God. There was a "beauty of holiness" that man has sensed intuitively in his finest hours that seemed to ask of him the best of cleanliness and beauty in his hours of worship and adoration. This association was not always possible in the primitive conditions of Brazil's frontier. In rare and fine moments of the "sense of the invisible" the humble surroundings were forgotten, but the life of faith was not always blessed with these "divine visitations" or "mountain top" experiences. The ordinary services on the frontier were often conducted with little of the arts -- at times not even music, and amidst dirt and poverty in which it was not easy to think of the "High and Holy God". Lane wrote of one place:

"It might be of interest to the readers to know something about the meeting place of the little flock. The house of the Elder like that of his neighbors is constructed in the following manner: four posts are driven into the ground to support the roof, which is of thatched grass. The walls are made of bamboo and mud. The floor is the beaten earth... When it is time for the Lord's Supper a little table is covered with a white cloth, placed at one end of the room with the Bible and the elements for the communion. The people of the back country rarely use bread, the bread and wine for the Sacraments have to be purchased in the nearest city which is seventeen miles distant."2

In another report:

"A communion service that followed was also a shock to our young companion, but none the less significant because the bread was served in an enamel soup plate, and the grape juice in crude white coffee cups."  

And again:

"A meeting was held at the home of a believer ten miles from Piumi. The house was small and built on the side of a steep hill. The floor was mother earth, and as it had not been levelled off, the missionary found himself in constant danger of capsizing! The front room that served the purpose of dining and living was about seven by nine feet in size. The table, a large square box which is often found in the far interior to this day. The improvised table was also used for storing rice, beans, and other articles of food, but did well for a pulpit."  

Blackford described his first meeting in Brotas:

"We arranged a vacant house belonging to Pedro Garcia for our Sab. services. For three successive sabs, we held preaching morning and afternoon in this house & at night in the house of Da. Antonia Justina do Nascimento, Sr. G.'s sister-in-law, where we lived. Most of the nights we were in the village, some persons besides the family were present at our evening worship, and often a sermon was preached or some passage explained,...During the week we visited & preached among the sitios, in the houses of Ant. F. Gouvez, Ant. Fernandez, Honorario Francisco de Paula e Lima, & Severino Xavier de Mendonca in all some 7 sermons...."  

Looking back and writing some years later Blackford wrote:

"It was a tedious and laborious journey on horseback or muleback, over rough roads and sometimes through mere bridle paths. The mode of work was to go from neighbourhood to neighbourhood and from house to house, preaching, reading, and expounding the Bible..."

2. Ibid., pp. 26-27.
3. Journal Record... Sao Paulo. The spelling and mixing of English and Portuguese has been left as in the original.
Worship under these conditions at times became the very gate of heaven as individuals believed and entered into fellowship with God, but in many other occasions it became a drab affair in an environment that contributed little to the thought and emotions of worship.
PART IV

LITURGICAL DEVELOPMENT
CHAPTER VIII

THE DEVELOPMENT OF WORSHIP WITHIN THE CHURCHES

Congregational

The Churches established by Dr. Kalley took the name Congregational. They were Calvinistic and Presbyterian in local government and doctrine, but the sovereignty of each local church was retained. In liturgy they had begun with the simple service Kalley had defended as "family worship" which later under the leadership of Joao M.G. dos Santos, who had been trained with Spurgeon, assumed the Baptist mold without any Book of Church Order. This became, and still is the dominant pattern of Evangelical worship throughout Brazil. Another outstanding contribution was that of Mrs. Kalley's melodies and hymns. Their hymnbook continued to be published through many editions by their adopted son in London. The later editions contained translations of the popular revival songs of the Moody and Sankey campaigns. Henriqueta Rosa Fernandes Braga, whose classic book -- *Musica Sacra Evangelica no Brazil*¹ has been quoted frequently in this study, became one of Mrs. Kalley's successors in the development of music within the Congregational Church. It is largely because of these contributions that the Evangelical Churches of Brazil have never passed through a conflict over music such as plagued the early Presbyterian Churches in North

¹. Henriqueta Rosa Fernandes Braga, *Musica Sacra Evangelica no Brazil* (Rio de Janeiro: Livraria Kosmos Editora, 1960). This classic of 448 pages is not only a study of music, but also a source of information concerning the various Evangelical Churches.
Brazil's problem with music was not prejudice, but lack of instruments, lack of trained leaders, social poverty, and to some extent an inheritance from Portugal of a strain of slower and subdued type of music. The growth and development of *Psalmos e Hinos* belongs to the story of Kalley.\(^2\)

**Presbyterian**

The early Presbyterian missionaries brought the traditions\(^3\) of the West with its campmeetings, evangelism, and intellectual freedom of outlook.\(^4\) They inherited Kalley's emphasis of worship in the home of each believer, shared with the entire household, and with the neighbours -- a system which easily adapted itself to the natural capacity of the people of the Brazilian hinterland and to the environment. This sharing of worship in the home has been continued until the present in a very effective way by believers inviting neighbours and friends into their homes for a worship and thanksgiving service on special occasions such as birthdays, wedding anniversaries, the birth of a new baby, etc. Occasionally a layman set down in writing in an incidental manner some guidelines for himself and his family.

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1. The American Churches inherited the old precentor system of lining out the hymns; also the struggle concerning the use of Watts or Rous -- churches even split over their use. Brazil was free from this conflict.
2. See Chapter two -- Kalley.
3. See Chapter two -- American Immigrants and missionaries.
Maria de Melo Chaves who wrote the story of the Gospel entering the "mineiro triangulo" in Bandeirantes da Fe, in which her father was the old patriarchal hero, also records that her father left a list of "Conselhos e Praxes" (Counsels and Customs) for "Believers", which he had prepared to guide his own life and which he recommended to all "believers". The list was published five years after his death, in a church bulletin, at the dedication of the Presbyterian Church in Perdizes. Rules or "Praxes" nine to fifteen are concerned with the believer's attitude toward the church service and incidentally with liturgy.

"9. The believer ought not to arrive late to the worship service or any religious meeting, he runs the risk of arriving late to heaven.
10. The believer ought not to sleep during the worship service.
11. The believer ought not to carry arms to the worship hour.
12. The true believer has a love for the Cause of Christ and he helps it with his offerings -- he gives the tithe.
13. The believer ought not to use the worship meetings to arrange business or secular affairs. He may and should give his time to the business of the Kingdom of the Sons of God.
14. The believer ought not to greet the brethren on entering the House of Prayer, but ought to lower his eyes and make a short prayer. When the worship is finished he ought to pray thus -- 'Prepare my spirit to fulfill thy commandments O God.'

On leaving the worship service he ought to greet the other believers and the strangers. The House of God is the "House of Prayer", and is the place designated for the believer to converse with his heavenly father and ask of Him the spiritual food needed for his soul.
15. The believer ought to give value to this diploma of honor which cost the blood of Christ on the cross of Calvary."

1. Maria de Melo Chaves, Bandeirantes da Fe, p. 193ff.
The first Synod of the Presbyterian Church in Brazil was organized in September 1888. Paragraph two of the "Acto Constitutivo" of the first session read as follows:

"The symbols of the Church thus constituted shall be the Confession of Faith and The Catechisms of Westminster received from the Presbyterian Churches in the United States, and the Book of Order published by the 'Imprensa Evangelica' of 1881, with such corrections as have been adopted by the Presbyteries."1

At the same time an Amended form of the Westminster Directory for the Public Worship of God also became an official document of the Church. This amended form had been published in the Imprensa Evangelica in 1881, and now became Part III of the Book of Order of the newly formed Synod. The Manual do Culto2 compiled by Carvalhosa never became an official document of the General Assembly. The Amended Directory of Worship as Part III of the Book of Order was quite different from the original Westminster document, and revealed some of the needs and difficulties of a young church in a pioneer environment; it does however contain useful information and rubrics.

The Synod of 1888 also provided for the granting of a temporary license to "assistant workers"3 both on the local and presbytery levels – an action to help meet the demand for workers.

2. See Chapter IV -- Carvalhosa.
The first serious liturgical problem that confronted the Presbyterian mission in Brazil concerned the rebaptism of converts from Roman Catholicism. This had not been a problem at the time of the Reformation and no Reformer was rebaptized, but the Church in North America, partly influenced by an influx of Roman Catholic immigrants and resulting labour and social problems, had legislated against the recognition of the validity of Roman Baptism. As the Presbytery in Brazil belonged to the Synod of Baltimore this carried implications for Brazil. The question was debated in the Brazilian church and finally the Synod in its second meeting in 1891 took a decision declaring against the validity of Roman baptism, but it was not a unanimous decision and a minority registered a protest and requested permission to register their reasons for protest in the Minutes. Their protest read as follows:

"PROTEST AGAINST THE DECISION CONCERNING ROMAN BAPTISM. We the undersigned protest against the decision of the Synod declaring invalid Roman baptism, we find it inconvenient:

1 - Because the larger part of the Protestant theologians including Luther, Calvin, Cunningham, the Hodges, father and son, Patton, Schaff, Briggs, and other illustrious men have held that it was valid.

2 - Because it is an historic fact that only one branch of the Southern Presbyterian Church of the United States of America have declared against the validity of this baptism, and the Synod by this act is opposing the historic position of the Reformed Churches.

3 - Because the Methodist and Episcopal Churches of Brazil recognize this baptism and there ought to be all the harmony possible in questions of this order.

4 - Because in this question we ought to have the most charity and tolerance."


3. Ibid., pp. 26 and 27. Session of September 7, 1891.
However among the missionaries were some who felt keenly that the Romanism of Brazil of the last century had no right to be called Christian. Blackford wrote in 1876:\(^1\)

"Romanism is not Christianity, it is rather a negation of all that is distinctive in Christianity. It is the great apostasy, the Anti-Christ, the master-piece of the great enemy of God and man for the destruction of souls and of the welfare of human society. There is not an essential truth of the Christian religion which is not distorted, covered up, neutralized, poisoned, and completely nullified by the doctrines and practices of the Romish system.

In 1910 the first General Assembly\(^2\) of the Presbyterian Church was organized at the city of Rio de Janeiro. A schism in 1903\(^3\) had caused the loss of one-fourth of the leading ministers and many churches, but the work had rallied with new vigor. 1910 seemed a turning point and the beginning of a great new epoch. In the Revista das Missões\(^4\) that year appeared a picture of the General Assembly with thirty-five workers of whom only five were missionaries, and this statement:

"Presbyterianism is now an accomplished fact in Brazil. We have finished the period of experimentation and indecision in methods to become a well defined institution in both her

\(^{1}\) A.L. Blackford, Sketch of the Brazil Mission (Sao Paulo: 1876) p.4.


institutions and methods of work which are now well
marked and known."1

The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of the
United States of America had in its General Assembly of 1905
authorized a Committee to prepare a "Book of Common Worship", and
the Presbyterian Journals2 of Brazil were publishing beautiful
prayers to be used on special occasions in the Churches. One was
an impressive Prayer for the Union of All Churches. In 1913 there
appeared a well written article by a missionary pastor defending
the fact that his church in Itapira had unanimously recommended that
their pastor use a ministerial robe in the pulpit.

In 1911 there appeared an announcement3 concerning a new text¬
book being used in the Campinas Theological Seminary. The book
was entitled Extempore Prayer by M.P. Talling of Toronto, Canada.
With the announcement was a translation of part of the first
chapter:

"This volume owes its existence to the conviction that
in free-worshipping churches the weakest part of the church
service is generally public prayer. That in many theological
colleges the attention devoted to training men for the
office of public prayer is inadequate...is it not a fact
that in some churches the sermon is the strongest and most
important part, and in others it is the singing and musical
program? Rarely is it the prayers. We know that there
are exceptional cases, however the weakness of prayers is the
strongest contrast. But did not Jesus say -- 'My house
shall be called a House of Prayer...'."4

1. Ibid., p. 1.
2. Revista das Missões Nacionaes, April 1910, p. 1; August 1910,
p. 1; September 1910, p. 1; November 1910, p. 1, all
contained prayers to be read and prayed in the Churches.
Fleming H. Revell Company, 1902) p. 13. The underlining is
mine.
The editor not only called attention to this fact, but urged readers to buy this book, and at the same time announced the fourth edition of Carvalhosa's *Manual do Cúlto* which had just appeared. This indicates a normal development in the field of liturgy, a healthy searching after a more complete worship service.

This same period also saw a long, interesting, and at times ugly debate over the innovation of the individual cup for use at Communion. Alvaro Reis in his pulpit and his paper "*O Puritano*" championed the retention of the common chalice. The defenders of the individual cup searched for every reason to defend their position which had become popular in the United States at that time. The question of hygiene entered into the struggle and then a long debate over the deity and humanity of Jesus. Some of the defenders of the individual cup had affirmed that had Jesus understood modern hygiene, the existence of microbes, and the nature of diseases he would never have used a common chalice. Reis took up the challenge over the deity of Jesus. Between the years 1912 and 1915 there appeared in the *Puritano* article after article defending the common chalice and defending the perfect knowledge of Jesus the God-man. A schism in the church was threatening to appear with the missionaries

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1. *O Puritano* Jan. 15, 1914; Jan. 22, 1914; Jan. 29, 1914; Feb. 5, 1914; Feb. 12, 1914; Feb. 19, 1914; Feb. 26, 1914; March 5, 1914; March 12, 1914; March 19, 1914; March 26, 1914; all carry strong articles defending the common chalice and attacking the individual cup. There were many more such editorials and articles. Not only hygiene and the knowledge of Jesus were discussed but also class. In one article the defender of the common cup accused the other group of not wishing to drink from the same cup with persons of a lower class socially.
largely on the side of the individual cup. Some of the most ardent defenders of a better liturgy had been arrayed on the side of the individual cup, and on the side of a theology that seemed to some to be liberal in its acknowledging that Jesus had imperfect knowledge of germs, microbes, disease, hygiene, etc. This affected the normal development of interest in ordered worship.

In 1915 the Book of Order, the last third of which was their Directory of Worship was slightly revised. More attention was given to offerings as part of worship; the homiletical instructions concerning preaching were abbreviated; but a new note appeared in the section on the Lord's Supper. It read:

"It is important that all things used in connection with the Supper be simple, hygienic, and decent, in order that it not detract from the commemoration. However the table, the table coverings, the plates, and the cups are only instruments of the rite, and do not affect the blessings of the sacrament.

