

Ultramontanism and Protestantism in the Regency Period: an analysis of the priests Perereca and Tilbury, critics of the Methodist mission in Brazil.

Summary:

Under the royalist model - which maintained the right to patronage and Catholicism as the official religion of the Brazilian Empire - the clergy and laypeople, who entered the new constitutional phase and assumed a prominent role in the representative sphere, discussed various topics, including the issue of "religious freedom", which was treated differently by representatives of regalism and ultramontanism. Given the historicity characteristic of the appropriation of doctrines and institutionalized practices that structure the religious field, this article analyzes a particular controversy that polarized regalists and ultra-montanists during the regency period: the arrival of Protestants in Brazil. It particularly examines the publications of two ultra-montanist priest-publicists who stood out as the main opponents of the arrival of Methodists in Brazil: Luis Gonçalves dos Santos - nicknamed "Father Perereca" - and William Paul Tilbury, an English priest who emigrated to Brazil and changed his name to Guilherme Paulo Tilbury. From a theoretical perspective, it relies on the relevance of Pierre Bourdieu's theoretical tools in relation to the configuration of the "religious field" in Brazil in the first half of the nineteenth century, and reveals the nature of disputes over symbolic capital, which are intertwined with alternative models of the relationship between state and church.

Keywords: Ultramontanism; Protestantism; Church; State.

Introduction

The multiple transformations that took place during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries sealed our entry into political modernity, a phenomenon characterized by the configuration of the new political order within the framework of the modern constitutional state and democracy. A process that was marked by the secularization of Western societies, through which a progressive autonomization of social spheres in relation to religion took place.

Although such a process seems to be associated with the "collapse of religion"**(1)** or the "weakening of relations with transcendence"**(2)**, recent historiography shows us the opposite. That is, secularization is not a phenomenon characterized by purely political disputes, nor by a defense of freedom of conscience or even the pursuit of the secularity of the state in opposition to religion. These are transformations that simultaneously respond to and demand the adaptation and reformulation of religion in new terms, which is the result of specific historical conditions that have shaped the complex combinations between the loss of dominance of major religious systems and

the reconfigurations of religion by societies that continue to view it as a condition for their self-understanding as autonomous.(3)

From this perspective, the criticism of religion (commonly referred to as "anticlericalism") and the subsequent institutional separation between church and state were not expressions of a monolithic process, through which the temporal replacement of spiritual power was gradually replaced.(4) On the contrary, when the state "took over the functions that previously belonged to the church" and no longer governed social cohesion in "religious commandments", but in a "political ethic", one must pay attention to the unique fact that ethics "only came from religion itself".(5)

During this process, the defense of religious freedom - recognized as "one of the most striking effects of secularization"(6) - and the neutrality of the state in this regard were emphasized, demonstrated by the adapted appropriation of three major normative principles defended by the liberal episteme in the political-religious sphere:

That religious themes and beliefs concern the private spheres of groups and individuals; the neutrality of the state towards disputes over the truth of religious questions; and the separation between church and state in the sense of the institutional autonomy of one sphere from the other."(7)

By providing the information on various models of secularization, such principles led to a loss of the monopoly in the production and dissemination of sacred capital by former official religions and forced secularized states to guarantee legal protection for all faiths, cults, ceremonies, liturgies, and doctrines, including the right of religious groups to tax exemption.

The legal prerequisites for the establishment of a secular state in Brazil were created with the 1891 constitution, which ended patronage and enforced the process of institutional separation between the Catholic Church and the national state. In the text revised and modified by the lawyer Rui Barbosa (1849-1923) - a secularist advocate who was widely accepted in the republican era by linking religious freedom with "the traces of liberal thinking that reinforced the principle of individual autonomy" and "the independence of reason"(8) - it was stipulated that all individuals and religious denominations could henceforth "publicly and freely practice their worship, associate for this purpose, and acquire property, as long as this was within the framework of ordinary laws".(9)

For our purposes, it is important to emphasize that, despite the late institutional break between the throne and the altar, the issue of religious freedom had already gained significance beforehand. If in the last decades of the 19th century, in the wake of secularization, it was about "the most radical break between the citizen and the believer" - where church and state were understood as "absolutely independent" entities, and secular power was supposed to guarantee complete "freedom of

conscience", coupled with "equal opportunities for all religious groups" - even during the sessions of the Constitutional Assembly of 1823, positions were polarized between:

On one side, there were those who proposed a direct application of the position already anchored in liberal doctrine in Brazilian law, and on the other side, there were those who argued that Brazil agreed to boundaries and restrictions that were greater than those set by the political systems of the countries that were the cradle of liberalism.**(10)**

At that time, two consensuses were reached, which were later incorporated into the constitution adopted in 1824. The first was the "acceptance of Catholicism as the official religion of the Brazilian Empire", based on the recognition that religion "is the safest means of preserving society itself". The second was the refusal to "tolerate any kind of religious persecution, just as it was carried out by the Holy Inquisition". **(11)** Therefore, the clever way to reconcile these two agreements would be to establish a public law that defines tolerance towards heterodox individuals and at the same time regulates the boundaries for the exercise of full religious freedom, since "religion is a matter of great social interest".

During these debates, one of the main concerns of the defenders of the official and hegemonic status of Catholicism as a link in the emerging political society revolved around the presence of Protestants in Brazil, which until then had been regulated by the treaty signed with England in 1810, which established religious freedom for foreign Protestants while prohibiting proselytism.

In this context, most of our early voters agreed that the insignificant number of Protestants in Brazil did not pose a "threat to the interests of the state". Rooted in the defense of the commitment to liberal principles and the experiences of those countries that, as the cradle of liberalism, introduced religious freedom as a way to mitigate internal conflicts, they viewed this last measure as essential for solving a "very concrete problem. Important for the national future: the settlement of the country by European immigration".**(12)**

However, despite this provision, "the 1824 constitution regarding religious freedom was far less progressive than most of the 1823 constitution-makers wanted".**(13)** Thus, its Article 5 preserved the official status of the Roman Catholic Apostolic religion, and its Article 179 condemned any persecution "for religious reasons, as long as it respects the state and does not violate public morality", while other religions were only allowed for domestic or private worship, and Protestantism was not granted any advantage over other faiths.**(14)** According to Pereira:

The Protestants did not have their political and civil rights guaranteed. The restrictions on the construction of temples and the promotion of religious services remained the same as in the 1810 treaty. On the other hand, the

constitution was silent on the censorship of religious ideas, proselytism, and the conversion of Brazilians to heterodox faiths.(15)

Like other members of the imperial elite, Brazilian political clerics participated intensively in this debate and linked religion and politics in the shaping of new national projects. As Souza emphasizes, "the clergy was an important political actor in the period when the conflicts that led to Brazil's political emancipation were being addressed,"(16) and remained present even after independence, taking a significant presence in parliament and other representative bodies. Moreover, they took positions on various issues in a non-institutional manner, such as in the press.

Although it did not represent a homogeneous entity - whether in terms of priestly training, secular affairs, or symbolic disputes - between 1827 and 1837, imperial politics and issues of clerical reform were governed by a model of the relationship between state and church(17), conceived by a group of clerics influenced by the regalist aspect of Portuguese-Brazilian secularization, which in Portugal and its dominions "continued the right of patronage with the fusion between state and church".(18) Under this, the crown on the one hand had the obligation to assist the church, but on the other hand, it gained significant privileges in its control. These included the appointment of candidates for bishoprics, pastors, and chaplains; and the administration of church tithes, in addition to the king's power to censor papal bulls and letters.

Thus, the patronage represented the strength of the Portuguese-Brazilian Catholic mentality - its cultural basis and foundation of the legitimization of any form of government - which unfolded in the secular action of the Church in Brazil and made the religious and political spheres practically inseparable, thereby contributing to weakening the institutional character of the Church in Portuguese America. During the colonial era, there was no "Church subject" capable of setting its own goals and strategies to achieve them, independent of the crown.(19) Although they were different, politics and religion, the state and the Church could not be considered separately at this moment.

However, despite the initially predominant role of the regalist model at the national policy level, representatives of the ultra-conservative clergy - who saved the legacy of the Society of Jesus in Brazil by defending the direct subordination of the Catholic Church to Rome and advocating for a reform that was only to come into effect at the end of the Empire - had already been present since the first half of the 19th century. By polarizing their positions on the models of state and church with those of the regalist clergy - although none of the groups ignored the importance of religion as a civilizing element - these clerics have since fuelled a specific polemical issue that has burdened the Brazilian religious field and was radicalized in the late 19th century: that characterized by the "not always peaceful confrontation between Roman Catholicism and Protestantism, although other religious manifestations emerged, some of which were to become significant in the Republic".(20)

In response to the alleged "Protestant threat" - which was widely discussed among other members of the imperial elite - two prominent representatives of the ultramontane clergy in Brazil were mobilized: the publicist **Luis Gonçalves dos Santos** - nicknamed "**Father Perereca**" - and **William Paul Tilbury**, an English priest who emigrated to Brazil and changed his name to **Guilherme Paulo Tilbury**. (21) Using the templates of "Iberian intolerance"(22), these priests criticized the Protestant mission or conversion in the then-press,(23) as was the case with the Methodists, the first Protestants to send missionaries to Brazil.

In this article, we will attempt to situate these initial manifestations of ultramontane criticism in the issue of religious freedom in Brazil. Therefore, the following considerations analyze the publications of these journalist priests,(24) which were published in the 1830s, when the paths to clerical reform were not yet apparent.

