

**A STUDY OF THE CHARISMATIC MOVEMENT IN
PORTUGAL WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO
THE FRATERNAL ASSOCIATION**

by

FERNANDO CALDEIRA DA SILVA

Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for

the degree of

MASTER OF THEOLOGY

in the subject

CHURCH HISTORY

at the

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH AFRICA

SUPERVISOR: DR M H MOGASHOA

FEBRUARY 2006

Table of Contents

Thesis:

A STUDY OF THE CHARISMATIC MOVEMENT IN PORTUGAL WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO THE FRATERNAL ASSOCIATION

	Page
Introduction	1
<i>Chapter 1: A survey of the various forms of Christianity in Portugal</i>	11
1.1 The establishment of Christianity in Spain and Portugal up to the Reformation	11
1.1.1 Establishment of Christianity in the Iberian Peninsula	12
1.1.2 Four main forces that led the people of the Iberian Peninsula to be attached to Roman Catholicism, as against any non-Roman Catholic Christian churches	14
1.1.3 Islamic influence on the Portuguese characteristic resistance to change, as related to non-Roman Catholic Christians	16
1.1.4 Involvement of the Pope in the independence of Portugal	17
1.2 Portugal and Europe from 1383 to 1822	18
1.2.1 A new era resulting from the revolution of 1383-1385	19
1.2.2 The Portuguese involvement in the crusades	21
1.2.3 Movements transforming the societies of Europe	21
1.2.4 Political, economic and socio-religious conditions in Portugal	23
1.2.4.1 The political conditions	23
1.2.4.2 The economic conditions	29
1.2.4.3 The socio-religious conditions	33
1.3 Reformation and Protestant influence in the Portuguese Empire	34
1.3.1 Signs of impact of the Reformation in Portugal	34
1.3.1.1 The translation of the Bible into Portuguese	34
1.3.1.2 The Reformation mentioned in Portuguese literature	35

1.3.2	First Portuguese Lutheran condemned by Inquisition	36
1.4	Portuguese structural changes and the attitude towards Protestants and Evangelicals from 1820 up to 1974	37
1.4.1	The impact of the Napoleonic invasions on Portugal	37
1.4.2	Changes in Portuguese society	40
1.4.3	Changes not favourable to Protestant and Evangelical thought	42
1.4.4	The establishment of the Portuguese Republic	44
1.4.4.1	The Republican Party	44
1.4.4.2	The establishment of the Republic and the Separation Law	45
1.4.4.3	The Portuguese social conditions	46
1.4.4.4	The republican ideals and religion	46
1.4.4.5	The revival of Portuguese Catholicism	47
1.4.5	The New State	48
1.4.5.1	Policies and political tools of the New State	49
1.4.5.2	The impact of the Second Vatican Council in Portugal	50
1.5	The Revolution of the Carnations of April 1974 and the entry of Portugal to the European Economic Community (EEC) in 1986	54
1.5.1	The Revolution of the Carnations (1974)	54
1.5.1.1	The definitive establishment of Protestants and Evangelicals	56
1.5.1.2	Actual insertion of the Protestant and Evangelicals in the Portuguese society	56
	Chapter 2: The Protestants and Evangelicals in Portugal	58
2.1	Lack of Protestant and Evangelical growth	59
2.1.1	Reasons for the lack of Protestant and Evangelical growth	60
2.1.2	The Portuguese attitude towards Protestants and Evangelicals in the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries	64
2.2	The establishment of Protestant and Evangelical denominations and organizations	67
2.2.1	First Protestants and Evangelicals in Portugal	67
2.2.2	The Bible Society and the colporteurs	68

2.2.2.1	The British Bible Society (SBBE)	68
2.2.2.2	The endeavours of the colporteurs	69
2.2.3	Establishment of other denominations in Portugal	70
2.3	Origins of the Brazilian and the Portuguese Assemblies of God	73
2.4	Three main stages of the History of the Portuguese Assemblies of God	77
2.4.1	The establishment of the Movement to a national scale (1921)	77
2.4.1.1	The establishment of local Churches: from villages to cities	77
2.4.1.2	The characteristics of local church structures	80
2.4.1.3	The establishment of national informal structures	81
2.4.1.4	The establishment of links with international structures	83
2.4.2	The establishment of theological schools (1965)	84
2.4.2.1	The Instituto Bíblico de Lisboa (1966)	84
2.4.2.2	The Instituto Bíblico por Correspondência (ICI)	85
2.4.2.3	The Instituto Bíblico de Portugal (IBP)	85
2.4.3	The shift from the Swedish to the American mission support: Seeds for main dissident events	86
2.4.4	The role of the IBP	88
2.5	The impact of the 1974 revolution and the collapse of the Portuguese Empire on the Portuguese Assemblies of God	90
2.5.1	Signs of change	92
2.5.1.1	The return of Portuguese pastors to the metropolis	94
2.5.1.2	The new IBP formed pastors	95
2.5.1.3	The world wide Charismatic new trends	96
2.5.1.4	The change of religious symbols	97
2.5.1.5	The establishment of New Charismatic Movements in Portugal	98
2.5.1.6	The social changes	99
2.5.1.7	The change of Evangelical attitude towards business, arts and sports	100
2.5.1.7.1	The change towards business	100
2.5.1.7.2	The change towards arts: Music, dance	101

2.5.1.7.3	The change towards sports: Soccer, basketball	103
2.5.1.8	The impact of Portugal joining the EEC (1986)	104
2.6	The Pentecostal metamorphosis into a multiform Charismatic Movement	104
2.6.1	Causes that shaped changing events	105
2.6.2	Early sources that shaped changing events	109
2.6.3	The first main dissident events within the Assemblies of God Movement (1988-1989)	113
2.6.4	The second main dissident events within the Portuguese Assemblies of God (1990-1993)	114
2.6.5	The impact of these events	115
2.7	New structural church organizations	115
 Chapter 3: The Portuguese Evangelical Alliance and the Fraternal Association		119
3.1	Brief history of the establishment of the Portuguese Evangelical Alliance	120
3.2	The role of the Portuguese Evangelical Alliance	123
3.2.1	The internal role played by the Portuguese Evangelical Alliance	123
3.2.2	The external role played by the Portuguese Evangelical Alliance	123
3.3	The establishment of the Fraternal Association (1995)	126
3.4	An opportunity for the growth of the Fraternal Association	130
 Conclusion		134
 Bibliography		136

Introduction

History is the study, narration and interpretation of the past. It includes, necessarily, a set of relevant historical dates, names of important and relevant historical characters and particularly the reasons and motives behind the historical events. The narration, interpretation and explanation of any flow of historical events are the aim of the historian. In the pursuit of establishing the focus of this dissertation there is a need to understand the historical background, the framework of Christianity in Portugal within the context of the Portuguese culture, so as to properly relate the facts at hand. It is according to these intellectual guidelines that I endeavour to focus this study on the Fraternal Association within the framework of the Portuguese Evangelical Alliance in particular and the Portuguese society in general. In this *Introduction* we shall introduce the hypothesis, give an overview of research along the same topic, the methodology, and the layout of the dissertation.

1. Hypothesis

The explanation of the characteristics of the Portuguese culture will be fundamental for our case study to establish its historical background and religious framework. As shall be discussed, the Portuguese culture and religious identity is underlined by Roman Catholic Christianity. However, the geography of the Iberian Peninsula, the Islamic influence, the fascination for Rome and the overvaluation of tradition also forced and forged the Portuguese nature and cultural characteristics. Against this historical framework constituted by the traditional cultural and religious characteristics of the Portuguese people, my endeavour to write this dissertation is based on a fourfold hypothesis. Firstly, my aim is to discover how the waves of Protestantism arrived in Portugal and settled there amongst Catholicism. This implies the understanding of the non-Catholic Christian general religious background with the establishment of Protestant and Evangelical denominations in Portugal. Second, part of the focus of my thesis is to discover how the Assemblies of God were started and established in Portugal. How and why the Assemblies of God grew under severe conditions and hostility will help to relate the establishment of this denomination to the whole of the Portuguese society. Moreover, I also wanted to know what type of structure the Assemblies of God adopted through the years. This is fundamental to understand how the Charismatic movement came into existence.

Third, I want to get to know the formation of the Fraternal Association as the home of the new Charismatic movement in the country, and the influences of other charismatic movements such as the *Igreja Maná* and the *Igreja Universal do Reino de Deus* (IURD). The knowledge about the formation of the Fraternal Association shall constitute the main focus of my dissertation. Fourth, I pursue the understanding of the role played by the Fraternal Association within the *Aliança Evangélica Portuguesa* (AEP) that is the Portuguese Evangelical Alliance. This will help to understand the links and boundaries between the several trends of non-Catholic Christianity in Portugal. Furthermore, the understanding of the Fraternal Association and the AEP needs to be seen against the Portuguese society, which implies that we have to look into the new trends of the Portuguese politics, economy, cultural and social milieu. This approach will help to explain the rise of the Charismatic movement in Portugal.

2. Overview of research along the same topic

The historical data on the field of study of this dissertation is sparsely reduced to literary form but substantiated by many oral witnesses. This is true particularly regarding the relevant information concerning the contemporary Portuguese non-Catholic Christianity. Nevertheless, information is available in various forms and the literary and the oral are the most important. Among others, various important writers have contributed with a few books to the field of contemporary Portuguese non-Catholic Church History. D. Cassels wrote *A Reforma em Portugal* published in 1906. This is an important book to understand the beginnings of the Protestant movement in Portugal especially because it was published early in the 19th century. Professor Eduardo H. Moreira wrote *Vidas Convergentes: história breve dos movimentos de reforma cristã em Portugal a partir do século XVIII*, published in 1958. His contribution is important to understand the establishment of the Protestant and the Evangelical movements in Portugal since he was a fundamental character in the establishment of the Portuguese Evangelical Alliance. Rev. António da Costa Barata – a disciple of Professor Eduardo H. Moreira and a retired pastor of the Assemblies of God – has been working and writing for decades, collecting data for the history of his denomination. Most of his manuscripts, however, have not yet been published due to financial constraints, except for the publication of several historical articles. To note are his conferences on the theme of “Church History in Portugal” both as a lecturer in the *Instituto Bíblico de Portugal* (IBP), an Assemblies of God Bible Institute, as well as through public meetings across the country. Rev. Barata’s main contribution is related to the establishment of the Pentecostal Assemblies of God in Portugal in particular, and the previous non-Catholic movements in general.

Architect Samuel Pinheiro is the son and the grandson of pastors of the Assemblies of God and the Secretary of the Portuguese Evangelical Alliance and a writer. In 2003 Pinheiro published *História da Aliança Evangélica Portuguesa: Datas e Textos Históricos da História Recente da Aliança Evangélica Portuguesa* in a Compact Disk (CD) support form. He also has contributed with many historical articles on the history of non-Catholic Christianity in Portugal. Mr. Pinheiro's major contribution is related both to the establishment of the Evangelical and the Pentecostal movements in Portugal. Rev. Paulo Branco is also a pastor of the Assemblies of God who, with Rev. Lucas da Silva, published *Instituto Bíblico* in 1980. Rev. Branco also published *90º Aniversário da Convenção das Assembleias de Deus em Portugal, 1913-2003, das Origens à Actualidade* in 2003. In particular his last work is relevant because it deals with the establishment of the Portuguese Assemblies of God from its origin until 2003.

There are also two other authors whose contribution is more of an academic nature. One is Dr. Gerald Ericson, a Baptist missionary to Portugal who wrote *Os Evangélicos em Portugal*, published in 1984. His contribution covers the Evangelicals in general, including the establishment of some Pentecostal denominations such as the Assemblies of God. His book was a study for one of his academic degrees in a university in the United States of America. The other author is Luis A. Santos author of *O Protestantismo em Portugal (Séculos XIX e XX): linhas de força da sua história e historiografia*,¹ an extensive article which he presented in a conference, the First International Colloquium of the Investigation of the History of Protestantism in Spain and Portugal, 26th to 28th of April 2000, held in Madrid, Spain. Santos' contribution is purely academic. This contribution covers Protestantism in the 19th and the 20th centuries in Portugal. In his work Protestantism probably includes Evangelicalism because of the confusion of the terms made frequently in Portugal. It deals mainly with reasons why the Protestants/Evangelicals did not use legal opportunities given by the Portuguese Constitutions, as from the beginning of the 19th century to establish their views.

Although these authors have written on the Protestants and Evangelicals in general, therefore contributing to the debate on these movements, it is important to state that there is no research done before this dissertation on the history of the Charismatic movement in Portugal. Since there is no detailed study done on the Charismatic movement in Portugal and especially on the Fraternal Association, this motivated me to undertake this research. However, there is still the need to further the study, the narration and the interpretation of the nature and the difficulties of the establishment

¹ A photocopy of this document is part of the library of Rev. António da Costa Barata.

of Protestantism, Evangelicalism and Pentecostalism in Portugal to which these previously mentioned authors are major contributors. It is hope that as further research is undertaken in this field, the interpretation of the historical flow certainly will mature for proper explanations and understanding. This dissertation is also a contribution to that study because it gathers in one document, relevant information and bibliography, and the main contributions known to date on the debate on the history of the Protestant, Evangelical and Pentecostal movements in Portugal. In the making of the history of the Charismatic movement in Portugal, we had to substantiate its origins within a traditional Roman Catholic society. Early pioneers suffered for the establishment of the previous Protestant, Evangelical and Pentecostal movements in Portugal. Their denominations owe tribute to these pioneers who persisted regardless of persecution and intolerance. They believed God would transform the Portuguese people to accept their Bible views.

In the academic arena, sadly the debate on the Protestant and Evangelical movements in Portugal is only now starting.² Luis A. Santos is probably the first Portuguese to seriously engage in such a debate with his participation in the Conference in which he presented to the First International Colloquium of the Investigation of the History of Protestantism in Spain and Portugal, 26th to 28th of April 2000. However, the historical debate on the Pentecostal and Charismatic movements in Portugal has not yet been engaged before this dissertation. And both debates are relevant and should be interlinked for a proper interpretation of the Portuguese case of contemporary history of non-Catholic Christianity. Therefore, while the debate on the history of non-Catholic Christianity in Portugal is still in progress, the historian's ultimate goal to reach an interpretation is obviously difficult to achieve.

These debates need to be informed by the historical background. It is the aim of this research to provide such a background. Furthermore, my aim is also to explain why the establishment and development of non-Catholic Portuguese Christian denominations suffered much resistance until recently. For any person not acquainted with the Portuguese history and culture to understand the history of the Portuguese Evangelical Alliance and the Fraternal Association there is the need for that explanation. The impact of Catholicism in Portuguese historical and cultural process needs to be explained so to understand the truth of contemporary Christian history in Portugal. Moreover, my aim is also to capture and preserve data not yet gathered so as to provide it for future historical discussion on the Evangelical movement in general and the Portuguese Charismatic movement in

² See the discussion on the issue by Ericson, Gerald Carl, in his, *Os Evangélicos em Portugal*, (Núcleo, Centro de Publicações Cristãs, Lda, Apartado 1, 2746, Queluz, Portugal. 1984).

particular. The other aim of this dissertation is to serve as an academic and data source for Portuguese and other scholars to discuss the actual trends of the Portuguese legal and social framework regarding religious matters.

3. Methodology

The exercise of historical writing requires much attention and effort to be able to report a true account, reliable and as accurate and complete as possible. To write requires the exercise of thinking. To achieve a proper interpretation the historian needs to combine his ideas into a logical framework that demonstrates the related generalizations and details that are the result of well organized information. In starting the process of acquiring the relevant insight into the matter of this thesis I had to master first what was the specific field of my attention and also to determine the historical period to be covered. Only then I was ready to research after the relevant sources for my data.

In the process of determining my historical period I came across a fundamental difficulty: To understand and explain the Charismatic movement we need to relate it to the Portuguese culture with its Christian framework. And to do so was not as simple as the history of the Evangelical and the Protestant movements in Portugal that are still in the process of being debated and written. Therefore, I needed to establish the general framework which preceded the events leading to the rise of the Charismatic movement in Portugal and the Fraternal Association in particular. First, to be able to do so I had to start my thesis with the establishment of Christianity in the Iberian Peninsula. Second, I also had to highlight some of the fundamental shaping sources of the Portuguese culture to be able to explain the resistance of the Portuguese society to accept different trends of Christianity other than the Roman Catholic. Third, I surveyed the difficult process of the establishment of Protestant and Evangelical denominations and the Pentecostal Assemblies of God in particular with the aim to relate the Charismatic movement with its non-Catholic Christian spiritual family. Therefore, although the specific historical period under the scrutiny of this dissertation is somehow limited as from 1974 to the present, to get the whole scope of referencing implies the need to evaluate the historical flow of Christianity in the Iberian Peninsula from its beginnings.

Therefore, to achieve the goals of my dissertation I have used a methodology I believe was the most appropriate to acquire reliable and relevant data. I searched for primary and secondary literary sources, of which there were not many books available. I used information from articles

published in magazines and newspapers, surveyed in websites, and collected data broadcast on the Portuguese news. I also used information from the official Portuguese Government Gazette. Other relevant information was taken from letters and mission reports. The other source for my data was from ten personal interviews I conducted with important living characters involved in the historical flow of the period covered by this dissertation. Another interview was that in which I only had access to photocopies of the documents supplied by Rev. António da Costa Barata. Rev. Barata graciously supplied me with precious information from his personal documents not yet published and many copies of relevant documents collected by his research. His critical views also contributed to my understanding of reasons behind the contemporary history of the non-Catholic Christianity in Portugal. Most data regarding Portuguese history was collected from non-religious secular books.

Therefore, the other field of historical sources that I pursued to get relevant data for this dissertation was the oral history. I travelled to Portugal to meet these persons and conduct the interviews (apart from the one with Luisa Costa who I interviewed in Benoni, South Africa). I conducted ten interviews with people whose involvement in the Evangelical, Pentecostal and Charismatic movements is relevant. Other interviews did not contribute much to the main focus of this dissertation and were therefore excluded from its sources. One such interview was with Rev. Paulino Verdilheiro, senior pastor of Igreja Filadélfia. I could not use this material because its contents – although important for the history of the Assemblies of God – were irrelevant for the focus of this dissertation. I also interviewed Rev. Leonídio Ascensão, an important leader of the Charismatic movement in Portugal but I could not use it because of poor recording results. The other interview I could not use was with Rev. Paulo Cardoso, due to repetition of information carried in other interviews. Attempts were also made in due time to collect information from other relevant important people in our case study, but without success due to the lack of time for the presentation of this dissertation. These important Pentecostal and Charismatic leaders are the following: Rev. Luis Reis is one of the main leaders of the Assemblies of God in Portugal and former President of the Portuguese Evangelical Alliance; Rev. Dr. Brissos Lino is the senior pastor of a large Charismatic church in Portugal and an important leader of the movement; Rev. João Martins is the Executive Director of the *Desafio Jovem*, and also an important leader who is involved in the Pentecostal and Charismatic movements.