Seeing that the plates and chalices are only vessels which contain the consecrated bread and wine, the church ought to employ as many plates and chalices as it finds convenient."1

A footnote directly under this statement noted that many churches were now using individual cups. Another rubric stated that the minister is to be served first by the elders and that he will serve the elders after they have served the congregation. Also a warning that ministers should follow the form very closely, but not to imagine that the words changed in any way the nature of the elements.

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The period of consolidation after the first General Assembly in 1910 that seemed so open and promising was followed by legalistic reactions. Pastoral letters in the Synods and Presbyteries became negative and legalistic. A Pastoral Letter of the Southern Synod listed twelve rules which began stating bluntly that the Ten Commandments were still in force and the Sabbath must be kept as well as tithing, and that desecration of the Sabbath was apostasy. Even Alvaro Reis dedicated an editorial to twelve duties of the Christian in which three directly concerned Sunday worship.

- The Christian ought to be diligent, never missing the divine Public Worship, whether it be directed by the pastor or by any other brother. He ought to appear at these meetings with joy, respect, and devotion, Heb. 10:25, Ps. 81.
- The Christian ought to arrive in time to take part in the worship, and remain reverently seated in his place, not conversing, not going out, not making a noise, but paying attention in order to gain from the worship...
- The Christian must keep the day of the Lord Holy, not doing any business, nor profaning the day with games, etc. On this day only work of necessity is permitted such as visiting the sick and helping the needy. Ex. 2:8; Neh. 13:15-22; Mathew 25:33; Luke 13:14-16.

In another Pastoral Letter both the movies and the dance were censured.

The programme for evangelism continued. In the annual report of the "Mother Church" at Rio in 1938, the pastor listed eighteen organized churches that the first church has mothered directly. They were: Copocabana, Botafogo, Ramos, Taju, Thomas Coelho, Nilopolis, Realengo, Fontinha, Bento Ribeiro, Turi-Assu, Ilha do Governador, Madureira, Anchieta, Campo Grande, Marechal, Hermes,  

1. Revista das Missões nacionaes, June, 1913, pp. 4-5.
Nova Iguassu, Bonfim, and Sertão.1 These were now fully organized and independent churches. The Report then lists five more congregations in the process of becoming churches:

"The Congregation of Maria de Graca, A Congregation of Estacio in the house of our sister Mrs. Candida Holanda Machado; another in the home of our brothers -- Lino Bizarro e Lourival Faria in the suburb of Penha, and a preaching point in the house of our brother Jose Patricio."2

It was an incredible saga of church expansion, and the difficulties of training so many in Christian graces and organized worship are obvious.

The Grubb and Braga3 Report referred to in the beginning of this study was made in 1932. The report mentioned the fact that the Evangelical Churches had "expanded at the expense of depth in their spiritual life",4 and that:

"The very impetuosity of the efforts which have created in Brazil the strongest evangelical community now existing in South America, has produced a shallow type of religious life, both intellectually and spiritually."5

and that:

"There are signs of discontent with the prevailing type of public worship and shallow intellectualism in the pulpit."6

This discontent that should have evolved into a normal fuller

1. Annuario da Igreja Presbyteriana do Rio de Janeiro 1939
   Pastor -- Mattathias Gomes dos Santos. p. 50.

2. Loc. cit.


4. Ibid., p. 131.

5. Ibid., p. 120.

6. Ibid., p. 131.
development of church life was retarded and nearly eclipsed by a period of theological conflicts. The struggle came to a focus first in the Independent Presbyterian Church, and is discussed in that section of this study. The conflict between the rural and urban churches, between the older and younger generations, was augmented by the tensions between fundamentalism and liberalism in North America, and brought a schism in the Independent Presbyterian Church, which cast a retarding gloom over all liturgical development in Brazil. Issues became confused and clouded. As a result the Manual Presbyteriano (Presbyterian Manual), was published by the "Casa Editora Presbiteriana", the official publishing House of Presbyterian Church of Brazil, in the edition of 1951 and 1960, has the most meagre section of Liturgy ever published by that Church. The Old Westminster Directory was eliminated. In its place was a short chapter on keeping the Lord's day, another concerning the Church Building, and Chapter III - PUBLIC WORSHIP which consisted of only two brief paragraphs:

Art. 7. - The public worship is a religious act in which the people worship the Lord, entering into communion with Him, making confession of sins and seeking through the mediation of Jesus Christ, pardon, sanctification of life, and spiritual growth. It is a suitable occasion for the proclamation of the redeeming message of the Gospel of Christ and for the indoctrination and consecration of believers.

Art. 8. - The public worship consists ordinarily of the reading of the Word of God, preaching, sacred songs, and prayers and offerings. The administration of the sacraments when administered in the public worship service is part of it...There shall not be worship services in memory of persons who have died."

This meagre section on public worship is at present the only official statement. They were not even advised, as in the Directory of 1888, to read good literature on the subject. The glowing promises of 1910 and the yearning sighs of discontent noted by Grubb and Braga in 1932 have not yet been fulfilled.

Independent Presbyterian Church

The Independent Presbyterian Church came into being July 31, 1903, as the result of a schism in the Presbyterian Church of Brazil. The open issue was concerning membership in Masonry; however the real issue was more related to the growing pains of a young national church irritated by what they considered excessive patronage on the part of the foreign missionaries. Their leader, Edwardo Pereira, gave dynamic leadership, and during his lifetime the new branch of Presbyterianism surged ahead in rapid growth and conquest. It attracted the intellectual elite of Protestantism perhaps in part through its appeal to nationalism and its freedom from foreign missionaries in leadership. Because of this it suffered problems of older Protestantism much earlier than the parent body from which it sprang. Also its first strong leader who died in 1922 had centralized the government; after his death the church passed through

1. Emile-G. Leonard, O Protestantismo Brasileiro (Sao Paulo: ASTE, 1963) p. 286ff. Leonard states that this Independent Presbyterian "became the intellectual cream of Brazilian Protestantism", and has been the area of Brazilian Protestantism which has "more nearly approximated the problems of Older Protestantism of Europe".
a stage of decentralization, and then again a centralization of power.¹

In 1936, Edward Pereira de Magalhaes, a grandson of Carlos Pereira -- the founder of the Independent Presbyterian Church, was the General Secretary of the "União da Mocidade Presbyteriana Independente" (Union of Independent Presbyterian Youth) the official youth organization of the movement; he published a book "A Marcha da Mocidade", (The March of the Young People) which called attention to some of the problems developing in the growing pains of the Church. He urgently called for various reforms and some of these in the field of worship: He stated:

"In the worship service it is always the same thing, done in the same way, with the very same words, the same ideas, repeated always and always at the same place. All the meetings, whatever their purpose, without exception, begin with a hymn, then prayer, then Bible reading, then another prayer, etc....It is always the same, and it petrifies the group, it leads the life of the group to the likeness of a museum, and an existence of death like the mumies and stuffed animals in a museum."²

He recognized and pointed out a breach that was appearing between the urban and rural churches and their youth leaders:

"One of the most serious problems which we must confront among the youth is the existence in the midst of our ecclesiastical communion of two different types of young people, who are very different one from the other, and who do not easily adjust to each other. One is the youth of the cities and the other is the rural youth. The mentality of their formation is very different. So great is the chasm between the two that it is difficult to find a point of contact. They don't understand even when we attempt to present some form of reconciliation. What the

1. Ibid., p. 287ff.
mentality of the cities finds very strict, the mentality of the rural areas terms extremely liberal. What pleases one the other condemns. The morality of the urban church is so different from the morality of the interior that when they confront each other they condemn the other. Any form of reconciliation is found by one to be too liberal, and by the other to be too strict. The difference between the urban believers and those of the interior has been discussed in the General Assembly as one of the evils that must be corrected....This profound difference in mental outlook, each one becoming more convinced of the rightness of his position, points to the possibility of a new schism, of the creation of two diverse centres of religious opinions."

These tensions were appearing in all the Evangelical Churches in Brazil, but the forces of conflict appeared first in the Independent Presbyterian Church.

E. Pereira de Magalhães recognized the evil of utilitarianism in worship -- an evil that crept into the services when they were planned with only evangelism or teaching in view and no understanding or concern for the worship of God:

"Utilitarianism, even though it has a true aspect and has value and usefulness, presents also a pernicious and materialistic depth when ideals disappear in the exaltation of concrete things, and when spiritual values become annulled, when only what is useful has value. Unhappily there reigns in our evangelical circles an aspect of utilitarianism: in the worship service the only thing that is valued is the sermon because it is useful; it is therefore the important part, while adoration, and worship of God remain at the side -- despised. In a series of religious conferences, the only thing looked for is the proselyte -- the convert; and when a spiritual retreat is planned there are those who say: 'This is too elevated a thing; we want something more concrete.' What is the value of fellowship? What is the value of communion? Let us leave these things aside and go on to something more concrete."2

He had put his finger upon two problems related to worship in

1. E. Pereira de Magalhães, Marcha da Mocidade, pp. 100-102.
2. Ibid., p. 80. The underlining is mine.
the Church in which he had been brought up, and in which he had been an officer for many years. He voiced a thirst for a new spirituality in worship:

"In the evangelical circles there is a thirst for a new spiritual life, a desire for a new form of worship that is less stagnant, and more alive and expressive."1

He called attention to the fact that all the services had the same form -- the same model -- whether it was a Sunday service, or a prayer-meeting,2 or an open air evangelistic service.3 A prayer-meeting was a preaching service with two or three prayers at the end, and an open air meeting followed the same form as the indoor worship hour. This he argued was robbing the effectiveness of the service. The church must rethink its strategy -- a worship hour must remember to worship God; an evangelistic service must have another central dominating idea, and the prayer meeting should have another different controlling idea and thought. He was voicing what many of his colleagues were saying and feeling. This concern for better worship however became associated with a theological controversy that seriously retarded its normal development.

A serious question arose among the "intellectual elite", the "intellectual cream of Brazilian Protestantism"4 concerning the symbols of faith. A group of the more open minded began a movement to restudy the Confession of Faith. The conservative wing became alarmed over the possibility of a revision of the Confession and

1. Ibid., p. 96.
2. Ibid., p. 142.
3. Ibid., p. 157.
Catechisms and formed a "Liga Conservadora", (Conservative League). By 1938 they were publishing articles in the official church paper _Presbiteriana Independente_, against any revision of the church symbols.¹ Later that year a special synod was called. The so-called "Liberals" presented a Declaration of Faith in which they stated:

"We believe in the preeminence of spiritual life and ethics above the Symbols of Faith, and that though they are based in the Scriptures, they are fallible, subject to error and should be accepted in the spirit of free examination."²

The synod reacted and prohibited any reservation in the acceptance of the Westminster Symbols, and asked for the resignation of any who had such reservations. Rev. Otoniel Mota, a leader of the so-called "Liberal" movement surrendered his pastorate. But a committee was nominated to elaborate a New Confession of Faith, and present it before 1942. This was considered not a rejection of the symbols but a clearer interpretation of them. The position did not satisfy some of the more conservative ministers who withdrew from the Church and formed a new denomination -- "Igreja Presbiteriana Conservadora" (Conservative Presbyterian Church).

This action forced the remainder of the Independent Presbyterian Church to clarify its theological positions. The "Liberals" presented their position in writing reaffirming their adhesion to the fundamental doctrines of Christianity and the orientation of the Reformation, but still affirmed the right to

¹ Leonard, _op. cit._, pp. 293-29ff.
² Ibid., p. 29f.
examine the Symbols of Faith. Finally this group was asked to leave\(^1\) the denomination without being forced out. The denomination affirmed its esteem and love for their liberal brethren and declared that it considered them worthy of the ministry, but not the ministry within the Independent Presbyterian Church.\(^2\) The final result was the formation of a new Presbyterian denomination in the city of Sao Paulo called "Igreja Cristã de São Paulo" (Christian Church of Sao Paulo), which became a centre of worship for Protestant intellectuals and university professors.

Finally in 1946, nearly a decade after the publication of "A Marcha da Mocidade" the Synod of the Independent Presbyterian Church approved a new "Manual de Offícios Religiosos", and in 1961 it was published as an authorized document of the Synod. This pocket-sized document of one hundred and fifty-eight pages is devoted largely to the special services of the church, however pages seven to seventeen are given to instructions concerning the Sunday worship hour.

Page sixteen presents a simple outline of "common worship", which is stated to be the traditional form. It is as follows:

1. -- Prayer invoking the presence of God.
2. -- Hymn (of invocation or praise)
3. -- Scripture lesson (with a view of the sermon)
4. -- Prayer (Confession, supplication and intercession)
5. -- Hymn
6. -- Announcements (sometimes placed after the sermon)
7. -- Offerings and their consecration (sometimes received after the benediction)
8. -- Sermon

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1. Ibid., p. 296ff.
9. -- Prayer (brief, referring to the sermon)
10. -- Hymn (with reference to the sermon)
11. -- Benediction.

This is followed by a special and complete form of a worship service with full rubrics and prayers to be read. The worship service is divided into seven parts: invocation, glorification, contrition, praise, dedication, edification, and conclusion. The part entitled contrition begins by the reading of the beatitudes; a few moments of silent prayer precedes the pastoral prayer of confession, which is largely a Brazilian composition and is beautiful and expressive. The dedication is associated with the offerings which are said to be an expression of our dedication. The edification includes the Scriptural lesson and the sermon. In the conclusion is a suggested hymn of prayer for the revival of the church and is followed by the Apostolic benediction.

These instructions concerning worship and this formula of worship merit special attention in that it is the first and only official form of Reformed worship yet prepared by any of the Presbyterian Churches of Brazil. It is used not only by ministers of the Independent Presbyterian Church, but also by many pastors of the older Presbyterian Church from which the Independent Presbyterian Church sprang. This document gives hope that more attention may be given to worship in the future.

1. The writer uses this Book for special services.
The Evangelical Confederation

This organization, a loosely formed Confederation of the Evangelical Churches and Missions working in Brazil, has made some attempts to meet the liturgical needs of the people. In 1915 they published a hymnbook *O Hinario Evangelico* with words and music, and a modest liturgy -- mostly rubrics. More complete editions were subsequently published. The Methodist Church of Brazil adopted this as their official hymnbook and enlarged the liturgy along Methodist lines. It is discussed more fully under the Methodist contribution.