From a theoretical perspective, the controversy over the arrival of Protestants in Brazil can be analyzed using the theoretical framework of Pierre Bourdieu, when it comes to the configuration of the "religious field" and internal disputes that structure and shape its dynamics in various historical contexts. In light of contributions analyzing other Latin American regions, it is assumed that such dissensions, even in the observed case, are no longer deeply religious movements, as they compete for the same "symbolic charge of the sacred" within the same Christian field.(25)

Given that during the first half of the nineteenth century, the Gallican-Jansenist matrices that structured the relations between the state and the church in Brazil were taken over by the royalist clergy, we will begin our considerations on the topic of religious tolerance and other issues of the Portuguese Enlightenment by defining the conditions of this debate, which polarized the Brazilian Catholic clergy.

The rehabilitation of the Gallican-Jansenist theses and the criticism of Ultramontanism.

In Portugal - as in other Catholic monarchies - the connection between religious and political practice took on a specific form from the middle of the 18th century, when political power assumed absolutist forms. Since then, patronage tended to become regalism, "a system in which the concessions received by kings for the maintenance of faith were often extended and arbitrarily modified by the state", in order to subject the church to the imperatives of royal power.(26)

According to Antônio Leite, Regalism became the guiding principle of the Pombal practice from 1750 onwards,(27) whereby the spread of its most important European variants, with a focus on "Gallicanism"(28) and "Jansenism"(29), was promoted. His opponents, defenders of the papal primacy, were referred to as "Ultra-Mountainists",

and his school of thought was labeled as "Ultra-Mountainism"**(30)**.

It was under the auspices of the Oratories that the Galician-Jansenist doctrines and practices were introduced in Coimbra. The instrument for their dissemination was the Theology of Lyon, also known as Lugdunum Theology. Among the various principles proposed by this manual was that princes and Christian leaders had the right to convene councils and change disciplinary points of the Church. It is not surprising that the Theology Manual of Lyon was condemned by Rome and added to the Index in 1792. However, this did not prevent it from becoming the third most read manual among Portuguese-Brazilian clerics. Another instrument for the dissemination of Galician-Jansenist ideas was the Catechism of Montpellier - the Orator François-Aimé Pouget, director of the Seminary of Montpellier -, which was adopted in place of the Jesuit catechisms. This work predisposed the clergy and laypeople to the concept of daily Bible reading and other ideas that brought them closer to Protestantism in their criticism of orthodox Catholicism.**(31)**

Thus, Pombal, under the very peculiar mixture of the assertion of absolutist power and the spiritual ventilation of the kingdom, carried out a series of reforms in the teaching method at the University of Coimbra - based on the central criticism of the teaching method taught by the Jesuits, the "preeminence of Peripatetic philosophy" - and, through the dissemination of Galican-Jansenist matrices**(32)**, to a real "defamatory policy" of the Society of Jesus, in which the Jesuits were viewed as "greedy, seditious, conspirators, liars, authoritarians, anti-progressives, and representatives of the interests of a foreign authority".**(33)**

In addition to anti-Jesuitism, the Pombal Reforms transformed the Inquisition into a "Royal Court", which was consecrated by the law of April 5, 1768, which established the Royal Censorship Council, with the role of a supervisory authority responsible for selecting national and foreign books that could be distributed in the country and in the colonies. Thus, a fundamentally "state" censorship was created, in which books included "atheists, Protestants who refuse to obey the Holy Father, as well as books on astrology, witchcraft, superstition, obscene books, those that misrepresent the Holy Scriptures, and those of the perverted philosophers of these last times".**(34)**

On the one hand, this "rationalization of religion" opposed some "aspects of the traditional Portuguese mentality, such as millenarianism and Sebastianism".**(35)** On the other hand, Pombal's policies opened up space for attitudes in defense of religious tolerance. As Rocha points out, he paid tribute to the Enlightenment's defense of "freedom of conscience", and this theme was "present in Lusophone works and among 18th-century thinkers, in their projects for the kingdom and the colonies as part of a desired modernization". One of the first concrete measures in this direction was the abolition of the distinction between new and old Christians, which was promoted by Pombal with a letter dated May 26, 1773.**(36)**

Moreover, it is still possible to identify several changes in the work of the Tribunal of

the Holy Office, which demonstrate a greater openness to religious tolerance, particularly those:

From procedures, investigations, and punishments, such as the end of procedural secrecy, an expansion of the right to defense, a restriction of torture and the death penalty (which could only take place according to the 1774 regulations, which could only happen with the direct approval of the crown, until the final abolition of the courts in 1821), as well as the suppression of some crimes such as those related to 'demonic possession' and the like, which were treated in this context as mere superstition and a product of ignorance.
(37)

The legacy of these themes, which were present in the Portuguese Enlightenment - leading to a very peculiar mixture between the Galician-Jansenist model of the relationship between church and state, anti-Jesuitism, and the defense of religious tolerance - developed a "Christian and regalistic liberalism" among the generation of clerics who entered the process of forming the Brazilian nation-state. Represented by Antônio Diogo Feijó and his followers(38), these priests defended the freedom of the Brazilian church from the universal church, reconfigured royal patronage into imperial patronage, and thus perpetuated the symbiotic relationship between religious power and political hierarchy; so that, on the one hand, the church continued to be unable to "set its own goals and strategies for their achievement independently of the crown", (39) on the other hand, the structuring of the new political order and the symbolic strengthening of its divisions proved to be a tribute to the actions of these priests, who covered everything from education to civil registries of births, deaths, marriages, and wills, cared for the welfare of the people, and performed sacraments and religious rituals.(40)

In the Brazilian Parliament, discussions about the church became increasingly frequent and intense from the first legislative period of the Empire, which was introduced in 1826. They pitted the Feijoista group against the two main representatives of the ultra-conservative clergy. They were D. Romualdo Antonio de Seixas, Archbishop of Bahia, and the Bishop of Maranhão, Marcos Antônio de Sousa, defenders of the "uncompromising Roman" model, (41) which denied the inherent patronage of secular governments, and regarded it as a mere papal concession, defending the "rights of the church" as an independent institution and even hierarchically superior to civil power, which was only subject to the Holy See.

In this way, we can conclude that, just as "the Pombal reform of the state included a church reform", (42) the reforms carried out by the clergy in Brazil in the first half of the 19th century concerned internal issues of the church and its priesthood, inspired by various models of secularization, which at that time were polarized between the representatives of the regalist tradition and the advocates of Ultramontanism. These disputes, in our opinion, show that the involvement of priests in politics did not necessarily represent a deviation from the fundamental goals of religious life, but

rather a "natural consequence of the intertwining in which politicians and religious representatives found themselves", in their worldviews.(43)

From this particular interpretation of Catholicism, which linked politics and religion on different levels and integrated the church and the state into a single entity, the clergy inspired by the Galician Jansenists initiated a special reappropriation of the most important elements of Pombaline absolutism and adapted them to the changes in the development "from one empire to another"; including those that effected the transformation in the symbolic foundations of the founding concept of the Brazilian state: "the transition from a conception of the monarchy as a macro-political dimension that organizes diversity, to one that recognizes it in relation to the nation itself".(44)

Therefore, if, after the arguments and reforms supported by this group, imperial regalism rehabilitated Lusitanian regalism - which led its representatives to declare themselves as "Catholics and fighters against the interference of the Holy See in the church life of the country" - its foundations could no longer be the same. Thus, while the "European regalists justified their actions on the basis of the primitive church, the ancient emperors, and customs", the Brazilian imperial government justified its regalism on the basis of the alleged popular recognition, which ceded sovereignty to the emperor and the imperial constitution".(45)

According to this view, the "external administration of the national church was the competence and right of the civil power, not a privilege granted to it". Therefore, any attempt by Rome to regulate the Brazilian church was seen as an attack on national sovereignty. This was the connotation that Feijó gave to the confirmation of the Grand Master of the Order of Christ, which the Pope granted to the Emperor and awarded him the title of Protector of the Brazilian Church, because he spoke as a member of the Church Commission of the Chamber:

Is there another source on Earth from which the majestic attributes, apart from the fundamental laws of empires, originate? Does the Pope have any deposit of secular power with which he can indulge the monarchs of his friends, or is he perhaps able to transfer a part of his spiritual power to them, even though this is exclusively reserved for the priesthood? (46)

It was precisely this new foundation of sovereignty that prompted the Brazilian royalist clergy to resume the anti-Jesuitism characteristic of Pombal's practices. Such a position gained significance in the context of the strengthening of Rome's power and authority, which took place in the framework of the restoration of the old European monarchies after Napoleon's defeat and the establishment of the Vienna Congress. Since then, the Roman Pope regained his states, gained strength in European politics, restored the Jesuit Order, and strengthened the climate of the rebirth of Catholicism.

The resurgence of papal power on an international level was perceived by the representatives of the Feijó group as a threat to the establishment of the foundations of the independent Brazilian state. These clerics shared the argument that the legitimacy of the monarch was enshrined in the constitution, and reviewed the jurisdiction of the Catholic Church in Brazil according to Feijó's maxim: "If the Brazilian nation lacks the strength and power it needs to promote its prosperity without the consent of the Roman Curia, then it is not independent, it is not a nation".
(47)

Thus, the members of Feijós' group advocated for measures that simultaneously met the requirements of building a sovereign state and a national church - which were inseparable at that time - and mobilized against the alternative projects that were competing at that time for the production and legitimization of the monopoly of religious capital, which were perceived as an "expression of Jesuitism" in Brazil. To this end, they submitted legislative proposals against the entry of monks belonging to all foreign religious orders in the empire, which were generally enshrined in the anti-Jesuit Pombal Law of 1759.

