

Edition and Circulation of British and Foreign Bible Society Booklets

(This text presents research results financed by Universal Announcement 01/2016/Band B/CNPq)

Ester Fraga Vilas-Bôas Carvalho do Nascimento², Jorge Carvalho do Nascimento³

¹Universidade Tiradentes/CNPq

Doctor in Education from the Pontifical Catholic University of São Paulo (PUC/SP). Scholarship of Productivity of Research in Education by CNPq. Professor of the Postgraduate Program in Education of Tiradentes University/Unit. Coordinates the Research Group History of Educational Practices/PPED/Unit/CNPq

²Universidade Federal de Sergipe/CNPq

Doctor in Education from the Pontifical Catholic University of São Paulo (PUC/SP). Research in Education by CNPq. Professor of the Postgraduate Program in Education of Universidade Federal de Sergipe/UFS. Member the Research Group History of Educational Practices/PPED/Unit/CNPq

In the perspective of Cultural History, this text is inserted in the History of Education and in the History of the Book¹. It proposes to present a survey of Protestant booklets circulated in Brazil during the 19th century, through the British and Foreign Bible Society/BFBS, allowing an apprehension of the Protestant press and its relation with the History of Education, studying them as editorial strategies of diffusion and conformation of religious and pedagogical knowledge and practices.

Its main focus is to map the territory of action of agents and colporteurs linked to the BFBS in the country, demonstrating the relationship of this action with the installation of Protestant schools in Brazil by North American Presbyterian missionaries, linked to the New York Board. The work carried out in partnership by the subjects of these two institutions made possible the organization of a real network for the publication, sale and distribution of Protestant booklets in Brazilian territory during the 19th century, which acted as a device for appropriating a new cultural model, the implantation of their churches and schools.

Since 2013, this researcher and her team² have carried out systematization, transcription, translation and analysis of bibliography and the reports produced by 35 agents of BFBS³ who worked in Brazil from 1818 to 1894. The

documentation was collected in the years 2010 to 2012 at the British and Foreign Bible Society's Library/BFBS Archives Indexes/BSAX, belonging to the Cambridge University Library/UK collection. In spite of the catalog of the BFBS available on the Internet to register the presence of 44 agents in Brazil during the nineteenth century, during the research trips carried out by the team of this project, from 1818 to 1839, 17 agents were located and, from 1840, another 18 men. The documentary corpus consists of 128 letters and 60 reports⁴.

Table 1: Decade and Quantity of Documents Collected (1810-1890)

| Decade | Quantidade Of Documents |
|--------|--------------------------|
| 1810 | 01 letter |
| 1820 | 16 letters |
| 1830 | 17 letters |
| 1840 | 25 letters |
| 1850 | 16 letters |
| 1860 | - |
| 1870 | 128 letters e 60 reports |
| 1880 | 02 letters |
| 1890 | 06 letters |
| TOTAL | 271 documents |

Source: BFBS Archives Indexes/BSAX. Cambridge: Cambridge University Library/UK, 2010.

¹ Histoire du livre in France, Geschichte des Buchwesens in Germany, history of books or of the book in English-speaking countries - the name varies from place to place, but everywhere it is being recognized as an important new discipline. One might even call it the social and cultural history of printed communication, if it were not so long a name, for its purpose is to understand how ideas were transmitted by printed means and how contact with the printed word affected the thought and behavior of humanity in five hundred years (DARNTON, 1992, p.65).

² Prof. Dr. Jorge Carvalho do Nascimento (UFS), Prof. Dr. Jose António Martin Afonso (University of Minho, Portugal), Prof. Dr. José Roberto Souza (Catholic University of Pernambuco).

³ The agent of BFBS is understood herein as a cultural agent. We still know very little about their social and intellectual world, their tastes and values, their insertion in their communities. I agree with Darnton when he states that the agent also operated "within commercial networks, which expanded and collapsed like alliances in the diplomatic world" (Darnton 1992, p. 75).

At the opening conference of the 9th Brazilian Congress on the History of Education, Chartier (2017) emphasized the importance of circulating a set of booklet during the 19th century, promoting the emergence of several communities of readers and, consequently reading practices:

with the diversification of printed products, the nineteenth century saw a great dispersion and diversity of the practices of various communities of readers. Both those who had previously been familiar with the printed culture, and those formed by the newcomers to the world of writing - children, women, workers. Access gave everyone the ability to read as it was established in the late nineteenth century in various parts of Europe. This has led to a large fragmentation of

⁴ This documentation compiles the BFBS Archives Indexes/BSAX collection, which has about 4,800 correspondence sent by foreign correspondents in the countries that worked (1804-1897).

reading practices. This fragmentation led to the reinforcement of all the elements found in the first centuries of Modernity. On the one hand, printed products have been multiplied to popular readers - cheap collections, delivery publications, brochures, illustrated magazines, etc. From this point of view, the production and circulation of printed culture have shown the major fundamental changes in all parts of Europe and, perhaps, the Americas.

The analysis carried out from a specific bibliography and sources of the BFBS, located at the Cambridge University Library/UK, allows us to take into account the hypothesis raised by Chartier (2017) that perhaps “the production and circulation of the printed culture” in the Americas, as had occurred in Europe. It is possible to perceive that the editorial strategies of diffusion and conformation of religious and pedagogical knowledge and practices used by the BFBS were destined to the formation and the use of Protestant groups, organizing a corpus of knowledge represented as necessary for its definitive insertion in Brazil.