Another contribution made by the Evangelical Confederation was the publication in 1942 of a small booklet entitled *Liturgia* or *Manual para o Culto Publico* (Manual for Public Worship). This book contained twelve "Programs for Worship"; three "Programs for Communion"; and fifty-two responsive Scriptural lessons. The first forms of worship presented were simple, but the latter were more complete. The Communion Service contained a form for those who received the elements at the Table or Altar, and another for those who received the elements seated in their pews. This publication was not well received throughout Brazil. It was published during a period of theological tension, and was viewed with suspicion by many conservative leaders. It was presented without any theological preparation among the churches to receive it, and to understand the theological meaning of Evangelical worship.

This book, while rejected by most churches, did become a part

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1. The writer has a copy but knows of only one Church that has used it in their regular services.
of Brazilian literature on the subject, and in the personal library of ministers it served as resource material. It also helped to prepare the way for the publication by the Confederation of the simple liturgy in the Appendix of their hymnal two decades later.

The Methodist Church

Mention has been made of the first Brazilian Methodist Service book prepared by J.J. Ransom in 1878 for the guidance of lay groups who had received a Bible, but had no ordained leadership to guide them. The Methodist Church in Brazil, however, largely followed the steps of the Methodist Church in North America, and bears the marks of both Anglican and Puritan ancestry. In North America, and in Brazil, where its itinerant "saddlebag preachers" moved West with the frontier, both their worship and testimony were "cast into the simplicities which the environment demanded".

Concerning North America Macleod has stated:

"The only piece of liturgy that can be classified as a prescribed order in the Methodist Churches in America is the Order for the Lord's Supper."3

In Brazil the first book of J.J. Ransom soon disappeared, and in its place came the Canônes da Igreja Methodista do Brazil, in which two pages out of two hundred and thirty-nine were given to the

1. See Chapter VI -- Bible Distribution.
2. Macleod, op.cit., p. 87,
3. Loc. cit.
public worship service. These two pages contain some general rules such as not prolonging the service beyond one hour, and advising not to make unnecessary announcements during the worship service. Article 313 of this section read as follows:

"The order to follow in the public worship on Sundays is the following:

1. Music.
2. Invocation.
3. Hymn by the congregation.
4. Apostolic Creed.
5. Prayer and the Lord's Prayer.
6. Responsive reading or hymn from Choir.
7. Responsive reading (i.e. if the preceding were choir)
8. Offering and offering music.
9. Hymn by choir or congregation.
10. Scripture lesson.
11. Sermon.
12. Prayer, or an appropriate hymn.
13. Doxology and Apostolic Benediction."

This was followed by the rubric:

"The order of public worship may be altered according to the necessities of the moment, according to the judgment of the leader, provided that reverence and decency be retained."

However, concerning the sacraments, it was stated in Article 311 --

"For the good order in the divine offices and for uniformity in the administration of the sacraments, the Church establishes a Ritual which must, except in certain instances prescribed in these Canônes, be rigorously observed by those officiating."

The ritual for the Lord's Supper and Baptism followed carefully the Methodist Service in North America. However the Methodist leaders of Brazil have been more responsive to the world-wide resurgence of liturgical thinking than some of the other Protestant

2. Ibid., p. 148.
churches. And although as yet they have not produced a Brazilian Book of Worship, they have given leadership in the Confederação Evangélica, (Evangelical Confederation) in the publication of an "Evangelical Hymnbook" (Hinário Evangelico), which has included a section on worship, and which has been officially adopted by the Methodist Church of Brazil, although it is published by the "Confederação Evangélica do Brasil" (Evangelical Confederation of Brazil).

This Hinário Evangelico com Antifonas e Orações (Evangelical Hymnbook with Responsive Readings and Prayers), is now widely used by many denominations, but only officially adopted by the Methodists, should properly be treated as a Methodist contribution to worship. In 1945 and 1953, provisional editions of a hymnbook were prepared and in 1962 a definitive edition was published. In this edition was a serious attempt to correct the letters and music of the earlier works as well as introduce new compositions. However, one hundred and sixty, or nearly one third of the total were still the songs written by Dr. and Mrs. Kelley which had appeared in the Salmos e Hinos. But the important contribution in liturgy was the section in the back of this edition entitled "Antifonas e Orações, (Responsive Readings and Prayers). In this section were fifty-seven carefully selected and arranged portions of the Sacred Scriptures for responsive readings.

Following this section are two paragraphs of general instruction concerning worship followed by didactic outline of worship. Article 331 reads:
"The public worship of God is a duty placed upon man by his own conscience, and clearly recommended by divine revelation in the Sacred Scriptures. It is a duty therefore of every believer to be present at the worship services and to participate reverently in all the acts, and of the minister, as a living example of the people of God, to be carefully prepared for the occasion and to begin the religious service at the hour that is marked.

The day especially consecrated to the public worship is Sunday, or the Lord's Day; for this reason the Christian family should keep this day in the Spirit of the Lord, abstaining from all occupations, cares, and diversions which, though legitimate on other days, takes away from the objective of Sunday, and to seek the house of God and the communion of his children for his spiritual edification, for the continuation of Christian fraternity and mutual emulation in the practice of doing good."1

Here the concept of worship is that of duty; a duty imposed by man's conscience and recommended by the Scriptures -- a duty for every believer to be present at the worship services and to participate in all of its acts. It is a day to have communion with God's children, to seek spiritual edification and the mutual emulation in the practice of doing good, but the concept of joyful response to God is missing. However in the outline of a worship service which immediately followed this explanation, one section of worship is called praise, but it is under the overtone of praise as a duty men owe to God. Article 332 read as follows:

"The order to follow in public worship is the following:

THE APPEARING OF MAN BEFORE GOD:2

ADORATION

1. Musical prelude -- seated.
2. Call to Worship -- seated.
3. A hymn of adoration -- standing;

4. Prayer of Invocation -- standing.


2. The Portuguese here is "aproximação do homem à Deus" which is difficult to translate -- It could be translated -- "The drawing near of man to God".
CONFESSION OF SINS TO GOD:

5. The pastoral invitation to confession.
6. Silent prayer -- kneeling or seated.
7. Pastoral prayer asking absolution of sins.

EXALTATION OF THE POWER OF GOD:

8. Hymn of Praise -- standing.
10. The offering -- seated.
11. The consecration of the offerings as a symbol of our consecration to God.
12. Responsive reading -- standing.

THE HEARING OF THE WORD OF GOD:

14. Reading of Scriptures -- seated.
15. Choir or a solo -- seated.

THE RESOLUTION TO FOLLOW GOD:

17. Hymn of dedication -- standing.
18. Prayer of dedication -- standing.

The didactic element is evident -- men are being taught how to fulfill their duty to worship God, but even the section of "praise" is an EXALTATION OF THE POWER OF GOD. Again it must be noted that this outline of worship is duty and not a joyful response to God's great love to mankind, and especially to the redeemed. This was what men like Leonard missed in Protestant worship in Brazil.

Immediately following this outline was "A Simplified Order of Worship" which was a copy of what had appeared in the Methodist Book of Discipline.  

1. The Portuguese word is "faltas" which is more literally "failures" but is used in the sense of sins.
2. Hinario Evangelico...1964, pp. 71-72.
3. The order which had appeared in Canônes da Igreja Metodista do Brasil, p. 149.
This order of worship made a great impact upon Brazil. Churches which had a printed or mimeographed bulletin,¹ began immediately to print an order of worship with these five divisions: Adoration, Confession, Praise, Edification, and Dedication. The need for teaching was everywhere evident, and it was a step forward in the intellectual comprehension of the elements of worship. This 1964 edition of the Hinário Evangelico also printed a section of prayers; the confession of sins before the Lord's Supper is taken from the Methodist Canônes, which in turn is largely taken from the Anglican Book of Common Prayer.

In 1964 another edition of the Hinário Evangelico was printed by the Evangelical Confederation of Brazil. There was no change in the hymns or the Responsive Readings, but in the section of Order of Worship there were innovations. The explanatory paragraphs continue with the idea that worship is a natural duty of man coming out of the human soul, as a part of natural theology, sanctioned by the Holy Scriptures; also worship is for the preaching of the Gospel and for the profit of the believer. Article 286 reads:

"The worship of God is an imperative of the human soul and clearly recommended by the divine revelation in the Sacred Scriptures.

Attending to this imperative, in obedience to the precepts of God, for the conversion of the world, the Church establishes public worship and promotes preaching and the diffusion of the Sacred Scriptures; and for the benefit of the believers it promotes also family worship, the reading and study of the Word, offerings, and the practice of fasting and of abstinence, and of the participation of the sacraments.

¹. A printed or mimeographed bulletin is almost universal among the Evangelical churches of Brazil; even the poorest churches find a way to mimeograph a bulletin.
The observance of these precepts is the duty of all members of the Church."  

Article 287 continued some explanation of the worship service, and included in its instruction a mention of the Methodist "love feast" with bread and water, but did not state that this was a Methodist practice. This fact revealed that this section on worship was predominantly of Methodist inspiration and serves as the official worship book of the Methodist Church in Brazil.

Article 287 states:

"The public worship in which the Christian family is urged to participate, both for its own spiritual profit and for the testimony of its faith, is realized by the churches, weekly, on Sunday, on the Lord's Day.

For the dignity of the worship service and for good order in the divine offices and for uniformity in the administration of the sacraments, the church has established a ritual which is, except in special cases, to be observed by those officiating.

The Church provides for all, beside the Sunday worship services, weekly meetings in accordance with the circumstances, of Biblical and doctrinal studies; and from time to time testimony meetings, and the "love feast" in which the brethren meeting in the spirit of the Lord eat bread and drink water together, pray, sing, and relate their religious experiences.

It is the duty of the pastors to instruct the members of the churches concerning the value of utilizing these means of grace offered by the Church; to urge them to possess a Bible and a Hymnbook, and to bring them to the House of God, and to carefully prepare themselves to participate in the ceremonies and religious rites."  

Here again the worship service is a time for learning, and for testimony. It is for his own spiritual value and profit, and

1. *Hinario Evangelico com Antifonas e Orações* (Rio de Janeiro: Confederacao Evangelica do Brasil, 1964) p. 71. This was a second printing of the second edition and has some changes in section of ritual.

for the propaganda of the faith, but the element of joyfully meeting with the Lord is neglected.

Article 289 is quite similar to Article 332 of the earlier printing, but with some interesting changes. The Apostles Creed was moved from the section of Praise to Adoration, and immediately follows the hymn of adoration. Section II -- Confession gives a list of scriptures which may be used by the minister as an invitation to confession. Also the Lord's Prayer was placed immediately after the prayer of absolution. Section III -- Praise was rearranged to this order: Hymn of praise, responsive reading, Gloria Patria, offerings, and dedication of offerings. In Edification, the singing of the choir or the solo precedes the Scripture lesson which is followed immediately by the sermon. The Dedication remains the same, except that it now includes the Doxology. A footnote stated that announcements were not to be made from the pulpit, but to be published in the bulletin, or affixed to the bulletin board.

A second alteration in this second printing of 1964 was the inclusion of a complete order of the Lord's Supper. This service follows in large part the Methodist Order as it appeared in the Cânone, but there it was to follow the worship service, but here it was integrated in the five-fold division of worship, being placed under Section IV - Edification. The service begins with a

1. Supra., p.
2. This includes Ezek. 18:27; Psalms 51:17; Daniel 9:9-10; Luke 15:18-19; Psalms 143:2; I John 1: 5-10.
music prelude in which the people are invited to meditate.
Psalms 100 is read as the call to worship, after which a hymn of adoration is sung, and the first collect of the Communion Service of the Book of Common Prayer is read. In Part II under Confession the conscience is examined, as in the Book of Common Prayer, by the Ten Commandments, in which the people at intervals make their petition for mercy. The people are called to make silent confession of their sins to God, after which they are led in the prayer of Confession taken from the Book of Common Prayer. Absolution is given using the Scripture of I John 1:5, 8-9. The people are then called to "lift up their hearts" and they respond -- "To the Lord we lift them up". They are then exhorted to give thanks to the Lord our God, and they respond -- "It is fitting and just, so to do". The minister then repeats the prayer of the Book of Common Prayer -- "It is very meet, right, and our bounden duty, that we should at all times, and in all places, give thanks unto thee, O Lord, Holy Father, Almighty God". The proper Preface of the time is omitted, and the prayer continues again from the Book of Common Prayer --

"Therefore with Angels and Archangels, and with all the company of heaven, we laud and magnify thy glorious name, evermore praising thee, and saying --

Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of Hosts: heaven and earth are full of thy glory: glory be to thee, O Lord most high. Amen".

This last prayer is repeated by all the congregation and is followed by a hymn of praise in which all are asked to stand and remain standing to affirm their faith repeating the Apostle's Creed.

At this point Section IV Edification begins with a Scripture
lesson, then a brief message, and a Eucharistic hymn is sung; this is followed by an act of reconciliation -- Matthew 5:23-24 is read with an exhortation to seek perfect peace in their hearts; at this time the offering is also received. A short offertory prayer is recited by all. At this point in the service the minister reads a short explanation of the meaning of the Lord's Supper which includes the original story recorded in the Gospels; this is followed by the Prayer of Humble Access as in the Book of Common Prayer. The congregation is then invited to the table of the Lord in the method used by the Methodist Church. Here, however, is an interesting Reformation insight -- the minister says:

"The table is set, and the risen Lord is present with us, and it is He who invites us to His Supper. Let us draw near then with faith."

The customary words are repeated during the serving of each table, and each table is dismissed with the words:

"Rise up brethren, and go in peace."

The Section V -- Dedication begins with a prayer of Dedication and a prayer of intercession, and then all repeat together the Lord's Prayer. The minister then states:

"Truly the Lord is among us,"

while the people respond:

"In this shall they know that we are His disciples, if we love one another."

Following this the Doxology is sung, or recited responsively, and the minister pronounces the Apostolic Benediction.

This ritual has been described in detail because it represents
an attempt to recover the Reformational insight of the Lord's Supper as an integral part of a Sunday morning worship hour, and not as something tacked on to the worship service.\(^1\) It represents an attempt to place the Lord's Supper within the framework established for the regular Sunday worship service and not in a separate service.