According to Souza, in line with the rehabilitation of this Tonic of Pombal's Regalism, they have (...)

also promoted the dissolution of the religious orders existing in Brazil, the abolition of the Society of Jesus, as well as the appropriation of the assets of other orders by the state and the authorization of new congregations. These proposals were made under the claim that the orders were promoters of Ultramontanism and the supremacy of papal power (...).(48)

Similarly, in their parliamentary speeches, these deputies defended the deportation of foreign monks, who were accused of "disturbing the established order and spreading 'absolute ideas and ideas of Transmountainism'". They were therefore considered "enemies of all the lights of the century", "very useless and harmful", and should therefore be "punished for teaching Ultra-Mountainism".(49)

At a meeting on May 17, 1828, where the approval of the entry of foreign monks into the country was discussed, Feijó stated the following:

From which countries do they come, and what are the political institutions of their country? They come from absolute governments, and they have maxims that contradict our constitutional system. These men will not proclaim their maxims in public (because they are cautious), but in the confessional booths. They not only preach the gospel, but also preach the maxims of the absolute system that they embrace (...).(50)

Such concern about the defense of the constitutional system was expressed by Custódio Dias at a meeting on June 10 of the same year:

Do these {monks} recognize the advantages of the constitutional system? In which country have they stopped disrupting public order by exploiting people's fanaticism? Mr. President, there is not a single disorder that does not involve a monk and is always directed against people's freedom.(51)

Finally, by classifying the Catholic Church as "the most traditional Pombal-inspired regalism", (52) these clerics were involved in the debate on the topic that particularly concerns us: the defense of tolerance towards non-Catholics, who are seen as civilizing actors in the construction of the nation, as exemplified by Father Feijó, who on several occasions proposed to invite "the brothers of Moravia" (53) to educate the Brazilian Indians. (54)

According to the same reasoning, when in 1827, the Court of Inheritances - the last instance of ecclesiastical jurisdiction - was called into question, but which also had the final say in matters such as marriage, and whose leader would have been a foreign cleric appointed by the Pope, the diplomatic representative of Rome in the position of Apostolic Nuncio - Custódio Dias - expressed himself as follows:

Two centers of temporal power are incompatible in a state. Spiritual punishment is not a matter of imposing temporal penalties, and the Roman Pope himself and his delegates will not subject the individuals of our nation to their rule. We, the legislators of mortal life, have permitted and allowed all religions with their domestic worship, we know of only one circle in civil society and only one center. (55)

The passage highlights that, from the perspective of the royal clergy, it was not about defending complete religious freedom in Brazil, coupled with the freedom of public worship of other Christian denominations. Although this was the stance of the liberals of the empire when the third path of secularization emerged on the national stage - which advocated the model of the secular state, defended the most unrestricted "conception of freedom, including religious freedom", and opposed Catholic traditionalism - the mention of tolerance towards Protestants and the promotion of their establishment in Brazil was enough for representatives of Ultramontanism to mobilize in a combative manner, guided by the following objectives:

Efforts to strengthen papal authority over local churches; revival of Scholasticism; restoration of the Society of Jesus (1814); and definition of the 'dangers' that plagued the Church (Gallicanism, Jansenism, Regalism, all forms of liberalism, Protestantism, Freemasonry, Deism, Rationalism, Socialism, civil marriage, press freedom, and more). (56)

Under such pressure, they not only criticized Regalism internally, but also opposed any tendency associated with anti-clerical liberalism, Freemasonry, and scientific philosophical thinking that contradicted the principles of the Roman Church. Thus, the Archbishop of Bahia and the deputy elected from the Province of Pará, D.

Romualdo Antônio de Seixas, already agreed in July 1826, when Congressman José Clemente Pereira submitted a bill to the Chamber regulating the exercise of press freedom in relation to religious matters, to the conditions of Article 2, paragraph 4 of the Law on Press Freedom, which provided for the punishment of "direct attacks on religion and its dogmas, and public morality" in the following words:

1. Denying the truth of all or some of the dogmas defined by the Roman Catholic Church.
 2. Establishing or defending false dogmas.
 3. Blaspheming God.
 4. Mocking His saints or the religious worship approved by the same church.
- Those responsible in one of the first three cases will be sentenced to a prison term of one to three years, and in the latter case, to a prison term of two to six months, depending on the degree of their guilt. (57)

Finally, he argued as the most prominent representative of Ultra-Mountainism in the House of Representatives that the characterization of dogmas should come from the Church, the only "pillar and firmament of truth (...). It is undoubtedly a perfect society, that is, a society that contains within itself everything necessary for its preservation and for achieving the goals of its divine establishment".(58)

For our purposes, it is important to emphasize that the draft law on press freedom, to which Dom Romualdo de Seixas gave his support, was part of a context in which both monarchists and ultra-montanists were not only present in the instances of political representation, but also promoted their discourses in the fight against alternative models of church reform in a non-institutional way.

In this sense, it's worth remembering that the press, alongside parliamentary debates, has also addressed the issue of "equal opportunities for all religious groups" and has linked this to new ideas and concepts of "freedom of conscience" and "political freedom", (59) as well as to the liturgical worldviews that insisted on defending the hegemony of the Catholic religion.

Given the initial hegemony of the Feijó group at the level of the Brazilian Parliament - which made the ultra-conservative stance unprofitable and reactive, as in the case of "projects to modernize religion according to liberal dictates" (60) - it was in the press that one of the most controversial debates circulated, which polarized the clergy at that time: the defense of the abolition of clerical celibacy, supported by Father Feijó, vehemently challenged by Father Luis Gonçalves dos Santos.

Although Feijó and his entourage of regularist priests were positively inclined towards sacramental life, they linked the abolition of celibacy - understood as a disciplinary issue of the church - with the moralization of the clergy, who should no longer live in concubinage, and consequently with the strength of Brazilian society. The first proposal in this sense was made during the constitutional assembly of 1823,

when Congressman Ferreira França proposed the abolition of celibacy.

A even bolder campaign was carried out by Feijó in 1827, when he presented a project in the same direction to the *General Council of the Province of São Paulo*, based on the distinction between *dogma* and *church discipline*. He believed that "the latter could be changed according to time and place", should adapt to the circumstances of Brazil, and should be subject to the control of the civil power.(61)

In the opposite field of clerical thinking, Luiz Gonçalves dos Santos reacted to Feijó's "mediation projects" and published the text "Defense of Clerical Celibacy against the Separate Vote of Father Diogo Antônio Feijó, Member of the Church Commission of the Chamber of Deputies".(62) In this document, he defended celibacy as an "apostolic institution" and accused Feijó of "supporting Calvinist doctrines" and relying on "godless writers" disseminated by the University of Coimbra.(63) In response to Perereca, Feijó published "Feijó's Response to Parvoes, Impulses, and Contradictions of Father Luiz Gonçalves dos Santos", (64) in which he accused his opponent of being "fanatical, superstitious, papal, and ultra-conservative".

By taking this position, Feijó de Santos is repeatedly referred to as a "heretic", because he "easily forgets his oath and ... encourages himself to adopt a stance that contradicts and opposes the maintenance of the same religion".(65)

As can be seen, Luis Gonçalves dos Santos used symbolic associations between Regalism and Protestantism to overthrow his competitors in the political-religious sphere. In this sense, the criticism of Feijó's alleged "heresy" against the Methodists established in Brazil would be repeated, showing how much this dispute was about the same "symbolic Christian capital". In this sense, the tolerant attitude of the Regalist clergy towards other Christian denominations was seen as a defense of religious freedom and thus a threat to Catholic hegemony.

In the following considerations, we will attempt to present the Ultra-Mountain criticism of priests Luis Gonçalves dos Santos and Guilherme Tilbury (as the brochures were signed) on the issue of religious freedom in Brazil, systematized around arguments that denounced *unconstitutional proselytization* and alleged Methodist heresy, and threatened what was seen as the only true religion: *Catholicism*.

The opinion press against the arrival of Protestants in Brazil.

Since 1808, the issue of religious tolerance in Brazilian society had gained importance. This was due to the relocation of the court to Rio de Janeiro, accompanied by the effects of the opening of ports and Portugal's apparent

dependence on England - which was reinforced in various treaties - creating the conditions for Protestant foreigners to settle in Brazil,(66) a situation that required a more tolerant attitude towards other faiths from the still Portuguese inhabitants of America.(67) But it wasn't until 1824, with the Imperial Constitution, that they began to call themselves "Protestants" and hold the first church services, supported by the "freedom of domestic worship" for other religions, which is enshrined in the Brazilian Constitution.

During the nineteenth century, Protestantism, which arrived in Brazil, was characterized as a *mission* or *conversion*, which originated from the American movement known as the *Great Awakening*, which began in 1734, and the Great Revival, which began in 1795. These movements were ideologically linked to an advance into the American West, which consisted of two main points: "the principle of conversion", which was based on regeneration or rebirth, leading to individual salvation, and a commitment to work ethic and moral discipline; two levers for the ideology of progress. (68)

It was with this idea of *missionary Protestantism* that the first Methodist missionaries arrived in Brazil in the 1830s.(69) In 1835, Reverend Fountain Elliot Pitts(70) from the *Missions Committee of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States* came to Rio to preach in private homes. The following year, another missionary settled in Rio de Janeiro at Pitts' request, Reverend Justus Spaulding(71), with the task of organizing a church that had forty members, all of whom were foreigners. He was the missionary who spent the longest time in Brazilian territories between 1836 and 1841. In addition to founding the church, Spaulding opened a Sunday school with thirty students, including Brazilians.

In 1837, Daniel Parish Kidder(72), from the *American Bible Society*, came to reinforce Spaulding's mission and distinguished himself as a significant distributor of Bibles. In the reports on his travels through various provinces of the empire between 1837 and 1840, he noted a tolerant reception by the general population and even by members of the educated elite, including "several priests who appreciated the kind offers of the Holy Scriptures", and stated that he had "encountered the least obstacles or disrespect from the people".(73)

Despite the ease of this attempt to establish the Methodists, the first mission was short-lived and ended its activities in 1842. There are several possible reasons for the termination of these activities, but the most likely one would be the crisis of Protestant churches in the United States,(74) which hit the Methodist Church in 1844, the year in which the beginning of the Ultra-Mountain reforms of the seminaries coincided with the Tridentine manner in Brazil. Therefore, the Methodist missions would not take place again until the 1870s, with the official appointment of Rev. J. J. Ramson, who relied solely on foreigners for his church services.