In Portugal, studies on Biblical Societies, their agents and colporteurs have been carried out in the perspective of the Sciences of Religion, while not focusing on the civilizing and, consequently, educational and pedagogical action of Protestant groups in Portuguese society, as is the case of the works of Samuel Escobar, Timóteo AJ Cavaco, João Paulo Henriques, Rui A. Costa Oliveira and, Vitor Tavares.

In Brazil, the investigation of religious booklets has intensified in the area of the History of Education. Among the researchers investigating mainly Catholic booklets are Elomar Antonio Callegaro Tambara, Antonio Donizetti Sgarbi, Raquel Martins de Assis, Mauro Passos, Urbano Zilles, Raquel Martins de Assis, Valéria Carmelita Santana Souza, Rosemeire Marcedo Costa, Dionísio de Almeida Neto and Ana Luzia Santos. Among those who search for Protestant booklets are Ephraim de Figueiredo Beda, Lyndon Araújo Santos, Shirley Puccia Laguna, Ester Fraga Vilas-Bôas Carvalho do Nascimento, Alderi Souza de Matos, Micheline Reinaux Vasconcelos, Sandra Cristina da Silva, Nicole Bertinatti, Priscila Mazêo, Mirianne de Almeida and, Tâmara Regina Reis Sales.

Editors and the Circulation of Protesting Booklets

Crossing a bibliography pertinent to the subject with the collected documentation, during the nineteenth century until the 30s of the twentieth century, biblical societies, together with the foreign Protestant missions distributed in Brazil approximately ten million copies of Bibles, New Testaments, books, booklets, pamphlets, tracts, newspapers, magazines. The booklets functioned as an important strategy of circulation of practices and knowledge “a socialization of the printed word, since they allowed” the socialization of the printed word, breaking with the possession of the literate culture only of those more moneyed (ALMEIDA, 2013, p. 58).

Until the mid-nineteenth century, much of the Protestant literature circulating in Brazilian territory was edited by the publishing company Evangelical bookstore of the Street of

Green Windows in Lisbon and in Brazil by commercial publishers and Casa Vanorden, while Bibles were produced in England and the United States. Casa Vanorden was the first Brazilian typography dedicated to printing and editing evangelical literature, with the owner, the Dutch Presbyterian minister Emanuel Vanorden (ALMEIDA, 2013, p. 67).

Initially, BFBS volunteers who promoted the Bible in their home country gathered information about the status of their work areas. The production of BFBS was intended for Londoners. Subsequently, new actors began to participate in the process, expanding this project and taking Holy Scripture to other countries. The agents were people who worked full time for the organization, systematically recording in their reports the places where they worked and the work done. Some of these documents became travel books, describing the country, its customs, economic and social data, as well as offering news on the distribution of Bibles. An example is the book by agent Charles Barker, *Dos Años en las Islas Canarias*. Report of a trip by the Canary Islands by car, on foot and in beast, with the aim of spreading the Scriptures in Spanish. Another important person was James Thompson (1788-1854), an agent of the BFBS and the Lancasterian Society⁵ who traveled to Latin America between 1818 and 1844. The set of his correspondence sent to the first organization was published in London. Thompson was also responsible for the diffusion of lancasterian schools among the young Latin American republics, amongst them Uruguay, Argentina, Chile and Peru. Of the 40 titles Presbyterian minister Júlio Andrade Ferreira cataloged in his collection⁶, 27 are in the form of booklet, four leaflets, four pamphlet, four books and one magazine. Among the topics are titles dealing with Catholicism, Spiritism, the Lord's Supper, repentance, healing, the Bible from a science perspective, the Reformation, and the life stories of missionaries. But what stands out are the texts that direct readers to read the Bible, such as the nine pamphlets titled *First of all, read the Holy Bible (s/d)*, *Still the same truth of 19 centuries (s/d)*, *The testimony she gives (1908)*, *The Word of God (1910)*, *The Power of the Divine Word, or the Will of a Jew (1924)*, *The Theft of a Bible and its consequences (1927)*, *The Holy Bible and the People (1927)*, *The Book that Saved: The Word of Life (1927)*, *The Book of Books (1928)*.

There was a concern to prove faith through science, as evidenced by the booklets entitled *The Shoemaker Philosopho (1903)* and *Christianity and the Latest Discoveries of Science (1907)*, and the booklet *The Old Testament under the scientific view (1909)*. Carlos Leslie and Robert Reid Kalley published letters, in booklet and leaflet form entitled *The deists and the truth of the scriptures (1893)* and, *The Darbysmo (1891)*. Among the authors who have written more than one text are G. T. Manley, Carlos Leslie, Eduardo Moreira.

Some of these booklets became editorial successes. In 1927, the title *Theft of a Bible and Its Consequences* was in its

⁵ His attachment to the Lancasterian Society indicates an educational activity for the implementation of school institutions.

⁶ Presbyterian Historical Archive, São Paulo/SP.

third edition, *The Holy Bible and the People*, in its 12th edition, and in the following year the booklet *The Book in the Barn* reached 4th edition and *A treasure that can be yours*, to its 9th edition.