**Baptists**

There were Baptists among the American immigrants and colonists who came to Brazil early in the nineteenth century, but Baptist missionary work among the Brazilian people began in 1881 with the arrival of W.B. Bagby\(^2\) and his co-worker Z.C. Taylor. Their work has grown rapidly in spite of many schisms and divisions. One of their historians, A.R. Crabtree writing in 1952, stated:

"Nowhere else in the modern world have Southern Baptist missionaries been so successful in extending the frontiers of Christ's Kingdom. Progress has surpassed the hopes and dreams of the pioneers. Prospects for the future are calling..."\(^3\)

In 1926 there appeared their first *Manual das Egrejas* (Manual of the Churches) which contained in the Preface these words:

"It is strange that the Baptists have worked in Brazil for almost one-half century and have not however possessed until today a "Church Manual". The reason is simple:

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1. The writer was recently shown a church bulletin in Brazil in which the pastor announced that at the close of the worship service the sacrament of the Lord's Supper would be observed.


their supreme interest is in the evangelization of the nation.\textsuperscript{1}

Leonard quotes one Baptist missionary who, when asked how many evangelists he had in his field, replied: "As many evangelists as we have members",\textsuperscript{2} and quotes another Baptist Missionary as stating: "Almost all our members have the gift of preaching."\textsuperscript{3}

In the Baptist system of church government any local group of believers could constitute themselves into a church and elect a pastor. This characteristic of the Baptist faith has permitted a rapid extension of their work throughout Brazil, but it has also led to an incredible number of schisms; the redeeming feature, however, is that each splinter group remains a Baptist Church, and with the change of leadership and passing of time, the quarrels are often forgotten and healed. Crabtree, writing about the specific problems inherent in their system as it worked within Brazil, stated:

"The lack of education and the lack of experience in democracy are serious handicaps. Because of illiteracy even Christian people are limited in their ability to inform themselves on questions of Christian ethics, with a comprehensive understanding of issues that involve personal interests. Because of their neo-feudalistic social structure\textsuperscript{4} the people have been trained for centuries to depend upon

\begin{enumerate}
\item Leonard, \textit{op.cit.}, p. 274.
\item Leonard, \textit{op.cit.}, p. 275.
\item See Chapter 7, Section "Political Structure". The underlining is mine.
\end{enumerate}
their political, religious or social group. Group solidarity depends on personal leadership, and the leader can easily develop into a dictator in religion as well as in politics. 2

There is little to indicate any realistic contribution to worship from the Baptist missionaries or among the Brazilian Baptist Churches. The supreme interest has been as Taylor has stated -- "the evangelization of the nation". An occasional cultured Brazilian Baptist pastor has endeavoured to lead his local church to better days in worship, but it is not an easy task. 3

Taylor in the Manual das Igrejas devoted a long section to baptism; first he endeavoured to show that baptism in itself does not save any one. It is a Christian duty but it is not essential to salvation. He then states:

"The believer should be baptized because it is the public profession of his faith." 4

This was certainly a different concept from that held by John Calvin and John Knox, but this Baptist concept of baptism being only a public profession of Protestant faith infiltrated deeply into all the Protestant Churches of Brazil. Without doubt it was related to the fact that they were re-baptizing converts from Romanism -- all validity of the first baptism was being denied and

1. Loc. cit.
2. Crabtree, Baptists in Brazil, op. cit., p. 103. Crabtree gave many tragic illustrations of this type of happening.
3. One Baptist Seminary professor recently told the writer that many Baptist Churches in Brazil would consider it apeing the Catholic Church to repeat the Lord's Prayer in a Worship Service.
the second baptism became only a public act of testimony. Taylor emphasizes the influence of the public act of Baptism for evangelization:

"Baptism has a great outreach in evangelism. It never ceases to attract interest. Many are converted upon seeing a loved one make this sacrifice of love for Christ. All the social influence of the one being baptized is given gladly to the Gospel, to the Church, to the Truth, and to the Saviour. Christ demonstrated his divine wisdom in choosing this living monument of His resurrection. No one could imagine a book, a monument of brass or ivory, any institution or inscription, or any other thing that could be such a universal monument to the resurrection and to the proclamation of the Gospel as this solemn and attractive act..."\footnote{1}{Ibid., p. 83.}

Both directly and indirectly this Baptist concept of the Sacraments infiltrated and pervaded throughout large areas of the Evangelical ranks within Brazil. It fitted in with the great task of evangelism, and with the ever-present fact that the sacraments were denied to the believers except in the occasional visit of the ordained minister.

**Episcopal and Lutheran**

The Episcopal Church had its Book of Common Prayer both in English and Portuguese from the very beginning. In recent years some of the new "experimental"\footnote{2}{Estandarte Cristão. Oct. 1967. p. 12. "The Synod of the Episcopal Church of Brazil has authorized a new liturgy for the Holy Communion..." The article was written by Rev. J.C. Maraschin and describes in detail the new liturgy and the criticisms it was receiving. However he insists the young people are giving their approval.} liturgies have been used occasionally.
in the Churches, but the services largely follow the order of the Prayer Book.

The Lutheran Churches were established in Brazil during a time of liturgical decadence in Germany, and the parishes often scattered over vast geographical areas. Under those conditions the development of an ordered worship service was difficult; there has been, however, in recent years a studied attempt to return more closely to the patterns established at the Reformation.

During the first half of the twentieth century all Evangelical worship in Brazil was affected by the Pentecostal movements which are discussed in Chapter Nine.
PART V

THE CONTEMPORARY SCENE
Pentecostalism came late into the religious spectrum of Brazil, but it came with the force of a tropical storm, penetrating all the major areas of the nation and nearly every hamlet. It has touched either directly or indirectly all the churches and missionary endeavours and perhaps in some degree every individual congregation. Pentecostalism discovered among the neglected and illiterate masses, among the adherents of the Roman Catholic folk-religion a fertile field that made a massive response to its message and methods. How far will this movement continue its spectacular growth and what will be its future is as yet undetermined. For good and for evil it had deeply affected all worship within the land -- both Protestant and Roman Catholic. There was hardly a church that did not have some members who attended Pentecostal meetings and returned to their home church accusing it of being dead and cold and demanding changes in the worship services. Many pastors felt forced to alter their methods in order to compete or to hold their people. The Methodist, Presbyterian, and Baptist Churches lost pastors, local congregations, and sometimes even groups of churches to this movement. A study of Evangelical worship in Brazil cannot ignore this movement.
History

Braga and Grubb in their survey of the religious situation in Brazil in 1932 scarcely mentioned Pentecostalism. In one hundred and eighty-four pages, less than one page was devoted to pentecostalism. He mentioned that in the southern states of Rio Grande do Sul and Santa Catarina, where at that time the Presbyterians had withdrawn their workers and Protestantism was mostly represented by the Lutheran, Methodist, and Episcopal churches, the Pentecostals were among a scattered group of others:

"Adventists, Baptists, Congregationalists, Independent Presbyterians, and Pentecostals are also represented to a varying degree in this zone."1

He mentioned that in certain areas the strong polemical reactions2 of national leaders and the suspicions of heresy3 which grow out of these polemics, caused estrangements, and that Adventists in the south and Pentecostals in the north had "received many seceders from the older churches".4 In analyzing the "Extreme North" they devote a short paragraph to Pentecostalism:

"The predominant evangelical movement in the Amazon Valley is the Pentecostal. The new Church in Belem holds about one thousand people and its meetings are always well attended. A large number of believers are scattered over all the region of Marajo, and its islands, and northwards to the mouth of the Araguaia. On the main river the work extends almost to the boundary of Peru. On the Purus and the Acre there are some organized churches with a considerable following and on the upper Madeira, the region of the Madeira-Mamore Railway."5

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2. Ibid., p. 109.
3. Loc. cit.
4. Loc. cit.
5. Ibid., pp. 101-102.
It should be noticed that this northern part of Brazil had been in many ways particularly prepared for the advent of Pentecostalism by a scarcity of priests, and by the development of a lay-directed "Catholic-folk-religion", in which superstition, and miraculous cures by "carismatic" leaders and "saints" played a prominent part. This was also a region dominated by various types of "messianic" leaders. Over a century ago Kidder quoted from an official government report on the Roman Catholic Churches in the north of Brazil (in 1842) which underlined the extreme scarcity of Roman priests in the parishes:

"In the Province of Para there exists parishes that have not had a vicar in twelve years. In the region of the River Negro there are twelve villages with only one priest. The same situation exists on the banks of the Solimon River. There are three counties (Portuguese-Comarcas) of Belem, in the Lower and Upper Amazon, where there are thirty-six empty parishes. In Maranhao there are twenty-five empty churches without a candidate." 2

More recently, the Jesuit Padre Angelo Rossi in his Diretoria Protestante no Brasil 3 (Protestant Directory of Brazil) compiled in 1938 for the special purpose of preparing the Roman Catholic Church

1. Vera Kelsey, Seven Keys to Brazil, Chapter Five. This chapter graphically describes the rich folklore of this area and the messianic leaders such as Padre Cicero, etc.

2. Daniel P. Kidder, Sketches of Residence and Travel in Brasil (Philadelphia: Sonn & Bald, 1845) 2 Vol. Also translated into Portuguese by Moacyr N. Vasconvelos under the title -- "Reminiscencias de Viagens e Permanencia no Brasil". This quotation is taken from the Portuguese translation Vol. II, pp. 253-254. When the Portuguese Translation will be quoted it will be Kidder, Tr. Vol. I or II, etc.

in Brazil to defend itself against the inroads of the Protestant Church, and to attack Protestantism wherever it may be found, made a brief critical study of each Protestant mission within the borders of Brazil; also a Directory showing every city, town, and village, where they were working. Concerning Pentecostalism in 1936 in Brazil, he mentions four main groups: The Assemblies of God; the Scandinavian Assemblies of God; Swedish Pentecostals; Pentecostal Missionary Union for Great Britain and Ireland. The Assemblies of God began their work in Brazil about 1913 in the north of Brazil and Rossi mentions forty-eight cities or towns where they had work in the State of Para; twelve localities in the State of Amazonas; nine in Rio Grande do Norte; one in Maceio; four in Baia; five in the Ceara; one in the Federal District; one in Espirito Santo, seven in the State of Maranhao; one in Minas Gerais; eleven in Pernambuco; five in Rio de Janeiro; and only one in the State of Sao Paulo.¹

The Scandinavian Assemblies of God entered Brazil in 1925, and according to Rossi with thirteen missionaries, all in the north of Brazil.² The Swedish pentecostals in 1931 reported twenty-two missionaries and one hundred and sixty assemblies.³ The Pentecostal Missionary Union for Great Britain and Ireland at that time was limiting their work to Indian Missions.

¹ Ibid., p. 172. "Devemos combater os protestantes" (We must combat the protestants) Chapter VII of this book has as its title "Ways to prevent and resist Protestant Propaganda".
² Rossi, op.cit., pp. 107-110.
³ Loc. cit.
⁴ Loc. cit.
⁵ Loc. cit.
It is noted that it is a movement of this century, and that it began in the north of Brazil, and that even in 1938 Rossi is aware of only one Pentecostal work in the great city of Sao Paulo. This picture was to change in the decades following 1938.

The Missionary Information Bureau\(^1\) after carefully analyzing all possible information from Government census reports and denomination literature came to the conclusion that the present estimate of the Protestant membership for all Brazil in 1969 was 3,221,000\(^2\) of which about two thirds are Pentecostal.\(^3\) The Brazilian government has been taking or attempting a census of the principal religious groups each year for about a decade, but it is difficult to get an exact figure. Denominational reports are seldom complete. The geographical area is vast, and the conditions are constantly changing with the migrations of people and of leaders. However this would put the present membership in all Pentecostal churches at approximately two million, and a church, preaching hall, or home-meeting of some branch of Pentecostalism is now to be found in nearly every part of Brazil. The government census also indicates that many thousands consider themselves Protestant who are not found on any Protestant Church roll. Perhaps two million more consider themselves Protestant than the

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1. Missionary Information Bureau, R. Sao Bento, 290, Caixa Post 1498, Sao Paulo, Sp. Brasil, is an interdenominational service bureau representing most of the Protestant Missions working in Brazil. It promotes conventions, publishes *Occasional Papers* of information to all its members.


above figures indicate.

The main Pentecostal movement in Brazil today is divided into the Assemblies of God, Congregação Cristã no Brasil, and "Brasil para Cristo", although there are many thriving smaller and independent movements, and Pentecostal movements within some of the older denominations. The Assemblies of God organization in Brazil was founded by a Swedish missionary, Daniel Berg, who while living in the United States, came into an unusual experience of the filling or baptism of the Holy Spirit, and felt called to go to Brazil as a missionary. He arrived November 19, 1910, which the organization celebrates as their founding date. The organization states that they are a "fellowship patterned after the Swedish Assemblies of God",¹. They have, however, become an indigenous church, and numerically the strongest evangelical group in Brazil. They are now found in every state and territory of Brazil. This church came to Brazil just as the great migration from the rural areas to urban centres began to take on acceleration, and as the peasants, illiterate and frustrated, drifted into the cities, forming almost overnight sizeable slums, this church met a social need for them. Their ministers were laymen, or ordained laymen, that is men who had never received theological training, and who speak the language and think the thoughts of the working man. At the outer edges of the new centres of trade, transportation, manufacture, communication, and politics throughout Brazil these preaching

halls of the Assemblies of God sprang up.

The migrating people found a welcome and an invitation to community participation. They were made to feel at home immediately. Even before the service began the "brethren" were anxious to know where the visitor came from, where he was staying, where he was going, and if he was a "crente" (a believer). After the service he was treated again in a friendly manner and invited to come back. Feeling the need of friends he was eager to return, and sensing the need to belong, he accepted the invitation to become a 'crente'. During the succeeding week he received a visit from one of the "brothers" and was invited to a service in one of the homes of a "brother" near by.