Those from whom I was able to collect oral data that was relevant to be used in this dissertation are the following: Rev. Alfredo Rosendo Machado who is one of the main pioneers and

leaders of the Portuguese Assemblies of God. Well respected, he is 92 years of age and still active as a preacher. Rev. António da Costa Barata is also important because he has laboured for many decades on the task of gathering historical information and writing on the Evangelical and Pentecostal movements in Portugal. Rev. João Cardoso is the senior pastor of a large and important Charismatic church and one of the main leaders of this movement. He is also member of the Fraternal Association and the President of the Portuguese Evangelical Alliance. Hence it was important to interview him.

The other people interviewed and the descriptions of their historical participation are the following: Mrs. Luisa Costa lives in South Africa and she is a member of the Portuguese Evangelical Church in Benoni. She is a witness of the persecution done against the establishment of the Baptist Church in Trofa, in Portugal, when she was a child. Rev. Óscar Segura is the President of the Fraternal Association. Rev. Carlos Cardoso is the Vice-president of the Fraternal Association. Rev. James Reimer is an important leader of the Charismatic movement in Portugal. Rev. Lucas da Silva is also an active leader of the Charismatic movement in the country. Mr. Rahil S. Khan was involved in the beginning of the process of dissidence from the Assemblies of God. He is a well respected politician in Mozambique. Prof. DR. António Fernando Nogueira Dias is a Pentecostal, professor of sociology, who was a national youth leader of the Assemblies of God in Portugal. He participated in a tentative of reform in a National Youth Rally of the Assemblies of God in Lisbon. His sociological overviews on the new historical trends in motion since 1974, I consider to be relevant to this dissertation to reach a better understanding of the dissidence process within the Assemblies of God and the establishment of the Charismatic movement.

A last note needs to be made regarding an interview given to the Division of Foreign Missions of the Assemblies of God in the USA, Springfield, Missouri, USA on the 18th of April 1977 by late Rev. José de Oliveira Pessoa. Rev. Pessoa was one of the main leaders of the Assemblies of God in Portugal. Concerning who interviewed Rev. Pessoa we know nothing, nor do we know where the interview was conducted. The only information available is a photocopy of the document with the title *Interview given to the Division of Foreign Missions of the Assemblies of God in the USA, Springfield, Missouri, USA, on the, 1977*. This photocopy is part of Rev. Barata's personal documents.

4. Layout of the dissertation

The layout of the dissertation is meant to embrace and help the explanation of its historical contents. This information is presented as follows in the various chapters. In Chapter One is a survey of the various forms of Christianity in Portugal. This survey goes far back to the beginning of Christianity in Portugal and up to the recent times. This explains the martial and religious zeal in the culture and why the Portuguese society has ostracized forms of Christianity other than the Roman Catholic Church.

In Chapter One we discuss the Portuguese culture and religious identity as shaped by the Roman Catholic Church, the geography of the Iberian Peninsula, the Islamic influence, the fascination for Rome and the overvaluation of tradition. These forces produced the martial and religious zealous Portuguese spirit. As the Portuguese Roman Catholic did not accept the Reformation and Protestantism, they received in full the outcomes of the Council of Trent to the point of Portugal becoming a theocracy. The control of the Jesuits over the education, the Inquisition, and the political and economic disasters produced an extremely poor and illiterate society incapable of thinking and judging the Reformation waves. Therefore, when the Bible was published in Portuguese in the early nineteenth century the Portuguese society was unable to welcome it.

In Chapter Two, an in-depth study begins on the Protestants and the Evangelicals in Portugal. We will mention the establishment of the Protestant and Evangelical churches across the country including the foreign religious influence on this endeavour. After the missionary era, these religious movements took on a more national character.

The contents of Chapter Two show that the difficulties in establishing Protestant and Evangelical denominations in Portugal only started bearing fruit about mid-nineteenth century. Due to the Napoleonic invasions and the departure of the royal house and the nobility to Brazil, the Portuguese entered into an anti-clericalism period which opened the way for the establishment of the Republic. And the establishment of the Protestants and Evangelicals is intrinsically linked to this social and political shift. Nevertheless, the persecuted colporteurs spread the Bible and started founding Protestant and Evangelical denominations. Meanwhile, the laws of the country were being challenged and slowly changed. This change of the Portuguese laws is particularly emphasized and

took effect as from the Revolution of the Carnations on the 25th of April 1974. Finally other forms of Christianity rather than the Roman Catholic were established.

Despite the legal constraints and the social pressures, however, some Protestant and Evangelical denominations were founded in the country as from the nineteenth century. In early twentieth century the Portuguese Assemblies of God were established. This Pentecostal denomination was closely linked with some Swedish Pentecostal missionaries who helped the church to grow from villages to cities and then to a national spread. The American Assemblies of God missionaries substituted for the Swedish and established the first three year Diploma Bible School, the *Instituto Bíblico de Portugal* (IBP). This theological school prepared future pastors for the Portuguese Assemblies of God. The decolonization process in the overseas colonies caused many Portuguese pastors to return to the metropolis and integrate into the denomination. The many newly IBP formed pastors and the pastors who returned from the colonies became a transforming force which resulted in dissidence.

The last chapter, Chapter Three, is an in-depth study of the history of the Portuguese Evangelical Alliance (AEP) and the Fraternal Association. A brief history is given of the establishment of the AEP and the reasons for it. Further, the chapter discusses the role that the AEP has played as an intermediary between the Portuguese authorities and the Evangelicals. As the Assemblies³ of God experienced a lot of dissidence from its pastors and churches, many of those that left joined the AEP. It was at this juncture as more people joined the AEP that the Fraternal Association, a body within the AEP, was formed.

In general, the information contained in Chapter Three concerns the dissident group of pastors and churches that dissociated from the organization of the Portuguese Assemblies of God. It was this group of pastors and churches, including other Charismatic churches that the Portuguese Evangelical Alliance (AEP) invited to form the Fraternal Association, the fourth spiritual family *Organização de Comunhão de Igrejas* (OCI) of the AEP, together with the Portuguese Assemblies of God, the Baptist and the Brethren denominations. The efforts of the AEP and of the Fraternal Association are to establish a new culture within the Portuguese legal framework of freedom of religion, expression and association. And the goal of the AEP and of the Fraternal Association is to establish by the year 2015 at least one Evangelical church in every county of the country.

³ In Portugal, the Assembly of God denomination is officially "Assemblies of God" due to the legal autonomy of each church. For this reason I will use "Assemblies of God" when referring to this denomination. Furthermore, internally the denomination is also known simply as "The Movement".

Lastly, the aim of the conclusion of this dissertation is to synthesise its contents. That is, although the martial nature of the Portuguese culture and its zealous religious character was difficult to overcome, the Protestant, Evangelical, Pentecostal, and Charismatic denominations were able to establish themselves in the country. These denominations have established organizations that helped to form a united front to cope with social, religious and political pressure. As the political and social nexus altered and new trends of thought became the new paradigm of the Portuguese society, concurrently the numbers of non-Catholic Christians grew extraordinarily. The AEP and the Fraternal Association are using this momentum to strengthen and further a united position of the non-Catholic Portuguese Christians in all areas of society and across the country.

Chapter 1: A survey of the various forms of Christianity in Portugal

Due to the complexity of the Portuguese Christian history, there is a need to explain the fundamental frameworks of its culture. This, to understand the struggle the Portuguese Evangelical Alliance and the Fraternal Association have gone through to get established. There are four main historical aspects to be considered, related to the nature and culture of the Portuguese society which explain why the Portuguese so much resist non-Roman Catholic Christianity. The first aspect is how Christianity was introduced in the Iberian Peninsula and in Portugal. The second aspect is to find out why the Reformation⁴ and the Evangelical religious new trends did not easily settle in Portugal. The third aspect is to understand why there was such a resistance and violent persecution against all new Christian movements up until recently that is until about 1971. And, the fourth aspect has to do with the devastating effects⁵ on the Portuguese society and its culture as a whole, due to the resistance to receive influence from the Reformation waves that shaped Europe.

These considerations will help to understand why the various contemporary non-Roman Catholic Christian denominations still struggle to get settled in Portugal. Why they have difficulties to get new members and a proper worshipping place. It explains why they are ignored by the Portuguese media. After all, why the Evangelicals – including the Fraternal Association – are commonly not respected and welcomed in Portugal as they are prevented to experience the privileges of full citizenship granted by Constitution.

1.1 The establishment of Christianity in Spain and Portugal up to the Reformation

Four areas shall be explained in this section. Firstly, will be the establishment of Christianity in the Iberian Peninsula. Secondly, four main forces that led Christians of the Iberian Peninsula to be linked with the Roman Catholic. Thirdly, will be the Islamic influence on the Portuguese culture. And fourthly, shall be how Roman Catholicism was intrinsically related to the independence of Portugal.

4 See how Flausino Torres, a Portuguese historian who will be introduced later on, views this issue in his book: *Portugal Uma Perspectiva da Sua História*, (Afrontamento, Porto. Editado em Praga pela Universidade Carlos. 4ª edição do autor. 1970).

5 See the discussion on this aspect in this chapter 1, under the topic: Political, economic and socio-religious conditions in Portugal from 1481 to 1822.

1.1.1 Establishment of Christianity in the Iberian Peninsula

It is difficult to determine how Christianity got to the Iberian Peninsula. The available information on the issue tends to be very laconic. However, Christianity entered in the Iberian Peninsula by one of three possibilities. Firstly, it could have been by any soldier, or travelling merchant in a probable similarity with the British case. As Bruce L. Shelley referred to in his book: *Church History In Plain Language*, “It may have been through some Roman soldier or merchant.”⁶

A second possibility is that it was Paul, the apostle. António Costa Barata is a Portuguese Assemblies of God pastor also writes on Christian history. As he says, “Every time we read a general history of ... Christianity, it is to be lamented that the Christians referred by the Apostle Paul in his letter to the Romans 15.24-28 [NKJV⁷] are not mentioned.”⁸ If Paul was referring to already existing churches or he intended to establish Christianity in Spain, we do not know. However, his intention to visit the Roman Province, which is today Portugal and Spain is obvious. “Whenever I journey to Spain, I shall come to you ... I shall go by way of you to Spain.”⁹ In a book by Herring, *A History of Latin America*, he mentions the roots of the peoples who colonized Latin America. In his words, “Christianity reached the [Iberian] peninsula during the Roman period. The first missionaries arrived in the second century, possibly the first. There is a legend that St. Paul himself was among them.”¹⁰

A third possibility for the introduction of Christianity in Spain could be that mentioned by a Roman Catholic tradition still present in the Iberian Peninsula. This says that it was the apostle James who first brought the Gospel by preaching in Santiago¹¹ de Compostela. A city located in Galicia, just above northern Portuguese border with Spain. This Christian Iberian tradition is documented in a website, in the following terms:

James, ... [an] apostle, was the brother and fellow fisherman of St John, ... Left everything when Christ called him to be a fisher of men... Tradition asserts that James brought the gospel to Spain, but because of the early date of his death, this claim is not defensible. In the Acts of the Apostles it is Paul who is depicted as the pioneer missionary, and James was martyred before Paul's activity began. Moreover, there is a constant

6 Shelley, B. L., *Church History In Plain Language*. (Word Publishing, Dallas, Texas, USA. 2nd Edition. 1995), p.31.

7 Whenever found in this document, NKJV stands for *Holy Bible, New King James Version*. (Thomas Nelson Publishers, Nashville, USA. 1982).

8 Barata, A. C., (personal documents, not published), Op. cit.

Note: This gentleman is probably one of the most respected Portuguese living historians, and professor, on the issue of the Reformation and the Evangelical Movement in Portugal.

(António Costa Barata, Av. Central 556, Pinhal Conde da Cunha, 2845-193 Amora. Portugal. Tel. (+) 351-21-224 6282.

9 (Romans 15.24-28).

10 Herring, H., et al, *A History of Latin America, from the Beginnings to the Present*, (Alfred-A-Knopf, New York, Third Edition, 1972), p.68.

11 Santiago, in Spanish means Saint James.

tradition that the sole western church of apostolic foundation was that of Rome - in 416, Pope Innocent made an authoritative statement to this effect.

The tradition only appears in written form for the first time in the seventh century, arising from a Greek source of doubtful historical credentials, but it was a century later, when a star miraculously revealed what was claimed to be the tomb of James, that popular belief spread.

This shrine at Compostela ... rivalled Rome as a centre of pilgrimage. ... [Some] point to evidence that James the Greater did preach in Spain. He returned to Judea and was the first of the apostles to be martyred, being put to death by the sword, by King Herod Agrippa I in 44 AD... After his martyrdom, his body was taken to Spain.¹²

Due to shortage of resources on the issue, not much can be substantiated on it. Only Herring's mention on the annual pilgrimage, which is called the way of Santiago – St. James – that brings many pilgrims every year from as far as France. When speaking on the impact of the visit of those pilgrims, Herring says, “In the north, the pilgrims to the shrine of Santiago de Compostela brought new ideas and skills from France.”¹³

Most contemporary Christian historians do not mention the beginnings of Christianity in the Iberian Peninsula. The case is seen as an historical fact that obviously happened. Vaguely, it is a fact. However, as Shelley says, “The mainstream of early Christian missionary work ... did not move east of Antioch but west. The apostle Paul had set a course for Italy and Spain, and his work proved to be the path of the future... [Thus] by the end of the third century we also hear of churches and bishops in Spain.”¹⁴

The Portuguese historian Marques¹⁵ in his book, *History of Portugal, From Lusitania to Empire*, mentions Christianity when he is already studying the third century AD. He points out the establishment of the Early Church throughout the cities of the Roman Empire. According to Marques,

Some cities emerged as centres of great political and economic significance. It was there that Christianity, an essentially urban religion, spread more rapidly. No wonder that they also became important centres of Christian expansion.¹⁶

12 See this website: <http://www.stjames.wellington.net.nz/stjamesthegreater.pdf>

13 Herring, H., et al, Op. cit., p.74.

14 Shelley, Bruce L., Shelley, Op. cit., pp.30-31.

15 A distinguished Portuguese historian who has been visiting Professor at Columbia University and at the Universities of Florida and Minnesota See the cover of his book: *History of Portugal, From Lusitania to Empire*, (Columbia University Press, New York, USA. Volume I. 2nd Edition. 1972).

16 Marques, A. H., *History of Portugal, From Lusitania to Empire*, (Columbia University Press, New York, USA. Volume I. 2nd Edition. 1972), p.16.

As for Daniel-Rops Christianity was introduced in Spain in the first century. In his words,

O Ocidente foi evangelizado mais lentamente. A Gália, a Espanha e a África, apesar dos ilustres padrinhos apostólicos, que, mais tarde, hão-de reivindicar as suas igrejas, não se abrem para a luz senão no decurso do segundo século... Hermas, autor do *Pastor* ... cerca do ano 120, comparava já o Cristianismo a uma árvore, cujos ramos cobriam o mundo civilizado... No espaço de um século, o Evangelho tinha penetrado em todos os centros vitais ou seja em todos os nós espirituais do Império.¹⁷

[The West was evangelised more slowly [than the East]. Gallia, Spain and Africa ... had their apostolic god-fathers ... [and] their churches do not open themselves for the light unless during the second century... Hermes, author of *The Pastor* ... about the year 120, already compared Christianity with a tree, whose branches covered all civilized world... [In] about one century, the Gospel had penetrated in all vital centres or in all spiritual centres of the Empire.]

This implies the early presence of Christianity in the most important cities of the Iberian Peninsula, like Bracara¹⁸, the Portuguese city of Braga, in the north, and Olisipona¹⁹, Lisbon, towards the centre south. Data on the history of Christianity in the Iberian Peninsula on later centuries is scarce. As Barata refers,

Different Christian currents have been omitted. For instance, they omitted, or ignore, the Priscilian Movement in the Iberian Peninsula and in the South of France. This Movement initiated in 370 AD, still created serious difficulties to the official Roman Christian Church... Paul Osorius was contrary to the Priscilian Movement. So, he travelled to speak about it with Saint Augustine in North Africa and Saint Jerome in Palestine. The discussion is open to find if this Movement was Arian.²⁰

1.1.2 Four main forces that led the people of the Iberian Peninsula to be attached to Roman Catholicism, as against any non-Roman Catholic Christian churches

Four main forces kept the Iberian societies linked to traditional Roman Christianity, rather than to Arian or other forms. These are: the peculiarity of the Iberian geography, the overwhelming impact of the influence of the Roman Empire, the Islamic cultural influence for several centuries, and, then, the formidable barrier – the so called *leyenda negra*, black legend – caused by overvaluating traditions in general.

17 Rops, D., *A Igreja dos Apóstolos e dos Mártires*, (Livreria Tavares, Porto, Portugal. 1956), p.128. (Translated by myself).

18 See map: Marques, A. H. O., Volume I, Op. cit, p.21.

19 See map: Marques, A. H. O., Volume I, Ibid, p.21.

20 Barata, A. C., (personal documents, not published), Op. cit. (Copy of the document is only available with rev. A. C. Barata).

Firstly, the Pyrenees served as a geographical blockage between the Iberian Peninsula and the rest of Europe. This mountain range interrupted the free and natural flow of humans and ideas between both sides. As Herring affirms,

Spain and Portugal have always been lands apart, aloof from the chief currents of European life. Geography accounts in part for Iberian isolation. The Pyrenees interrupted the free and natural flow of men and ideas between the peninsula and the rest of Europe.²¹

Secondly, the Roman Empire exerted an overwhelming influence on Spain and Portugal. Rome produced a pivotal cultural fascination over the Spanish and Portuguese. Then, the Roman Catholic Church replaced the authority and dominium, maintaining the link and the influence of Rome over the Iberian Peninsula.

Thirdly, after 711 AD²² there was the need to fight the Islamic political and cultural influence and advancements in almost all Iberian Peninsula, for about seven centuries (711 to 1492)²³. It was “The Christian Reconquista (Re-Conquest) [that began in] the middle of the eighth century.”²⁴

Fourthly, traditionalism has played a role to shape the character of the Iberian people. As Herring puts it,

It is not easy for the English-speaking outsider to penetrate the life of Spain and Portugal. Tradition has reared a formidable barrier in the *leyenda negra* of Spanish perfidy... This “black legend” perpetuates the conviction that Spaniards ... and ... Portuguese ... are ... wicked, cruel, wanton, bigoted, and foolish.²⁵

These are probably the four main sources of influence for the deep implantation of the Roman Catholic type of Christianity in the Iberian Peninsula. And this formed the cultural frame of reference, and unity against enemies. Thus, the religious inclination towards the Roman Catholic Christianity was inevitable for the Portuguese society to escape.