In Brazil, although the New Testament had a lower price, people bought more copies of the Bible, as a British merchant recorded in the year 1826: "I have seen among the people a great desire to possess the Bible, but I think in most if this is not a question of love for its blessed content, but of the curiosity to know what has long been hidden from its eyes" (Reil, 1984, p. 65). Dr. Robert Reid Kalley, a Scottish physician, was an important figure in religion and education not only in Brazil, but also in Portugal. He was responsible for the implantation of Protestantism, specifically in Funchal, on Madeira Island, between 1838 and 1846, and in Rio de Janeiro, between 1855 and 1876, establishing the first Protestant church with religious services in Portuguese language.

During his work on Madeira Island, initially as a philanthropist doctor and pastor, impressed by the high illiteracy rates, Kalley undertook a literacy campaign, organizing home-based schools in which elementary education was given, with day classes for children and night classes for adults. In a short time, there were already 17 schools with more than 800 students. It is estimated that between 1839 and 1845 they attended more than 2,500 students. Involved in a literacy teaching program, many of them maintained contact with the letters through Bible reading. However, the following year, he left because of religious persecution.

In 1855, Kalley and his second wife arrived in Rio de Janeiro, organizing the first Sunday School, a community that would be the embryo of the future Fluminense Evangelical Church. He was a great political articulator with strong ascendancy next to the Emperor, contributing to the insertion of Protestantism. One of his strategies to circumvent Article 6 of the Constitution of the Empire on the prohibition of the celebration of Protestant cults in another language was to bring Portuguese Calvinists from Madeira Island who lived in Illinois and distribute them strategically in the main Brazilian cities. Among them were Francisco Gama, Francisco de Sousa Jardim, Manuel Fernandes and Pedro Nolasco de Andrade. This one, married with the German Louise Chanrad, was the first canvasser that has news of to have arrived at Sergipe, in 1858.

The Evangelical Flyers Collection is part of the collection of the Vicente Themudo Lessa Documentation and History Center, located in the city of São Paulo. It consists of 644 printed documents, published between 1860 and 1938, in the form of letters, books, booklets, pamphlets, newspapers, photographs, books of protocol.

Table 2: Typology and Quantity of printed documents of the Collection Evangelical leaflets

| Typology | Quantity Of Documents |
|----------|-----------------------|
| Leaflet | 377 |
| Book | 195 |
| Pamphlet | 65 |
| Booklet | 7 |

Source: Evangelical Brochures Collection. São Paulo: Center for Documentation and History Reverendo Vicente Themudo Lessa, 2010.

According to Almeida (2013, p. 62), the editorial centers responsible for the production of the booklets that make up the Evangelical Collection Leaflets were commercial, Protestant and Catholic, and were mainly located in the United States, Portugal and Brazil.

The 414 titles published in Brazil were produced by 48 typographies located in São Paulo (17), Rio de Janeiro (15), Paraná (02), Bahia (02), Maranhão (01), Curitiba (01), Rio Grande do Sul (01), Porto Alegre (01), Jaú (01), Caxias (01), Juiz de Fora (01), Garanhuns (01), Paraíba (01), Belém (01), Fortaleza (01), Natal (01). Of the 79 titles published in Portugal, 10 were produced in typographies located in Lisbon and nine in Porto. The United States was responsible for the production of 45 titles produced in New York, California and Philadelphia. In England, five were printed and, France and Scotland, each with a title. It was not possible to record the location of the production of 99 titles by the absence of editorial elements (ALMEIDA, 2013, p. 63-69).

Among the Portuguese publishing centers, the Gospel Bookstore, located in Lisbon, stands out. Created in Portugal in 1864, it was an Agency of the Society of Religious Treaties. It contributed, "annually with a certain amount that allowed the regular maintenance of Livraria's work in Portugal, in the Colonies and in Brazil" (AFONSO, 2009, p. 295). In the year 1913, "he separated from the British and Foreign Bible Society. Although they continued to cooperate, the Bible Society had to continue the diffusion of Bibles, Testaments and Portions (...)", for the intensification of the canvassing action, while" the Bookstore focused on the publishing activity. With the redefinition operated, each of the institutions followed different paths "(AFONSO, 2009, p. 296). In 1935, the Gospel Bookstore ended its activities, estimating that until that moment, it had been able to produce annually "more than 2,000 copies of Books and Treaties" (AFONSO, 2009, p. 297)⁷.

Protestant Voluntary Associations

Preceding the organization of churches and schools, the circulation of the Bible and New Testaments began quietly in 1814, through the distribution on board of Portuguese and English ships by the ship's captains, merchants, and diplomatic and military group.

Beginning in 1818, its distribution in Brazil began with agents and colporteurs of the British and Foreign Bible Society/BFBS and the American Bible Society/ABS. The

⁷ Among the publications produced in Portugal are statutes and reports. According to Afonso (2009, p. 287), "the rigor in publicizing prices and presenting the accounts demonstrates the zeal for strict compliance with the legacy and also seeks to monetize the legacy". The author affirms that the production of documents for evangelization, "as an editorial project, was central but, always bearing in mind that such documents were an identity mark for the Reformed Christians (...) hence the great bet in the free diffusion through of the mail".

first was founded in 1804 and the second in 1816. They were world institutions and aimed at the full or partial dissemination of the Bible in the vernacular language of each people. Even before establishing agencies in Brazil, they began working on the dissemination and propagation of Protestant ideas in the country in the first decades of the nineteenth century, issuing Bibles and New Testaments through the English embassy, direct carriers, merchants, commanders of ships sailing from the United States. These institutions prescribed the course of communication of their forms, defining themes, authors, agents and colporteurs.