With the arrival of the first Methodist missionaries in Brazil, Father Perereca and

Father Tilbury directed their writings against this Protestant segment. For this purpose, they used the new opportunities for the dissemination of ideas through the press, which gave rise to a new political figure: that of the journalist or pamphleteer. (75) They were educated men, and their writings were mainly focused on matters of immediate relevance to the people or the nation, seeking support or attacking individuals or factions. They also participated in unofficial public associations in Rio de Janeiro and were "people who combined the power of the printed word with the presence in forms of institutionalized sociability".(76)

In this profile, the so-called "publicist priests" fit in, and both the regalist clergy and the ultra-montanist clergy used the opinion press.(77) Regarding this latter tendency, between 1820 and 1840, about 11% of the publicists belonged to the *Royal Academy of Sciences of Lisbon*, including the fierce opponent of the Methodist mission project in Brazil, Father Luis Gonçalves dos Santos.(78) As an author of books, brochures, and articles published in newspapers of the time, he participated in numerous debates and formed a central part of what he himself defined as the true "literary war" between Brazilians and Portuguese in the context of independence.(79) In the imperial era, he stood out as one of the pioneers in the controversy over the arrival of Protestants to Brazil and, together with the ultra-montanists, William Tilbury, opposed the projects then represented by the regalist clergy.

According to Santirocchi, Father Tilbury, with the help of another Englishman named James Andrews, "took on the responsibility of reading all Protestant mission publications in English in the years 1838-1839 to search for news about the Methodist work in Brazil", and published them in the newspapers of Rio de Janeiro, "to inform Catholics and provoke their reaction".(80) Father Tilbury was also responsible for amending a bill in Sao Paulo to include hundreds of Bibles published by Protestants, material dedicated to public education in the province, which was to be provided by the Methodist Daniel P. Kidder.(81)

In defense of the hegemonic position of the Catholic Church in Brazil, Father Perereca used political and theological arguments. A clear example of this is his refutation of Spaulding's correspondence - called the "Missionary of Rio de Janeiro" - to the "Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church of New York", in which the pastor stated: "Shortly after my arrival, I began to hold public services in my house".(82) Similarly, the contents of tracts - brochures with proselytizing content, which the Methodists publicly distributed - were the subject of criticism by the Ultra-Montanists, as was an announcement for the sale of Bibles, which was published by Pastor Kidder in the *Jornal do Commercio*.

According to Luis Gonçalves dos Santos, by engaging in such practices, the Methodists would be circumventing Article 5 of the Constitution and § V of Article 179, which respectively granted freedom of domestic worship for other religions, but prevented them from building public temples, as this was a monopoly of the Catholic Church. Since the "public" could not be classified as "domestic worship", such a

practice was unconstitutional. As he himself argued:

When the Methodist said: For my family and for those of my community, it is allowed according to the constitution; But for the public, no. What is meant by the word "public"? The people of Rio de Janeiro! What is the religion of these people? The Catholic one, to which we all swear allegiance. Therefore, the Methodist has not respected the state's religion, as stipulated in § V of Article 179, *and has erected an altar against an altar, in order to separate the sheep of Jesus Christ from the flock in which they are, and to snatch them away from the legitimate shepherd.* (83)

The bolded section allows us to identify the significance of the disputes that, at the time, pitted representatives of the ultra-conservative clergy against those who professed a different faith (in this case, Protestant Methodists), as well as their Catholic supporters, represented by the royalist clergy. This is Bourdieu's classic conflict between orthodoxy and heresy,(84) a particular point in the struggle for the continuation of the monopoly held by a particular religion.(85) In the present case, Luis Gonçalves dos Santos levelled this accusation against the Methodist missionary, thereby addressing the presence of heretical positions in the early days of the Catholic Church. In his opinion:

We find in the Acts of the Apostles and in the letters of the Apostles the names of a Simon Magus, a Diotrephes, and several others who openly opposed the teachings of the Apostles and went so far as to establish a separate sect that did not want to communicate with those who had taught them the gospel doctrine. Since then, these false brothers in the church have been known as heretics, that is, as sectarians of a particular doctrine that contradicts the teachings of the church. The Apostles immediately treated them as enemies of Jesus Christ and denounced them to the believers, so that they could avoid them and not be seduced by the false teachings of the newcomers. (86)

In other words, it is a rhetoric based on Bourdieu's historically observed dynamic, according to which "every dominated practice or belief must appear *profane*, insofar as it represents an objective challenge to the monopoly of the administration of the sacred and thus to the legitimacy of the holders of this monopoly, simply by its mere existence and in the absence of any intention of profanation".(87)

At this point, it should be noted that such disputes over the same symbolic Christian capital took place, which leads us back to the trend observed in other Latin American districts of the nineteenth century, which, according to historian Roberto Di Stefano, shows how much "heresy" and "anticlericalism" were tendencies that shaped the dimensions of the ongoing secularization processes.(88)

To disqualify the Methodist ideas, Father Perereca turned to the Ecumenical Councils and to the personalities of Catholic history who opposed heresy.(89) For him, these

councils represented the way in which the successors of the apostles came together to combat the emergence of dissent, so that the leaders of the Church:

They gathered in councils and discussed the new doctrines that had led to scandals, divisions, and schisms; they condemned the errors, cursed their authors, and if they did not submit to the authority of the Holy Spirit, who presided over these holy assemblies, they were expelled from the church community... But when heretical errors had penetrated a significant part of the Catholic Church and caused great harm to the faithful, then general assemblies were formed, which were called Ecumenical Councils. (90)

The texts of the Council of Trent(91) are the ones that appear most frequently in the writings of the Ultra-Mountain priests, and refute the supposedly "heretical" content that the Methodists introduced in their *tracts*. By highlighting the Catholic religion in comparison to others, such councils were regarded as the foundation of true "Catholicism" and the "true Church" of Jesus Christ, while the Methodist religion was labeled as "false", representing a genuine "theft" in which Catholics were converted to Methodism:

The catholicity, or the universality of doctrine and consequently of faith, is the characteristic that distinguishes the true Church of Christ from the sects that will separate from it. {...} For we {all Catholics} are Christians by the grace of God, and by this grace we are Catholics, because we profess the same doctrine that the Holy Catholic Church has always taught and teaches. Note that the Methodist among Christians only understands his Protestant followers and does not want Catholics to be Christians!!! Isn't this like stealing the inheritance from the rightful heir? (92)

To disqualify the belief system and Methodist practices as a religion - by calling them mere "sects" - Father Perereca also used the argument that what would make the Catholic Church the "true Church of Jesus Christ" is unity, reinforced by the use of a universal language - Latin -, (93) which distinguishes it from the schismatic churches that separated from it and spread in various parts of Christianity, as was the case with Protestantism, whose character, he said, is "disunity" and therefore cannot be "the Church of Jesus Christ", which the apostles exhorted to unity.(94)

The interpretation that Luis Gonçalves dos Santos gave to the history of Christian churches, and particularly the elements that allegedly justified the legitimacy and authenticity of the Catholic religion - its *unity*, *universality*, and *tradition* - reveals a style of writing church history that is typical of the time when, under an apologetic and memoiristic bias, "the Church was viewed as a divine, not a social institution". (95) This led us back to the legacy first initiated by Eusebius of Caesarea, the first to write about the Church from the perspective of a believer. His work exerted a great influence on historical, confessional, and secular productions, especially with the advent of modernity, when it was "revisited in the affirmation of various Christian

aspects, at a time when the dispute over the supremacy of religious production was triggered by the comprehensiveness of the interpretive field of theology, divided between Catholics and Protestants".(96)

In turn, this alleged unity of the Catholic Church, defended by the representative of Ultra-Montanism, concealed the internal dissidents of the Catholic faith even in 19th century Brazil, who, as seen, were polarized between Ultra-Montanists and Regalists.

The Methodists who arrived in Brazil fought against the unity of the Catholic Church and against certain dogmas, teachings, and disciplines, using so-called *tracts*. Father Perereca opposed this position, calling it unconstitutional, as it defamed the official religion of the Brazilian Empire, and its contents were therefore considered heresy.

According to him, the content of the *treatises* included: the *denial of the real presence of Jesus Christ in the Eucharist* and consequently of *transubstantiation*; the *questioning of the universal authority of the Pope*; the *recognition of only two sacraments and criticism of the remaining five*; the *attainment of salvation only through faith in Jesus Christ and criticism of other practices for salvation*.(97) They also condemned the existence of purgatory and the festivals for the saints.(98) Some of these issues were addressed by Rev. Spaulding in his correspondence, in which he also mentioned the questions of *clerical celibacy*, the *free interpretation of the Bible*, and the *use of "false" Bibles*, as well as the *attitude of the Brazilian Catholic priesthood*.