This fellowship has attractive qualities. Once within, the visitor participates in the cycle of spontaneous expansion which depends upon lay leadership as much as ordained. Everyone has an opportunity to become a leader. There are various levels of leadership in the Assemblies, and those who have natural and spiritual gifts may use them to reach the highest eschelon of denominational leadership. A premium is placed on the gifts of the Spirit, but gifts of the Spirit and natural capacities are sometimes difficult to distinguish. Prospective leaders are given opportunities to prove themselves in the Lord's calling in the overall programme of evangelism. They are tested in the actual church work, of which there is always plenty, and they believe that God's call is validated in the successful exercise of God's gift in service. In some Assemblies, periods of basic training are given,
but in a very elementary and limited manner. Special assignments are given them for work in villages, towns, or wards. Some of the more promising become responsible for the founding of new churches in suburban districts or neighbouring villages. Little provision is made for their financial support. The men are working laymen with self-support and they are doing this in their spare moments. And if they give their full time they trust the Lord for their support. If the Lord has called them, they feel He will provide for their financial necessities. In some of the larger centres, the lay leaders are called in for a week or ten days special Bible study and prayer, but mostly for re-consecration. In the Belo Horizonte area in the central part of the State of Minas Gerais, the lay workers have a special re-consecration and study meeting every three months. Almost none, as yet, of this training, could be qualified as theological training. When a lay worker has seemed to demonstrate by his gifts and the results in his field, that he has the gifts and callings of a minister, he is ordained, and given a field in which he may in turn begin the training of others to carry on the work the Lord has called them to do.

Each local church is supposed to be an independent body, and has its own church offices, as they understand the New Testament regulation. The pastor has great responsibility, and at times it would seem to an outsider that he exercises his power as a dictator, although a small book of rules called the "Regulamento" is now widely scattered through the churches and helps to curb the dictatorial
trends. In the interior it is common to hear of a family or group of families dropped from the church roll simply at the orders of the pastor.

The "ordained" pastor, has come up from the ranks, and has never been separated from the culture, customs and thought forms of the people. Many through their natural gifts and "gifts" of the Spirit seem to really earn the respect and obedience given to them. There is no stiff formalism or fixed gulf between laity and clergy.

The Sunday "worship" hour is the climax of a full weekly programme. Weekly meetings have been held in various parts of the city directed by the members themselves who live in these districts. Sometimes there are street meetings, and some of the informal home meetings become quite enthusiastic. At times there are nightly revival meetings in the little store-front preaching halls. Announcements are given every Sunday in the Sunday School, and the lay preachers are given their assignments for the week, to carry out the programme of the "church in your house" plan. Neighbours coming to these "home services" are often converted under exhortation of these zealous lay preachers.

Saturday night is in many centres the second most important evening of the week. Usually it becomes a special evangelistic service, in which those who desire the "Baptism of the Holy Spirit" tarry at the altar, praying at times until well after midnight, with loud crying, weeping and singing.

1. See Chapter VII -- Political structure.
Sunday becomes the great day -- the big gathering of the "crentes" in the crowded city churches, in the rented halls or store fronts. There is a Sunday School often conducted in the midst of the most utter confusion as a dozen teachers crowd their classes into one large auditorium and shout their teaching messages hoping to make it heard above the general confusion. No one seems to mind, at least they are all together, and book learning is not very important; what is important is to feel the joy of believing, and the warmth of Christian fellowship. The Sunday School is usually brought to its end by a stirring sermon from the preacher, which is fervent and a sincere exhortation and appeal for decision for Christ and to consecration. In many churches there is an afternoon service directed to believers. Then the Sunday night service becomes the great climax of the week. All who can play any kind of a musical instrument have a place in the church band which plays many special numbers in the Sunday night service. Believers give their testimonies, telling how they were saved, healed, persecuted, blessed, or how they received special answers to prayers. Visitors are recognized and asked where they came from, while guests often have a "special word from the Lord" for the believers. All join together in a great wave of prayer, all audibly voicing their petitions to God. Finally comes the sermon which is usually punctuated constantly with loud "Amens", "hallelujahs", and happy shouts of "gloria a Deus", (Glory to God). The sermon is almost always an appeal to decision -- an invitation, and the altar is lined with those who respond. Many of these have already made a
kind of preliminary decision in the home services in the various
districts of the city during the week; others are those who have
been attending these home meetings, but have not yet made a public
decision for Christ. More announcements are made and then the
benediction is pronounced and the people go home. Many of the
Christian workers who have rushed from one activity to another all
day will meet in homes for a special late Sunday night meal -- a
meeting which will probably close with an intimate circle of prayer
in which each one kneels and thanks God again for the day and asks
Divine guidance for the new week.

As soon as any one makes his "decision" he is said to have
taken the "first step" and is eligible for baptism which is always
by immersion, and he then becomes a full and communicant member.
He is urged to seek the "baptism of the Spirit" and its gifts.
Reed who has spent much time with the Pentecostal people, studying
their methods, and who is deeply sympathetic with this movement,
describes a typical seeking of the "baptism of the Holy Spirit":

"When Christians begin to seek the baptism of the Holy
Spirit, they are told that they must be willing to give up
anything, renounce hidden sins, be willing to do what God
reveals they should do -- in short, they must come to a point
of total commitment. They meet with others who have passed
through the same experience, and someone tells the novitiate
what he must do. The group kneels and begins to pray with
enthusiasm, frank open speaking to the Lord (ejaculations,
the world calls it). Through uninhibited worship they seek
the fullness of the spirit. Repetitions of key phrases
are often used in increasing tempo and rhythm. The group
continues, and if a novitiate succeeds in 'praying himself
into the baptism', the group senses it and will accompany
him with equal emotional intensity and volume. If the
novitiate does not quite succeed, the tempo descends and
there is a temporary lull in the meeting that usually
continues through moans, quietness for reflection, and soft repetitions of these key phrases. All continue centering their thoughts on those areas of their lives that might be hindering their progress as they strive to bring the new person through to the "baptism". The leader may place his hands on the seeker's head and utter a loud, fervent prayer in his favour. Or he may whisper in his ear to press on, using the 'name of Jesus', 'praise the Lord', 'hallelujah', or 'thank you Jesus'. Someone may be especially illuminated to pray an inspiring prayer that will catch the whole group up into new expectancy, and then it might happen! The seeker may begin to utter some phrases unintelligible to the others. At this the enthusiasm of the group increases, and the atmosphere becomes supercharged with shouts until the peak is reached in a peal of gratitude by all for the pouring out once more of the "promise of the Father" to the faithful. This is the 'latter rain' of God being poured out by the Holy Spirit, and one more person has received the baptism of the Holy Spirit. All are exhausted and tired, but happy with an inner peace and assurance that God is real and that men and women everywhere can know what is the fullness of His power through the 'baptism of fire'.

The story of worship in the branch of Brazilian Pentecostalism known as the "Congregação Cristã no Brasil" is quite different from that of the Assemblies of God. There is a strong Presbyterian and Calvinistic flavour in some of its outlook due to the fact that it has roots in the First Presbyterian Church of Chicago and in the Presbyterian Church in the suburb of Sao Paulo known as Bras. The founder of this movement was a humble Italian labourer, Senhor Luigi Francescon, who was born in Italy in the province of Udine, in 1866 he emigrated to the United States, where he became a Protestant and one of the founders of the First Presbyterian Italian Church in 1892. He was a leader in this church until certain religious

1. Reed, op.cit., pp. 138-139.
3. A friend of the writer doing research in Chicago discovered that Luigi Francescon was practically forced to leave the Presbyterian Church.
experiences led him to become associated with the Pentecostal movement. Working with the Italian immigrants in Chicago he created a great work which had ramifications back into the mother country. Later he visited Brazil eleven times; the first visit in 1909 and 1910. Apparently this visit to Brazil was quite incidental or accidental to a planned visit to Italian relatives and friends in Argentina. In the city of Sao Paulo he came into contact with a large Italian colony of immigrants in the suburb called Bras. There was a young but growing Presbyterian Church in this area which Francescon and his friends began to attend, probably because of his early Presbyterian contacts in Chicago, where he had been converted to Protestantism through the Presbyterian Church. After some time he was invited to speak from the pulpit to the church in Bras. He spoke in Italian which many of the members understood perfectly. His message about the Holy Spirit brought a division within the church as one elder disagreed violently with his teachings. He was ordered out of the church, but as he went one Presbyterian elder, Senhor Joao Finote, and a considerable segment of the Presbyterian Church went out with him to become the nucleus of a Pentecostal Church -- a church which eventually became known as the "Congregação Cristã No Brasil" (Christian Congregation in Brazil). The church thus founded, for many years, conducted all of its services in the Italian language and ministered exclusively to the Italian immigrants. It was a period in which great waves of Italian immigrants were entering Brazil. Braz was the suburb of Sao Paulo which attracted most of
these new arrivals. It was a "Little Italy". Their hymnbook reveals how slowly they moved to become a Portuguese speaking congregation. The first hymnbook was in Italian having 182 hymns. The second, printed in Chicago in 1924 was also in Italian. In 1935, the third edition of the hymnbook was printed in Brazil by Irmaos Spina. Half of the hymns (1 to 329) were in Italian and half (from 330 to 588) were in Portuguese. The fourth edition, printed in 1943, was in Portuguese only. This was revised and enlarged again in 1951 and 1965.

This hymnbook called Louvores e Suplicas a Deus (Praises and Supplications to God), is also their guide to worship. The opening pages contain a ten-point doctrinal statement, then follows a preface explaining the development of the hymnbook and a brief history of the work, and a topical index dividing the hymns into those for opening, prayer, baptism, holy communion, and funerals. The music taken, is for the most part, from well-known gospel songs, hymns, and choruses that have been used in the United States during the last century. Some of the songs are translations, but many are compositions which accentuate the distinctive doctrines and practices of the "Congregacao".

In Sao Paulo the "Congregacao" does not have a choir, but has a one hundred piece band, which is well directed and plays exceptionally well. The hymns chosen for each service are chosen to instruct the new converts and older members, and to assist in the moment of decision. The women sit on one side of the auditorium and the men on the other. The women who have been baptized wear veils.
The present "Mother Church" building now seats about 4,000, and on Wednesdays and Sundays its it is filled to capacity. High over the pulpit is a motto that reflects the Calvinistic background of its founder -- "EM NOME DO SENHOR JESUS" (In the Name of the Lord Jesus). The pews have kneeling bars and it is common for people to kneel and pray during the singing of a hymn. After the first hymn there is a prayer time in which the voice of the leader is carried by loud speaker to all the vast auditorium, but all are praying in an audible voice, which resounds through the building like a roaring waterfall. After this prayer time there is a period of testimonies. The women go up the steps to the microphone from the left side of the pulpit and the men go up on the right side, to take turns at speaking. The "elder" in charge has the responsibility to determine if the testimony is edifying or not -- if not he turns off the microphone and tells the person that he is not speaking in the "spirit" but in the "flesh". The relating of answered prayers are always a welcome subject in this period. After the singing of another hymn it is time for the message of the evening. The Holy Spirit will place the message that is needed upon the heart of one of the elders or deacons seated on the front row, so they believe. Everybody then waits on the moving of the Spirit. Who will preach tonight? Soon one of the elders or deacons arises and goes quietly, but confidently, to the pulpit. He reads his Scripture and then calls the people once more to prayer. He then

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1. Many of the home congregations bring their people for these two nights.
proceeds to make a simple exhortation based upon the Scripture read. It is usually not very profound nor sensational: it is in a vocabulary that all can grasp and usually has an interesting illustration.

At the end of the sermon there is no invitation as in the Assemblies of God Churches -- there is just the singing of a final hymn and the Apostolic Benediction. As the congregation leaves there is not only the fervent Brazilian "abraço" (embrace), but the men greet the men with a "Holy Kiss" and the women do the same with the women.

Baptismal Sunday however, is different. One who has been present on a Baptismal Sunday describes it thus:

"We were present at the Mother Church one Sunday when one hundred and thirty were baptized in one hour and a half, in the large baptistry. Of these seventy three were women, and fifty seven were men, two were old ladies, five to seven were very young girls, and six were young boys. Three young men who were paralytics had to be carried into the water, and special care was used in their baptism. This church has a baptismal service every fifteen days. It was interesting to observe the effect of this baptism upon those in attendance. The Congregação makes this baptismal service thoroughly evangelistic in nature. The simple service is attractive. It creates a desire, on the part of many, to go up and be baptized and redirect their lives. They know that there is only one condition to meet -- their personal acceptance of Jesus Christ as their Saviour. They do not have to raise their hands or go forward to shake hands with anybody; there is no need to enroll in a preparation for membership class, nor to give their names to one of the officers. There is none of this. Converts simply respond to the call of the Master. There is only one possible restriction; they must be married civilly. All during the service an inner struggle must be going on in the minds of many. Those who go up for baptism have laid their lives on the line for Jesus Christ; those who do not
go up still have to struggle with self, sin, and fear. Maybe their turn will come the next time."1

It is seen here that one distinctive manner of their worship is the baptismal service which is conducted every two weeks on Sunday morning to be a time of decision. There are no classes of preparation for membership -- all this comes after baptism as instruction in the Christian way of life. The particular service described in the quotation above occurred in November 1963 at 9.30 in the Sunday morning service and there were about three thousand in attendance. The description continued:

"When finally all had been baptized, they still waited and there was no haste to end the service. A stirring exhortation with an invitation was given as the band set the rhythm for another hymn that was sung by the congregation. More people began to walk down the aisles and into the side doors where they could change into baptismal robes within a few minutes. In less than five minutes the lines had filled again with new candidates for baptism. There were many waiting in the back rooms to help those who had decided to "obey the Lord". We counted twenty one who went forward witnessing the inspiring baptismal ceremony. The ladies came in from the door on the right, the men from that on the left. All was done quickly, effectively, and in an impressive manner. Baptisms alternated between men and women in a rhythm of the sacred words 'I baptize thee...' and the hearty, half-sighing response of the congregation as, in cadence, they uttered the antiphonal 'Amen' when the candidates went under the water...

...The three elders who are in the water all the time were in chest-high waders with white shirts or blouses. On the day we attended the baptismer was Sr. Luciano, a man of Italian descent, one of the 'anciños' of the Mother Church."2

That day the total baptized during the preceding ten months was three thousand eight hundred and one, and the year still had two months remaining in which they hoped for several hundred more.

1. Reed, op.cit., p. 27f.
The structure of the church building revealed that it had been designed functionally around the important act of baptizing. The drama of the baptismal service has become their instrument of appeal. Statistics on the church membership before 1935 are not available; this probably accounts for the fact that Padre Agnelo Rossi makes no special mention of them in his "Protestant Directory of Brazil" compiled before 1938. Before this time the Congregação had felt that they were to remain humble and let God recognize his own, and that the Lord's bookkeeping was sufficient. In 1936 the Church was forced to incorporate to hold property legally; the founder claims to have received a special revelation from the Lord showing him that it would now be permissible to keep records. Beginning in 1936, the church published a yearly record of baptisms which was distributed to their members.