The agent had a college education and was the institutional representative of BFBS in the country where he was working. The colporteur, also called peddler of booklets⁸ is one of the figures present in the history of books and reading, an agent for the dissemination of existing knowledge and practices that will be cleaved by readers after the uses made with the booklet. Analyzing the world of the seller⁹ means inserting them in a network of interdependence, of circulation of the culture, allowing to identify the way it was positioned in the editorial market, in a certain social configuration.

The peddler always carried with him a bag or long basket, open and in front of him, hanging from his neck with almanacs, books and leaflets. Because of this portable bag around his neck, the French called him colporteur. He was equipped with the articles of the booksellers of the cities, and then he traveled through the countryside. The French villages received the colporteurs, who mostly came from the High Communes in the Pyrenees, worked in small groups and specialized in distribution, regardless of the climatic situation in which the region was, partially solving the problem of distribution. In many parts of Europe, booklets could not count on shipping of the books to the booksellers in the months of August and September, because the cartwrights left the reels to work in the harvest. The books that the peddlers brought with them were actually booklets, or broadsides, than real books in the modern sense of the word, often with only 32, 24, and even eight pages. Since the 16th century, leaflets were already produced in Italy and Spain.

Many of these street vendors were Anglicans who visited the rural area systematically, as was the case with the native cartwright of Poitiers, who picked up in Geneva “a load of Bibles, books of Psalms and Calvinist literature published by Laurent of Normandy and launched himself to look for buyers in Piedmont and in the rural Dauphine”. In 1599, five

⁸ I agree with Darnton (1992, p. 53) when he states that “for the Ancien Régime police, peddlers represent a danger; for the historian, a problem. Everyone agrees to consider them as fundamental agents in the circulation of forbidden books, but no one really comes to seize the outlines. Whether they are followed on the street by a spy or tracked down by the researcher, they can always disappear without a trace. (...) As for the historian, he seldom encounters them in his researches, and yet in a fleeting way”.

⁹ This term was borrowed by the author from Paul Ricoeur. Ricoeur (1985) coined the world expressions of the text and world of the reader to understand the way in which the encounter between the author and the reader operates.

craftsmen from different parts of France were arrested in a village in the outskirts of Lyon with literature from Geneva in their baskets. Although Protestantism did not excite most French peasants, since it left too little room for oral and ritual culture, it was the Protestant publishers who opened the rural market for the seventeenth-century colporteur in France, since it was necessary for them to instruct poor Christians in the Lord's law (DAVIS, 1990, p. 168).

Already, the colporteur in Brazil was characterized as the dispatcher and street vendor of Protestant booklets. The latter usually had primary school education. Its mission was to create controversy with the local ecclesiastical authorities through the press and to observe the city more propitious for the future installations of churches and protestant schools. And even if he was not very familiar with the material to be sold, he was oriented to show great enthusiasm in the presentation.

Biblical societies are understood here as voluntary associations, operating since the beginning of the nineteenth century, as instruments of international intervention in the religious area. They were administrative organizations belonging to Protestant communities in order to maintain evangelical advertising at home and abroad.

The theme of voluntary associations, also known as societies of ideas or free associations, is still unknown on the part of the Brazilian History of Education. Perhaps, caused by the Marxist interpretation that prevailed in the research of the area until the decade of 80 of century XX. However, the theoretical contribution of Cultural History has enabled the researchers of the area to broaden their research horizons, searching for new objects, incorporating diverse sources, approaching other fields. It has been possible to intensify the dialogue with Sociology, using a set of conceptual tools of this field that allows a greater understanding of the object investigated.

Volunteer societies, or society of ideas - Masonic, patriotic, literary, religious, etc. - were modern forms of sociability that offered “new associative models in the midst of a globally organized society around a hierarchical corporate structure (orders) and composed in essence by collective social actors”. As a counterpoint to traditional society, the Old Regime, these organizations were “carriers of modernity, in the sense that they structured new forms of social organization, not focused on the old groups, but on the individual as a political and social actor”. They were characterized by the fact that “each of its members has only one relation with ideas, with ends”. These new associations functioned as democratic laboratories in which their members were educated by modern political practice as an individual citizen who exercised his sovereignty as part of the constituency (BASTIAN 1993, p. 8).

It was in the United States during the nineteenth century that they took another dimension. Voluntary associations, particularly religious ones, were important and visible public demonstrations in the United States. From religious congregations to fraternal and benevolent associations, from clubs to hospitals, those organizations were powerful, making up more than 10 percent of the American economy and providing about 15 percent of all private employment.

They provided social services, literacy, school construction, and were the most complete form of American enterprise that invested in the public service. For the north Americans, the manifestation of their moral religion was as important as the places of worship, for it was necessary to teach the people, and to make them demonstrate, as they should act, to behave, to believe.

North Americans, regardless of age, sex, or social status, to highlight "a truth or develop a feeling with the support of a great example", have joined together in trade, industrial, religious, , to create schools, hospitals, prisons, churches, "to give parties, to establish seminaries, to build shelters, to erect churches, to spread books, to send missionaries to the antipodes" (TOCQUEVILLE 2000, p. 2).