21 Herring, H., et al, Op. cit, p.66.

22 Marques, A. H. O., Volume I, Op. cit, p.25.

23 Madariaga, S. de, *Spain*, (Creative Age Press, Inc., 11 East 44th St., New York, N.Y. USA. 1943), p.20.

24 Marques, A. H. O., Volume I, Op. cit, p.25.

25 Herring, H., et al, Op. cit, p.64.

1.1.3 Islamic influence on the Portuguese characteristic resistance to change, as related to non-Roman Catholic Christians

Islamic culture greatly shaped the Iberian peoples' melancholic and aching temperament. It did so through its belief system and superstitions, language, music, and the traditional Muslim dress code. Firstly, the Arabic and Islamic presence in the Iberian Peninsula for almost one thousand²⁶ years had its impact to form the Iberian peoples into traditionalist and superstitious. The belief that the destiny of each person is written in the stars is common; accordingly, there is no way to escape from that destiny to work out the future. In this manner the way the Iberian peoples look at life is fatalistic and melodramatic, different from other Europeans. This explains why the Portuguese struggle to shift and change from their traditions. Illustrative are expressions like, "what has to be, if God wishes it to be so", or, "no one can run away from his or her destiny". Among many rural Portuguese people superstition also runs very high. For instance, the Islamic five pointed star sign against bad luck and evil spirits is still used in rural areas, engraved over the doors of their currals and of their houses, for protection. The superstitious use of hanged horse shoes is still very common, as well as other forms of superstition. Secondly, the Arabic language also impacted to form the Iberian spirit. As Herring explains, "The Portuguese [language] ... was modified by ... Arabic words... The ejaculation ... [oxalá], "would to Allah," became "would to God.""²⁷ Thirdly, the Arabic Islamic influence on music is found particularly in the Portuguese typically *Fado*. This type of music celebrates no happiness and allows no dance, as it has to be listened to in silence. Remarkably aching and melancholic it sings about sad destiny and fate. The singer – *fadista* – cries and laments, "O que será, será", that is, "what will be, will be", or, "may it be as God wishes". The audience agrees with tears, respectfully, ending up with a "bravo fadista!" Corroboratively, an article *Fado* in the Dicipédia 2004 describes this Portuguese musical style.

Fado – Fate – ... [was] born, starting from the songs of the Muslim people, remarkably aching and melancholic... Fado is a located phenomenon in the oldest zones of the city [Lisbon, Coimbra and Porto], and it is sung in typical homes ... – the shawl [typical *xaiile*] and the Portuguese guitar – are always present... The idea of the destiny ... as an implacable force that is for besides the human will is essential for the understanding of this musical style.²⁸

26 After the Arabs were conquered many still lived in Portugal as in the case of the Mouraria neigourhood in Lisbon.

27 Herring, H., et al, Ibid, p.73.

28 [?] *Fado*, (Dicipédia 2004, Porto Editora, Multimédia. Rua da Restauração, 365, 4099-023 Porto, Portugal. 2004), [?].

Fourthly, Arabic Islamic influence on the Portuguese cultural behaviour is also seen in the traditional code of dressing. Particularly, this is still visible today in the way ladies use the traditional *luto* – the dressing of black, covering their heads with a shawl – when a relative dies.

These conditioning forces are factors that greatly influenced the Portuguese temperament and cultural behaviour, deepening a sense of religious, traditional, superstitious, and fatalistic. It created “Portugal, the country of the brand costumes”. These profound frames of reference of the Portuguese soul were on cultural and religious process to produce a state of collective societal mental dormancy. This state of dormancy is mental inertia, contrary to any philosophical questioning of the status quo, or the *modus vivendi*. No wonder over a thousand years, only a few times in its history, the Portuguese people woke up from their societal sleep, to work out a change in their conditions. Nevertheless, the normal attitude towards the truthfulness nature of issues is that of accommodating to the old, even if unreal, uncertain, or untrue. Conformity to traditions lies behind the resistance against non-Catholic Christianity. It conveys that new ideas are incongruent with the Portuguese culture and, therefore, dangerous. Traditionally, the Portuguese people are fearful to dare into new trends, whether they are philosophical, religious, educational, or cultural. This fear leads the Portuguese instinctively to fight against the law of variety²⁹ that is apprehended from universal social contacts, as Flausino Torres, a Portuguese historian, puts it.

1.1.4 Involvement of the pope on the independence of Portugal

When Portugal became independent in 1143 AD, the citizens religiously Roman-Catholic, were culturally traditionalists, and superstitious. For a thousand years or so, the religious and everyday life experiences, were fascinated, or, looking at Rome for answers. After all, “all the roads lead to Rome”. So, the Portuguese independence was organized with the Roman-Catholic Church. The pope blessed the peace accord between the first king of Portugal, D. Afonso Henriques, and the king of Spain, D. Alfonso VII. Marques says,

It was only in 1143 AD that the permanent peace settlement was arranged with the intervention of the papal legate, Cardinal Guido of the Vigor... The dependency towards the Holy See was alone great that Afonso Henriques's external policy was now at stake in Italy. His purpose was to obtain papal formal recognition of both his title and his kingdom (the regnum). In the typically feudal way he commended Portugal to the Holy See and considered himself, with all his successors, the liege vassal of the Pope's.³⁰

29 Torres, F., *Portugal Uma Perspectiva da Sua História*, (Afrontamento, Porto. Editado em Praga pela Universidade Carlos. 4ª edição do autor. 1970), p.87.

30 Marques, A. H. O., Volume I, Op. cit. p.42.

However, D. Afonso Henriques had to negotiate until 1157 AD; when he got full papal recognition. Regarding the ecclesiastical reorganization Marques says,

The struggle for an autonomous Portugal was closely connected with certain problems of ecclesiastical administration. It was accompanied by the fight between the archbishops of Panty and those of Toledo and by the attempt to create a Portuguese metropolitan province with the political frontiers [that] coincides [with] Portugal... With Afonso Henriques all the dioceses of Portugal were united under Braga... Practically ... Braga maintained its supremacy over all Portugal, and theoretically obedience to Santiago de Compostela never threatened Portugal's independence. The same was true in Galicia and Leon, where part of the dioceses accepted Braga as primate.³¹

Christianity had long been established amongst all Spanish and Lusitanian peoples. With the blessing of the independence by the Pope, the Roman Catholic Church kept on playing a great role in the country. When Portugal and Spain found their ways of peace, they united against the Moors; captivated by the ideal of crusades in the 1100's.

However, after having been independent for two centuries, Portugal reaches a stage of necessity of change. Portugal faced again in the 14th Century the need to assure its independence from Spain. The Portuguese queen, mother-in-law of the king of Spain, wanted the joining of both crowns. Many nobles including Catholic clerk supported the idea. The lower class and the bourgeois, however, wanted freedom, and fought for it, the revolution of 1383 to 1385.

1.2 Portugal and Europe from 1383 to 1822

The study of this historical period, explains how Portugal was prevented from receiving the Reformation. We shall study: Firstly, the new era in Portuguese society resulting from the revolution of 1383. Secondly, how Portugal involved in the crusades. Thirdly, how movements transformed European societies. Fourthly, the political, economic and socio-religious conditions experienced in Portugal from 1383 to 1822.

³¹ Marques, A. H. O., Volume I, Ibid, pp.43-44.

1.2.1 A new era resulting from the revolution of 1383-1385

The modern bourgeois classes become more and more in opposition to the seigniorial and their medievalist feudal tone. Torres, a Portuguese historian, tells us that the Portuguese bourgeois linked up with that of the rest of Europe. As he puts it,

Uma das características da vida burguesa moderna, mais em oposição com o da classe senhorial, é o seu cosmopolitanismo: o burguês percorre meio-mundo, contacta com povos e fala línguas diversas; não estranha já costumes exóticos; e em breve compreende mesmo que a variedade é lei humana.³²

[One of the characteristics of the modern bourgeois life, more in opposition with that of the seigniorial class is its cosmopolitanism: the bourgeois goes half world, contacts with many peoples and speaks diverse languages; he or she does not feel strange the exotic costumes; and soon understands that variety is human law.]

Chegou, portanto, a hora em que a grande Burguesia nacional, com as características de que se reveste ao tempo, entrou em colaboração ampla com a Burguesia europeia.³³

[So, the hour had arrived in which the great Portuguese Bourgeoisie, with the characteristics proper of the time, entered into ample collaboration with the European Bourgeoisie.]

Portugal faced the social crises and revolution from 1383 to 1385, as the *Crónicas* (Chronicles) of Fernão Lopes³⁴ refer. The Cortes³⁵ (parliament) of Coimbra on the 6th of April 1385 allowed the lowest class and the bourgeois to elect the Master of Avis as king of Portugal. According to Torres,

As Cortes de Coimbra de 1383 são um único sucesso em toda a História de Portugal, porque nela se passou o que nunca se tinha passado e que não tornará a acontecer jamais: a escolha do Rei.³⁶

[The Cortes [parliament] of Coimbra ... [were] a unique success in Portuguese History, because in them happened what had never happened before and would never happens again: the king was chosen.]

Com esta Revolução entramos verdadeiramente... numa fase de independência bastante mais completa.³⁷

[With this revolution [the Portuguese] truly entered ... a phase of independence greatly developed.]

32 Torres, F., *Portugal Uma Perspectiva da Sua História*, (Afrontamento, Porto. Editado em Praga pela Universidade Carlos. 4ª edição do autor. 1970), p.87.

33 Torres, F., *Ibid*, p.100.

34 Torres, F., *Ibid*, p.87.

35 Coelho, A. B., *A Revolução de 1383*, (Seara Nova, Rua Bernardo Lima, 23-1º, Lisboa, Portugal. 3ª Edição. 1977), p.180.

36 Torres, F., *Op. cit*, p.93.

37 Torres, F., *Ibid*, p.91.

This was a revolution in the sense Coelho used it. “A revolution is not the building of a model bourgeois or socialist, revolution is a force for ... that construction, it is the force that liberates the child that had been formed within the womb of the old society.”³⁸ And, according to Coelho,

Ao poder de Leonor Teles... sucede o novo poder do mestre de Avis que se apoia, não nas lanças e nos tesouros do poder senhorial, mas no dinheiro, nas espadas, nas estevas aguçadas com os seus aviamentos dos vilões e da arraia miúda. Quebram-se os laços sociais.³⁹

[To ... Leonor Teles [the queen] ... succeeds the ... the Master of Avis that get its support, not in the spears and in the treasures of the seigniorial power, but on the money, and the swords, on the sharpen sticks with the revivals of the villain [those of the villas] and the small people. Old social ties are broken.]

The revolution of 1383 inaugurated a new era. We should not think, however, that it changed the frameworks of the Portuguese culture so to become more receptive to the ideals of Reformation. According to Sérgio,

Não se creia, porém, que esse facto, e que aquela maior dose de cosmopolitanismo que nos individualizou na Península Ibérica, destruíram a unidade intelectual da Espanha. Interpretaríamos mal a nossa política e a nossa cultura se esquecêssemos que até a segunda metade do século XVII espanhóis-portugueses e espanhóis-castelhanos apresentam duas elites que vivem intelectualmente numa mesma civilização, se bem que se note nos portugueses, a par do domínio da burguesia, um pendor mais marcado para o génio humanista e liberal. A proximidade de Castela, a comunidade de cultura, a ligação estreita das duas coroas, tornou inevitável entre nós o triunfo completo da Contra-Reforma. Desde então, ambos os países se vão alheando, cada vez mais, do movimento científico e filosófico da restante Europa... estreitamente ligada à de Castela e sofrendo muito a influência desta, dá desde agora a Portugal uma fisionomia contraditória, que é um dos males de cujos efeitos tem sido mais difícil desvencilhar-se.⁴⁰

[We should not believe, however, that this fact [the revolution of 1383-1385], and that major dose of cosmopolitanism that individualised us in the Iberian Peninsula, destroyed the intellectual unity of Spain. We would interpret badly our politics and our culture if we forget that until the second half of the 17th Century Spaniard-Portuguese and Spaniard-Castellan presented two elites who lived intellectually in the same civilization, even if it is noted in the Portuguese, along side with the dominium of bourgeoisie, a tendency more marked towards the humanist and liberal genius. The proximity of Castille, the community of culture, the close links of both crowns, turned inevitable amongst us the total triumph of the Counter-Reformation. Since then both countries become more and more aliens towards the scientific and philosophical movements of the rest of Europe; ... closely linked to Castille and greatly suffering its influence, gives since now a

38 Coelho, A. B., Op. cit, p.27.

39 Coelho, A. B., Ibid, pp.27-28.

40 Sérgio, António, Breve Interpretação da História de Portugal, (Livraria Sá da Costa, Lisboa. Portugal. 8ª Edição. 1978), pp.30-31.

contradictory physiognomy to Portugal, which is one of the evils of whose effects it has been difficult to get rid of.]

1.2.2 The Portuguese involvement in the crusades

Portugal got involved with the crusades to a greater scale after the revolution. Early in the 1400's Portugal went to conquer Ceuta and Tangiers⁴¹. This was seen in the spirit of the crusades, which served different goals. As Marques says, "It defended Christendom against ... non-Christians; ... prevented [the] spreading [of] "error"; secured the Christians economic bases for the prosperity...; [So] open war, treason, piracy, raiding and plundering, reducing to captivity, all could be considered crusading tasks and justified as such."⁴² And later, still under the influence of the crusades' spirit, the fifteen-century European leaders – from Portugal and the Holy See – thought "the continuation of the voyages of discovery and their integration in the general crusade"⁴³. Prince Henry and the Portuguese kings were determined to pursue the crusade's spirit, from North Africa everywhere by sea.

1.2.3 Movements transforming the societies of Europe

Europe was experiencing some of the most important forces that initiated fundamental changes in European society, both in thought and in the religious domains. Forces liberated by movements like the Humanist, the Renaissance and the Reformation and Protestantism. But Portugal did not take a position towards Reformation and Protestantism. According to Torres, "Perante o avanço vitorioso do Protestantism por um lado, do espírito filosófico pelo outro, que havia de fazer o medievalismo católico? ... que posição tomar perante a reforma?"⁴⁴ (Before the advancement of the victorious Protestantism in one side, and the critic and philosophical spirit on the other, what could the medievalist Catholicism do ... what position to take towards Reform?) The quest before the medievalist Catholic Portuguese mindset was that of what position to take about the new European culture of modernity. What position to take against the advancements in sciences, philosophy, theology, and the whole of the new European trends in politics and economics? This European movement of the human spirit and thought brought forth the modern, a

41 See: Marques, A. H. O., Volume I, Op. cit., p.141.

42 Marques, A. H. O., Volume I, Ibid, p.141.

43 Marques, A. H. O., Volume I, Ibid, p.163.

44 Torres, F., Op. cit, p.213.

paradigm shift, humans were persons. As J. Leslie Dunstan, editor of *Great Religions of Modern Men, Protestantism*, points out,

When man's spirit asserted itself in his awareness of himself as a person, man became his own authority and considered his own reason capable of finding truth for itself. When man came to believe that, scholasticism came to an end. Man no longer reasoned within limiting principles, but directed his thinking as he, on his own authority, chose.⁴⁵

Fundamentally, it was a new movement based in the power of personal freedom, of personal choice, rather than the old way of the existing corrupted Church that decided for the people. And, as Dunstan says, “When the spirit of man comes alive man thinks for himself, acts on his own authority, and accepts responsibility for that which he does. He becomes the possessor and molder of his own personality; he puts himself in the position of being master over his own affairs.”⁴⁶ From the middle Ages, European politics and religious affairs had been bound by the Roman Catholic Church's polices. However, conditions were in everyday life that would cause deep changes to happen. Intelligent people had doubts about the adequacy of the authorities leading them. The marks and signs of the Church were very negative. Church leaders were deeply involved in evil doings. As Dunstan mentions,

The leaders of the Church, the papal court, and the clergy of every rank devoted themselves to their own interests with the result that in all too many cases selfishness, love of luxury, nepotism, simony, and immorality had become the marks of the Church.⁴⁷

People became aware that the Roman Church was unable⁴⁸ to make any reforms because her leaders were deeply involved in evil activities. And then, Europeans got a new interest for the Scriptures and the Early Church writings. Dunstan tells us that, “At the same time, there grew up the new interest in the Scriptures and the writings of the leaders of the early Church. ...Widely available with the invention of the printing press and the translations [into peoples’ languages] ... the story of the origin of Christian faith, which had been hidden behind rites and festivals and liturgy and myth, became directly available to men.”⁴⁹ Naturally, the very authority of the Church was under the spot light. As Dunstan says, “[When] the authority of the Church appeared fraught

45 Dunstan, L., Ed., *Great Religions of Modern Man: Protestantism*, (Washington Square Press, Inc., New York, USA. 1962), p.7.

46 Dunstan, L., Ed., *Ibid*, p.8.

47 Dunstan, L., Ed., *Ibid*, pp.9-10.

48 Dunstan, L., Ed., *Ibid*, p.10.

49 Dunstan, L., Ed., *Ibid*, p.10.

with human weakness, a new authority which clearly had the direct power over the existence of the Church became known. [That is, the Holy Scriptures, the Bible].”⁵⁰

Portugal, nevertheless, although a part of Europe, took a different historical route. The Portuguese were not ready to leave behind their religious and cultural traditions, their superstitions, and their fascination for Rome’s points of view.

1.2.4 Political, economic and socio-religious conditions in Portugal

Political, economic and socio-religious conditions were created in Portugal, from 1383 until 1822, impeding the Portuguese to get its freedom of expression. Very much interlinked, they explain the attitudes of the Portuguese society towards life, future, and any new religious trends, particularly those of the Reformation and Protestantism.

1.2.4.1 The political conditions

To go deeply into the nature of the decisions that would shape the Iberian Peninsula's political and religious culture we need to consider some conditions. The first political condition is related to the persecution of the Jews. Madariaga says that

Under [Ferdinand’s and Isabella’s] common rule the Spanish anarchy became State and the Spanish State became a Church... The Spanish State, while identifying itself with the spiritual interests of the Catholic faith, did not submit to the Roman Church. It was itself a Church... [These] two forces, [political and religious, combined] to establish an absolute Church-State in Spain... Both... determined the policy of Spain in the [Iberian] Peninsula, in Europe and in America.⁵¹

Ferdinand and Isabella finished with the last Moorish king in the Peninsula in 1492. And the Jews were expelled from their country by the “Decree... on March 31st, 1492.”⁵² These political events in Spain profoundly affected Portugal. We need to understand that Spaniards and Portuguese are part of the same stock. As the American professor of history J. Fred Rippy says, “The people of Portugal are not very different from the people of Spain.”⁵³ The reality of their geography and common history helped forge in their cultural behaviour, a martial zealous religious

50 Dunstan, L., Ed., *Ibid.*, p.10.

51 Madariaga, S. de, *Op. cit.*, p.28.

52 Madariaga, S. de, *Ibid.*, p.29.

53 Rippy, J. F., *Latin America: A Modern History*, (University Of Michigan Press, USA. 1958), p.45.

spirit, intolerant and fanatical against nonconformists. This prepared the way for the Inquisition. As Rippy says,

Both peoples went through centuries of racial and religious war on native soil against the Moors. This long struggle, together with almost a hundred years of conflict with the ambitious rulers of the Christian states of Spain, engendered in Portugal, an in Spain, a martial spirit, a national unity, and a religious zeal so intolerant and fanatical that it led to the introduction of the Inquisition and the persecution and expulsion of aliens and nonconformists... The church in both countries was wealthy and powerful, the Jesuits being particularly strong in Portugal.⁵⁴

At first, Spanish Jews who fled from persecution in Spain settled in Portugal, and were used to bust the Portuguese political and economic ambitions. The same is corroborated by António Coutinho and Maria do Carmo Serén, in their book *A Evolução das Longas Tendências das Crises Europeias desde o Século XIV a 1929*. Accordingly, “Durante todo o século XIV e o início do XV ... Banqueiro italianos corridos do poder, ricos judeus perseguidos, marinheiros e cartógrafos judeus, da Itália, Flandres e da Catalunha estabelecem-se em Portugal.”⁵⁵ (During all 14th Century and the beginning of the 15th ... in Lisbon, the maritime commerce continued. Italian bankers who were cast out from power, rich persecuted Jews, sailors and cartography experts also Jews, from Italy, Flanders and Catalan got established in Portugal.) Portugal received and used well those persecuted Jews. And, as Werner Keller, in his book: *A História do Povo Judeu*, says, “Precisely in his last years, King John II ... had entrusted to Jewish specialists the plan to send boats, going out of Portugal, down the coast of the African continent, with the aim to find the maritime way to India.”⁵⁶ Portugal had already started some years before the adventure of the discoveries. But the help of the Spanish Jews greatly furthered its efforts. Portugal became a pioneer in the navigation sciences and consequent discoveries of new worlds.