In 1935 the Church also went from the Italian language to Portuguese, and began to evangelize throughout the interior. Even so it is still largely a church of the Southern part of Brazil where the Italian immigrants\(^1\) are to be found. The small rural congregations meet in homes of the "brethren" once or twice a week. The Sunday midday meeting is the most popular when the people come from long distances to the "culto" (worship service). This meeting can last for two or three hours. It is an afternoon of hymn singing, testimonies, and preaching. As the Spirit moves one or another of the members, prayers are offered, Christians speak in

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1. In 1950 the city and county of Sao Paulo reported 46 per cent were foreign born and that Italians constituted the great majority.
tongues, and on occasions voice prophecies. All this is under the direction of the lay people.

When an elder (ancião) from a larger church visits them there is a baptismal service, and always special meetings praying to receive the "promise of the Holy Spirit" which is accompanied by speaking in tongues. News from the Mother Church is received at this time as well as from other urban centres. These little churches usually receive a visit from such an "elder" twice a year, and the believers are urged when possible to visit the Mother Church or a church in one of the urban centres. The Mother Church remains the centre of all activity to such an extent that in the city of Sao Paulo the suburb congregations have no service on Wednesday, reserving that night to visit, if possible, the Mother Church. It is a "mecca" for all Brazil -- members all over Brazil speak of the Mother Church with great pride and affection, and if possible every member visits it at least once.

This Mother Church has never received financial aid from the United States; rather on one occasion it sent 25,000 dollars to help build a church in Chicago. There are no paid workers for all the "elders" are voluntary workers who serve without pay. The collections which are made regularly go into a central treasury and are used to construct new churches. A Deacons Fund, created by the spontaneous giving of members, is used to help those in dire need.

The third great Pentecostal movement in Brazil is called "Brazil para Cristo" (Brazil for Christ). The name is not new as
other campaigns had used this name before, but in 1954 it became the
banner of a dynamic evangelistic programme headed by a construction
worker and lay preacher of the Assemblies of God Church. For some
years he was a pastor in that movement but as his popularity as an
evangelist grew his work became independent. The man's name is
Manoel de Melo. He had little education, but his experiences in
one evangelistic campaign after another taught him the methods which
gave success in Brazil. He worked hard and spent much time in
prayer. His break with the Assemblies of God was partly influenced
by friendship with a missionary of the Aimee Semple McPherson work
known as the Four Square Gospel Church in Los Angeles, California.
This denomination began work in Brazil in 1950, using large tents
placed on vacant lots in the city of Sao Paulo. Their speciality
was healing and speaking in tongues. The tents were known as the
"Tenda Divina" (Holy Tent). Brazilian Roman Catholics who had
grown up in "folk religion" of the interior, were accustomed to make
pilgrimages to shrines and to saints for the purpose of miraculous
healings, were emotionally and religiously conditioned to accept
this programme of "Divine Healing", and soon the "tendas" were
crowded with people bringing their sick to be healed. Some remarkable
things happened in this period. Manoel de Melo became one of these
tent and open air preachers. Crowds up to a hundred thousand would
gather in the large city parks and city squares to hear this husky-
throated preacher. A small portable public address system carried
his voice to the multitudes. There was social poverty among the
humble working classes in Sao Paulo and its surrounding districts.
Mello was always accompanied by a group of guitar playing musicians whose lively music attracted and pleased the multitude. Manoel de Mello became easily the favourite of the tent preachers and his popularity soon isolated him not only from the Assemblies of God but also from the other Pentecostal leaders -- He became a leader of a new movement which he called "Brasil para Cristo". Soon he was on the radio in an early morning programme, where his rhythmic gospel music and his folksy, country manners made him a favourite with thousands in the little out-of-the-way places. He became the radio-pastor to millions and through the radio he would announce where he would conduct a one night meeting or a campaign, and the radio listeners would flock to his meetings. Miraculous healings were announced and requests for prayer, and the prayers, were made over the radio waves. Little unknown people in distant hamlets became important as they heard their names read out over the air and realized that millions joined in prayers for their need. Soon Manoel de Mello had an office in the heart of great São Paulo; then a former Assemblies of God missionary joined him in a book-store venture. Young pastors felt drawn to him and soon Mello formed a Monday counselling session for Brazilian pastors in which they reported their Sunday experiences, and received instruction for the following week, and remained, if possible, for the great Monday night service in a converted warehouse, that Mello began to use for a church building.

In a typical Monday night service the literature table near the entrance is piled with books and requires the service of a
number of sales people. Between 7.30 and 8.00 o'clock Mello meets the special visitors in a private office in the rear. At 8.05 he and all the ministers present enter and sit on the platform. The large band begins to play and the people stand and sing their theme songs. Mello then may ask the people to "give Jesus a rousing hand", and thousands will join in the enthusiastic clapping of hands. It is their manner of saying that Jesus is loved and they are happy. This meeting is very informal. Mello directs the singing, praying and announcements without any printed programmes. A special offering is taken for the new temple under construction. The present programme calls for the construction of the largest Protestant temple in all South America.¹ The sermon by Mello or a guest speaker is usually a very emotional exhortation after which the visiting pastors form a line down the centre aisle about a meter apart where they raise their arms horizontally to the two sides of the audience, while every one present joins in a volcano of prayer. After a time the emotions lessen; when it becomes fairly quiet the people are dismissed.

This is the only regularly scheduled meeting by Manoel de Melo. There is no other meeting during the whole week. This leaves the weekends free for open-air mass meetings and campaigns all over the city and surrounding cities and villages. Manoel de Melo uses contemporary events, political happenings, national scandals, and other items of interest in his preachings. He has

¹ Some of the literature declares it to be the largest Protestant Church in the world.
become a formidable political power in the land. He now has a Bible Institute, five orphanages, a hospital for expectant mothers, and many schools, and while still an object of some suspicion among many evangelical circles in Brazil, his denomination was accepted in 1969 into fellowship of the World Council of Churches. There are few pastors in Brazil that have not visited his church or attended some of his mass meetings trying to discover how this humble man has been able to built up such a following in a Roman Catholic country. His influence upon all Protestant worship in Brazil is great.

Manoel de Melo appears to live modestly, his wife directs a small lace-factory to help meet the financial expenses of the home, and it is reported that he receives a small salary of only about eighty dollars a month from the general fund. However, no one knows how many personal gifts he may receive, but his outward life appears free from ostentation. The fact that his methods have won so many to Christ has led even his critics to examine his work, and imitate it in part. Melo has used his radio and mass campaigns to elect several fellow Pentecostal pastors to become state senators and federal deputies. Politicians fearing his condemnation have gone out of the way to seek his endorsement and his favour. Power such as this affects all levels of social life. His courageous informal folksy preaching linked to all the

1. A popular Brazilian writer -- Jorge Lyra has declared that Manoel de Melo "has won more people to Christ than all the other denominations put together in the short space of his ministry". This is probably an exaggeration but it does point to his spectacular success.
contemporary events, and his rhythmic foot-tapping gospel singing of theme songs have made an impact upon all theological thinking and public services -- upon all Evangelical work within the nation.

There are many smaller groups of Pentecostal churches scattered across Brazil. Most of them have been a part of the three main bodies mentioned at one time or another, and for various reasons have become independent. They partake of the same method and outlook as their parent body, but often a syncretistic attitude is noted in which the newer independent groups have some traces of each of the three main bodies. Also another trend has been found, as in North America and parts of England -- there are Pentecostal groups within the older non-Pentecostal bodies. Presbyterian, Methodist, and Baptist, even Roman Catholic, have groups within who are deeply influenced by Pentecostal methods and practices. Some whole presbyteries of the Presbyterian Church of Brazil are Pentecostal in varying degrees. Baptist Pentecostals have formed a movement called "Renovação" (Renewal), and in the area of Rio de Janeiro has sprung up a movement from among Baptists, Congregationalists, and Presbyterians called "The Church of the Restoration". This movement is being led by a former Senator of the State of Minas Geraes. Mario Lindstrom, a former professor in the Methodist Seminary in Sao Paulo, testified to having received a powerful baptism of the Spirit while teaching in the Seminary. When he was opposed within the denomination he went outside of Methodism, and now is the leader of a movement called the "Biblical Revival" which has several hundred churches and is growing rapidly.
An Evaluation

The extent and influence of this movement demands an evaluation and an assessment. What is its strength? Where are its weaknesses? How will this movement affect the future of the total Protestant programme of life and worship in Brazil?

Leonard, the French Church historian, in his study of Brazilian Protestantism, paid high tribute to many features of the Congregacao Crista no Brasil, but noted certain weaknesses -- especially their lack of serious Bible study and of theology.

"It seems to us, however, there is among the Congregacao Crista no Brazil, a very great weakness that is so great that we are not able to consider them absolutely Protestants (which they never pretend to be, maintaining themselves completely separated from all the other churches) but it makes us wish that Brazilian Protestantism would become interested in this problem. It has nothing to do with the doctrine of the Spirit or those manifestations which attract so much attention, and about which we do not insist; nor the miraculous cures, the glossalisis, the ecstacies, or even the eventual convulsions. These are not unknown, anti-Christian or anti-Biblical. Many other denominations have had these manifestations in their early life and sometimes lament that they have them no more. However...the place of the Bible here is very limited. The faithful seem to consider it as a book of oracles which they can open to find an answer from the spirit for a question or an immediate need, rather than a book of a Revelation which ought to be known and systematically meditated upon."

This neglect of the Bible stands in marked contrast to a statement in one of their official publications:

"We do not have religious journals, nor any connection with those who do publish with this purpose, with them we do not cooperate. In the word of God we have all that is

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1. Leonard, op.cit., p. 350. The underlining is mine.
necessary to us, we walk thus in the Doctrine of God with the guide of the Holy Spirit. We do not wish other lights. The times are always changing, but the Word of God does not change, it is immutable; men change but the Lord is the same, the eternal faithful One.

Leonard stated that this weakness almost deprived this Church of being within the ranks of Protestantism; he stressed that this left them open to temptations to serious deviations. They are limited to little programmes of proselytism and ecstatics; even the Sunday School programme falls into this weakness:

"The Sunday Schools are substituted by 'church for the children' which is a copy of the regular worship hour, with three songs in the beginning, testimonies, prayers (in which the phenomena of glossalia is manifested), a sermon, more prayers and a final benediction. The Bible knowledge which the children have is thus reduced to a few passages upon the Bible that are frequently quoted and commented upon."2

This limited training of the children is due to the fact that most of the leaders do not know any other way and do not know the Bible themselves. These leaders confess without embarrassment that they have not read all the Bible. They have not read any books or teaching magazines — they depend upon the inspiration of the moment when they speak in public. What systematic Bible knowledge does exist in this group comes from the proselytes recruited from other Protestant denominations. Fortunately for them there has been such recruits, but as the programme of evangelization increases the recruits come more and more from the adepts of Roman Catholic folk-religion of the interior and the illiterate masses.

1. Resumo da Convenção (s.d.) p. 24. The underlining is mine. This is from one of the very few publications of this group.
who will receive within the church little Bible teaching. This is seen as a great threat hanging over the future of the Congregação Cristã no Brasil.

"Here there is a great problem. These souls will be abandoned alone to the manifestations of the Spirit, with an insufficient knowledge of Revelation, of the Bible and through it, of the Saviour and the Cross...it is necessary to remember that they will be abandoned to a danger as great as Spiritism. Certainly the Congregações Cristas are being directed (although even this word is for them blasphemy) by men of great worth at the present time, by men of strong will, and this saves them from the temptations of insanity and devil possession. But this direction and orientation could disappear here or there, and chiefly in the dissentions and divisions, in which the members will be abandoned, without biblical foundations, to all the dangers of personal ambitions and fanaticism of some untrained leader."¹

There is among the Pentecostals a strange mixture of intransigence and liberty. They reject the old Jewish law and with it the keeping of the Sabbath. This is an innovation in Brazil where Kalley, Simonton, and other pioneers were extreme legalists, at times excluding from membership those who worked on the "Sabbath". This liberty has been one of the attractions to the Congregação Cristã no Brasil. However, the mores and customs of the Church are rigidly enforced by the pressures of the group -- there is no freedom to violate these mores.

What has been said about the Congregação Cristã no Brazil applies in general to all the Pentecostal groups, but some are less separatists and more conformed to the rest of the Evangelical Churches. "Brasil para Cristo" does not possess this same degree of legalism, and has endeavoured to give more leadership to its

¹ Leonard, op.cit., p.351f.
workers, as has the Assemblies of God Churches. But the educational standards have been very low and its Biblical knowledge extremely spotty and limited.

Dr. Ralph Winters, Presbyterian missionary to Guatemala and professor at the School of World Missions, Fuller Seminary, Pasadena, reported on Pastor's Conference in Columbia, which had been sponsored by World Vision; he noted the formal preparation of the pastors attending which, while it was in Columbia and not Brazil, reflected many of the problems seen among the fast growing Pentecostalist churches in all Latin America. The formal preparation of the pastors was as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3%</td>
<td>No schooling whatever</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33%</td>
<td>Less than 6th grade (Primary)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32%</td>
<td>Completed 6th grade</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26%</td>
<td>One or two years of junior high (Secondary)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5%</td>
<td>Completed high school (Preparatory)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1%</td>
<td>Some college or university</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This lack of formal education and lack of Bible knowledge, and this dependence upon what they have understood to be divine inspiration has led to some tragedies which the Roman Catholic press has exploited. One black self-appointed Pentecostal leader rejected every verse of the Bible, and depended (so he said) entirely upon the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, had finally in attempts

1. The majority of pastors attending were Pentecostalist or pastors of Independent Churches or Independent Missions. Many of these men had no opportunity of schooling in their childhood but are gifted men and under other conditions would have passed a high Intelligence Test. They are ministering at present to people who also were denied schooling.

at exorcism, actually permitted a group to beat a young lady to death under the impression that they were crushing the head of the serpent, and believed that after three days the young lady would rise again.

Such macabre incidents, however, have been actually rare, and though always a potential danger, the massive impact of nearly two million Brazilian converts to Pentecostalism during the recent decades has left its influence upon all religion, Catholic and Protestant. Preaching has become more direct, less doctrinal and more "folksy"; music more lively -- guitar music has become acceptable in the churches, and folklore type of singing has been introduced. A "utilitarian" and "materialistic" tendency has accompanied the seeking for "healings" and for "power". It is still a young and growing movement and there are some signs of maturity appearing. The Assemblies of God have initiated their first Bible School for the training of workers. The movement is beginning to recognize other denominations and enter into contact with them.