Almost a century after Tocqueville, Max Weber came to the United States invited by colleague Hugo Münsterberg to read a paper before the Congress of Arts and Sciences during the 1904 Universal Exhibition in St. Louis. Perhaps the United States was to him what England was to German intellectuals: the model of a new social organization. The experience of Weber in America made it possible for him to the emergence of a new type of man, a new personality structure of the free man, created "by free associations, in which the individual had to prove his equality with others", in which not the orders of authority, but the autonomous decision, the common sense and responsible attitude were the preparation for citizenship (WEBER, 2002, p. 13).

Weber found that one of the characteristics of American democracy was that it constituted a complex of strictly exclusive, though voluntary, associations which were typical vehicles of social ascension to the circle of the business middle class. They served to spread and maintain the bourgeois and capitalist economic ethos among the broad layers of the middle classes. And to be fully accepted in this democracy, it was necessary not only to conform to the conventions of that society, but to demonstrate that it was able to join a sects, clubs, or societies by a vote, no matter what kind, provided it was held as sufficiently legitimate. Admission meant that the candidate had passed an examination and a proof of his or her ethical conduct. The modern position of secular social clubs, with recruitment by election, was largely the product of a process of secularization that had occurred from the Protestant sects present, mainly in the north of the country (NASCIMENTO, E., 2011).

The BFBS Documents

The analysis of the documentation collected at the Cambridge University Library/UK shows that the strategy of distributing booklets preceded the organization of churches and schools, with the purpose of definitively implanting Protestantism in Brazil. How did this strategy succeed in a country that at the time had an illiterate population in its majority? What might be seen as a problem was, in fact, the differential. When the colporteur arrived in a certain place that people could not read, he proposed organizing a group and promised to send a teacher to teach them, who, in fact, was also a missionary. In this way, they mapped the installation territory of their future churches and schools in

Brazil. The initial results demonstrate that the intervention of Protestant institutions in the circulation and diffusion of booklets made possible the definitive insertion of Protestantism in the country.

This work considers the Protestant booklets that circulated between Brazil, Portugal and England, from the 19th century onwards, as Protestant Pedagogical Libraries, which were used as strategies for the construction of a Protestant Christian civilization and which also had the objective of conforming a field pedagogical. Libraries, in this research, are understood as "immaterial libraries", or "libraries without walls", in the sense elaborated by Chartier when he states that "the library is not only the inventory of books assembled in a specific place, it can be the inventory of all books already written on any subject" (CHARTIER 1998, p. 74).

The term "pedagogical" has two meanings. The first is to provide pedagogical means to forge a Protestant culture. They are also for teaching purposes to be used in their schools and Sunday Bible Schools. They are Protestants because they were constituted by Protestants and, especially, to Protestants. Protestant pedagogical libraries functioned as one of the strategies of insertion of Protestantism in Brazil, understanding the concept of strategy, in the sense given by Certeau (1994), as a practice that presupposes the circumscription of a place of power that is its own.

The means of understanding such Protestant pedagogical libraries is related to the need to initially trace and inventory Protestant booklets that circulated in nineteenth-century Brazil for various social segments with different goals, including educational objectives. Diverse themes made up the bibliographic corpus. The most varied types of booklets, published in Portuguese, English, Italian, French, German and Greek, were intended for personal devotion, ecclesiology, Romanism, spiritism, liturgy, missions, Protestant education, sexual problems, alcoholism, Brazilian science, sociology , pragmatic theology, exegetical theology, pastoral theology, theosophism, evangelism, apologetics, Brazilian politics, baptism, heresy, Protestant Reformation.

The following table lists the BFBS agents present in nineteenth-century Brazil and their respective locations.

Table 3: Agents of the BFBS and their respective Places of Practice (1818-1884)

| <i>Agent</i> | <i>Year</i> | <i>Place</i> |
|--------------------------|-------------|----------------|
| South Region | | |
| John Rudge | 1818 | Rio de Janeiro |
| (...) Boys | 1819 | Rio de Janeiro |
| G. J. Standfast | 1823 | Rio de Janeiro |
| | 1824 | Rio de Janeiro |
| Edmund Pink | 1825 | Rio de Janeiro |
| (...) Fowles (ou Fowkes) | 1825 | Rio de Janeiro |
| S. R. Mackay | 1826 a 1836 | Rio de Janeiro |
| Stewart Kerr | 1827 | Rio de Janeiro |
| March Brothers & Co. | 1834 | Rio de Janeiro |
| Wihelm Von Theremin | 1835 | Rio de Janeiro |
| James Thornton | 1836 a 1838 | Rio de Janeiro |
| George Harvey | 1837 | Rio de Janeiro |
| Arthur Maister | 1838 | Rio de Janeiro |
| C. L. Voges | -* | Santa Catarina |

| | | |
|------------------------|--|-------------------|
| | -* | Rio Grande do Sul |
| J. F. Lippold | 1849 | Petrópolis-RJ |
| James Fletcher | 1853/ 1855 | Rio de Janeiro |
| Henry Hadley | 1855 | Rio de Janeiro |
| Nathaniel Sands | 1856 | Rio de Janeiro |
| William Elliot | 1856 | São Paulo |
| James Thornton | 1851 | Rio de Janeiro |
| Alexander L. Blackford | 1869/1872 | Rio de Janeiro |
| José M. M. de Carvalho | 1872/1874/1875 | Rio de Janeiro |
| Robert Reid Kalley | 1874/1875 | Teresópolis/RJ |
| Edward Lane | 1876 | Campinas/SP |
| J. M. J. dos Santos | 1884 | Rio de Janeiro |
| North Region | | |
| G. A. Carruthers | 1821/1822 | Recife |
| Edward Rivers Fletcher | 1822 | Recife |
| Richard Henry Winslow | 1827 | São Luiz |
| | 1828 | São Luiz |
| Edward George Parker | 1840/ 1842/ 1846/ 1851 | Bahia |
| William Dadson | 1840/ 1844/ 1845/ 1846/ 1850/ 1851/ 1854/ 1857 | Rio de Janeiro |
| James Henderson | 1840 | Pará |
| James Burnett | 1840 | Maceió-AL |
| Benjamin F. Tuckniss | 1841 | Pernambuco |
| James Hogg | 1845/ 1856 | Bahia |
| G. Caley | 1870 | Bahia |