The topics discussed in the *treatises* touched on the dogmas of the Catholic Church, which were rejected by Protestants during the Reformation and reaffirmed by the Council of Trent. Other points of contention, however, concerned issues of clerical discipline as well as aspects of popular piety and Catholic liturgy. This is the meaning of the opinion expressed by the Methodist missionary on the *Feast of the Holy Spirit* and the *Mother of God of Glory*, which he described as "*Catholicism errors*" that tend to be despised, as "the lights are getting brighter and brighter".(99) Such criticism picked up on one of the themes of the illustrated critique, which was forged during the Pombal administration, which portrayed "fanaticism" and "superstition" as manifestations of popular piety in 17th-century Portugal. Father Perereca, however, characterized a "holy Catholicism", (100) which was criticized by the conservative clergy themselves, and argued:

The fireworks shows are not part of the liturgy of Catholic worship, they are signs of public joy; therefore, the Methodist boldly insults the celebrants who have organized this spectacle to enhance the glory of the Feast of Our Lady of Glory, and also slanders the Catholic religion, which, in his opinion, authorizes or prescribes follies in its rituals.(101)

On the other hand, there were again criticisms of the Methodist rituals that were present at the meetings,(102) and in this context, they used the report of an English

traveler to the United States:

Everything that is represented there {in the assembly} is a burlesque, a ridiculous force that is unworthy of the majesty of God's worship, which sometimes provokes laughter, other times causes horror, and yet others move to pity, especially when one considers the sublimity that elevates these poor, deceived souls into the excess of irrationality, modesty, and feelings of their dignity, with a remarkable disruption of animal economy, to scream and sob for hours, to rage like devils, especially women. {...} hypocritical public confessions of girls, who are encouraged by the false directors to give a public spectacle of their weaknesses and frivolities or to deliberately lie in order to receive greater affection and praise.(103)

In addition to these questions, Father Perereca addressed other disputes that were important to the Catholic priesthood, such as the issue of clerical celibacy and papal authority. Regarding celibacy, the following passage stood out, in which the Methodist missionary criticized this discipline:

Although I thank you (the clergy) for your vow of eternal celibacy, and although you are too holy to legally enter into the sacred state of marriage, many of them nevertheless have large families with children and are not ashamed of it!(104)

Luis Gonçalves dos Santos refuted this statement and argued that it was nothing more than a misunderstanding of the Methodist missionary, because:

The fathers have brothers and sisters, nephews and nieces, etc., so not everything is as it seems; and no one is obliged to refrain from acts of charity due to the Pharisaic scandal. But let's assume that half a dozen fathers cause the public scandal that the Methodist accuses us of. Does this mean that all of them, or at least many of them, are as he says? No.(105)

Therefore, it paid insufficient attention to a problem that has undoubtedly influenced the morality and discipline of the Brazilian clergy since the colonial era - the widespread practice of clerical concubinage - (106) and which was the subject of their earlier disputes with Father Diogo Feijó, as we have seen. In addition to the issue of celibacy, Father Perereca criticized the Methodist missionary's alleged misunderstanding of the question of papal authority, which highlighted the "controversy between the Catholics of this country and the Pope over the election of a bishop, which His Holiness refuses to confirm".(107) By downplaying the importance of the issue,(108) he argued:

The Methodist should not be confused that the Brazilians swore to be Catholics, and by the grace of God, that they never separate from the center of unity recommended by Jesus Christ, and that they never refuse to show filial

obedience to this common Father of the faithful, this supreme shepherd whom Jesus Christ left on earth before ascending to heaven to fulfill his time, and who gave up his lambs and his sheep. {...} The Catholics of Rio de Janeiro and all of Brazil had no controversy with Pope Gregory XVI. Those who triggered the controversy with His Holiness 4 to 5 years ago and still support it with so much scandal are either not Catholics or no longer want to be Catholics.(109)

At the time we were studying, the issue of papal authority was also linked to the question of the priesthood. For the Ultra-Montanist priests, the popes, as successors of Saint Peter - who was appointed by Jesus Christ to govern the "True Church" - represented the supreme authority of Catholicism. In this context, the priesthood was both *sacred* and *hierarchical*, a concept that led Father Perereca to disqualify Methodism, claiming that the so-called ministers are not priests, have no sacred ordination, have not been granted the power to absolve sins, nor to declare them as redeemed: Therefore, everything they do in this regard is fraud, desecration, and malice.(110)

The above passage reveals the points of contention between these two Christian denominations and the requirements that officially supported the view of what "religion" was or was not from an ultra-conservative perspective: *priestly training*, *institutionalization*, power granted by a *hierarchical order*, alongside the aforementioned *tradition* laid down in the scriptures.

Father Perereca continued to justify his view of the priesthood, which is directly linked to the principle of *holiness*:

What is that, asks Count de Maistre, a minister of culture who describes himself as a Reformed Christian? A man dressed in black who climbs onto the pulpit every Sunday to deliver some honest sermons: any good man would be sufficient for this job. "... Protestantism," De Maistre continues, "only demands virtue from its ministers; Catholicism, however, demands deified virtue, that is, *holiness*."(111)

That is, *holiness* is understood here by Father Perereca as a segment of the hierarchy - with the Pope, the legitimate representative of the Apostle Peter -, who disqualifies Methodism, which consists of laypeople and non-priests. To substantiate these arguments, he again used a representative of French Traditionalism, who, together with De Bonald, Lamennais, and Bossuet, structured a series of ideas to counter the revolutionary wave in the 18th and 19th centuries. It was Joseph de Maistre(112), who, in addition to his counter-revolutionary criticism linking Protestantism and the Revolution, was able to reconcile a pronounced sense of reality with the strength of what he considered the true religion: Catholicism. Claimed by the Brazilian Ultra-Montanists at the beginning of the Republic, his work was already known to the Ultra-Montan priests studied here, mainly due to his defense of Christianity as "the religion revealed by God in history and through history", which led him to defend the

"undeniable value of tradition, objectivity, and universal authority in Christian civilization", where the Christian religion was conceived as "the foundation of all positive laws" and held full "legislative authority based on its laws as the first".(113)

De Maistre's traditionalist thinking insisted that "the only valid hierarchy of values is one in which politics is subordinated to morality and morality to religion" (114), arguments that explain his skillful appropriation by the Ultra-Montagnards of the Empire.

In the criticism of the priests Perereca and Tilbury towards the Methodists, the controversy over the use of Protestant Bibles or Catholic Bibles without reference notes, as well as the free interpretation of the Holy Scriptures, was further raised. Father Tilbury argued that the Catholic Church does not prohibit the Bible, but the misuse of the Word of God. In his opinion: "The Bible is publicly sold, read, and freely distributed in all Catholic countries of the world, regardless of what the Methodist missionaries want to do".(115)

In his first brochure, Father Perereca fought against the reading of Protestant Bibles and the profit made from selling such Bibles, without, however, concerning himself with the effectiveness of such a practice. As he justified:

Our missionary doesn't pressure us with the Bibles he so valiantly distributes at every step, because apart from the fact that they are very poorly translated by various sects and the texts don't agree with each other, it's a very profitable business for them (Sic). {...} Catholic missionaries preach the gospel, Methodists sell the gospel for their neophytes to read!(116)

However, this picture would change when he began to oppose the announcement of Reverend Kidder, which was published in the *Jornal do Commercio* on December 15, 1837, which, according to Luis Gonçalves dos Santos, followed other similar announcements published the previous year promoting the sale of Bibles by the Catholic priest António Pereira de Figueiredo,(117) which were published by Protestants, in which the necessary explanations, according to the ultraconservative clergyman, were suppressed to understand the Holy Scriptures:

Our Portuguese father, A. Pereira, did not publish his unpublished version of the Bible. So if the Bible Society is so interested in Brazilian youth, why did they delete the notes from the two versions of the wise Pereira and only print the text? (118)

In addition, this advertisement was aimed at the Bible edited for "masters and class leaders". This question was vigorously disputed by Father Perereca, who believed that not everyone was intellectually ready to interpret the Holy Scriptures without the help of Catholic explanations, as the biblical texts were difficult to understand. Based on Vincent de Lérins' (119) work on heresy, he condemned a Christian as

unforgivable who:

He prefers his own judgment to that of the Church; and if he persists in his error, he is a heretic, an excommunicated person, a pagan, and a tax collector. Such a deplorable state of affairs among Protestants, from Lutherans and Calvinists to Methodists, who are the most modern of all, and perhaps for this reason the most stubborn in error and dare even to spread it among Catholics!
(120)

The free interpretation of the Bible and its use in teaching were related to the opening of "lectures" by the missionary from Rio de Janeiro and the Sunday school for religious education. Although it was not an explicitly religious issue, it directly concerned the Catholic Church, as the clergy were directly involved in the general education of Brazilian youth. In his correspondence, the missionary reported that he had opened a "class" **(121)** and disqualified the teaching in Brazil by referring to the language confusion in the "Tower of Babel" **(122)**.

In our view, the opposition to the sale of the Bible version translated by the oratorian priest Antônio Pereira de Figueiredo is largely due to the fact that he was one of the representatives of Pombal Reformism and a defender of religious tolerance in 18th-century Portugal - he publicly opposed the "confused and obscure" scholastic methods and was the author of "*Theological Essay*" (1766) and "*Theological Demonstration*" (1769), "two true pillars of Portuguese Regalism", which were responsible for defending the episcopal branch of Portuguese Regalism, for which he found his fundamental instruments in the bishops.**(123)** In this case, the mention of "Sabio Pereira" sounds much more like a rhetorical trick, as it refers to a Portuguese enlightener who was committed to the Gallican-Jansenist tendencies of Pombal Reformism.

In turn, the fact that this translation was selected and edited by Protestants, along with the suggestion of their free interpretation, reinforced the symbolic connection that the Ultra-Montanism clergy made at that time between *Regalism* and *Protestantism*, and both were regarded as "heresy" and "religious dissent" in 19th-century Brazil.

Concluding remarks

The first half of the 19th century was a time of the church's adaptation to ongoing political, social, and cultural changes. Therefore, it remained much more than an institution heading towards a complete institutional separation from civil power, closely linked to the state as a strong link between dimensions that were undergoing profound transformations and reorganizations at that time.

From this perspective, far from attempting to hierarchize the state and the church in terms of dependency and/or significance, the discussion allowed us to focus on the

historicity of the appropriation of doctrines and institutionalized practices that structured the political-religious field in Brazil in the first half of the 19th century, and revealed the problems of some dimensions that characterized the institutional configuration of the Catholic Church and the imperial state at that time.