The Pentecostal movement has helped to satisfy a great emotional need of an illiterate and neglected people, and to give a sense of purpose and community to those whom Niebuhr has called the "disinherited".¹ The "materialistic" and "utilitarian" concepts

of religion inherited from the African folk-religion created an atmosphere for the great "healing" campaigns and the seeking to be "possessed" by an outside power of deity. At least a minimum of Christian doctrine has been taught, and the beginning of Christian Ethics. There are serious weaknesses to be observed but these may become corrected and ameliorated with maturity and consolidation.

1. In the African folk-religion of Brazil the ideal is to become possessed by the "spirit" they worship and become the "cavalo de Deus" or "horse of the God", be able to manipulate supernatural powers to personal advantage. See Chapter VII -- African.
CHAPTER X

THE CONTINUING PROBLEM OF VAST GEOGRAPHICAL AREAS AND LACK OF ORDAINED MINISTERS

The vast geographical areas that created worship problems for Colonial Catholicism, for the Protestant immigrants, and for the first Protestant missionaries, remains a serious problem in the contemporary scene. An inadequate number of a trained and ordained ministry, necessitating the service of untrained laymen in the pulpit, which has been noted repeatedly in this study, is also a continuing part of contemporary Brazil. Another dimension has, however, been added -- the fast-growing suburbs of the industrial centres, which, while not involving great distances, has created a demand for trained workers far beyond the present capacity of the Church to prepare them. The city of Sao Paulo has grown during the last century from a village of twenty-thousand to nearly seven million inhabitants, while the nation has grown from approximately ten million to ninety millions during the same century of missionary activity.

On the Western frontier of the hinterland the problems are the same as those which faced Lane, Blackford, Dagama, Cook, Boyle and other pioneer workers reported in this study. During the years between September 1966 and June 1969, the Reverend Joseph Martin, a

missionary colleague of the writer, served as the only ordained minister belonging to any Protestant denomination in an area about three hundred miles in length and two-hundred in width. A map prepared by Martin for the writer shows the churches and preaching points served by this lone ordained minister and his unordained lay-evangelists. Some of the villages on this map have heard the Evangelical message for the first time during the last few years. The oldest congregation is at a place called Sitio da Luz (Place of Light) in the Northern or upper part of the map. A colporteur passed through this area and sold or gave a copy of the Bible to a plantation owner at Sitio da Luz, whose name was Senhor José Messias Procópio; the book was read and it aroused great interest in the home and in the community. An invitation was sent to the nearest known Protestant Church, more than three hundred miles distant, asking for a visit of a missionary or minister. A lay evangelist Cassiano Hipolito,² living in Governador Valardes, with some lay friends visited the place in August 1949. The journey was accompanied with accidents and difficulties, but he with his Christian friends arrived at the plantation August 28, 1949, at two o'clock in the afternoon and preached each day until September 1st, -- the preaching was done by this lay evangelist and by another layman Senhor Joaquim de Souza.

1. See Appendix
2. Senhor Cassiano Hipolito is now an old man living in Governador Valardes, an interior city that now has eight Presbyterian Churches; he kindly wrote out a brief history of the evangelization of Sitio da Luz for the writer.
Four months later of the same year Rev. Boanerges Leitao, accompanied by Cassiano Hipolite and three Christian laymen, again visited the plantation of Senhor Jose Messias Procopio at Sitio da Luz. During a few days of preaching and evangelizing twenty-one adults made profession of the Evangelical Faith and were baptized, and received the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. The following year they did not receive a visit of an ordained minister, but were visited once by a student from the Theological Seminary and once by a young Brazilian Christian lady. In 1951, a Brazilian pastor, the Rev. Ananias Jaime Oliveira visited the congregation, on the 14th and 15th of April, and during the two days saw twenty-five adults make profession of faith, and be baptized, and also baptized eight children. In July of 1951, the evangelist Cassiano Hipolite returned and visited the people, preaching in their homes until September 19th, when again the Rev. Ananias Jaime Oliveira arrived to baptize twenty-three more adults, and thirteen children. On the 18th of September of 1952, a year later, the evangelist Cassiano Hipolite returned with another ordained minister, Rev. Galdino Jose de Nascimento; ten more adults, and eight children, were baptized and received into membership. The church thus formed, passed under the jurisdiction of the Presbyterian Church at Governador Vallardes and the Presbytery of the Rio Doce Valley, whose pastor

1. This visit was included in the report written out for the writer by the lay evangelist, Cassiano Hipolite, but also Rev. Boanerges Leitao is still living in the eastern part of the State of Minas -- labouring as a minister and educator, and has confirmed the story personally to the writer, with many more interesting details of the dangers and accidents suffered on this trip and the many decisions for Christ made in the meeting at Sitio da Luz.
made an occasional visit to the lonely congregation of rural people scattered over a very large area. When in 1960 the Presbyterian Church of the United States was able to place a missionary in the field in the town of Guaranhaes, the congregation of Sito da Luz was placed under the jurisdiction and care of the missionary in Guaranhaes. At the time that missionary Joseph Martin drew this map in 1969 he was the only ordained minister of any Evangelical Church in the entire area; assisted by three unordained lay evangelists partially supported by the mission, and unpaid and untrained layworkers, he was attempting to evangelize and plant churches over this vast area. Before the Mission sent Joseph Martin to this field, they had placed there a lay veterinary who gave free medical advice to the ranchers and plantation owners, and won an open door of friendship for the coming of Martin. In a field so large the pattern of regular Sunday worship is lay directed worship, conducted by pious, but generally semi-literate leaders. This is still part of the frontier contemporary scene.

In 1955, Jucelino Kubitschek was elected president of Brazil and immediately made plans to create a new capital city -- Brazilia in the interior of Brazil on the high central plains; the next step was a new highway through the jungle north to Belem, on the Amazon. This opened up a new rush of settlers and a new field for the

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1. Guaranhaes is the town where the Missionary Joseph Martin lived during the term of 1966 to 1969, and invited the writer to conduct the first evangelistic meetings held in the city of Guaranhaes. From Guaranhaes to Sito da Luz was a long journey over terrible roads.
Presbyterian missions. One of the men who worked in this area from the beginning was Robert H. Camenisch -- a missionary-pilot, evangelist, and minister. His field was an area extending north from the new capital city about one thousand kilometers along the new highway and reaching out one to two hundred kilometers east and west. For a time this entire area was under the care of Camenisch and his lay workers. He has described the field as follows:

"There are about sixty preaching points at present (1969). The lay workers do most of the work that is done at the 'preaching point' level, and so far as that is concerned do most of the work that is done in any one place. Each lay worker has his definite field of service marked out so that there is no confusion of responsibility. The pastor orients the work and helps the lay worker when problems arise in the congregation.

All of the area within the red broken line (i.e. about one thousand kilometres north and south) has at one time been under the care of one pastor. Without an aeroplane and lay workers this work would have been spread over a period of probably thirty to forty years. Using this method over a period of twelve years the work has grown to require three pastors and eleven evangelists. At present we are two lay workers short.

As the church grows and the congregations get larger, the presence of the pastor is more essential than in the early stages of the work. As a rule there are three stages in the development of these interior churches. The first is usually done by the teaching carried out by an untrained man who invites people into his home for study and many times the preaching is done by him. Second, the trained lay worker begins to visit as soon as possible and begins to organize the point in its simplest form. Third, the pastor helps with pastoral acts and preaching and must exercise more and more effort until the church is organized.

I have not made myself very clear in the third stages. What I am trying to say is that there is a stage in the development of the church in which an untrained layman can take care of the work. This is followed by a stage during which the trained lay worker can handle the situation with a

1. Robert H. Camenisch is a colleague of the writer and at the writer's request has furnished a map and a description of the field and its working programme. See Appendix
pastor visiting once every month or quarter. Then when
the church is fully organized and the congregations become
larger the resident pastor is needed.

Our pastors in this field at present are three missionaries
with seminary training in the States and one Brazilian who was
a trained lay worker and took a short course in the seminary.

With the plane we make no fewer than ten visits per year
to the principal churches. Some of the smaller ones may not
be visited more than two or three times a year. Some
Christians may go for years without having the privilege of
taking the Lord's Supper because they live in remote places,
or because the schedule of the pastor does not permit more
visits.

The trained lay worker does most of the training, preparing
the new Christians to make their profession of faith. This
system of using lay workers orientated by the pastor has given
excellent results in this area."

Here is the same pattern of one hundred years ago with certain
minor changes -- an aeroplane makes possible the caring for a larger
field, and here a lay training school has made it possible to have
partially trained lay workers who are paid by the mission to give
their full time to catechising, preaching and teaching. The larger
congregations receive a visit from the ordained pastor about ten
times a year, and the lesser congregations two to four times, while
the preaching points may not see an ordained man in years. Individual
Christians may also go years without the sacraments. This means
that the norms and patterns of church life for another generation on
the frontier are still being set by untrained and unordained lay
leadership.

The Presbyterian Church of Brazil reported Jan 31, 1969, a

1. Description of field prepared at the request of the writer. The
underlining is mine.

meeting in Governador Valardes Jan 31, 1969, and published in
the Brazil Presbiteriano April 1-15, 1969. The Brazil
Presbiteriano is now the official organ of the Presbyterian Church
of Brazil.
total of 783 local churches; 128 congregations\(^1\) that belong to a presbytery; 968 congregations that belong to local churches; and 1991 preaching points; and 578 ordained ministers. This would mean there were 578 ordained ministers to care for a total of 3,780 places of worship and evangelization. The situation, however, is aggravated by the fact that many of these ordained men are in administrative work, teaching in church schools and seminaries, some in politics, some in ill-health -- on an average more than one hundred men thus occupied. Also the financial situation of the nation, and the meagre salary received by many pastors, has encouraged a very large number of these ordained and trained men to seek additional financial help, by teaching in the colleges and universities of the nation, in addition to their pastoral work. This has had value in that it made a penetration into the non-Protestant world, but it has limited the time and strength available for the church. This adds up to a similar picture as in the early days of missionary work. The regular Sunday worship service for the majority of the members and attendants of these churches and preaching points, is conducted by unordained men -- men who have had no theological training beyond that received in the Sunday School and catechism classes -- a training that was often minimal.

This same statistical report stated that the Presbyterian Church in Brazil had one thousand nine hundred and seventy-nine Sunday Schools. This would indicate that at least three-fourths

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\(^1\) In Brazil the term congregation is used of non-fully organized church.
of the Sunday Schools functioned each Sunday without the presence of an ordained pastor. This also meant that in a large percentage of these Sunday Schools this Bible study was the only religious service in which its members participated during the week; in other words it was their church -- their worship hour. The lay workers who were directing these Sunday Schools are conscious of this fact and endeavour to make it both a Bible study and a worship hour -- as they understand worship. It is patterned after the church service as it is conducted by the ordained or lay preacher. There is the opening song, prayer, Psalm, another prayer, the people divided into classes for study, a reunion of the classes, reports, announcements, exhortation usually on the lesson, another hymn and a closing prayer. This is still part of the contemporary scene. A report on Christian Work in South America made in 1925 stated:

"...in South America there is but one preaching service on Sunday in each local church and that is held in the evening. The Sunday School being held in the morning with two and one-half hours available..."

Twenty-five years later this is still true in the majority of churches in Brazil. The great continuing service that holds the congregation together is the lay-directed Sunday School. Rain or shine, minister or no minister, this is the central and enduring feature of the local work, and it is a lay-directed Bible study and worship hour.

The centrality of the Sunday School in the church programme

has contributed to the concept of WORK associated with the church and not WORSHIP which Leonard found so disturbing in his analysis of the contemporary scene in Brazilian Protestantism in contrast to European Protestantism. It is well to review some remarks of Leonard which were noted in the beginning of this study:

"The expression which designates in Europe the supreme finality of the Church is that of "Worship" (or its equivalents); in Brazil is work, an expression employed equally by the denominations less activists, as the Episcopal. Even the very religious meetings are a "work" (un trabalho), and strange as it may appear to the foreigner, it is not improper, because these meetings constitute, first of all, for the pastor an occasion to work in the salvation of souls, and for the faithful something similar to school work where he ought, above all else, to learn. The faithful attend the "Sunday School" in which not only the children participate, as in Europe, but a large part of the adults (among the professing Christians and the officers of the Church), which permits them to exercise an important work in the religious instruction of the people. They are so completely imbued with the idea that this is the most important of the spiritual exercises that many of them, though regular and diligent pupils of the Sunday School do not remain for the worship service which follows immediately after. At the same time the worship service itself is more than anything else, a teaching hour, reduced in the majority of cases, to a pedagogical sermon, enclosed in Bible readings, prayers and songs."¹

Leonard was fortunate to have worshipped in the Brazilian Churches in the city of Sao Paulo where in some of the urban churches a morning worship service does follow the Sunday School, but he did not understand all the reasons why even the adults considered the Sunday School programme more important and meaningful than the worship service. He did not fully understand the long decades of Evangelical History in which the Sunday School was the central and

all-important service. However his observation on the nature of the worship service that did follow in the churches he attended is extremely revealing. They were little more than a replica of the Sunday School -- a "pedagogical sermon enclosed in Bible readings, prayers, and songs". This was his observation of contemporary Brazilian Evangelical worship.

Another characteristic of the Brazilian Protestant Churches has been noted -- the fear of religious formalism.

"The fear of religious formalism prescribes generally all liturgy; the most necessary texts, the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, the confession of sins, are missing in the majority of instances. A beautiful book of liturgy prepared by the Evangelical Confederation is used only in a few churches, principally in the 'ligeral' churches of Sao Paulo...The prayers tend to become an exposition (directed to the faithful) more than an effusion. The Lord's Supper itself cannot escape, to the eyes of a European Protestant, to be despoiled of all of its mystical force, in the manner in which it is distributed to the rows of the seated public, and by the use of these 'individual cups' which have been placed in use by 'hygienists', and by unscrupulous persons, and by the manufacturers of the individual cups. In the majority of worship services only the songs have this mystic note."¹

The fear of religious formalism coupled with the ever present task of indoctrination -- of pedagogic instruction had combined to deprive the Protestant worship of any sense of the mystic except what they found in the songs.