Portugal and Spain became the most famous due to their conquests, world discoveries and newfound wealth. Nevertheless, while Portugal and Spain were celebrating with their newfound fortunes, across the rest of Europe, Humanism, Renaissance and Reformation were spreading their branches to reach the societies⁵⁷. Portugal had the chance of receiving the influence of those waves of paradigm shift. First, by the presence of the intellectual and rich Jews who prompted and

54 Rippy, J. F., *Ibid*, p.45.

55 Coutinho, A., et al, *A Evolução das Longas Tendências e das Crises Europeias do Século XIV a 1929*. (Edições ASA, R. Mártires da Pátria, 112, 4004, Porto. 1980) , p.10.

56 Keller, W., *História do Povo Judeu, da Destruição do templo ao Novo Estado de Israel*, (Edições Acrópole, Rua Alfredo Aldim, Alfragide, Lisboa, Portugal. 1966), p.293.

57 For this subject, see the subtitle: Humanism, Renaissance, and Reformation in, Marques, A. H. O., *History of Portugal, From Lusitania to Empire*, Volume I, Op. cit, pp.190-207.

financed the discovery process. Second, because some European cosmopolite professors⁵⁸, influential in various areas of academics, were invited to work in Portugal. However, the events of the Reformation led the Roman Catholic Church to make fundamental decisions, with spiritual but also political, economic and social implications. The impact of such decisions was extremely challenging to the Portuguese politics and future culture. We are referring to the Council of Trent (1545-1563)⁵⁹.

The Council of Trent was a second political event that conditioned the Portuguese society and future history. As one of the consequences of the Reformation, the holding of the Council of Trent, was a religious event with strong political implications. This Council constituted the base for the *Contra-Reforma* (the Counter-Reformation), for in it, the great theological options were drawn by the Roman Catholic Church. Spain was too strong at the time as so was able to take part and even lead the organizing of the Council. On the other hand, the strength of the Spanish foreign policy over Portugal and the installed Roman Catholic Church's forces of influence were strong enough to make the Council's outcomes to be implemented in Portugal. Portugal was politically and religiously blocked, as it was geographically. As Madariaga informs us,

As the history of the Counter-Reformation shows, Spain was the chief factor in the reformation and purification of the Church from within... [Kings] Charles and Philip, moreover, were the moving forces which led to the Council of Trent, the intellectual and moral leadership of which was also, to a considerable extent, Spanish.⁶⁰

It is relevant to highlight the fact that the king of Portugal, D. Manuel, was the father-in-law of Emperor Charles V of the Holy Roman Empire in Germany who was also the powerful Catholic king Carlos I⁶¹ of Spain, married with D. Isabella⁶². It was before D. Manuel's son-in-law Emperor Charles V and his parliament (diet), who Luther, after having been excommunicated⁶³ in January of 1521 had to answer⁶⁴. The American historian Jackson J. Spielvogel gives us the answer Luther gave to the imperial diet⁶⁵, which would become the battle cry of the Reformation.

58 Marques, A. H. O., Volume I, Ibid, pp.195-196.

59 Madariaga, S. de, Op. cit., p.32.

60 Madariaga, S. de, Ibid, p.32.

61 Spielvogel, J. J., *World History: the Human Odyssey*, (West Educational Publishing, West Publishing Company, Texas Teacher's Edition, USA. 1999), p.439.

62 Cidade, H. et al, *Cultura Portuguesa, Volume 4*. (Editorial Noticias, Empresa Nacional de Publicidade. [Portugal]. 1970), pp.29-30.

63 Spielvogel, Jackson J., Op. cit, p.438.

64 See: Spielvogel, Jackson J., Ibid, p.438.

65 The legislative assembly. See: Spielvogel, J. J., Op. cit., p.438.

Since then Your Majesty and your lordships desire a simple reply... Unless I am convinced by Scripture and plain reason – I do not accept the authority of the pope and councils, for they have contradicted each other – my conscience is captive to the Word of God. I cannot and I will not recant anything, for to go against conscience is neither right nor safe. Here I stand, I cannot do otherwise. God help me. Amen.⁶⁶

Torres says that in the Council of Trent the Roman Catholic Church was led to take some measures against the Reformation movement and thought. One of these measures was the use of Latin⁶⁷ to preach to the population instead of Portuguese or Castellan. Obviously, the great majority of the Portuguese people could not understand what was being preached. Therefore, they only followed their religious traditions, rather than the spiritual impartation taken directly from the Bible texts. This event, along side with the very low levels of literacy and education, had its impact on the Portuguese Roman Catholic people. And so on the mindset and consciousness of the Portuguese society for it maintained a continuing intense ignorance, even of a spiritual character. With the decision taken to support the Council of Trent's ideals and the Holy See, the Iberian Peninsula became the strong tower of Catholicism in Europe. However, to cite António José Saraiva, another Portuguese historian, the Catholic reaction known as Contra-Reforma,

Consisted, under its negative aspect, in a repression by coercive means of all cultural manifestations suspected of heterodoxy, including manifestations tolerated in past epochs; and ... in a tentative of restoring Scholastic, and the return to exterior forms of devotion. Inquisition, (Roman, Spanish and Portuguese), becomes the main instrument of ideological suppression. To the Company of Jesus is attributed the duty of the diffusion of the new "Trent's Catholicism".⁶⁸

Portugal influenced and controlled by that Roman Catholic Church, chose that decadent mindset against what they called "modernism". The preachers of the Portuguese Roman Catholic Church decided to preach in Latin, while the Bible was being translated into the vernacular languages across Europe and discussed openly in the languages the peoples spoke on their daily life. Instead, the Portuguese ruling and religious classes chose to adopt the classical culture of Cicero and Plato, regardless of what their religious positions would be. Even as Torres say,

Interessava ... simplesmente a sua linguagem – o ais correcto e belo dos latins. Quer dizer, no momento histórico em que as línguas nacionais iniciam verdadeiramente a sua carreira; em que os textos sagrados são traduzidos para alemão por Lutero, um pouco antes de serem publicados os ENSAIOS de Montaigne e o DISCURSO DO MÉTODO em francês; na época de Gil Vicente e Camões – os Jesuitas lançam o latin e

66 Spielvogel, Jackson J., *Ibid*, p.438.

67 Torres, Flausino, *Op. cit.*, pp.214-215.

68 Saraiva, A. J., *História da Literatura Portuguesa*, (Porto Editora, Lda, Rua da Fábrica, 84 – Porto, 5ª Edição. [?]), pp.162-163.

procuram manter esta língua morta como veículo único da cultura! Mas, na medida em que uma língua tem que ser ajudada por um impulso artificial e exterior a ela para as emoções, para explicar as ideias de uma época, toca necessariamente a falso.⁶⁹

[What really mattered ... was solely their language – the most correct and beautiful of the Latin. To say, in the historical moment when the national languages were truly initiating their way; when the sacred texts were being translated by the German Luther, a little before being published the *Essays of Montaigne* and the *Discourse of the French Method*; in the epoch of Gil Vicente and Camões – the Jesuits launch Latin and try to keep this dead language as the only cultural vehicle. But, a language that needs to be helped by an impulse exterior and artificial to it to be able to touch the emotions, to explain the ideas of an epoch, it necessarily touches falsely.]

A third political event was that of the installation of the Inquisition in Portugal (1531-1547). Although the Inquisition may seem to be of a religious purpose, Marques highlights that it had political purposes. In his words, “The establishment of the Inquisition, incidentally a project of Manuel’s, with political rather than religious purposes, was accepted by the Pope in 1536”⁷⁰. Marques moves on to point out,

The Inquisition had little to do with the Reformation, at least as a real motive for its foundation. King Manuel had pleaded its establishment to the Pope as early as 1515, two years before Luther’s rebellion. His real purpose was to secure one more weapon to achieve centralization and royal control. The Portuguese monarchs wished to be given what Ferdinand and Isabella had obtained from Pope Sixtus IV after 1478, although the circumstances were completely different. Neither Jews nor Moors in Portugal posed a clear menace to the unity of the Faith as might be claimed in Castille. Moreover, the political dangers of the Inquisition had become clear to the papacy as a powerful instrument in the hands of the Crown. Indeed judges and officials of the Inquisition, although clergymen were appointed by the king, and their authority and powers, by Papal delegation, were generally independent of the usual Church jurisdiction. John III and his advisers fought hard for the creation of the Inquisition... The Inquisition was finally “brought” from Rome by John III (1536) but with great restrictions to full action. Only in 1547 were these restrictions lifted by [the] Pope ... and the Inquisition given full powers. In the meantime the first victims had been burned in Évora (1543). For Portugal a new epoch was born.⁷¹

Now, nothing new would arrive, settle and grow in Portugal, while, to use Saraiva’s words, “in the Protestant fragment [of Europe], the conditions were in general, more favourable to the freedom of thought, as well as to the diffusion of culture to the populations.”⁷² The new frame of

69 Torres, F., Op. cit, pp.214-215.

70 Marques, A. H. O., Volume I, Op. cit., p.215.

71 Marques, A. H. O., Volume I, Ibid, pp.206-207.

72 Saraiva, A. J., et al, Op. cit, p.163.

mind that initiated the progress towards a new Europe, and a new civilization in the world, the creativity spirit and the religious and moral renewal, could not pass through Spain to be spread in Portugal. As Marques says,

The Inquisition was a permanent menace to daring undertakings and the development of contacts with foreign countries regardless of their religion or politics. Extremely greedy, the Inquisition kept an eye on the world of business and took advantage of every pretext to persecute and confiscate. It must be recalled that many of the wealthy bourgeois were New Christians or related to them in some way.⁷³

The people would be kept ignorant and poor while the nobles would be allies with the Roman Holy See who kept on dreaming about their old luxurious lifestyles and the victories of the past. According to Marques,

A large share of church revenues fell into the hands of Papal, royal, and episcopal clients, a source of luxurious maintenance for the nobility and the top prelates. Attempts to reform these abuses failed, and the revival of monastic discipline and religious purity was evidenced instead by the creation of new institutes ... [as was the case of the establishment of] the Jesuits.⁷⁴

Even a fourth event, also political, that may be taken from this Marques' quotation, is the establishment of the Jesuits in Portugal. Although seemingly religious, it was indeed very much political in nature and in action. The Jesuits were an order founded by Inácio de Loyola (Ignatius of Loyola) (1491-1556), with the express objective to fight Protestantism until death. The organization was established in Portugal in 1540⁷⁵, and from Portugal Continental it spread to the rest of the Portuguese Empire, particularly to Brazil. However, Marques says that the Jesuits' "overwhelming influence was felt only in the second half of the century."⁷⁶ The brilliant humanist teachers, contrary to the scholastic ideologies, which had been previously invited to teach in the Portuguese universities by Kings D. Manuel and D. João III⁷⁷, under the guidance of André de Gouveia, were banned from Portugal and education fell into the hands of the Jesuits⁷⁸ in 1555. And, Saraiva tells us that,

73 Marques, A. H. O., Volume I, Op. cit., p.293.

74 Marques, A. H. O., Volume I, Ibid, pp.182-183.

75 Marques, A. H. O., Volume I, Ibid, p.183.

76 Marques, A. H. O., Volume I, Ibid, p.183.

77 Saraiva, A. J., et al, Op. cit, p.170.

78 About the Jesuits, who must be mentioned later, see: Marques, A. H. O., *History of Portugal, From Lusitania to Empire*, Volume I, Op. cit., p.183.

The Portuguese State gets the shape of a theocracy, and becomes worse in the kingship of D. Sebastião. In 1564, the decisions of the Council of Trent are promulgated in Portugal without restrictions, unique case amongst the kingdoms of occidental Europe.⁷⁹

Then a fifth political event was that Portugal lost its king D. Sebastião (D. Sebastian) in 1580, which died in the war against the Arabs in North Africa. As a tragic political result, Portugal lost its independence to the Spanish king in the same year, for he was the heir with the right to the throne. And this dependency to Spain would be until 1640. Therefore, during this period the Inquisitorial Spain would not allow any new ideas, to say, Protestantism, to be spread in Portugal. Particularly from the arenas it was being discussed and spread across Europe, among the intellectuals who studied in the universities. As Saraiva puts it,

After 1581, with the union with Spain ... Under the Jesuits, the University of Coimbra became one of the main focuses of the neo-scholastic of the Spanish empire as well as in the other countries of the Contra-Reform.⁸⁰

And, lastly, there is a sixth political sequence of events that greatly influenced the Portuguese people. These were: the invasions by Napoleonic troops to Portugal, the decision of the Portuguese king, with his Royal House, to move to Brazil from where he would be ruling the Empire for several years, and the proclamation of Brazil's independence in 1822.

Politically, then, Portugal was historically cornered, because it could not move outside the sphere of the Catholic Spanish interests. And the Portuguese society was prevented, politically, from the contact with the Reformation.

After having discussed the political conditions in Portugal between 1383 up until 1821, let us move on with the consideration of the second conditions, that is, the economical.

1.2.4.2 The economic conditions

To start with, the Portuguese economy had been living at the expenses of the exploits the Moors⁸¹ left behind when defeated and conquered. But the advances into North Africa and the

⁷⁹ Saraiva, A. J., et al, Op. cit., pp.174-175.

⁸⁰ Saraiva, A. J., et al, Ibid, pp.174-175.

⁸¹ Torres, F., Op. cit, pp.66-67.

discoveries, led to the main Portuguese type of economic means, the transports⁸². This kept being the main activity until the nineteenth Century reforms of Mouzinho da Silveira.

Now, to speak about the economic conditions, there are also several to be considered. The first economic condition has to do with the fact that Portugal lost great sums of money with the wars in Morocco, where, in one of them, its king D. Sebastião (D. Sebastian) died (1580). Therefore, the Portuguese economy lost its impact, first for it lost the war. But, even worse, the Portuguese king did not leave a Portuguese heir to the throne. By family, his heir was D. Filipe II, king of Spain. So, a second economic condition is that Portugal lost its independence to Spain, which claimed taxes to be paid by the Portuguese populations to the Spanish kings for the next sixty years. Then, a third economic event, would strangle further the Portuguese weak economy. The Spanish king decided to gather a strong Armada to fight the advancements of the British in the oceans. It was the so-called *Invencível Armada*⁸³, (The Invincible Armada). And the Portuguese had to support with money and soldiers. As the war was lost and the sixty years of no independence led to the decrease of the Portuguese control over the oceans and the weakness of the Portuguese Empire and the consequent losses of the Portuguese economy to the English, the French and the Dutch. This is corroborated by Jean Cooke's book, *História, Resposta a Tudo* (Fact Book of History), which he wrote with Ann Kramer and Theodore Roeland-Entwistle. Cooke says in "the 1600's and 1700's commerce with the Oriental Indies ... offered extraordinary opportunities of profit...so the English, French and the Dutch East Indies Companies..."⁸⁴ were established.

The third aspect related to economics was that during the same time, the Inquisition played a great economic role. For it was such a complex institution, regarding its "ideological, economic, and social goals."⁸⁵ Its establishment and growth took very strong dimensions towards economic bondage of the Portuguese population. As Marques says, "Meanwhile the Inquisition had grown and gradually become a state within a state"⁸⁶. How would the Portuguese free their minds to perceive what was happening in almost the rest of Europe? Inquisition was extremely cruel and greedy, as Marques tells us in the following quotation.

82 Sérgio, A., Op. cit, p.112.

83 Madariaga, S. de, Op. cit., p.44.

84 Cooke, J., et al, *História, Resposta a Tudo*, (translation from the original *Fact Book of History*, into Portuguese, by Manuel Cordeiro. Círculo de Leitores, September of 1987, number of edition 2093), p.134.

85 Marques, A. H. O., Volume I, Op. cit., p.288.

86 Marques, A. H. O., Volume I, Ibid, p.288.

Punishments included spiritual penalties, fines, temporary or life imprisonment, confiscations of property, and banishment... Finally, the Inquisition was a permanent menace to daring undertakings and the development of contacts with foreign countries regardless of their religion or politics. Extremely greedy, the Inquisition kept an eye on the world of business and took advantage of every pretext to persecute and confiscate.⁸⁷

The Jews were persecuted and expelled from the Portuguese territories. And, obviously, they took their wealth with them, to be established elsewhere in the world, particularly in the early 17th Century. The bankers and financiers of the Portuguese endeavours, as well as many intellectuals were gone. Many of the Portuguese Jews fled to the Netherlands, and by the Dutch India Company many of them went elsewhere. Louis B. Wright, an American historian, tells us “Since Holland had been hospitable to both political and religious refugees ... some of them were recruited and went out to seek their fortunes in New Netherland [in America]. Among the diverse people who were counted in the early stages of development were ...Portuguese ... Jews.”⁸⁸ Wright even mentions the Portuguese Jews again.

When Tuyvesant ... began a campaign to prevent Portuguese Jews from entering New Netherland, the West India Company overruled them and permitted the Jews to settle and carry on with their business, provided they conducted their religious services in private.⁸⁹

The famous Portuguese Jew, António José da Silva, is one of the most important examples of a Jew burnt to death in 1739 as a result of an Inquisition process⁹⁰. Thousands fled to Holland and Germany and settled their unique communities. As Keller points out, “Portugal ... had made its own sentence ... it was initiating its economic and intellectual decline.”⁹¹

A fourth setback on the economics was that although being still somehow powerful, prosperous and politically influential, especially with D. John V (1706-1750), Portugal suffers an earthquake that destroys its capital, Lisbon, in 1755. The earthquake also brought about more speed to the economic decline. The spiritual causes for this destroying earthquake were viewed differently. As Barata mentions,

87 Marques, A. H. O., *Ibid*, pp.292-293.

88 Wright, B. L., *The Cultural Life of the American Colonies, 1607-1763*, (Harper Torchbooks, The University Library, Harper and Row Publishers, Inc., 49 East 33rd Street, New York 16, N.Y., USA. 1962), p.47.