SOURCE: BFBS Archives Indexes / BSAX. Cambridge: Cambridge University Library, 2010.

* The year of operation could not be located because of difficulties encountered in document translation.

In the year 1818, in the same document, two correspondences were attached. The first, dated December 16, 1818, was written by Robert Ralston, in Philadelphia, to Joseph Iarn, Assistant Secretary of the BFBS, who was in London. Composed only of one paragraph, he reported that he was attaching a letter from John Rudge in which he reported his willingness to circulate the Scriptures in South America:

I am enclosing a copy of a letter received from Mr. John Rudge in Rio de Janeiro, in view that you can see how much he is willing to promote the great purpose of circulating the Scriptures in South America (Robert Ralston, Philadelphia/Pennsylvania - USA, 12/16/1818).

The attached correspondence was recorded on October 1, 1818, and written by John Rudge, who was in Rio de Janeiro, for Robert Ralston, in Philadelphia. He reported the joy of being considered a person capable of spreading among the inhabitants of South America the Holy Word, which would probably wish to benefit from it:

I could not be more grateful for my feelings, being considered by a gentleman of his respectability and honorable reputation as a person able to diffuse among the inhabitants of South America. The priceless books were delivered to me by Captain Charles Bartling and let me, Sir, assure you, that no effort will be lacking on my part to appropriately distribute them among those who are deprived of the Scriptures, and are desirous of benefiting from them (John Rudge, Rio de Janeiro, 10/10/1818).

He also reported difficulties in achieving the objectives, stating that he had made a request to the authorities so that the religious material could circulate without taxes and believed that his request would be dealt with without delay.

In the BFBS collection, located in the Cambridge Library, this researcher only located another document dated 1821, which showed that that institution had already established works in two Provinces of the North of Brazil. Agent G. A. Carruthers, located in Pernambuco, had written a letter on November 24, pointing out the curiosity of the population to receive the Holy Scriptures. According to Carruthers, members of the clergy also asked for copies and he was obliged to make available the Bibles that were destined for Paraíba:

The Bibles were all distributed and if for a reason better than curiosity I can not say, but I have never witnessed so much anxiety as that which was evidenced by all classes to obtain them. Many of the Clergy required and I was obliged to give the few copies destined for Paraíba (G. A. Carruthers, Pernambuco, 11/24/1821).

The following year, a letter from agent Edward Rivers Fletcher, from Pernambuco to James Miller - Secretary of the British and Foreign Bible Society, reported that the people were eager to meet that new religion through the booklets distributed by BFBS members. It also recorded that the Bibles came from London and that the Brazilian government had authorized the passage of them through customhouse, without collection of the tax and it was possible to distribute free of charge to interested persons:

I am happy to say that the people's willingness and eagerness to receive copies of the Bible can certainly be admitted. The amount that was sent from London some time ago was authorized by the government to be cleared by the duty-free customs and all of them were distributed free of charge to many individuals. In some cases, they were sold for the price of 12,000 reis equal to 3.7 pounds. This was the value given by a Bible, while at the same time a great temptation for the poor man and a proof of the rich man's desire to obtain this book he had previously known so little (...) (Edward Rivers Fletcher, Pernambuco, 05/05/1822).

Edward Fletcher further reported that there were many requests from the inhabitants of Brazil to acquire the Holy Scriptures. He also portrayed his happiness in being able to satisfy the desire of the people and, consequently, the desire of the BFBS. He closed asking for the supply of more booklets.

The correspondence of August 23, 1823, was written in Rio de Janeiro by Agent E. J. Standfast, addressed to the BFBS Foreign Assistant Secretary, E. F. Roenneberg, located in London. Initially, Standfast recorded the receipt of Bibles and New Testaments. He then revealed that caution was needed in the execution of BFBS's interests because of the political situation in Brazil, and so he had paused the distribution of Bibles among his friends and clergy.

The agent's record gives evidence of the government's concern about the population's access to education and how the Protestant booklets would contribute to their plans:

The remittance of Bibles and New Testaments to which the British and Foreign Bible Society has assigned my care has come on time and received my full attention. The political state of the country requires a lot of caution in order to direct our interests. So I decided to pause and distribute each volume gradually, among private friends, including some members of the clergy. The government, in its desire to disseminate instruction, decided to release any import duties on all booklets, since they were not immoral and the population was eager to obtain information previously denied to them. I consider this decision appropriate. I have set a very low price - 960 reis for the Bible and the Testament, and 320 reis only for the New Testament (E. J. Standfast, Rio de Janeiro, 08/08/1823).