Taking into account the connections between political and religious power, which are at the center of the discussion about the legitimacy of the political order in the modern constitutional state and political democracy, the analysis of the pamphlets published by the priests Perereca and William Tilbury has enabled us to locate the beginnings of a debate that became urgent at the end of the nineteenth century: the question of religious plurality and the redefinition of the relationship model between the state and the church in Brazil through the end of the patronage system, which was officially established by the 1891 constitution.

In this sense, it's worth remembering that 1837, when the first brochure by Father Luis Gonçalves dos Santos was published, also corresponded to the year in which there was a turning point in the play of imperial political forces, a movement known as *conservative regression*, which saw the rise of the Paladins of Ultra-Montanism to the level of national politics.(124) Since then, the arguments and reforms supported by representatives of Ultra-Montanism as a solution to the alleged threats to the hegemony of the Catholic religion have revived the theological, philosophical, and political matrices of those manifestations of counter-revolutionary thought that emerged in France between the 18th and 19th centuries, from which a pronounced "Catholic traditionalism" was derived, as an orthodox alternative to the institutional and legal changes of the time.

In the first half of the nineteenth century, such tendencies began at the level of representative power and new spaces of socializing, which were introduced by our political modernity, and polarized the various currents of the Brazilian clergy - an expression of different models of secularization -, which not only pointed to the conflict-ridden coexistence of various models of church reform and their relationship to secular power, but also to different ways of faith and interpretation of the scriptures.

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- (6) **FERREIRA**, Ismael de Vasconcelos. Pentecostalism and Secularization: From Doctrinal Rigidity to Religious Pluralism. *Horizonte*, Belo Horizonte, Vol. 10, No. 28, p. 1462, Oct.-Dec. 2012.
- (7) **SOUZA**, Françoise Jean de Oliveira. From the Altar to the Tribune. The Political Priests in the Formation of the Brazilian Nation-State (1823-1841). (PhD-Thesis) Rio de Janeiro: Universidade Estadual do Rio de Janeiro, 2010. p. 324.
- (8) **CIARALLO**, Gilson. The Issue of Religious Freedom in 19th-Century Brazilian Politics: A Path to Understanding the Secularization of the Political Sphere. *Revista de Sociologia e Política*, Vol. 19, No. 38, Feb. 2011. p. 95.
- (9) **BALEEIRO**, A. (Ed.). *Brazilian Constitutions: 1891*. Brasília: Federal Senate and Ministry of Science and Technology, Center for Strategic Studies, 2001. p. 96.
- (10) **PEREIRA**, Rodrigo da Nóbrega Moura. The Salvation of Brazil: The Protestant Missions and the Political-Religious Debate of the 19th Century. (PhD-Thesis. Rio de Janeiro: Universidade Estadual do Rio de Janeiro, 2008. p. 66.)
- (11) *Ibidem*, 67.
- (12) *Ibidem*, 73.
- (13) *Loc. cit.*
- (14) **NOGUEIRA**, Octaciano (Ed.). *Brazilian Constitutions: 1824*. Brasília: Federal Senate and Ministry of Science and Technology, Center for Strategic Studies, 2001. p. 80.
- (15) **PEREIRA**, Rodrigo da Nóbrega Moura, Op. Cit., p. 74.
- (16) **SOUZA**, Françoise Jean de Oliveira, Op. Cit., p. 16.
- (17) **SANTIROCCHI**, Italo D.. A Matter of Conscience. The Ultramontanists in Brazil and the Regalism of the Second Reign (1840-1889). Belo Horizonte: Fino Traço, 2015. p. 73.
- (18) *Ibidem*, p. 48-49.
- (19) **DI STEFANO**, Roberto. What Are We Talking About When We Say 'Church'? Reflections on the Historiographical Use of a Polysemic Term. *Ariadna Histórica*.

Languages, Concepts, Metaphors. No. 1, 2012, p. 209. For the author: "While the canonical distinction between clergy and laity dates back to the origins of Christianity, the configuration of the church as a juridical-political entity is a relatively new phenomenon, which emerged from a process of secularization, in which the church itself was one of the main actors."

(20) MENDONÇA, Antonio Gouvea. Republic and Religious Diversity in Brazil. *Revista USP*, No. 59, 2003. p. 144-163.

(21) William Paul Tilbury, was an Englishman who lived in Brazil. He was the pastor of the St. Peter's Order, commander of the Order of Christ, and a Knight of the Cross. He also taught as a public English teacher and a private English and French teacher. He converted several Protestants to Catholicism. (BLAKE, Augusto Victorino Alves Sacramento. Guilherme Paulo Tilbury. In: ____ (org.). *Diccionário bibliográfico brasileiro* - v. 3. Rio de Janeiro: Typographia Nacional, 1985, p. 197. Available at: < <http://bd.camara.gov.br/bd/handle/bdcamara/14856>>.

(22) Although this did not eliminate the existence of a religious tolerance underground, which was largely due to the effects of the works of European intellectuals who stood out in this defense since the 15th century - such as the writings of Erasmus of Rotterdam and Spinoza - and led to the Enlightenment discourse, the 16th and 17th centuries in the Iberian world were characterized by official intolerance towards any faith other than Catholicism. (ROCHA, Igor Tadeu Camilo. Religious Tolerance in the Portuguese-Brazilian World during the Enlightenment: Reflection based on Inquisitorial Sources": *e-Hum*, v. 6, 2014. p.27).

(23) Vieira points out that this missionary Protestantism that came to Brazil was an orthodox Protestantism, an enemy of positivism, like Ultramontanism. (VIEIRA, Davi Gueiros. *Protestantism, Freemasonry, and the Religious Question in Brazil*. Brasília, DF: Editora da UnB. 1980).

(24) The works of these two authors on this topic are: SANTOS, Luiz Gonçalves dos. *Catholic Antidote against the Methodist Poison or Refutation of the Second Report of the so-called Missionary of Rio de Janeiro*. Compiled by R.P.G. Tilbury. With an Analysis of the Announcement of the Bible Seller, &c. by Father Luiz Gonçalves dos Santos. Rio de Janeiro: Imprensa Americana. 1838; SANTOS, Luiz Gonçalves dos. *Defense of the Clergy and the Catholic People of Rio de Janeiro or Refutation of the Lies and Slanders of a Fraudster who Calls Himself the Missionary of Rio de Janeiro*, sent by the Methodist-Episcopal Society of New York to Civilize and Convert the Inhabitants of Rio de Janeiro to Christianity, &c., &c., &c. Rio de Janeiro: Imprensa Americana, 1837; SANTOS, Luiz Gonçalves dos. *The Catholic and the Methodist, or Refutation of the Heretical and False Doctrines that the so-called Missionaries of Rio de Janeiro, Methodists from New York, have spread in this capital of the Brazilian Empire through pamphlets called tracts, in order to gain followers for their sect, &c.* Together with a Treatise on the Right of Catholics to be Buried in Churches and their Cemeteries. Offered and dedicated to His Excellency and Reverend Mr. Scipião Domingos Fabrini... by Father Luiz Gonçalves dos Santos. Rio de Janeiro: Imprensa Americana, 1839. These sources were located and digitized in the collection of the Biblioteca Brasileira Mindlin at the Universidade de São Paulo.

(25) DI STEFANO, Roberto Di. Religious Dissent and Secularization in 19th

Century Ibero-America: Conceptual and Methodological Issues. Projeto História, São Paulo, No. 37, Dec. 2008. P. 169.

(26) CASTRO, Zília Osório de. Precursors of Pombaline Regalism. Studies in Honor of João Francisco Marques. Porto: Faculty of Human Sciences of the University of Porto, 2002.

(27) The author defines Regalism as the "legal-religious system that advocates excessive interference of the king or the state in church life, based on the alleged duty of monarchs to 'seek the welfare, even the spiritual, of their subjects', and subordinate the church to their authority. This proposal was advocated by several Protestant kings and princes - such as in Germany, England, and the Scandinavian countries - who declared themselves heads of their respective churches and separated from Rome. (LEITE, António. The Pombaline Ideology: Enlightened Despotism and Regalism. Brotéria, v. 114, n. 5/6, May-June, 1982. P. 497-498).

(28) "The French Catholic doctrine is characterized by the predominance of the state over the Catholic Church, with a strong sense of nationalism, which thus has strong political implications." (SANTIROCCHI, Ítalo, Op. Cit., P. 19-20).

(29) Jansenism is a doctrine named after Cornelis Jansen, also known as Cornelius Jansenius (Acquoy, Holland 1563 - Ypres 1638), Bishop of Ypres in the Belgian province of Flanders, and his followers. It emerged from the conflicts over grace: its role in salvation and the controversy over whether it is an exclusively divine attribute (a position advocated by the Council and identified with the Bañist priests, followers of the Dominican Domingo Bañez) or the result of the contribution of human freedom (a position advocated by the Molinists, followers of the Jesuit Luís de Molina). In the 17th century, the controversy was revived by Jansênio and, under the leadership of the Oratorian Pascásio Quesnel from 1684, increasingly became a political-religious opposition party, which gained a foothold in Italy, Holland, and Portugal. (Ibid., P. 18-19). In addition to these variants, there is also the presence of "Febronianism" and "Josephism", which are in vogue in the European world.

(30) According to Ítalo Domingos Santirocchi, "the word Ultramontanism derives from the Latin 'ultra montes', which means 'beyond the mountains', that is, from the Alps". Its origin dates back to the medieval church language, which designated all non-Italian popes. He adds that the term was used in the 18th century to "identify the defenders of the church in any conflict between secular and spiritual power".

(SANTIROCCHI, Ítalo Domingos. A Question of Conceptual Review: Romanization - Ultramontanism - Reform. Temporalities, v. 2, n. 2, Aug/Dec, 2010. P. 24).

(31) AZZI, Riolando. The Crisis of Christianity and the Liberal Project. History of Catholic Thought in Brazil, Vol. II. São Paulo: Edições Paulinas, 1991.