The tendency to see all church activity as work has given an "over-organized" outlook and aspect to the most simple organizations. The Congregational Church of Brazil published in their official Congregational organ the directory of their local organizations as

¹ Leonard, op.cit., p. 243.
follows:

**CHOIR:** president, registering secretary, corresponding secretary, treasurer, and organist.

**UNIAO JUVENIL:** (Younger Youth Group) superintendent, vise-superintendent, president, vice-president, secretary, 2nd secretary, treasurer, and procurador (legal representative or attorney)

**UNIAO DA MOÇIDADE:** (Union of Young People) Superintendent. 4 leaders of groups, leader of the Department of Evangelization, secretary-treasurer of the same department, registering secretary, corresponding secretary, treasurer, 'procurador', director of music, librarian, speaker (orador -- the one who makes speeches in behalf of the group).

**UNION OF WOMEN:** presidente, vice-president, 1st secretary, 2nd secretary, treasurer, assistant treasurer, 'procurador', oradora.

**SUNDAY SCHOOL:** superintendent, vice-superintendent, 1st secretary, assistant secretary, treasurer.

**CRADLE ROLL DEPARTMENT:** superintendent, secretary, two helpers.

**CHILDREN'S DEPARTMENT:** superintendent, 2 vice-superintendents, secretary.

**HOME DEPARTMENT:** superintendent, two helpers.

**PATRIMONIO:** president, 1st secretary, 2nd secretary, treasurer, 'procurador'.

This made a total of fifty-seven official positions within an ordinary rather small church. It is in part a product of the mentality that sees the church activities as "O Trabalho" -- the work. Not only does this detract from the worshipping atmosphere at church; it also absorbs all their leisure time. This fact has been noticed by observing members of the church and has even become a subject of humour as seen in a little story that appeared in one of the Brazilian publications. It read:

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1. *O Cristao*, March 3, 1950. Official organ of the Congregational Church of Brazil. This report was sent in by the local church of Braz de Pina.
"To the Moderator and other members of the church... as a member of this church and assembly, finding myself very exhausted by the service of the Lord, -- because of the great number of worship services, meetings, schools, offerings, visitations and other work in which I have participated -- respectfully request the brethren a year of rest during which I may recuperate from the exhaustion in which I find myself, in order to assume again the religious life as formerly."

This mental complex of "over-organization" however was more than an object of humour to serious minded evangelists such as Benjamin Cesar, when he published in the official Youth publication of the Presbyterian Church of Brazil, an appeal for less organization and more evangelization. He wrote:

"Of what value are so many secretaries and directors, so much printed material and printed orders, so many reports, so many federations, if the members are not being converted to Christ, if the UMP [initials which stand for Youth Organization] does not evangelize, if the young men and the young women do not become different from the world, if the meetings are weak in attendance and spiritual fervour? Our president recognized all this when a few months back he wrote 'I believe in organization, but in organization with spiritual life -- spiritual overflowing and abundant life. Sometimes a person is almost drowned in the midst of papers and there is a daily danger of not finding time for spiritual food...I have an impression that the machine is becoming very complicated.'

He was writing from the viewpoint of an evangelist -- one who was absorbed in winning people to make decisions for Christ, but the same observations could be made from the standpoint of worship. The machine is so complicated, and there are so many officers, so many meetings, so many reports -- that the "Work" the "trabalho" is drowning out worship.

1. This appeared on page 511 of Risum Teneatis.

The Presbyterian Church was not alone in feeling this threat from "over-organization"; a Methodist pastor writing in the official Methodist Publication sounded a similar warning:

"Less legislation and more evangelization...Less methods of work(trabalho) and more submission to the divine will. McCheine wrote: 'Actually the Church does not need so much of customs, organizations and perfected methods as it needs men who will be the instruments of the Holy Spirit'."

Both of the pastors quoted recognized the contemporary "over-organization" as a threat to evangelism and the spiritual life of the Church, but only incidentally did they see it as a threat to worship. Perhaps it would be more accurate to say that they had not seen that a Biblical concept of worship and its practice would go far to remedy the evils they are decrying. The tendency to excessive technical organization and the obsession of organization, is a general trait in the Brazilian Church. There is excessive administration and bureaucracy, which militates against the real life of the Church, as a Pilgrim "People of God". A proper balance between the bustling activity of "Martha" and the "good" that "Mary" discovered seated at the feet of the Master, must be sought by the Evangelicals of Brazil.
CHAPTER XI

CONCLUSION

The aim and scope of the work was defined in Chapter I and critical judgments have been made in each chapter, leaving little to be said in the conclusion. Brazil is seen as a great multi-racial nation with vast geographical areas which were opened to non-Roman Catholic immigration in 1810. The racial composition of the first three hundred years after it was discovered in 1500 were predominantly Portuguese, Indian, and African, while the religious life was completely under the monopoly of the Portuguese Roman Catholic Church. A spiritual hunger had been created which the Roman Catholic Church for various reasons had been unable to satisfy. Protestant immigrants entering in 1810 and missionaries in 1855 found in this land, in spite of government restrictions, a fertile field for the reception of the Evangelical message. In one and one-half centuries they have moved from being only a "tolerated" religion to a dynamic and respected movement. Although still a minority group their influence reaches far beyond what their numerical strength would suggest, and present missionary surveys indicate that Brazil is the field where the Evangelical Churches are growing most rapidly. Their present position of strength, esteem, and respect is indicated in the tribute paid to them by Dr. John A. Mackay in his report of the Eighteenth General Council of the World Alliance of Reformed and Presbyterian Churches which met that year in Sao Paulo, Brazil. He wrote:
"For the first time in more than eighty years since the founding of the Alliance convened a world gathering outside of Europe and North America...When the Alliance opened its sessions in Sao Paulo, Brazil, on July 27, 1959, Latin America became host for the first time in history to a world gathering that met under the auspices of a particular Protestant tradition...On August 12 the President of Brazil was present in the Presbyterian Cathedral of Rio, and addressed a great mass meeting of Brazilian and world Presbyterians. Never before in Latin American history had a Chief of State officially attended a Protestant Church gathering. Remarking that he spoke as a Christian and as a Catholic, President Kubitschek extolled the great contribution which Presbyterians, nationals and foreign, and Protestants in general, had made to life and culture in Brazil. His land gloried, he said, in the complete religious liberty which its citizens enjoyed..."

This remarkable growth and expansion is one of the inspiring chapters of Modern Church History. It is a heroic story of brave men and women -- colporteurs, missionaries, pastors, and ordinary laymen, of long trails and lonely out-post Sunday Schools and "churches-in-the-home" -- of consecrated believers giving of their life and strength, and risking whatever fortune they had, to share the "Good News" -- the Evangelical Message. Isolated, as they often were, they discovered from the Bible, patterns of growth which belonged to the Primitive Church in its first great centuries. They discovered natural methods of evangelization and expansion which European Churches are now seeking to learn. This inspiring story of growth has not been accomplished without cost in other aspects of their religious life. They have spent much of their energy in

self-propagation. They have expanded at the expense of depth in their spiritual life. This is a problem which is now a matter of serious concern to the Church leaders of the nation.

In the area of worship, the problem was further complicated by the fact that the Protestant immigrants who poured into Brazil after 1810, and the Protestant missionaries who entered after 1855, went from lands in which worship was in a state of decline. The few ordained men were thinly scattered over the large geographical areas, while the greater portion of the evangelization and catechising was done by semi-literate laymen with only a rudimentary knowledge of theology and the full significance of the Christian message. Under these conditions worship has been unduly affected by ethnological, social, and political factors indigenous to the culture of the land. Under these conditions the young, vibrant and dynamic Evangelical Churches of Brazil are in need of a deeper and fuller theological comprehension of the Nature and Mission of the Church. This will involve a long backward look over the road the Church has travelled, the experiences it has undergone, and the lessons learned; but it will not necessarily involve the picking up again of all the liturgical details that have been lost or cast aside in the past. The Church is not a prisoner of past history but a servant of the Living Lord. The Primitive Church understood this and the author of Book VIII of the Apostolic Constitutions faced this fact in his teaching concerning Baptism and the fact that

the Apostle Paul and the Ethiopian Eunuch had both been baptized by men who by present church standards would have been designated laymen. He wrote:

"But if some do blame Phillip our deacon and Ananias our faithful brother, that the one did baptize the eunuch, and the other one Paul, these men do not understand what we say. But we have affirmed only that no one snatches the sacerdotal dignity to himself, but either receives it from God as Melchisedec and Job, or from the high priest as Aaron from Moses. Wherefore Phillip and Ananias did not constitute themselves, but were appointed by Christ, the High Priest of that God to whom no being can be compared."¹

As the Church faces the challenge of come-of-age twentieth century man in a secularized age, and the problems and blessings of Ecumenical relations, it is hoped that it will be sensitive both to the lessons of past history with its rich inheritance, and to the leadings of the Living Lord, whose servant it is. What was indispensable and decisive in the history of liturgy may not be an indisputable necessity for the present congregation. This analysis of Evangelical Worship in Brazil, its Origins and Development was undertaken in the hope that a fuller comprehension of the road over which it had travelled would cast some light upon the future -- some guidelines to aid the wonderful people of Brazil to chart their future course.

APPENDIX I

July 1, 1859, Robert Reid Kalley, received a notice from the Hon. W. Stuart of the British Legation that he had been accused of conducting religious services contrary to the laws of the land and was subject to immediate deportation. He immediately sought legal advice from three of the leading lawyers of the nation. He submitted a list of eleven questions to each of them. The questions were as follows:

1. Do adult Brazilian citizens have perfect liberty to follow the religion of their choice?
2. If one of them should consult some one who does not follow the religion of the State and that person should explain his belief, would either of them be involved in the breaking of the Brazilian law?
3. Would it be a criminal act if the person would advise the Brazilian citizen to adopt a religion that is not the religion of the State?
4. Would the case be the same if they were within his house or outside of it, in public or in a private meeting?
5. If a Brazilian citizen should join some Communion which is not that of the State, would this be the breaking of the law and would he be subject to a penalty under some accusation such as apostasy, blasphemy or similar accusation?
6. Would the members of the Communion which receives him be subject to some penalty of the law?
7. Is it lawful for foreigners to conduct family worship within their own homes?
8. If some of his Brazilian friends should wish to be present at this family worship, would this make his family worship a criminal act?
9. If this family worship of the foreigner was in a house whose exterior appearance did not resemble a church building, but with entrance freely granted to whoever wished to enter -- without limiting attendance to friends, would this be a criminal act?
10. Can a foreigner be forced to leave the house where he is dwelling or be deported from the country at the will of the Government without any proven guilt?
11. What should one understand by the words "publicly" and "public meetings" in Articles 276 and 277 of the Constitution?
The three jurists consulted gave a favourable answer to all of Dr. Kalley's questions. This established freedom for Dr. Kalley's workers and converts to conduct family worship and invite any and all to participate with them. This was the first step toward freedom of worship in Brazil -- a freedom that was fully realized in 1888.
APPENDIX II

Showing the journeys of José Manoel de Conceição
APPENDIX III

I received some time ago the following letter, which is transcribed without change: "Iguape-Iuquia Estado de Sao Paulo, Brazil, 23 Septpro. My English ar very imperfect. I am a Mexican son but, born in Brazil. I am shame to wit you a sucher lettere but I do move by necessity or . . love. Ar now 13 years that the Providence of God collocate me here. I came as a hired man and little with the grace of or Lord and or daily and family worship, we organised em a Presbyterian Church. We are now near 200 members communigants, but they ar very pour people. These country has near 30 thousand habitants and not one preacher from no church. I am only the evangelist on these zone! These parte of the State has ben isolated wetheout good communications with Citys above the mountain. Or locomotion here are all by water. The country has cotted with explode riaves for small shipes aur boats, etc. And I cay see you that God 'has plenty people on this place.

Seeing the Grace of God in these my imperfecte work, I culdent (?) stand no moor the desires to dedicate my self only on these work. So I am on the feild wersting with poverty and misery - 13 long years! 7 years past I had the privilege to talk with Dr. Alexandre (Sir these in that time I think it was President of the Board and for Sign he had me a present of 100 milreis.) Well, these estimad brother promise ne that he was going do some thing in faiver of thes church but, I dont know if he forgot or coldto (?) do nothing for us?

Sir, the principal objects of these lettere hes to ask my beloved brothen the grat favour to send us a missionary to these zone. But if this hes impossible for the present, then it was good of the Board can send no 25 or 30 dollars a monthe. Not; the 1st plan hes preferred. I dont have corage to ask or Presbytery because they ar surcharged with compromise, Yet so, they have helped me very much.

Maturly the Board will lik have mor solid information and he can doet thru or Presbytery an these State. Long yeares ago that I had desire to writ these lettere but hes I sed above I had shame to ask a sucher thing because to love I dont need incond my brothen; but the interest, the circumstances, the love, forced me to do so. And I think that I will be well interpreted by nans that knows wat kin of a jobs is these or hinderstand my position. Befor I terminat these fastidouse lettere, it will be profitable say to my beloved brothen and for the respectable membres of these very worthy association, that many days and night of prayer proceede here writing.

Oh, Lord, show them the case how it hes!

Yours humbl brother in Christ Jesus

Willes Robt. Banks,
(Presbyter of the Juquia Church.)"
Field of Rev. Joseph Martin  
Sept. 1966 to June 1969  
Approximately 350 km. N. to S.

Only one ordained men of any denomination. In rainy season it is 350 km. from Guanhaes to Acucena and 270 km. from Guanhaes to Itemerandiba.

3 lay evangelists
APPENDIX V

Highway BR-14 was constructed through the Brazilian forests during the last fifteen years. It attracted a wave of new settlers and opened a new field for missionary activity. Mr. Camenisch was, for a time, the only ordained missionary or pastor working in the field from Ceres to Estreito, a distance of about one thousand kilometers.

PIONEER EVANGELISM - HIGHWAY BR-14
Missão Presbiteriana do Leste e do Oeste do Brasil
(Pessoas Jurídicas, nos termos do lei)
Sede social: INSTITUTO GAMMON
LAVRAS — MINAS GERAIS
Em Campinas:
Rua General Osório, 1031 - 16.0 andar s/165
SECRETÁRIO:
Robert O. Etheridge

PRESIDENTE:
Rev. Carl J. Kohn, Jr.

MAP PREPARED BY
ROBERT GAMMON
SHOWING HIS FIELD OF
MISSIONARY WORK.
I. GENERAL BACKGROUND

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