Years later, the letter written in Rio de Janeiro by agent James Thornton of April 12, 1838, to his superior, John Jackson, in London, began with the request to send more booklets for the continuation of his functions. Soon after, he recorded the amount of Bibles and New Testaments he wanted to receive:

I was pleased to receive your favors on February 6 and now, I inform you that we are totally without the booklets, so please send us by ship.

100 – Excerpts from Bibles

100 – New Testaments in Portuguese

(James Thornton, 12/04/1838)

The following year, Thornton's letter denoted that, 20 years after the beginning of BFBS's actions in Brazil, customs controls had already freed the circulation of such religious material. A year later, he recorded the existence of a triangulation between the Protestants of England, Brazil and Portugal:

The Control Council, just as the Customs has thought adequately to take care of them, allowing their appreciation with the addition of ten percent, and since then they have put in wide circulation in the Interior, by the Messengers of Peace. I trust it will be a instrument of great utility. I have to kindly ask you to convey our sincere thanks to our worthy friends in Porto, and also to request a new subsidy of your instructive small leaflets for the demand of our city, and at the same time we will be happy to receive the thanks to the few lines of them (James Thornton, Rio de Janeiro, 03/28/1839).

The sources make it possible to state that, in addition to the sale of Bibles and New Testaments, depending on the social level of a particular region, many copies were offered at a discount or free of charge. This attitude showed that the main focus was the diffusion of the Holy Scriptures to obtain more Protestantism, even if for this, the BFBS did not obtain profit in some places:

We have actually made proposals to individuals residing in the more distant Provinces, allowing a 20 percent discount on city prices, in the hope of getting a much larger circulation to the Holy Word (James Thornton, Rio de Janeiro, 03 / 1839).

Agents also received offers of Portuguese Protestants in print format, as recorded by Thornton:

I received a package of 1,500 leaflets in Portuguese, without any note or letter, to specify the quantity, nor to provide the names of kind friends, to whom we are grateful for this liberal concession (James Thornton, Rio de Janeiro, 03/28/1839).

Conclusion

During the 1940s, six agents worked in the Provinces of Rio de Janeiro, Bahia, Alagoas and Pará: Edward Parker, William Dadson, James Henderson, James Burnett, James Hogg and J. F. Lippold. In the following decade Edward Parker, William Dadson, and James Hogg continued to perform. However, they were joined by agents James Flecher, Henry Hadley and Nathaniel Sands, who are active in Rio de Janeiro, as well as William Elliot and Verqueiro, in the Province of São Paulo. In the 1960s, Alexander Latimer Blackford was the only agent found in action, based in the Province of Rio de Janeiro. In the 1970s, Blackford was still active, followed by G. Caley, José M. Martins de Carvalho, Robert Reid Kalley and Edward Lane, and expanded their activities to the Provinces of Bahia e São Paulo.

In the last decade that records the performance of BFBS in Brazil, we find agent J. M. J. dos Santos, working in Rio de Janeiro. When the agents arrived in Brazil with the specific task of spreading the Gospel, they found a country that had groups favorable to its implantation, as was the case with Masons and Republicans, even considering the constant persecutions of the Catholic Church, which saw Protestantism as a threat. However, one can not fail to register the discreet collaboration of monarchist authorities, such as Diogo Antonio Feijó. Emperor Pedro II himself made several decisions authorizing the operation of Protestant temples in colonies of foreign immigrants in Rio de Janeiro and other regions of the country. In addition it maintained close relations of friendship with Protestants who acted in Brazil, like Robert Reid Kalley. This movement occurred in the first half of the 19th century when the "messengers of God" were established in Rio de Janeiro, Minas Gerais, Goiás, Maranhão, Bahia, Rio Grande do Sul, Santa Catarina, Pernambuco, Paraíba, Alagoas, and Sergipe, among others.

Documentary analysis has been instrumental in helping to decipher the representations, advances and retreats of the actions of BFBS agents and colporteurs and their relationship with Presbyterian missionaries in the area under their jurisdiction in Brazil. The diffusion of the booklets occurred from the moment in which the canvassers were sent by their respective agents throughout Brazilian territory, in houses, farms, hospitals and churches.

In taking the religious discourse of British agents as a source for thinking about production and the very representations of religion and school education in Brazil in the limited period, it has been necessary to go through and consider this set of remarks on discourses and writing. Such sources, such as correspondence produced by members of a religious group,

result from an expanded understanding of the notion of a document proposed by Cultural History.

These are some examples of the content of this rich and profuse documentation. Project researchers have published book chapters, periodical articles, and annals of national and international events. The execution of the research has triggered the possibility of new scientific projects on the subject.

Therefore the results of the research I have been developing corroborate with the thesis that I work that the strategy of distributing religious booklets in a country that had a high illiteracy rate acted as a stimulus for an illiterate mass who saw the possibility of having access to a literature of easy reading, besides the Bible in Portuguese, at a time when Sacred Scripture was restricted to Catholic clerics and published in Latin.

In places where the colporteurs distributed booklets and the people they received did not know how to read, the missions sent their missionaries-teachers to set up primary and secondary schools, offering the confessional teaching. Both the colporteurs and the agents and missionaries were part of a network of Protestant literacy teachers.

Researchers such as Maria Lucia Hilsdorf (2003), Jorge Nascimento (2001), Jorge Araújo (1999), Frieiro (1981) and Machado (2003) highlight a significant presence of diverse printed matter in Brazil. Based on these authors and the research I have developed it is possible to affirm that the existence of a space for different types of literature and the strategies of publication, distribution and use of Protestant print in a Catholic country facilitated the installation of churches and schools, corroborating in its definitive insertion in the country.