(32) CARVALHO, Flávio Reis de. A Portuguese Enlightenment? The Reform of the University of Coimbra (1772). São Paulo: Annablume, 2008. P. 52.

(33) SANTIROCCHI, Ítalo Domingos. A Question of Conceptual Review, Op. Cit., P. 51-52. An important implementation of the religious question, which preceded the educational reforms themselves, was the law expelling the Society of Jesus from Portugal and its dominions in 1759, "a measure that became a model for other European nations", which led to a movement that culminated in the signing of the letter Dominus ac Redemptor noster by Pope Clement XIV (1705-1774), which

ordered the universal suppression of the Society of Jesus in 1773.

(34) SANTOS, Cândido. Jansenism and Anti-Jansenism at the End of the Old Regime. Porto: Edições Afrontamento, 2011. P. 952.

(35) ROCHA, Igor Tadeu Camilo, Op. Cit., p. 21.

(36) In his Political Testament, D. Luís da Cunha confirmed that a third "unconquerable and cruel bleeding that the state suffers is the one inflicted by the Inquisition, because every day so-called 'New Christians' leave Portugal out of fear of it. The same problem was addressed by Ribeiro Sanches in his treatise on the origin of the term 'Old Christian' and 'New Christian' in Portugal, as well as the causes of the continuation of these designations and Jewish blindness, both texts being known to Pombal. On this subject, see: SILVA, Ana Rosa Cloquet da. Inventing the Nation. Enlightened Intellectuals and Luso-Brazilian Statesmen in the Crisis of the Old Portuguese Regime (1750-1822). São Paulo: HUCITEC, 2005.

(37) ROCHA, Igor Tadeus Camilo, Op. Cit., p. 20-21. For the author, the Pombaline reforms redirected the old persecution and inquisitorial repression towards those actors who were considered a triple threat - to the throne, the altar, and civil society - generally referred to as 'Heretics, Cultists, Free Thinkers, and Freethinkers'.

(38) The Feijoist group was associated with the priests José Custódio Dias, Manoel Joaquim do Amaral Gurgel, José Bento Leite Ferreira de Melo, José Martiniano de Alencar, Antônio Maria de Moura and others.

(39) DI STEFANO, Roberto. Religious Dissent and Secularization in 19th-Century Ibero-America, Op. Cit., p. 168-169.

(40) HAUCK, João Fagundes (et al). History of the Church in Brazil: An Attempt at Interpretation Based on the People. Second Epoch - The Church in Brazil in the 19th Century. Petrópolis: Vozes, 2008. p. 14-15.

(41) DI STEFANO, Roberto. Religious Dissent and Secularization in 19th-Century Ibero-America, Op. Cit., p. 168.

(42) SANTIROCCHI, Italo Domingos. A Matter of Conscience, Op. Cit., p. 57.

(43) SOUZA, Françoise J. de O., Op. Cit., p. 25.

(44) JANCSÓ, István (ed.). Independence: History and Historiography. São Paulo-Ijuí: Hucitec/FAPESP, 2005.

(45) SANTIROCCHI, Italo Domingos, A Matter of Conscience, Op. Cit., p. 67.

(46) BRAZIL. Anais of the Chamber of Deputies. Session of 16.10.1827, p. 129. Available at: <<http://www.camara.gov.br>>

(47) RICCI, Magda. Possessions of a Ruling Priest. Diogo Antônio Feijó (1784-1843). Campinas: EDUNICAMP, 2001. p. 360.

(48) SOUZA, Françoise G. de O., Op. Cit., p. 344.

(49) CIARALLO, Gilson, Op. Cit., p. 85-99.

(50) BRAZIL. Anais of the Chamber of Deputies, op. cit., Session of 17.05.1828, p. 99.

(51) Idem, Session of 10.06.1828, p. 84.

(52) SANTIROCCHI, Italo Domingos, A Matter of Conscience, Op. Cit., p. 67.

(53) Protestant segment that emerged around 1453 as a movement of followers of John Huss in the Brethren community in Bohemia. With the prohibition of Protestantism in Moravia in 1627, the movement shifted and reappeared in Saxony,

led by Count Nicolaus Ludwig von Zinzendorf, and institutionalized under the name Moravian Church or Unitas Fratrum, from which evangelization missions were initiated. The work of the Moravians was particularly known in Brazil for their achievements with the Indians of North America. The Moravians believed that they should only fulfill the laws described in the holy scriptures, and not those of the Catholic church ordinances.

(54) **MENDONÇA**, Antônio Gouvêa. Protestantism in Brazil and its Intersections. *Revista USP*, São Paulo, No. 67, Sep-Nov. 2005. p. 48-67.

(55) **BRAZIL**. Anais of the Chamber of Deputies. Session of 25/08/1827, p. 237. Available at: <<http://www.camara.gov.br>> (our highlights).

(56) **SANTIROCCHI**, Italo Domingos, A Matter of Conscience, *Op. Cit.*, p. 161.

(57) **BRAZIL**. Anais of the Chamber of Deputies, *op. cit.*, Session of August 8, 1826, p. 93.

(58) *Ibid.*, p. 94, 95.

(59) **DI STEFANO**, Roberto. Religious Dissent and Secularization in 19th-Century Ibero-America, *Op. Cit.*, p. 169.

(60) **SOUZA**, Françoise J. de O., *Op. Cit.*, p. 397.

(61) *Ibid.*, p. 324.

(62) **SANTOS**, Luiz Gonçalves dos. Catholic Reply to the Response Given by the Honorable Deputy Feijó to Father Luís Gonçalves dos Santos. Rio de Janeiro: Typographia de Torres, 1827.

(63) It is worth noting that Feijó did not attend the Reformed University of Coimbra, where the Galicanist theses from the Pombaline Reforms were disseminated. Contrary to this tendency, which was common among the majority of liberal clerics involved in the formation of the Brazilian state, his foundation took place in the village of Itu, alongside the Patrocinist priests.

(64) **FEIJÓ**, Diogo Antônio. Response of Deputy Feijó to the Nonsenses, Insults, and Contradictions of Father Luiz Gonçalves dos Santos. In: **CALDEIRA**, Jorge (Ed.). Diogo Antônio Feijó. São Paulo: Editora 34, 1999, p. 342.

(65) **SANTOS**, Luiz Gonçalves dos. Catholic Reply to the Response Given by the Honorable Deputy Feijó to Father Luís Gonçalves dos Santos, *Op. Cit.*, p. 3.

(66) **Boanerges Ribeiro** points out that in 1810, Swedish workers were hired, who were likely Lutherans. (**RIBEIRO**, Boanerges. Protestantism in Monarchical Brazil (1822-1888): Cultural Aspects of the Acceptance of Protestantism in Brazil. São Paulo: Pioneira, 1973, p. 79).

(67) **MENDONÇA**, Antonio Gouvea. The Heavenly Future: The Introduction of Protestantism in Brazil. São Paulo, SP: ASTE, 1995.

(68) *Ibid.*, p. 54.

(69) In Rio de Janeiro, German and English foreigners built their first chapels, but there are no missionary activities from foreign communities.

(70) **Fountain E. Pitts**, a pioneer of Methodist missions in South America, was a member of the Tennessee Annual Conference. He arrived in Brazil on August 19, 1835, preached in private homes, and continued his missionary work in Montevideo and Buenos Aires before returning to the United States in the spring of 1836.

(**KENNEDY**, James L.. Cinquenta annos de methodismo no Brasil. São Paulo:

Methodista, 1928).

(71) Justus Spaulding was a member of the New England Annual Conference and is considered the Prime Minister of the Southern Methodist Episcopal Church.

(72) Daniel Parish Kidder came to Brazil in 1837, at the age of just 22, where he stayed until 1840. His mission in Brazil led to the publication of three books about the country.

(73) KIDDER, Daniel Parish. *Memories of Travels and Residences in Brazil*, translated by Moacyr N. Vasconcelos. São Paulo: Martins / EDUSP, Vol. 2, 1972, p. 112. Cited from PEREIRA, Rodrigo da Nóbrega Moura, *Op. Cit.*, p. 75.

(74) The controversy over slavery was the most significant element in the divisions of American churches at this time. Baptists, Presbyterians, and Methodists split internally between Southerners and Northerners. (HERBERG, Will. *Protestants, Catholics, and Jews*. São Paulo/Belo Horizonte: Itatiaia, 1962).

(75) MOREL, Marco. *The Transformations of Public Spaces. Press, Political Actors, and Social Behavior in the Imperial City. (1820-1840)*. São Paulo: Hucitec, 2005. p. 167.

(76) *Ibidem*, p. 171.

(77) For the journalistic actions of Feijó, see: SILVA, Ana Rosa Clochet da; LOURENÇO, Laís da Silva. *Between Politics and Religion: An Analysis of the Feijoísta Press in the Period 1834-1835*. *Revista Brasileira de História das Religiões*, Vol. 7, p. 207-229, 2015.

(78) The Royal Academy of Sciences of Lisbon was founded in 1779 and was the most important institution for the networking of Portuguese men and statesmen, who were responsible for the new phase of the Portuguese Enlightenment and for formulating reform proposals for the kingdom and the overseas territories. Having resisted the Pombaline reforms - due to the rise that allowed the Marquis of Pombal to foment political discontent - it was, parallel to Coimbra, a power school where conservative thinking found refuge. (MOREL, Marco, *Op. Cit.*).

(79) In addition to the pamphlets disseminated by Priests Perereca and Tilbury, the periodical press stood out in this criticism of the Methodists. Already in 1838, two weekly newspapers were published for this purpose: *O Católico*, later reissued as *O Católico Fluminense*.

(80) SANTIROCCHI, Italo Domingos. *A Matter of Conscience*, *Op. Cit.*, p. 75.