89 Wright, B. L., *Ibid*, pp.86-87.

90 Keller, W., *Op. cit.*, p.296.

91 Keller, W., *Ibid*, p.296.

In 18th Century, after the earthquake of 1755, a Portuguese residing in England attributed the catastrophe to the prohibition that was done to the reading of the Bible in its vernacular form, and at the same time the Jesuit priest Gabriel Malagrida, attributed the cause to the earthquake to the fact that the Portuguese people were not attending mass. Sebastião José de Carvalho e Melo, Marquês de Pombal, in 1761, to avoid some fanatical and mystic raisings amongst the Portuguese people, condemned both to capital punishment, one in person and the other in effigy.⁹²

A fifth set of events that brought about great economic decline were those related to the Napoleonic invasions and consequent departure of the royal house and the Portuguese nobles to Brazil. These two events led to the independence of Brazil shortly after. This sequence of events greatly influenced the decline of the Portuguese economy. It all started with the invasions by Napoleonic troops to Portugal from 1807, until their expulsion in 1811⁹³. These invasions brought about social and economic decadency. Not to face a defeat by Napoleon's troops, the Portuguese king, with his royal house, moved to Brazil. He ruled the Empire from there, for several years, while Napoleonic forces were being fought back home. But all the aristocracy took their valuable possessions with them – money, gold, artistic goods, and many other valuable things – leaving desperation and depression behind. Nevertheless, another setback to the Portuguese economy was to come.

The presence of the aristocracy in Rio de Janeiro is seen by themselves as an opportunity to change their own fate. As Torres⁹⁴ points out, they could now establish Trent's Catholicism in full, out of the interference of the Protestant Europe. Their experience in Brazil and their ideals of Trent's Catholicism, promoted by the Jesuits, soon leads to the proclamation of Brazil's independence in 7th of September 1822, which constituted a further great setback for the old Portugal Continental.

Portugal, like any Catholic country of Europe or Latin America, has been economically conservative, totalitarian; whose populations had no personal or economic freedom. The problem of conservatism, traditional in Latin countries, is a source of misery, poverty, and the underdevelopment of societies and economies. And this has persisted to be the sad reality of those countries. These economic disasters left the Portuguese people poor and ignorant affecting the spiritual development of the population.

92 Barata, A. C., (personal documents, not published), Op. cit. (Copy only available from Rev. A. C. Barata).

93 Cooke, J., et al. Op. cit., p.165.

94 Torres, F., Op. cit.,

We come now to the last of the conditions, the socio-religious, in Portugal from 1383 up to 1822.

1.2.4.3 The socio-religious conditions

The other condition is the socio-religious. Main European religious events would also affect the Portuguese society. The religious events related to how to deal with the Reformation movement produced a Portuguese culture that would be prevented from benefiting from the waves of Reformation that went all across Europe, particularly the north. At the strength of the new and modern European political, social, economic and religious free mindset, the old Catholic-Medieval world was collapsing. As Torres points out,

A desagregação do velho mundo católico-medieval ... não é apenas político, é também social: de facto, uma não pequena parte da população espanhola, apossada pelos invasores franceses e pelas lutas intestinas, emigra para as Américas... O Papado ... vive de recordações em seus palácios povoados de fantasmas medievais ... Assim acaba o período áureo da política europeia do Catolicismo, dominado pela Contra-Reforma e os seus prolongamentos. Apenas na Península Ibérica continua predominando, sempre à custa da Santa-Inquisição, da Companhia de Jesus, dos Índices Expurgatórios, e outras forças como estas.⁹⁵

[The desegregation of the old medieval-catholic world ... was not only political, but also social: in fact, not a small part of the Spanish population, persecuted by the French invasions and by internal fights, emigrates for the Americas... The Papacy ... lives of memories in their palaces inhabited by medieval ghosts... In this manner ended the extraordinary period of the Catholic European politics, filled and dominated by the Contra-Reforma and its branches. Within the Iberian Peninsula, however, keeps on predominating, always supported by the Holy-Inquisition, the educative policy of the Company of Jesus, the Expurgatorial Indices, and other similar forces.]

Even throughout the 18th Century the Portuguese mentalities were being forged not to think properly in modern terms. That is, in terms of the new ways of handling religious affairs, politics, education, and economics as happened across Europe. Tradition had played its part to impart a collective and individual mental inertia. As Torres says,

Verney, já em pleno século XVIII, acusa os Jesuitas de procederem, na orientação dos estudos universitários, como se Descartes e Newton não tivessem resolvido coisa alguma... É muito grande a força da tradição, que é como quem diz da inércia mental.⁹⁶

⁹⁵ Torres, F., Op. cit., p.212.

⁹⁶ Torres, F., Op. cit., p.217.

[Verney, already in plain 18th Century, accuses the Jesuits of proceeding, in the orientation of the studies at university level, as Descartes and Newton had not solved anything... The strength of tradition is very strong, to say that of the mental inertia.]

In the 19th century, the Portuguese people in the old continent were abandoned to their fate, left tide to very old traditions, ignorant and poor. Culturally dependent from the old Catholic traditional forces. How could they understand their desperate need to receive the Reformation of their Christian faith and the new European trends in thinking that would lead them into economical, political and socio-religious freedom? The Portuguese were simply not ready to receive such an influence.

1.3 Reformation and Protestant influence in the Portuguese Empire

Several centuries after the independence of Portugal, Europe experienced the waves of Reformation. However, Portugal (by all reasons previously mentioned) was culturally and religiously too far away from the epicentre of that extraordinary movement that would help change the shape of the modern future world. Therefore, as it may be discussed, in terms of the impact of the Reformation in Portugal we must sadly say it was barely felt.

1.3.1 Signs of impact of the Reformation in Portugal

There are two areas where we may find some positive impact of the Reformation in Portugal. These are the translation of the Bible into the Portuguese language and the views of Portuguese writers on the Reformation.

1.3.1.1 The translation of the Bible into Portuguese

Probably one of the few signs of some impact of the Reformation in Portugal was the translation of the Bible into Portuguese. The Bible, central to all the discussion in the Reformation Movement, was fundamental for the implantation and development of Protestant and Evangelical churches. The Bible was started being translated into Portuguese a long time ago. The Book of Ecclesiastes is known to be the first Book of the Bible being translated into Portuguese by the famous Portuguese writer on royal chronics, the Chronist Damião de Góis. Nevertheless, the main Portuguese translation of the Bible is attributed to the Portuguese Pastor, João Ferreira of Almeida

(1628-1691). He first translated the New Testament, from the original Greek. Then, he moved on to translate most of the Books of the Old Testament from the Hebrew. This translation was concluded in 1670 AD.

However, it is essential to understand that, although having been translated in such an early stage of the Reformation times, the Portuguese Bible was only published much later. The American Baptist missionary to Portugal, Gerald Carl Ericson, informs: “Only by 1819 is that the Bible was fully published into Portuguese.”⁹⁷ Therefore, it is relevant to highlight that this first publication of the translation of the Bible in Portuguese was only done 300 years after the Reformation times. Speaking of both, the lack of interest of the Portuguese society on the subject of the Reformation and the translation of the Bible into Portuguese, Barata says,

In the 16th Century, the Portuguese were not interested in the Reformation. But, curiously, the recent discovery of the translation and commentary, into Portuguese, of the Book of Ecclesiastes, done by the famous Portuguese Chronist Damião de Góis, which was only discovered in 2001, dates of 1538. We think that, within the Contra-Reforma (Counter-Reformation), probably Damião de Góis must have been the first translator of the Bible into Portuguese and not João Ferreira de Almeida, (16th and 17th Century), as presently is thought.⁹⁸

1.3.1.2 The Reformation mentioned in Portuguese literature

One first mention in Portuguese literature of Martin Luther’s Reformation of the Church is found in a report sent from Rome to Lisbon. D. Diogo da Silva, the Portuguese representative to the Holy See, sent a letter to his king on the 29th of August 1520. In it we read:

Against that monk from Germany, Martin Luther, who there does so many revolts, did now the pope a bulla of which he laughs a lot, as it is said: this is a thing that takes away the sleep to many, for what he is requesting for is a council and reformation.⁹⁹

Great Portuguese writers of the epoch wrote on the issue of the Reformation. João de Barros, André e Garcia de Resende, Luis Vaz de Camões, among others, wrote against the Reformation, while Gil Vicente, Damião de Góis, Diogo de Teive, and Manuel Travassos wrote in favour of it¹⁰⁰.

97 Ericson, Gerald Carl, *Os Evangélicos em Portugal*, (Núcleo – Centro de Publicações Cristãs, Lda. Apartado 1 – 2746 Queluz Codex – Portugal. 1984), p.17.

98 Barata, A. C., (personal documents, not published), Op. cit. (Copy only available from Rev. A. C. Barata).

99 Barata, A. C., *História: A Reforma Religiosa em Portugal, História dos Evangélicos em Portugal*, (Article in: Vem e Vê, Edição Especial para a Campanha 2001. Impressão Desafio Jovem. Fanhões Loures, Portugal. 2001), p.3. (Copy only available from Rev. A. C. Barata).

100 Barata, A. C., *História: A Reforma Religiosa em Portugal, História dos Evangélicos em Portugal*, Ibid, p.4. (Copy only available from Rev. A. C. Barata).

But probably the greatest and first Portuguese to become a Protestant pastor was João Ferreira de Almeida. According to Ericson, Almeida,

Recebeu a sua educação teológica na Holanda e veio a ser o primeiro português a receber a ordenação para ministro do Evangelho, de seu nome João Ferreira de Almeida (1628-1691) deu o seu contributo máximo na preparação da primeira tradução do Novo testamento para a língua portuguesa, a partir do original grego. Em 1670 a tradução estava concluída ... [No entanto], só em 1819 é que a Bíblia foi integralmente publicada em português.¹⁰¹

[Received his theological education in Holland and became the first Portuguese receiving ordination to be a minister of the Gospel, of his name João Ferreira de Almeida (1628-1691) gave his maximum contribution in the preparation of the first translation of the New Testament into the Portuguese language, from the original Greek. In 1670 it was concluded... [However], only by 1819 is that the Bible was fully published in Portuguese.]

About the presence and the establishment of the Protestant Reformation in the Portuguese Empire a few facts will be mentioned at a later stage. These are from the writings of Pastor António Costa Barata¹⁰². These facts involve some of the famous individuals and the founding of the first Protestant and Evangelical Churches.

1.3.2 First Portuguese Lutheran condemned by Inquisition

The first Portuguese to be condemned by the Inquisition on 11th March 1571, for being a Lutheran was Manuel Travassos. Due to the same Inquisition process, Damião de Góis was also arrested but he never confessed himself to be a Lutheran although he personally knew Martin Luther. However, the impact of the Reformation Movement in Portugal was almost not felt. According to Ericson, very few Portuguese were converted to Protestantism,

Alguns estudiosos Portuguese e diplomatas muito viajados, adoptaram a fé evangélica dos países afectados pela Reforma... O período da Reforma pouca influência trouxe a Portugal. Não houve pessoas semelhantes aos reformados do norte da Europa que assumiram uma posição de inequívoca defesa da liberdade religiosa durante muito tempo, com as consequências daí decorrentes que iam até ao risco da própria vida.¹⁰³

[Only some Portuguese students and diplomats who travelled a lot, adopted the faith of the countries affected by the Reformation... the period of the Reform brought only a small influence to Portugal. There

101 Ericson, G. C., Op cit., pp.16-17.

102 This gentleman is probably one of the most respected Portuguese living historians, and professor, on the issue of the Reformation and the Evangelical Movement in Portugal. (António Costa Barata, Av. Central 556, Pinhal Conde da Cunha, 2845-193 Amora. Portugal. Tel. (xx) 351-21-224 6282.

103 Ericson, G. C., Op. cit., p.16.

were not people like those reformed of the north of Europe who assumed a clear and determined position in defence of the religious freedom during a long period of time, with the consequences occurring from there that could go even to the risk of their own lives.]

1.4 Portuguese structural changes and the attitude towards Protestants and Evangelicals from 1820 up to 1974

It is relevant to say that until 1820 all structures of the Portuguese state and society were organized as being traditionally Catholic, anti-Reformation and anti-new-ideas. The crown and most nobility had “run away”¹⁰⁴ to Brazil, from the Napoleonic forces, leaving behind the country’s destiny in the hands of the English General Wellington. Further, the feelings of abandonment were even stressed by the proclamation of the independence of the very rich colony by the Portuguese royal heir, prince D. Pedro. Most of the nobles were now living in Brazil in 1822. So, these events would naturally create an atmosphere propitious for social instability and changes. They would shake the Portuguese feelings towards the traditionalist and old feudalist type of Catholic monarchy. So, in this section we shall study fundamental changes in the structure of the Portuguese society, which led to the establishment of Protestant and Evangelical denominations, even if in an unimpressive form.

1.4.1 The impact of the Napoleonic invasions to Portugal

Portugal needed reformation desperately. Sérgio informs us that at the end of the 18th Century in Portugal,

Os sábios da academia estudaram sistematicamente a reforma da economia pública; e acaso haveriam de provocar um interessante esforço progressivo, se as convulsões da Revolução Francesa, e as guerras subsequentes, não perturbassem por completo toda a vida da metrópole. Mas nunca excederiam, em qualquer caso, a superficialidade, o aleatório, a estreiteza, inerentes a todas as obras do despotismo esclarecido. Só apelando para a iniciativa do povo, levando até ele a instrução e o civismo, se pode alcançar uma regeneração nacional, profunda e estável.¹⁰⁵

[The experts of the Academy studied systematically the reform of public economy; and by chance they would have initiated an interesting progressive effort, if the convulsions of the French revolution and the subsequent wars would not completely perturb all the life of the metropolis. But they would never exceed, in

104 Torres, F., Op. Cit., p.294.

105 Sérgio, A., Op. cit., p.108.

any case, the superficiality, the random, the nearer, inherent to all the deeds of the knowledgeable despotism. Only appealing to the initiative of the people, taking to them the instruction and the civism would be possible to reach a national regeneration, profound and stable.]

Even the royal prince wanted reformation. Therefore, “the cause of the death of the royal prince was anti-clericalism – of his ideas”¹⁰⁶. In 1789 initiated the French Revolution¹⁰⁷ leaving the European crowns alarmed as they saw those revolutionary journeys as a threat to the established political and social order. Portugal decided to fight France aligned with England and Spain in 1794¹⁰⁸. But Spain shifted its position secretly to support Napoleon’s in 1795 “so Portugal kept being in a state of war”¹⁰⁹. Napoleon sent an “ultimatum in 1801, forcing Portugal to make a final choice between England and France”¹¹⁰. Due to a lack of choice Spanish armies invaded Portugal and later on in 1807¹¹¹ general Junot invades Portugal with his Napoleonic army. The retirement of the nobility and the Portuguese crown to Brazil had been negotiated the year before with England¹¹², which forced them to travel. But, according to Saraiva,

The plan to transfer to the other side of the Atlantic the headquarters of the Portuguese Administration was already an old idea. It seems it was advised to the prior of Crato as recourse to save the independency in 1580. Even Priest António Vieira formulated an equal project after the Restoration [of the independence in 1640].¹¹³

However, even when the Portuguese regent prince departed “he recommended that the French army might be received in good peace. It seemed a foolish thing any attempt to oppose the Napoleonic forces, whose immense power was then triumphing across Europe”¹¹⁴. In military terms, England with the help of the Portuguese defeated Napoleon. But the French left behind an impact that would transform the nature of Portuguese thought. The Napoleonic invasions had shaken the way things were structured in the country’s culture. As Marques says, Portugal shifted from its traditional source of inspiration, Spain and Rome, to that of France and, therefore, the rest of Europe. What happened was,

106 Sérgio, A., *Ibid*, p.108.

107 Saraiva, A. J., et al, *Op. cit.*, p.263.

108 Saraiva, A. J., et al, *Ibid*, p.263.

109 Saraiva, A. J., et al, *Ibid*, p.263.

110 Saraiva, A. J., et al, *Ibid*, p.265.

111 Saraiva, A. J., et al, *Ibid*, p.266.

112 Saraiva, A. J., et al, *Ibid*, p.267.

113 Saraiva, A. J., et al, *Ibid*, p.267.

114 Saraiva, A. J., et al, *Ibid*, p.267.

Among the structural changes which shaped a new Portugal, the reforms in administration are significant. The *Cortes* [parliament] began those reforms in 1822 by regulating elections at municipal level and adopted new principles of city administration. Then the Constitution set up the bases of administrative reform and the independence of the tribunals... Such principles closely followed the French law, in those days considered the most perfect one, which had a tremendous influence on many new liberal regimes of Europe.¹¹⁵

The Napoleonic invasions to Portugal, but particularly the French Revolution, brought links to dynamic forces into the society, which would uproot Catholicism, or, at least, ease its grip on the Portuguese culture as happened across Europe. Aidan Nichols, OP, in his book *Catholic Thought Since The Enlightenment: A Survey*, published by UNISA, says,

The French Revolution soon carried via its armies and those of the military Caesarism of Napoleon I Bonaparte (1769-1821) to most of continental Europe and beyond broke on the Catholic Church with the force of a cataclysm whose storm uprooted all familiar landmarks in a hitherto sacralised landscape...

Unsurprisingly, the Catholic Church reacted with hostility to the French revolution... The French Revolution's initial phase was characterised by a deliberate subverting of the Church's influence, as what hitherto public belief became private opinion ... and a conviction gained ground that political change of a radical kind could install the good life on earth.¹¹⁶

The Portuguese society was ready to revolt, thus the Revolution of 1820. Beresford governed Portugal when, the discontentment of the military lead to the conjuration¹¹⁷ of 1818, and cost the life of Gomes Freire. According to Sérgio,

Quando, em 1820, o general ingles foi ao Brazil, o Porto sublevou-se. Os oficiais britânicos receberam ordem de retirar; ... nomeou-se uma nova regência, convocando-se uma assembleia para elaborar uma constituição... Os radicais, muito liberais para consigo mas pouco para com o Brazil, provocaram neste uma reacção que levou o príncipe D. Pedro a proclamar-lhe a independência, ficando seu imparador (Setembro de 1822).¹¹⁸

[When in 1820 the English general went to Brazil, Porto revolted. The British officers received orders to leave; ... new regency was nominated, and an assembly to elaborate a constitution... The radicals, very liberal about themselves but not at all with Brazil, started a reaction, which lead the prince D. Pedro to proclaim its independence becoming its emperor (September 1822).]

115 Marques, A. H. O., *History of Portugal, From Lusitania to Empire*, (Columbia University Press, New York, USA. Volume II. 2nd Edition. 1972), p.16.

116 Nichols, A., OP, *Catholic Thought Since The Enlightenment: A Survey*, (UNISA Press, University of South Africa, PO Box 392, Pretoria, RSA. 1998), pp.23-24.