Acerves, Sources

ACERVES AND SOURCES

BFBS Archives Indexes/BSAX. Cambridge: Cambridge University Library, 2010.

THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN BIBLE SOCIETY. **Rules for the Guidance of Translator, Revisers & Editors, Working in Connection with the British and Foreign Bible Society.** London: The British and Foreign Bible Society, 1906.

THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN BIBLE SOCIETY. **Rules for the Guidance of Translator, Revisers & Editors, Working in Connection with the British and Foreign Bible Society.** London: The British and Foreign Bible Society, 1911.

Coleção Folhetos Evangélicos. São Paulo: Centro de Documentação e História Reverendo Vicente Themudo Lessa, 2010.

THE MISSIONARY EDUCATION MOVEMENT. **Christian work in Latin America. Survey and occupation mesage and method education.** New York: Missionary

Education Movement of the United States and Canada, 1917.

References

- [1] AFONSO, José António Martin Moreno. **Protestantismo e educação: história de um projeto pedagógico alternativo em Portugal na transição do séc. XIX.** Braga: Universidade do Minho, 2009.
- [2] ALMEIDA, Mirianne Santos de. **Livros e leitores: saberes e práticas educacionais e religiosas na Coleção Folhetos Evangélicos (1860-1938).** Dissertação de Mestrado em Educação. Aracaju: Universidade Tiradentes, 2013.
- [3] BARBIER, Frédéric. *Libraires et colporteurs.* In: CHARTIER, Roger e MARTIN, Henri-Jean (Orgs). **Histoire de l'édition française. Le temps des éditeurs. Du romantisme a la Belle Époque.** Fayard: Cercle de la Libraire, 1990, p. 256-302.
- [4] BASTIAN, Jean-Pierre (Comp.). **Protestantes, liberais y francmasones. Sociedades de ideas y modernidad en América Latina, siglo XIX.** México: Fondo de Cultura Económica/CEHILA, 1993.
- [5] BEDA, Ephraim de Figueiredo. **Editores evangélicos no Brasil: troncos, expoentes e modelos.** São Paulo: USP/ECA, 1993. (Tese de Doutorado).
- [6] CHARTIER, Roger. **Conferência de abertura do IX CBHE.** João Pessoa: UFPB, 2017.
- [7] CHARTIER, Roger. **A ordem dos livros.** Leitores, autores e bibliotecas na Europa entre os séculos XIV e XVIII. 2ª ed. Brasília: UnB, 1998.
- [8] CHARTIER, Roger (org.). **La correspondance. Les usages de La lettre au XIX^e siècle.** Paris: Fayard, 1991.
- [9] DARNTON, Robert. **Edição e sedição.** O universo da literatura clandestina no século XVIII. São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 1992.
- [10] DARNTON, Robert. **O beijo de Lamourette.** Mídia, cultura e revolução. Tradução de Denise Bottmann. São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 1990.
- [11] FREYRE, Gilberto. **Inglês no Brasil.** 3ª ed. Rio de Janeiro: Topbooks, 2000.
- [12] NASCIMENTO, Ester Fraga Vilas-Bôas Carvalho do. A Teoria sobre Associações Voluntárias como Matriz Interpretativa das Instituições Escolares Protestantes. In: Libânia Xavier; Elomar Tambara e Antonio Carlos Ferreira Pinheiro (Orgs.). **História da Educação no Brasil: matrizes interpretativas, abordagens e fontes predominantes na primeira década do século XXI.** Espírito Santo: EDUFES, 2011, V. 5, p. 355-377.
- [13] NASCIMENTO, Ester Fraga Vilas-Bôas Carvalho do. **Fontes para a História da Educação: documentos da Missão Presbiteriana dos Estados Unidos no Brasil.** Maceió: EDUFAL, 2008.
- [14] NASCIMENTO, Ester Fraga Vilas-Bôas Carvalho do. **Educar, curar, salvar.** Uma ilha de civilização no Brasil tropical. Maceió: UFAL, 2007.
- [15] NASCIMENTO, Jorge Carvalho do. Nota prévia sobre a palavra impressa no Brasil do século XIX: a biblioteca do povo e das escolas. **Revista Horizontes.** Bragança Paulista: Universidade São Francisco. V. 19, p. 11-27, Jan/Dez, 2001.
- [16] REILY, Ducan Alexander. **História documental do Protestantismo no Brasil.** São Paulo: ASTE, 1984.

- [17] VERWER, George. 1963. **Literature evangelism: a manual**. Chicago: The Moody Bible Institute.
- [18] VIEIRA, David Gueiros. **O Protestantismo, a Maçonaria e a Questão Religiosa no Brasil**. 2ª ed. Brasília: Universidade de Brasília, 1980.
- [19] SCHAPOCHNIK, Nelson. Comércio e sociabilidade livresca: o Rio de Janeiro. British Subscription Library, 1826-1890. **História** (São Paulo. Online), v. 35, p. 1-32, 2016
- [20] TOCQUEVILLE, Alexis de. **A democracia na América**. Sentimentos e opiniões. V. 2. São Paulo: Martins Fontes, 2000.
- [21] WEBER, Max. **Ensaio de Sociologia**. 5ª ed. Rio de Janeiro: LTC, 2002.