(81) "The Bishop of São Paulo, a former student of the University of Coimbra, Bishop Joaquim Gonçalves de Andrade, who was also a member of the Provincial Legislature, voted for the acceptance of the gift. However, after learning from Father Tilbury that they were 'forged' Bibles, he informed the São Paulo legislature, and the project was put on hold." (VIEIRA, Davi Gueiros, *Op. Cit.*, p. 35).

(82) SANTOS, Luís Gonçalves dos. *Rehabilitation of the Clergy and the Catholic People of Rio de Janeiro or Refutation of the Lies and Slanders of a Fraudster, who Called Himself a Missionary of Rio de Janeiro and was Sent by the Methodist-Episcopal Society of New York to Civilize and Convert*. Rio de Janeiro: Imprensa Americana, 1837. p. 8.

(83) SANTOS, Luis Gonçalves dos, *loc. Cit.* (our highlights).

(84) The concept of heresy is associated with the beginning of Christianity. For the

formulation of the canonical corpus of the New Testament, writings were selected that directly originated from the teachings of Jesus. These writings were defined by the emerging church institution as "orthodox", which formulated the term "Universal Church" in Greek as "catholic". Philosophical and theological controversies were part of this process, whose winners labeled the opponents as heretics (LE GOFF, Jacques; SCHMITT, Jean-Claude. Heresy. In: Thematic Dictionary of the Medieval West - Volume 2. Bauru/São Paulo: EDUSC/Official Press of the State, 2002, p. 503 – 521).

(85) BOURDIEU, Pierre. The Genesis and Structure of the Religious Field. In: BOURDIEU, Pierre. The Economy of Symbolic Exchange. São Paulo: Perspectiva, 2011, 1974. p. 62.

(86) SANTOS, Luís Gonçalves dos. The Catholic and the Methodist, or Refutation of the Heretical and False Doctrines That the So-Called Missionaries from Rio de Janeiro, Methodists from New York, Have Spread in This Court of the Brazilian Empire Through Pamphlets, So-Called Treatises, to Gain Followers for Their Sect, etc.. Rio de Janeiro: Imprensa Americana, 1839, p. VIII-IX.

(87) BOURDIEU, P., Op. Cit., p. 45.

(88) DI STEFANO, Roberto, "Religious Dissidence and Secularization in 19th-Century Ibero-America", Op. Cit., p. 158.

(89) Among others, he mentioned Tertullian, Saint Augustine, Vincent de Lérins, Jacques-Benigne Bossuet, Irenaeus of Lyon, and Cyprian of Carthage.

(90) SANTOS, Luís Gonçalves dos. The Catholic and the Methodist, Op. Cit., p. X.

(91) The Council of Trent is considered one of the most important councils of the Catholic Church, which took place from 1545 to 1563, and was the longest in the history of Catholicism, where the ideas of the Protestant Reformers were discussed. To determine its content, it is worth consulting the translation by D. Ignacio Lopez de Ayala. The Sacrosanct and Ecumenical Council of Trent. Madrid: Ramon Ruiz, 1798.

(92) SANTOS, Luís Gonçalves dos. Rehabilitation of the Clergy and the Catholic People of Rio de Janeiro, op. cit., p. 51.

(93) The use of a foreign language for the listeners, especially Greek and Latin, was an element of the discussions between the Catholic Church and the Protestant religions and is criticized in the tracts distributed by the missionary from Rio de Janeiro.

(94) SANTOS, Luís Gonçalves dos. The Catholic and the Methodist, Op. Cit., p. XVII.

(95) PIRES, Thiago, op. cit., p. 27.

(96) Ibidem, p. 28.

(97) SANTOS, Luís Gonçalves dos. The Catholic and the Methodist, Op. Cit., p. 10-27.

(98) Ibidem, p. 72.

(99) Ibidem, p. 46.

(100) Saint Catholicism is understood here as one of the most traditional forms of Brazilian Catholicism, which has existed since the colonial era. It has a popular origin and emphasizes the veneration of saints, the importance of festivals, and popular devotions. It has a predominantly lay character and maintains a relative autonomy from institutional Catholicism, without the presence of official representatives of the

Church. Saint Catholicism was strongly combated in the process of Romanization at the end of the nineteenth century, as a result of the ultramontane reform project, which established a "universalist Catholicism" in Brazil, characterized by a strong control over the laity and their associations, and the adaptation of Brazilian Catholicism to the dictates of Rome. (TEIXEIRA, Faustino. Faces do catolicismo brasileiro contemporâneo. Revista da USP, n.67, p.14-23, 2005).

(101) SANTOS, Luís Gonçalves dos. Rehabilitation of the Clergy and the Catholic People of Rio de Janeiro, Op. Cit., p. 46. (Emphasis by the author)

(102) Religious meetings promoted by the Methodists in the open air, in a kind of religious camp, where services and conversions took place, during the westward expansion in North America. (HERBERG, Will, Op. Cit.)

(103) SANTOS, Luís Gonçalves dos. Rehabilitation of the Clergy and the Catholic People of Rio de Janeiro, Op. Cit., p. 38-39.

(104) Ibidem, p. 38.

(105) Local source.

(106) SERBIN, Kenneth. Priests, Celibacy, and Social Conflict: A History of the Catholic Church in Brazil. São Paulo: Cia das Letras, 2008.

(107) SANTOS, Luís Gonçalves dos. Rehabilitation of the Clergy and the Catholic People of Rio de Janeiro, Op. Cit., p. 41.

(108) The pontificate of Gregory XVI (1831-1846) marked the confirmation and consolidation of Ultramontanism in Brazil and exacerbated the conflicts between the Roman Curia and the Brazilian regalists liberals, who dominated the political scene under Feijós's rule. In this episode, the Methodist referred to the well-known "Questão Moura". In March 1833, Antônio Maria de Moura - from Feijós's group - was appointed Bishop of Rio de Janeiro. However, his appointment was rejected by the Holy See due to obstacles and ecclesiastical irregularities. It was clear, however, that the approval was denied due to the priest's positioning on two projects considered offensive by the Roman Curia: the Church Treasury project - which prohibited priests from receiving conscripts from the government and engaging in other activities - and the project on marriage obstacles. The Brazilian government viewed this attitude of the Pope as a direct insult, as the Brazilian government, now under the Trina Regency, had the right to appoint its bishops according to the Padroado principle. The case became a diplomatic problem that remained unresolved until at least 1835, when Feijó was elected Regent of the Empire (SANTOS, José Augusto dos. Liberalismo eclesiástico e regalista no Brasil sob o pontificado de Gregório XVI. Tese de doutorado., Roma: UNIGRE, 1971).

(109) SANTOS, Luís Gonçalves dos. Rehabilitation of the Clergy and the Catholic People of Rio de Janeiro, Op. Cit., p. 42.

(110) Ibidem, p. 72.

(111) Ibidem, p. 33 (emphasis added by the author).

(112) Born in Savoy in 1753, he was appointed a senator in 1788 and was exiled from Savoy after the outbreak of the French Revolution. He settled in Russia and wrote his works, in which he criticized the French Revolution, viewing it as a consequence of the processes that emerged from the Protestant Reformation. (MOTTA, Rodrigo Patto Sá. Paradoxes of Counter-Revolutionary Thought: Joseph de Maistre. Locus-Revista

de História, 2001).

(113) CORDI, Cassiano. Traditionalism in the First Republic. Dissertation (Doctorate in Philosophy). Rio de Janeiro: Gama Filho University: Faculty of Philosophy, 1984, p. 18.

(114) Ibidem, p. 18.

(115) SANTOS, Luís Gonçalves dos. Catholic Antidote to Methodist Poison, Op. Cit., p. 12.

(116) SANTOS, Luís Gonçalves dos. Rehabilitation of the Clergy and the Catholic People of Rio de Janeiro, Op. Cit., p. 31-32.

(117) António Pereira de Figueiredo (1725-1797) was one of the theoreticians of Portuguese Regalism. He studied philosophy and theology at the Congregation of the Oratory of St. Filipe Neri in Lisbon and translated the Catholic Bible into Portuguese. (SANTOS, Candido. Antonio Pereira de Figueiredo, Pombal e a Aufklärung. Revista de História das Ideias, Coimbra, 4, p. 167-206, 1982).

(118) SANTOS, Luís Gonçalves dos. Catholic Antidote to Methodist Poison, Op. Cit., p. 18.

(119) Vincent de Lérins was a Gallic Catholic monk who was familiar with the Holy Scriptures and the dogmas of the Church. He fought strongly against heresy, and his main work was Pelegrini aduersam haereticos - also known as Commonitorium. He lived in a monastery on the island of Lérins until his death between the years 445 and 450.

(120) SANTOS, Luís Gonçalves dos. The Catholic and the Methodist, Op. Cit., p. XV.

(121) The Methodists played an important role in public and religious education in the United States of America after the Great Awakening (HERBERG, Will, Op. Cit.).

(122) SANTOS, Luís Gonçalves dos. Rehabilitation of the Clergy and the Catholic People of Rio de Janeiro, Op. Cit., p. 18.

(123) SANTIROCCHI, Italo D., Op. Cit., p. 57.

(124) According to Santirocchi, one of the reasons for the political rise of the ultramontane clergy since the 1840s was the conservative regression and the participation of representatives of the regalist clergy in the liberal movements that destabilized the regency, which led the government to restrict the political and party-political activities of the clergy. (SANTIROCCHI, Ítalo D., Op. Cit., p. 120).

- This article results from the scientific initiation research "Ultramontane Polemicists and the Question of the Arrival of Protestants in Brazil (1826-1842)", which was carried out at the Faculty of History of PUC-Campinas and took place between July 2014 and August 2015.

Publication dates

Publication in this collection:

April 2017.

History Received:

on October 12, 2016

Accepted:

on October 27, 2016