117 Sérgio, A., Op. cit., p.110.

118 Sérgio, A., Ibid, p.110.

On the 27th May 1823 prince D. Miguel, brother to D. Pedro, emperor of Brazil, makes a *Proclamation* in Vila Franca de Xira, called *Vila-Francada*. A reaction to the liberating forces arose in society. Monarchy, the old Portuguese pride, and even the Catholic religion were threatened. In his *Proclamation*, he said,

Portuguese: It is time to brake the steel yoke in which we live ... The force of the national evils, now without limits, leaves me with no choice ... Instead of the primitive national rights, which they promised to you to recuperate on the 24th of August 1820, they gave you its ruin and the king reduced to a mere ghost; ... the nobility ... to which you own your glory in the lands of Africa and in the seas of Asia, reduced to the abatement and striped from the brilliancy that in the past got the royal recognition; the religion and its ministers, object of scorn and mockery ... I am amongst valiant and outstanding Portuguese, determined as myself to dye or to restore to His Majesty his liberty and his freedom ... Do not hesitate, ecclesiastics and citizens of all classes, come help the cause of religion, of the royalty and of all of you.¹¹⁹

1.4.2 Changes in the Portuguese society

The nature of the Portuguese culture was changing, slowly, but surely. An example of the changes in the Portuguese society after 1820 may be seen in the Portuguese literature. In the epoch of the Reformation in Europe, some Portuguese writers were notorious: like Damião de Góis, Manuel Travassos and Luis de Camões¹²⁰. Then, the Portuguese literature gets into a dark age under the Catholic and Jesuitical influence on the education, only reappearing already in the nineteenth century with the literature of¹²¹ Eça de Queiroz, Júlio Diniz, Cesário Verde, Almeida Garret and Ramalho Ortigão. But it is necessary to highlight that both followed the influence from the other side of the Pyrenees. While Damião de Góis personally knew Martin Luther, and Luís de Camões wrote against the Reformation, Eça de Queiroz and his other Portuguese literary mentioned contemporaries were influenced by the European trends behind the Pyrenees, not by Catholic or Spanish sources. As Justin Wintle, editor of *Makers of Nineteenth Century Culture 1800-1914*, says,

The course of nineteenth-century Portuguese literature both imitates the principal European trends reflected in the cultures of France, England and Germany, and manages to convey something of the uniquely turbulent and complex character of the national experience during the decades of civil war, constitutionalism and colonial conflict, culminating in the fall of the monarchy in 1910 ... To whom we turn for the most

119 [?] *Vila-Francada (1823)*. (Article in: Diciopédia 2004, Porto Editora, Multimédia. Rua da Restauração, 365, 4099-023 Porto, Portugal. 2004), [?].

120 Barata, A. C., *História: A Reforma Religiosa em Portugal, História dos Evangélicos em Portugal*, Op. cit., p.4.

121 About these Portuguese writers see: Wintle, J., Ed., *Makers of Nineteenth Century Culture 1800-1914: A Bibliographical Dictionary*, (Routledge & Kegan Paul, 9 Park Street, Boston, Mass. 02108, USA. 1982), p.188.

consistent illumination of the decadent and confused atmosphere of the nineteenth-century Portugal. José Maria Eça de Queiroz... The inspiration for these derived additionally from Baudelaire, and the heavy impress of French culture, always so dominant in Portugal.¹²²

It would not be fair to forget the influence of Alexandre Herculano and Antero de Quental, both Portuguese writers, in the nineteenth Century Portuguese thought. Particularly Alexandre Herculano, a great Portuguese and a great historian, characterises his main works – his *Origin and Establishment of the Inquisition in Portugal*, also *History*, and *The True Method of Studying* – fundamental for the Portuguese culture. Herculano labelled them as “the first tentative of a history critical of Portugal”¹²³. Herculano was a critic and a protestor. According to Sérgio,

Herculano é um protesto heróico contra a nova oligarquia e a deturpação por ela feita do pensamento de Mouzinho... retirou-se em 67 para Vale de Lobos, a pouca distância de Santarém e aê se dedicou a fazer lavoura. Vale de Lobos tornou-se um símbolo, e como que a pátria espiritual de todos os espíritos protestários que desde então até agora têm aparecido no País.¹²⁴

[Herculano is a heroic protest against the new oligarchy and the misinterpretation of Mouzinho’s thought... in 67 he retired to Vale de Lobos, close to Santarém, to dedicate himself to agriculture. And Vale de Lobos became a symbol, as being a spiritual country for all protestant spirits that since then appeared in the Country.]

Sérgio informs us that Antero de Quental was “his most pure continuator in that attitude of protest”.¹²⁵ Indeed, while the state apparatus did not know how to solve the economical and social problems in the nineteenth century, liberal European forces started being introduced to certain strata of society. Sérgio gives us a precise account of what was happening.

Nos Açores, onde os liberais se reuniram, e enquanto os chefes militares os organizavam militarmente, começou Mouzinho da Silveira a redigir os seus decretos. Tratava-se, como dissemos, de organizar o país para a sua auto-suficiência, remediando os efeitos de quatro séculos de política de Transporte. Mouzinho, pois, inicia uma nova série de “Velhos do Restelo” – série que não acabou, porque a sua obra ficou a meio, e há necessidade de a continuar. A Nação, com efeito, fiel à lei do menor esforço, admitiu a faina de reforma até ao grau suficiente para continuar na sua existência; chegada aí, porém, repeliu o reformador.¹²⁶

[In Azores, where the liberals meet, and while the military chiefs organized them militarily, Mouzinho da Silveira started to write his decrees. They treated of organizing the Country for auto-sufficiency, remedying for the effects of four centuries of the policy of Transport. Mouzinho, therefore, initiates a new series of

122 Wintle, J., Ed., *Ibid*, p.188.

123 Sérgio, A., *Op. cit.*, p.118.

124 Sérgio, A., *Ibid*, p.118.

125 Sérgio, A., *Ibid*, p.118.

126 Sérgio, A., *Ibid*, p.112.

“Velhos do Restelo”, [name given to the bureaucrats who controlled very conservatively, and in old fashion, the ultramarine Portuguese actions] – series that did not end, because their task has been only done to a half, and there is the necessity to continue it. The Nation, faithful to the law of less effort, admitted the moves of the reformation until the degree sufficient for it to continue; however, when that degree was reached [the Nation] repelled the reformer.]

1.4.3 Changes, not favourable to the Protestant and Evangelical

Nevertheless, this European influence was not in religious matters of Protestant and Evangelical. Santos agrees with this when he says, “The period from mid 19th Century to mid 20th Century was not culturally favourable to a greater expansion of the Protestant religious sensibility.”¹²⁷ We cannot ignore that Portugal had been under the Inquisition for about 300 years, and academically controlled by the Jesuits for about the same time. And that had a very devastating impact on the efforts to modernise the country, and, therefore, to create an atmosphere propitious to establish Protestantism and Evangelicalism. When Almeida Garrett, another great Portuguese writer, referred to by Ericson, published “*Portugal in the Scale of Europe*” nine years after Inquisition was extinct in 1821, he, “clearly referred the great loss that Portugal suffered for not having had a bigger contact with the liberalizing influences of the Reform.”¹²⁸ As Ericson says,

No século desanove, Portugal foi profundamente marcado por tensões políticas muiot fortes entre as quais assumiu particular relevo o anti-clericalismo... Se bem que uma pessoa não tivesse que pagar com a sua própria vida o preço da sua fé depois de 1821, a tensão entre conservadores e liberais a nível do governo continuou, afectando o meio ambiente religioso. ...Os crentes evangélicos, aos quais ainda não tinha sido reconhecido o direito de se reunirem, estavam proibidos de acietar novos membros no seu seio.¹²⁹

[In the nineteenth century, Portugal was profoundly marked by very strong political tensions amongst which assumed particular relevance the anti-clericalism... Although a person need not to pay with his or her own life the price for his or her faith after 1821, the tension between conservatives and liberals continued, affecting the religious environment. ...The Evangelical believers, to whom the right of reunion had not been still given, were prohibited from accepting new members.]

Even if the Inquisition was extinct in 1821¹³⁰, and in 1822 began the reforms that shaped a new Portugal, the Roman Catholic Church would not stand still, without action. They persisted being a powerful force. According to Marques,

127 Santos, L. A., *O Protestantismo em Portugal (Séculos XIX e XX): linhas de força da sua história e historiografia*. (Conference presented to the 1st International Colloquium of the Investigation of the History of Protestantism in Spain and Portugal (Madrid, 26th to 28th of April 2000), p.4.

128 Ericson, G. C., Op. cit., p.20.

129 Ericson, G. C., Ibid, pp.21-22.

130 Ericson, G. C., Ibid, p.20.

Despite the confiscation laws of 1820-34, the Portuguese [Catholic] Church persisted as a powerful force. The secular clergy had hardly been affected by the legislation against the orders. It continued to own property... It had a part in commercial, industrial, and financial enterprises. Moreover, many religious orders had returned in a disguised way ... and joined forces with the secular clergy in restoring the Church's strength and influence. In the field of education, the Church possessed the seminaries, which provided free secondary education throughout the country, mainly to the poor. In 1910 there were in Portugal a dozen seminaries, with a total enrolment of several thousands.¹³¹

Marques moves on to say that,

The Church revival of the late 1800's and 1900's was particularly felt by the upper classes. In Portugal, the Church controlled the majority of the nobles, as well as the court...

Among the newly introduced religious orders, the Jesuits were predominant in influence... By 1910 the Jesuits owned ... more than twenty houses ... with 386 members. They had organised, and strictly controlled, a lay association with religious purposes called *Apostolado da Oração* [Apostleship of Prayer]... They had even helped organize a political party, the Nationalist Party.¹³²

What happened – with its direct impact in Portugal – was that the concerns of the French Revolutionaries to transform that which they considered an archaic state model, “theocratic, monarchical, and aristocratic, gave a new charge to the term “nation” and “fatherland”. Stripping lawful authority from monarch, Church, nobility.”¹³³ The Catholic Church reacted. According to Nichols, “Pius IX promulgated the *Syllabus of Errors*, with its culminating anathematisation of progress, liberalism and modern civilization.”¹³⁴ Thus, “a truly integral Catholicism ... would more plausibly be constructed on the power of popes to overawe emperors and kings.”¹³⁵ So, the appearance of “the Ultramontane doctrine – the infallibility and prerogatives of the Roman see.”¹³⁶ Furthered by the Council Vatican I (1869), to

Sum up the two issues which led Pius IX to summon a General Council in 1869: the nature and implications of the Petrine office; and the interrelation of faith and reason ... [which] had proved to be conflictual, both within Catholicism and without.¹³⁷

131 Marques, A. H. O., Volume II, Op. cit., p.130.

132 Marques, A. H. O., Volume II, Ibid, p.130.

133 Nichols, Aidan, OP, Op. cit., p.33.

134 Nichols, Aidan, OP, Ibid, p.65.

135 Nichols, Aidan, OP, Ibid, p.34.

136 Nichols, Aidan, OP, Ibid, p.40.

137 Nichols, Aidan, OP, Ibid, p.64.

1.4.4 The establishment of the Portuguese Republic

The winds of change had already started blowing amongst the Portuguese society. Encouraged by the victories of some freedom of thought given by the Constitution of 1826, a new Party was slowly established, the Republican Party. And this led to the implantation of the Republic in Portugal. As we shall see, the events related to the implantation of the Republic in Portugal again shaped the Portuguese culture to become more receptive to the Protestant and Evangelical message.

1.4.4.1 The Republican Party

The winds of change brought liberalism and republicanism to many Portuguese who were tired of the feudalistic unproductive nobility, who gave away Brazil to their own peers. So the Republican ideal was slowly installed in the consciousness of the Portuguese culture.

According to Marques,

Against the Church, the Republican Party organized a formidable offensive. By any and all means – including calumnies – it tried to convince the masses, as well as the elites, of the dangers of clericalism in modern society. Books, newspapers, pamphlets, public speeches, and other methods were used to spread atheism (or at least a nonclerical Christianity), scientism, socialism, and other doctrines, along with well-chosen historical “facts” that denounced fanaticism, Jesuitism, the Inquisition. The Republicans also stressed the alliance between the Church and ruling oligarchies, thereby managing to join together anticlericalism and antimonarchical feelings...

Once proclaimed, the Republic identified itself with the fight against the Church. All religious orders were again expelled (1910); the Jesuits were particularly humiliated and sometimes treated as criminals.¹³⁸

Marques points out that “to be a republican, by 1890, 1900, or 1910, meant to be against the monarchy, against the Church and the Jesuits, against political corruption.”¹³⁹ But this attitude did not last long, “indeed, Republicanism ended as a sort of utopia too ... colonialism, along with an exacerbated nationalism, also characterized the Republican ideals, evoking all kinds of romantic dreams for the future.”¹⁴⁰ The rise of the Integralismo Lusitano (Lusitan Integralism) happened since 1914. It had “a more original and more radical program of future government and social

¹³⁸ Marques, A. H. O., Volume II, Op. cit., pp.130-131.

¹³⁹ Marques, A. H. O., Volume II, Ibid, p.151.

¹⁴⁰ Marques, A. H. O., Volume II, Ibid, p.152.

organization, which opposed practically all the republican ideologies.”¹⁴¹ This Integralismo Lusitano will be discussed at a later stage because of its relevance towards our study.

1.4.4.2 The implantation of the Republic and the Separation Law

The establishment of the Republic (5th of October 1910) was a social and political event that was inspired in France, in “the French Revolution”¹⁴². As the Portuguese historian José Hermano Saraiva affirms. The refusal in accepting the traditional sources of inspiration, those of Spain and of Rome, was assertive. And, obviously, the impact to favour the Protestant and the Evangelical movements was felt. It was the very nature of the Portuguese society and political system that had to change. And political, social or any other kind of major change in society is a powerful tool in favour of the spread and implementation of any new ideal or religious thought. Marques points out that

This time ... the anticlerical laws affected the secular Church too. Closely following the French legislation of 1905, an act of April 1911 separated Church and state in Portugal, declared religion altogether free (till then some restriction affected the non-Catholic faiths), forbade the teaching of Christianity in all schools and teaching in general to the clerics, nationalised Church property ... and strictly controlled every cult manifestation... All state expenses for religion were abolished both at central and municipal levels...

The Separation Law of 1911 had been preceded by some other acts which clearly showed the anticlerical policy of the new regime... and civil registry ... compulsory recording of births, marriages, and deaths by state officers instead of by priests in the churches, was decreed for all.¹⁴³

This Separation Law of 1911 was so dear to Protestants and Evangelicals that even until recently (1980's) a copy was affixed at the entrance of any of their churches across the country. This they did to remind the Police or the Republican Guard, or any other person with persecutory intentions, of their legal rights to meet and worship. Nevertheless, the Republican ideology was not necessarily favourable to the Protestant and Evangelical movements as such. Essentially, the Republican ideals had been shaped by different several philosophical, political and social elements.

141 Marques, A. H. O., Volume II, Ibid, p.157.

142 Saraiva, J. H., *História Concisa de Portugal*, (Coleção Saber, Publicações Europa América, 9ª Edição. 1984), p.345.

143 Marques, A. H. O., Volume II, Op. cit., pp.131-132.

1.4.4.3 The Portuguese social conditions

The Portuguese social conditions were still very precarious. For instance, Marques tells us about the conditions of women and children in Portugal by the year 1911.

In Portugal, as in most Mediterranean countries, women were in a backward condition; their rate of illiteracy (for those over seven) was 77.4 per cent, according to the 1911 census. Plunged into ignorance, women were easy prey for fanatic priests, clairvoyants, charlatans, and demagogues – dangerous forces acting behind the scenes in their influence on husbands and children and a permanent vehicle of resistance to progress.¹⁴⁴

1.4.4.4 The republican ideals and religion

Women had almost no possibility to a say. Marques points out that Carolina M. de Vasconcelos was the first Portuguese lady to be a university professor in 1911. The 1910 Republican Law gave very progressive rights. For instance, “granted equal rights to both sexes in marriage, and protected the legal rights of children.”¹⁴⁵ However, this Law was changed by 1913. For instance about the right for women to vote, Marques says, “the new electoral law of 1913 promptly denied the vote to women; this was granted only in 1931 and then in a very limited way.”¹⁴⁶ In terms of the lack of literacy in the country, the situation was still prevailing about 1925. By that time, Marques, says, “More than half of the population [70.5%¹⁴⁷] was still illiterate, again posing the problem of mass education.”¹⁴⁸

It is true that the social changes promoted by legal decrees and acts became essential for the implantation and growth of Protestant and Evangelical groups in Portugal. However, ignorance, illiteracy, and all those dangerous forces acting behind the scenes were sources of permanent suppressing pressure against progress. Therefore, how could the Protestant and Evangelical movements grow in Portugal? Even throughout the twentieth century, the various Protestant and Evangelical Churches were very small, without expression. According to Ericson, “in 1932, the number of practicing Protestants was about 3000.”¹⁴⁹ But even these 3000 members were never from the elites or the upper classes, maybe apart from one or two exceptions. They were simple,

144 Marques, A. H. O., Volume II, Ibid, p.134.

145 Marques, A. H. O., Volume II, Ibid, p.135.

146 Marques, A. H. O., Volume II, Ibid, p.135.

147 Marques, A. H. O., Volume II, Ibid, p.140.

148 Marques, A. H. O., Volume II, Ibid, p.142.

149 Ericson, G. C., Ibid, p.24.

illiterate people who understood the gospel as preached by the Protestants and Evangelicals. The conditions of the Protestants and the Evangelicals were not so different from that of the other Portuguese. They were predominantly from the lower poorer classes. However, the first Portuguese Protestant pastor known to be a university professor was Eduardo Moreira. According to Ericson,

The experience of ministry of professor Eduardo Moreira since 1913 with the Congregational, and the Presbyterian churches and finally with the Lusitanian Episcopal Church, constitutes an elucidative example of the experimental spectrum well diversified, given to be lived by some of the first pioneers. History and Theology constituted his [Eduardo Moreira] poles of maximum interest.¹⁵⁰

The Protestants and the Evangelicals had to deal not only with the forces of the Catholic but also with those of the Republicans and particularly with the Freemasons and the Carbonária.

1.4.4.5 The revival of Portuguese Catholicism

There were some easy times for some short years as from 1911 for the Protestants and Evangelicals in Portugal. But a revival of Portuguese Catholicism was coming. In a forgotten place, Cova da Iria, in Fátima, right in the center of the country, Mary the mother of Jesus supposedly appeared to three children, Jacinta, Francisco, and Lúcia. This event was almost at the end of the First World War, from the 13th of May to the 13th of October 1917. In an article, *Fátima, Santuário de Fátima*, states,

The cult to the Virgin of Fátima started with those extraordinary apparitions. Especially on the 13th of May of each year, thousands and thousands of nationals and foreigners go to Fátima in pilgrimage.¹⁵¹

According to Marques,

[The Roman Catholic Church] sought after new methods of stimulating faith and reconquering souls. In May 1917 the Church or some of its local elements possibly prepared – and certainly explored – the so-called Fátima apparitions, which soon had a great impact on the masses and caused an upsurge of devotion. In October of the same year, the last “apparition” took place, exactly at a time when the anticlerical elements were launching a new wave of persecution and punishment. The Church felt strong enough to defy the government once more... The installation of a conservative and pro-clerical regime (December 1917) brought peace once more to the Portuguese Church. The deposed bishops were reinstalled, the Separation Law was

150 Saraiva, J. H., Op. cit., p.365.

151 [?] *Fátima, Santuário de Fátima*, (Article in: Dicipédia 2004, Porto Editora, Multimédia. Rua da Restauração, 365, 4099-023 Porto, Portugal. 2004), [?].

finally revised, and the relations with the Vatican were re-established (1918)... The trend pointed out now to a revival of Christianity and a decline of anticlericalism.¹⁵²

1.4.5 The New State

Further, another political change came to boycott the advancements of the implantation of the Protestant and the Evangelical movements in Portugal. It was the political and religious dictatorship of Dr. Oliveira Salazar rooted in the Catholic integralism¹⁵³ of the previous century Council Vatican I. The so called, “New State”¹⁵⁴, the version of Portuguese fascism. According to Marques, this ideological and political current was

A well-defined, right-oriented ideology arose in Portugal after 1914. This was Integralismo Lusitano (Lusitan Integralism), a political trend... Integralismo Lusitano combined a body of radical objections to current political doctrines with a system of relatively precise views on how to organise a future new regime. Against liberalism, both political and economic, it was also against most doctrines, which originated in or resulted from the French Revolution. Therefore, Integralists violently denounced individualism and popular sovereignty, with their practical political forms of constitutional monarchy or republic. They denied almost completely the nineteenth-century *en bloc* with its “fallacious” belief in progress and liberty... They regarded Semitism in the same way as the Reformation and the whole Protestant movement, as something that threatened the all-pervasive on both the Church and tradition.¹⁵⁵

With Salazar, in power, and his friend, Cardinal Cerejeira, over the Catholic Church the “New State” would try to install

The Ultramontane doctrine – the infallibility and prerogatives of the Roman see – ... the symbol of that principle of unity and effective authority, which had enabled the Church to stand immovable amid a society whose structure had been shaken to its foundations.¹⁵⁶

That is, Salazar and Cerejeira tried to send the Portuguese society structures backwards to the ideologies of the past. Particularly those related to traditional Catholicism and of a nationalist nature, historically linked to the eighteenth century. This was felt in many ways on everyday life. For instance, it was felt in the literature of the days. According to Marques,

152 Marques, A. H. O., V. II, Op cit., pp.133-134.

153 Nichols, Aidan, OP, Op. cit., p.34.

154 Marques, A. H. O., Volume II, Op. cit., p.177.

155 Marques, A. H. O., Volume II, Ibid, pp.177-178.

156 Nichols, Aidan, OP, Op. cit., p.40.

The most valid Portuguese literature of the time was generally characterised by a nationalist tendency, in a reaction against the cosmopolitan realism of the late 1800's. Such nationalism was expressed in the stress, for example, on historical themes and heroes; the cult of the "typical Portuguese" values, manners, and landscapes (the picturesque, the folklore, the countryside); the emphasis on tradition and [Roman Catholic] religion.¹⁵⁷

1.4.5.1 Policies and political tools of the New State

The *Concordata*, the secret police, and persecution to non-Catholics and political oppositionists were part of the main tools to promote the policies forged by the *Integralismo Lusitano*. An area of this intellectual and religious tyranny of Salazar's regime came from the strength given to the Catholic Church by the agreement between the Portuguese state and the Holy See, the *Concordata* [Treaty] of 1940. As Ericson points out, "In 1940, Portugal signed the *Concordata* with the Roman Catholic Church [that is, the Vatican State]"¹⁵⁸. This *Concordata* gave full power to the Roman Church, against all Protestant and Evangelical denominations established, or to be established in Portugal.

Any person who would not be Catholic or politically aligned with the regime was considered as a citizen of second category, and perhaps a dangerous element of society, somehow anti-nationalist, and anti-patriotic. A terrible secret police was implemented to enforce the "New State's" policies, the PIDE¹⁵⁹, as it was called. A terrible regime of terror was installed against any oppositionists. And these were all who would not be Catholic, the politically oriented – like the Communists – but also those that were usually not engaged in politics, the Protestants and the Evangelicals. As Marques says,

The main targets of the P.V.D.E.-P.I.D.E. were always the Communists or Communist sympathisers, whose martyrs far surpassed any other oppositionists. It also seems a fact that lower-class elements were generally treated worse than the middle or upper classes. Nevertheless, all currents of opinion ... were victims of police persecutions... The Portuguese case provides an object lesson in the economy of terror.

There can be an optimum coefficient of terror comprehensive in impact, embracing the totality of the population, without the extermination of large numbers, but with visibility or publicity as well as cruelty.¹⁶⁰

157 Marques, A. H. O., Volume II, Op. cit., p.147.

158 Ericson, G. C., Op. cit., p.24.

159 Marques, A. H. O., Volume II, Op. cit., p.189.

160 Marques, A. H. O., Volume II, Ibid, p.189.

Persecution came back again in full rage, like in the Inquisition times, against all who thought or worshiped differently. The persecution experienced by Protestant ministers can be illustrated by the content of a *Report*¹⁶¹, sent to Sweden in 1943 by Tage Stahlberg. Stahlberg was a Pentecostal missionary living in Portugal. He explained how difficult it was to be a pastor in the Portuguese country. On his *Report*, he used the information received from Pastor Quedas, a Portuguese who had reported about his ministry in Azores. Stahlberg writes,

God has used our brother wonderfully in those islands ... but always exists something in between the lines, something that we don't desire to happen to anyone. It's an extraordinary fight for not loose and [to] enter into new areas with the Gospel.¹⁶²

A Protestant or an Evangelical was considered an anti-nationalist. Therefore, he should be hunted down wherever in the Portuguese territories. A good example of this attitude was the persecution carried on by the Catholic Church against the non-Catholics. In the Catholic diary '*Novidades*'¹⁶³ (News) of 9 January 1944, the theme was the Pentecostal believers who were treated as enemies of the faith, of the religion and of the nation. The *Novidades* presented the Pentecostal preaching as anti-nationalist Protestant propaganda and suggested these people should be wiped out from society. It states,

Yes, protestant propaganda and anti-nationalist. We don't know if they've been successful in their endeavours, but we ask if the time is not this, for us Catholics, to put a final to this Protestant fervour? Is this not a Catholic nation? ... Can't we call this propaganda against the nation done by those Calvinists and Lutheran sects? We think these people are not needed at all and hope our soldiers may be convinced that their teachings are destructive and false...¹⁶⁴

One of the consequences of such a terrifying social atmosphere was that many hundred of thousands of Portuguese, including Protestants and Evangelicals, emigrated.

1.4.5.2 The impact of Second Vatican Council in Portugal

By 1959 the Catholic Church came to the conclusion that it needed deep reform. That is what the Fathers of the Second Vatican Council expressed when they sent a message on Saturday,

¹⁶¹ Note: this is the full name of the report.

¹⁶² Baptista, C., *Milagres de Deus em Portugal, Ingrid e Tage Stahlberg sua vida e obra, 1938-1978*, (Casa Publicadora da Convenção das Assembleias de Deus em Portugal. Edições NA. Av. Almirante Gago Coutinho, 158, 1700-033 Lisbon, Portugal. 2002), p.54.

¹⁶³ Baptista, C., *Ibid*, p.53.

¹⁶⁴ Baptista, C., *Ibid*, pp.53-54.

October the 20th, 1962. This message reported by Walter M. Abbott, general editor of, *The Documents of Vatican II, With Notes and Comments by Catholic, Protestant, and Orthodox Authorities* was:

In this assembly, under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, we wish to inquire how we ought to renew ourselves, so that we may be found increasingly faithful to the gospel of Christ. We shall take pains so to present to the men of this age God's truth in its integrity and purity that they may understand it and gladly assent to it.¹⁶⁵

The Council's Document on "The Church" reveals the religious environment the Christian world was experiencing. Almost surprisingly, Catholics were calling the other branches of Christianity as "Christians", even as distinct leaders as the Fathers of the Second Vatican Council. According to Abbott,

The twentieth century has often been called the century of the Church. The official work of Church bodies, both within and outside of Roman Catholicism, reflects a mounting interest in this theme. For the past fifty years Protestant, Anglican, and Orthodox Christians in world organizations such as the Faith and Order Movement and the World Council of Churches have been intensely studying the nature and structure of the Church. The same topics have been coming into ever-increasing prominence in the pronouncements of the Catholic Church since the First Vatican Council (1869-70).¹⁶⁶

In fact, Abbott informs us that there was a definite change almost at the last hour. From a vision and conduct taken up by centuries of polemics anti-Protestant, the Council should radically change to a vision of a Church more biblical, more historical, dynamic and vital. Was not this the request of the Reformers, a Church Council and reformation? This had been brought forward by the representative of the Portuguese king to the Holy See D. Miguel da Silva in his letter of 29th of August 1520¹⁶⁷. The Second Vatican Council comes, therefore, after so many centuries, finally to call for a more biblical vision of the Church. As Abbott puts it,

The original schema, prepared by the Theological Commission before the first session in 1962, resembled the standard treatise on the Church as found, for example, in most of the theological manuals published between the two world wars. Influenced by centuries of anti-Protestant polemics, the writers of this period placed heavy emphasis on the hierarchical and juridical aspects of the Church, including the supremacy of the Pope.

¹⁶⁵ Abbott, W. M., S.J., (Ed), *The Documents of Vatican II, With Notes and Comments by Catholic, Protestant, and Orthodox Authorities*, (Geoffrey Chapman, London-Dublin. Copyright 1966 by The American Press. 1966), pp.3-4.

¹⁶⁶ Abbott, W. M., S.J., (Ed), *Ibid*, p.9.

¹⁶⁷ Da Silva, D. M., *Letter to his Portuguese king*, (Sent from Rome to Lisbon and dated of 29th of August 1520. Corpo Diplomatico Portuguez, Arch. Nac. Maç. 22 de Bullas, nº 15), p.2.

When the Council Fathers came together, they immediately saw the need of setting a radically different vision of the Church, more biblical, more historical, more vital and dynamic. An entirely new document was therefore drafted... 2,151 Fathers in favour and 5 opposed... [The Document] was immediately promulgated by Pope Paul VI. Thus the mighty document, hammered into shape on the anvil of vigorous controversy, at length won almost unanimous approval...

It sets forth, with conciliar authority, the Church's present understanding of her own nature...

The orientations of *Lumen Gentium* are therefore pastoral, Christocentric, biblical, and eschatological. The tone of the document is, moreover, strongly ecumenical. Every effort is made to speak in language, which will be readily understood by other Christians...

As Père Dejaifve has said, "The greatest merit of the Constitution is that, far from canonizing the past, or even consecrating the present, it prepares for the future".¹⁶⁸

In the light of the new Second Vatican Council (1962-1964) approach, what would the Portuguese Catholic Church do with non-Catholic Christians in Portugal? Particularly, how would the Portuguese Catholic State authorities react in the areas of human rights and religious freedom towards the Protestants and the Evangelicals? The Council's outcome on the issue of Religious Freedom was very progressive compared with that the Catholics had been practicing in Portugal for many centuries. This Vatican's Document was very precise and emphatic about the religious freedom of every human being, anywhere. It ordered,

This Vatican Synod declares that the human person has a right to religious freedom. This freedom means that all men are to be immune from coercion on the part of individuals or of social groups and of any human power, in such wise that in matters of religious no one is to be forced to act in a manner contrary to his own beliefs. Nor is anyone to be restrained from acting in accordance with his own beliefs, whether privately or publicly, whether alone or in association with others.

The Synod further declares that the right to religious freedom has its foundation in the very dignity of the human person, as this dignity is known through the revealed Word of God and by reason itself.¹⁶⁹

Speaking on the personal responsibility of the moral obligations of human beings, the Document goes on to say, "Men cannot discharge these obligations in a manner in keeping with their own nature unless they enjoy immunity from external coercion as well as psychological freedom."¹⁷⁰ Clearwaters, writer of a small booklet circulating in Portugal for many years, says the issue of religious freedom was what made the Roman Catholic Church most furious. In the introduction to the referred book, he wrote:

168 Abbott, W. M., S.J., (Ed), Op. cit., pp.11-13.

169 Abbott, Walter M., S.J., (Ed), Ibid, pp.678-679.

170 Abbott, Walter M., S.J., (Ed), Ibid, p.679.

It was the doctrine of “religious freedom” absolute for the individual, preached and taught by the “local church independent and sovereign” that infuriated the Roman-Catholic Church to the point to persecute those believers like the ones of the New Testament [read Protestants and Evangelicals] with bitter cruelty.¹⁷¹

The ex-Roman Catholic priest James Kavanaugh, in his book *Adeus à Velha Igreja (Goodbye to the Old Church)*, spoke about what he sensed when he was a Roman Catholic priest. He wrote, “Catholics do not react as I would be a man... You do not have necessity of me and solely need an impersonal spectre dressed in black.” Then he moves on to state, “I’m not ‘another Christ’, neither another man. I’m just a prisoner, a syntactic model, a defender of a shaking and rotten past.”¹⁷² Indeed, he says in the introduction to his book that

Catholicism is disappearing as a monolithic structure. In the old days, who would abandon from its borders would go without being noticed. Today they refuse to abandon their fellowship with God. From a timid religion comes forth a bold challenge. This is no longer the sound of an unhappy youth. This is the result of a secret and deep exam to the foundations of the faith... of a church that turned to be arrogant and dehumanised.¹⁷³

But Kavanaugh, on the other hand, views the Second Vatican Council with hope for the Roman Church. When speaking about the Second Vatican Council and particularly on paragraphs 9 and 10 of its *Declaration of Religious Freedom*¹⁷⁴, he says,

The Council Vatican II is only a spark, a beginning – but it fills the future with a ray of hope... The recent *Declaration on Religious Freedom* leads me to believe that I do not have vain hope. The declaration of this Council Vatican about the religious freedom gets its foundation on the dignity of the person, whose demands turned to be more completely known to the human reason, through centuries of experience... It is one of the greatest principles of the Catholic doctrine that the answer of men to God through faith must be free...!¹⁷⁵

The signs seemed very clear that the Portuguese Roman-Catholic authorities had to change from those bounding and outdated traditions. However, it still took almost a decade for the principle of freedom of religion to be consecrated in the Portuguese Law as from the decrees of Council Vatican II in 1964. Even after the dictator Salazar had left power in 1968, with Marcelo Caetano’s more flexible policies, Marques tells us “by the summer of 1970 ... Freedom of

171 Clearwaters, R. V., *A Igreja Local do Novo Testamento*, (A Espada do Senhor, Apartado 1, Barreiro. Portugal. [?]), p.3.

172 Kavanaugh, J., *Adeus à Velha Igreja*, (Edições Delfos, Avenida Luis Bivar, 7. Lisboa. Portugal. [?]), pp.50-51.

173 Kavanaugh, J., *Ibid*, [pp.13-14].

174 Abbott, W. M., S.J., (Ed), *Op. cit.*, pp.687-688.

175 Kavanaugh, J., *Op. cit.*, [pp.14-16].

association was denied”¹⁷⁶. The promulgation of the Law of Freedom of Religion in Portugal was in 1971 and it was the Revolution of the Carnations in the 25th of April 1974 that effectuated it. According to Ericson,

A lei da liberdade religiosa de 1971 consigna o reconhecimento oficial da comunidade protestante, e com a revolução democrática de 1974, os evangélicos passaram a dispor de uma liberdade de expressão, a nível mesmo da opinião pública, muito mais dilatada.¹⁷⁷

[The law of religious freedom of 1971 consented the official recognition of the Protestant community, and with the revolution of 1974, the Evangelicals could finally use the liberty of expression, even at the level of public opinion, much greater.]

1.5 The Revolution of the Carnations of April 1974 and the joining of Portugal to the European Economic Community (EEC) in 1986

Two main Portuguese historical events are to be mentioned, The Revolution of the Carnations of 25th of April 1974 and the joining of Portugal with the European Economic Community in 1986.

1.5.1 The Revolution of the Carnations (1974)

On the 25th of April 1974, a movement of armed forces put an end to the New State’s regime, introducing a democratic form of government. And, according to Saraiva, “In the period that followed decisions were made that necessarily implied irreversible modifications in the Portuguese historical process”¹⁷⁸. The Revolution of the Carnations, as it was known thereafter, lead to the first free elections of the 25th of April 1975. As Oliveira Marques points out, “The Portuguese verdict over the 25th April was due through the 25th of April 1975, a year after the revolution, elections ... the first free ones in fifty years.”¹⁷⁹

According to the article *Vinte e Cinco de Abril de 1974*, (Twenty Five of April 1974),

176 Marques, A. H. O., Volume II, Op. cit., p.260.

177 Ericson, G. C., Op. cit., p.26.

178 Saraiva, J. H., Op. cit., p.365.

179 Marques, A. H. O., Volume II, Op. cit., p.267.

The military dictatorship instituted in the 28th of May 1926, that, after about half a dozen years, led to the New State idealised and managed by Salazar. Out of power due to incapacitating sickness, the head of government is given to Marcelo Caetano, who, amongst other problems to resolve, heirs a colonial war in three fronts, with no military solution visible, and no political will to opt for a negotiated political solution. Tired of the war, the professional military started a move with a corporative character that rapidly transformed into political demands, coming to the conclusion that the only possible solution was the overthrow of the regime by force...

On the night from the 24th to the 25th of April 1974, two songs were on two radio stations: ... *E Depois do Adeus*, (After the Goodbye) interpreted by Paulo de Carvalho, to mean a goodbye to the government of Marcelo; and, *Grândola Vila Morena*, (Grandola Beautiful Village), interpreted by the banned poet José Afonso, known as an oppositionist to the regime. This song had a very special message of a democratic content and meaning, the phrase, “o povo é quem mais ordena dentro de ti ò cidade”, that is (the people is the one who rules the most within you oh city).¹⁸⁰

The results of this revolution were the most outstanding in the shaping into new the Portuguese society. Its structures changed profoundly and dramatically. The immediate results of the Revolution of the Carnations are summarised by Oliveira Marques.

After almost two years of rule ... [the revolution] had to its credits an impressive number of achievements: freedom and fundamental rights had been restored; ... citizens all over the country had gained a much stronger political awareness and were active in all kinds of organizations [including new Christian denominations. But] a long period for rebuilding the country was ahead.¹⁸¹

With this revolution, all non-Catholic Christian denominations had finally the chance to settle in the country. But this was just the starting point of a long road to religious freedom that has not ended yet. Nevertheless, the revolution opened the door for fundamental changes in society, including the acceptance of religious new ideas. Another of the consequences of the Revolution of the 25th of April 1974 was the adhesion of Portugal to the European Economic Community. This was absolute turn around of Portuguese politics towards European institutions and ideals, deepening the freedom of expression and human rights consciousness in society. Basically, the integration of Portugal in the European Community – later European Union – introduced with it the freedom of Protestant and Evangelical Christian expression. According to the article *Adhesion of Portugal to the EEC*, Portugal experienced alterations,

One of the consequences of the 25th of April ... provoked subsequent alterations on the economical, political and social aspects. The 25th April 1974 did put an end to an economic policy in desegregation, with

180 [?] *Vinte e Cinco de Abril de 1974*, (Article in: Dicionário 2004, Porto Editora, Multimédia. Rua da Restauração, 365, 4099-023 Porto, Portugal. 2004), [?].

181 Marques, A. H. O., Volume II, Op. cit., p.268.

enormous external dependency, and a political power contested by a population with bad conditions of life and weak buying power.¹⁸²

Finally, the Portuguese people had come to its full European membership, to share in the same political, social and economic vision of liberty, progress and economic freedom. The adhesion of Portugal to the EEC furthered the implementation of the Protestant and Evangelical positions in Portugal; their churches could now be implanted and grow in Portugal.

1.5.1.1 The definitive establishment of Protestants and Evangelicals

The definitive process of establishment of Protestant and Evangelical Churches subtly started off as from the changing of the Law of Religious Freedom in 1971, although still very limitative. In part, it altered the legal positioning of the State towards Protestants and Evangelicals. But the granting of the human rights and liberties of the Revolution of the Carnations in 1974, transformed the fundamental guidelines of the Portuguese cultural structure. It prepared the whole society for the acceptance of Protestant and Evangelical Churches as integrated in Portugal. It also granted citizenship to the Protestant and Evangelical members. No wonder the Protestant and Evangelical movements could finally get established and grow from this point of the Portuguese history. According to Ericson, by 1982 the total of the Protestant and Evangelical community was about 70000, that is, 0.7% of the total of the Portuguese population.¹⁸³ There were various radio programs being broadcasted across the country, and in May 1983 the first Evangelical television program ever to be broadcasted in Portugal. No doubt the political changes, worked out by the Revolution of the Carnation (1974) in Portugal, brought about a political, religious and social freedom that removed many hindrances to the Protestant and Evangelical growth.

1.5.1.2 Actual insertion of the Protestants and Evangelicals in the Portuguese society

Currently, Protestants and Evangelicals are still not experiencing complete liberty. Many forces still impede them from reaching high in their dignity in the Portuguese society. Their places of worship are mostly in storehouses, since the mayors of the cities do not give them land to build proper ones. As is still the case with the Roman Catholic Church, which receives land from the municipalities allocated for religious purposes, the Protestants and Evangelicals do not. Only in a

182 [?] *Adesão de Portugal à CEE*, (Article in: Dicionário 2004, Porto Editora, Multimédia. Rua da Restauração, 365, 4099-023 Porto, Portugal. 2004), [?].

183 Ericson, G. C., Op. cit., p.26.

few cases the municipality has given land to Evangelicals, such as the case of Lagos whose mayor gave a piece of land to the local Assemblies of God Church. Usually, if the Protestants and Evangelicals want to build proper temples, the municipal bureaucracy drags the process and creates enormous difficulties. A review of legislation and political practice at municipal level is the next step, so to contemplate the solution of such social injustices towards taxpayers.

Moreover, access to the media is not free. If Evangelicals and Protestants wish to access radio or television, they have to pay as advertisement. But even this is also changing. By law, the Evangelicals are now given about seven minutes of free air time per week, in public television. However, media coverage of Protestant and Evangelical events is still boycotted as portraying a distorted and false image of the reality.

Chapter 2: The Protestants and Evangelicals in Portugal

As a start it is necessary to explain some concepts as they are understood by most non-Roman Catholic Christians in Portugal. These are the concepts of Protestant, Evangelical, Pentecostal and Charismatic. All these Portuguese Christians feel they are Evangelicals because they try to adjust their faith to the gospel message. Most of the time this perception even includes the Protestants. However, even if they feel they should be perceived as Evangelicals¹⁸⁴ by the Portuguese society at large, among themselves they do make a distinction. Therefore, specifically speaking, they regard as Protestants those churches related to the traditional Protestantism, for instance, the Igreja Lusitana (Anglican), the Methodist Church and the Presbyterian Church. These¹⁸⁵ three denominations are affiliated in Portugal under COPIC.¹⁸⁶ Evangelicals for example, are the Baptist Church, the Brethren Church and the Church of the Nazarene. The Pentecostals are the Assemblies of God and the Church of God and are considered to be very much holiness conservative in nature and in the form of ethics, sometimes closely allied to legalism.¹⁸⁷ Furthermore, the Charismatics – also called in Brazil and Portugal Neo-Pentecostals – are those who have the same spiritual experience and convictions as the Pentecostals, but they are more liberal in their theology and religious experience as related to matters of daily life. To summarize, when dealing externally with the whole society they like to be known as Evangelicals. However, when dealing internally with their own peers, they like to highlight their specific characteristics and religious nature.

184 It is important to understand that non-Roman Catholic Christians in Portugal consider themselves as Evangelicals and they are perceived by Portuguese society as such. However, there are four main organizations of Evangelical churches in Portugal: those affiliated with the Conselho Português de Igrejas Cristãs, (COPIC); those affiliated with the Aliança Evangélica Portuguesa, (AEP); the Igrejas Maná (MANÁ); and, the Igreja Universal do Reino de Deus, (IURD). The Lusitanian Church (Anglican), the Methodist Church and the Presbyterian Church are affiliated with COPIC. The Baptist Church, the Brethren Church, the Church of the Nazarene, the Pentecostal denominations like the Assemblies of God and the Church of God, and the Charismatic churches related to the Fraternal Association are affiliated with the AEP. The MANÁ is a large Charismatic denomination in Portugal that stands on its own as well as IURD. When dealing externally with the Portuguese society they like to be known as Evangelicals. However, when dealing internally among themselves they like to highlight their specific theological characteristics and religious sensibilities.

185 Barata, A. C., *A Aliança Evangélica Portuguesa*, (Article in: Pinheiro, Samuel, O Melhor de Tudo, Colectânea de Textos 1973-2003, (CD) Compact Disk edited by the author, [Aliança Evangélica Portuguesa, Av. Conselheiro Barjonas de Freitas, 16-B, 1500-204, Lisboa, Portugal.] 2003), p.17.

186 COPIC stands for Conselho Português de Igrejas Cristãs. Its official address is: Rua da Lapa, 9, Sala 1, 2º, 3080-045 Figueira da Foz, Portugal. Telephone Number: (+) 351-233-428219. Fax Number: (+) 351-233-422603.

187 This issue is studied as the ethics taught by the Swedish missionaries to the Portuguese Assemblies of God pastors under the topics 2.4.3 and 2.4.4 when we deal with seeds for dissidence events in the Assemblies of God and the role of the IBP. Furthermore; it is studied under the topic 2.5.1 entitled Signs of change.

There is the tendency to isolate the study of the Protestant and Evangelical movements in Portugal from a more broad religious reality. This reality has to do with deep social and political changes in the declining Portuguese imperial society as a result of national and international new trends. Luis Aguiar Santos, a Portuguese who addressed a conference in Madrid (26th to 28th of April 2000) on the issue of the History of Protestantism in Spain and Portugal, says,

In fact, the appearing and the development of Protestantism in Portugal is a part of a more general problem: that of the slow desegregation of the paradigm of the confessional uniformity in the Portuguese society whose origins we may see from the end of 18th Century.¹⁸⁸

The old system of State authority in both kingdoms of the Iberian Peninsula was weakened by the wars of Revolution and of the Empire, so its reconstruction from 1815 onwards could no longer be set on the previous paradigm of a Christian confessional uniformity. Liberalism was therefore a readjustment of the State model to an emergent plurality amongst the elites. This permitted the practice of the Christian faith in daily living in a way less clerical, but more secularised. That is why Santos says, “Protestantism became one of the faces of that phenomenon of differentiation of living within the Portuguese society of the 19th Century”.¹⁸⁹

In the following section, we shall first address the reasons for the lack of Protestant and Evangelical growth. Then, second, we shall mention the establishment of various Protestant and Evangelical denominations and organizations.

2.1 Lack of Protestant and Evangelical growth

From the time when the Portuguese society started being more tolerant, slowly, Protestant and Evangelical movements started being established. Nevertheless, they did not grow substantially. Because as Cassels¹⁹⁰, Moreira¹⁹¹ and Silva¹⁹² seem to agree, externally the Portuguese state and society remained profoundly attached to the Roman Catholic Church. However, there were also internal deficiencies that prevented their growth. There are therefore

188 Santos, L. A., *O Protestantismo em Portugal*, Op. cit., p.1.

189 Santos, L. A., *Ibid.* p.1.

190 Cassels, D., *A Reforma em Portugal*, (Tipografia Viúva de José da Silva Mendonça, Porto, Portugal. 1906), [?].

191 Moreira, E. H., *Vidas Convergentes: história breve dos movimentos de reforma cristã em Portugal a partir do século XVIII*, (Junta Presbiteriana de Cooperação em Portugal, Lisbon, Portugal. 1958), [p.10].

192 Silva, A. M. S.P., *A Igreja Lusitana e o Republicanismo (1880-1910): convergências e expectativas do discurso ideológico*, in *A vida da República Portuguesa, 1890-1990*, (Actas do Congresso), (Cooperativa de Estudos e Documentação, Lisbon, Portugal. 1995), pp.739-756.

external as well as internal reasons for the lack of growth of the Protestant and Evangelical movements in Portugal.

2.1.1 Reasons for the lack of Protestant and Evangelical growth

The first reason, which is both external and internal, and one of the main hindrances for the spread of Protestantism and Evangelicalism in Portugal that cannot be ignored, is economic and legal. It is the simple fact that Catholic priests were paid by the state, while the Protestant and Evangelical ministers never received any money from the state for their ministry. Even as Santos stated, if it was “more than just for the performance of their religious affairs and duties, to maintain the church registries, and the bishops to coordinate those administrative areas called ‘dioceses’”.¹⁹³ The Protestant ministers have never received any money for their religious work from the Portuguese state up until the present period. And the Portuguese Protestants and Evangelicals, as citizens pay their taxes, as any citizen does.

This financial support from the state to the Catholic ministers is, however, incongruent with the same in legal and practical terms experienced both by the Catholic religious orders and the diverse Protestant denominations throughout the reality of Portugal in the nineteenth century. For, as Santos added, “Although both being forbidden in the letter of the law, both in daily practice were being tolerated, but never encouraged”.¹⁹⁴ In fact, Santos further wrote, “Constitutional monarchy, far from being a regime ‘of sacristy’, limited and controlled all organization of the religious life in the country – Catholic, Protestant or whatever”.¹⁹⁵

The second reason for the lack of Protestant and Evangelical growth in Portugal was external. According to Santos, Portuguese Protestantism and Evangelicalism did not really consider that the similar and concurrent introduction, presence and advance of idealistic forces that were particularly related to politics (like the Liberals, the Republicans, the Freemasonry and the Carbonária) within Portuguese society would occupy the field of the dissidence of identity, no matter whether it was religious, cultural or political. As a result, according to Santos, these idealistic forces,

¹⁹³ Santos, L. A., *Op. cit.*, p.3.

¹⁹⁴ Santos, L. A., *Ibid.*, p.3.

¹⁹⁵ Santos, L. A., *Ibid.*, p.3.

Left a very small margin of growth to Protestantism... Protestantism was not only confronting Catholicism, but a society where already different 'systems of belief' were alive, which, even if they did not claim to be religious, they functioned as substitutes of adhesion to the beliefs and Christian symbols.¹⁹⁶

A third reason for the lack of Protestant and Evangelical growth in Portugal, also external, is related to the illiteracy and low levels of education of the Portuguese population. As the mental framework of the Portuguese society was traditionalist and religiously Catholic the illiteracy became a source of resistance to any new religious trend. Illiterate people simply could not read the Bible and they could not properly formulate thought or understand the Protestant arguments. They simply sounded strange. However, even most educated people would not dare to read the Bible or question theological matters due to their traditionalist culture. The Portuguese did not know why they were Catholic. They were because their parents and grandparents also were. It was "As the country moved towards being modernised, therefore, needing professionals better qualified, that the searching for instruction grew".¹⁹⁷ A fourth reason, also external, was,

[To] the paradigm of confessional uniformity of the 'Old Regime' succeeded a paradigm of ideological uniformity of the authoritarian State. As with the Roman Catholic, Portuguese republicanism was in great measure a conception of a utopian society, unitary, solidier and uniform ... that was even coerced by the State authority. Republicanism, that supplied even to the Salazar's regime the great majority of its political personnel, since 1933, was a balance between many forces.¹⁹⁸

Fifth, even if the constitutional monarchy with its consolidation in 1851, tolerated it, "to proselytise and the constitution of religious groups and churches was illegal ... there were, nevertheless, some rights that permitted the Protestant Portuguese to defend themselves in the courts, which kept forcing the State to create a tolerance de facto".¹⁹⁹ The *Carta Constitutional* of 1826, however, considered and granted the inviolability of the liberty of conscience, by which no Portuguese citizen should be persecuted for being or declaring himself or herself as Protestant. "[To] proselytise was prohibited but the freedom of the press was a constitutional right and Protestants could have used it with the same end. Moreover, the liberty of association was granted by the Civil Code of 1867 which permitted that Protestants constituted their congregations".²⁰⁰ It may be asked if the Portuguese Protestants and Evangelicals were not also under the same curse of

196 Santos, L. A., Ibid, p.4.

197 Santos, L. A., Ibid, p.5.

198 Santos, L. A., Ibid, p.3.

199 Santos, L. A., Ibid, p.5.

200 Santos, L. A., Ibid, p.5.

ignorance as the rest of the population. Did they know those laws and codes that somehow protected them? Probably, most of them did not.

Sixth, at local level, society behaved in a very persecuting manner towards those who preached and those who worshipped differently from the Roman Catholic traditional ways. To spread the gospel as a Protestant initiative was a dangerous activity at the grass roots level. Locally, there were threats, but also physical violence, repeatedly, for many decades, forcing the non-Roman Catholic religious activities into some sort of underground and sub cultural secrecy of organisation and life. These adverse conditions have persisted to this century, although in a much weaker and more diluted form. Many examples could be mentioned to corroborate these patterns of behaviour of the Portuguese society in general. One is that of Barata. In his words,

Em Quintãs, que foi um caso inédito na Beira-Baixa. Houve problemas, onde fomos muito violentados ... e ali fomos maltratados. Cortaram os pneus do carro. Impediram-nos de fazer o culto. Tivemos de ir às autoridades. O pastor José Pessoa e eu fomos ao Governo Civil fazer uma informação. Nós estávamos legalizados e a partir daí nunca mais tivemos problemas...

O povo, sempre instado... regra geral havia focos de perseguição. Em Aranhas e noutros lugares, mas sempre instados por um mau clero, um ou outro que fazia algazarra. Arruaças, como se costuma dizer.

Nós fomos maltratados, chegamos a ser apedrejados e impedidos de entrar lá em Quintãs, na Beira-Baixa.²⁰¹

[In Quintãs, it was an inedited case in Beira-Baixa. There were problems, we truly suffered violence ... and we were mistreated there. They [the population] cut the tyres of our car. They impeded us from holding our religious service. We had to go to the authorities. Pastor José Pessoa and I, we went to the Civil Government to inform. We were legalized, so, since then we never had any more problems...

The people, always instigated ... as a general rule there were focus of persecution. In Aranhas and other places, but always instigated by a bad clergy [Catholic priests], one or another who would instigate these events. These attitudes were threatening.

We were brutalized; we were stoned and impeded from entering in Quintãs, in Beira-Baixa.]

The seventh reason is the Protestant syndrome, created within the Portuguese society by stereotyping a false image of the non-Roman Catholic Christians in Portugal. Ignorantly, members of the Portuguese society were taught any person who professed a different faith was a Protestant, no matter their denomination. And a Protestant was a dangerous person, a traitor to the Portuguese culture and nation,

201 Da Silva, F. C., Interviewed with Pastor António Costa Barata, (Done on the 1st of July 2004, at his residence: Foros de Amora, Seixal, Portugal).[pp.12-13].

Para o povo, sempre o protestante era mau, rasga, queima é protestante. As populações eram mal informadas. Como eu, quando me disseram que os protestantes eram perigosos temi. Por ignorância, não é? E com o tempo as coisas mudaram.²⁰²

[For the [Portuguese] people, always the Protestant was bad, [therefore] tear apart, and burn, because it is Protestant. The populations were wrongly informed. As I was, like when they told me the Protestants were terrible [people] I was afraid. Ignorantly, isn't it? And with time things changed.]

A Protestant or an Evangelical was to be considered as without rights and a second class citizen, and all means should be used to prevent him or her from occupying relevant positions in society. Teachers and students had the aim that Protestant students should fail in their academic progress and so persecuted these children in schools. The best-remunerated jobs were never available for Protestants. The stigma of being a Protestant impeded the growth of the Protestant and Evangelical Movements in Portugal. In an interview with Pastor Barata on the 1st of July 2004, he told what he experienced when he was a young man. In 1950, he had bought a book at the stand of the Bible Society at a fair, in Lisbon, when he was seventeen years old. As he tried to sell a lottery to someone in Lisbon, the maid working in the house took the book, coming to returning it soon after. She told him emphatically,

O menino não leia este livrinho... é muito perigoso. E eu, como todas as pessoas, fiz-lhe esta interrogação: É perigoso porquê? É perigoso porque é dos protestantes. [Respondeu].²⁰³

[Young man, do not read that book... it is very dangerous. And me, as any person would do, asked her: Why is it dangerous? It is dangerous because it is of the Protestants, [she argued].]

This Protestant syndrome was so strong that many Catholic priests refused to allow the Protestant dead to be buried in the public cemeteries. They claimed the cemeteries belonged to the Catholic people, and were holy ground. Protestants, as they were excommunicated from the Catholic Church, were unworthy to be buried in the same cemetery as the Catholics. Such an episode was experienced by Pastor Barata in Beira Baixa when he tried to bury a dead member of his Assemblies of God Church and was refused by the Catholic priest. The dead Evangelical was four days without a burial. The funeral was only allowed after Pastor Barata asked²¹ the priest to excommunicate a piece of the ground of the cemetery to bury the deceased. This is so strong that the question people asked when invited to convert to Protestantism or Evangelicalism was, “And where will I be buried when I die”? Or, who is going to do my funeral? The pastors would reply,

202 Da Silva, F. C., Interviewed with Pastor António Costa Barata, *Ibid.*, [pp.13-14].

203 Da Silva, F. C., Interviewed with Pastor António Costa Barata, *Ibid.*

“Does the cemetery belong to the Catholic Church or is it also paid by the income taxes of the Portuguese members of the Protestant and Evangelical churches?”

The eighth reason for the lack of Protestant and Evangelical growth in Portugal is the fact that many Portuguese Roman Catholic bishops and priests, to use Barata’s words,²⁰⁴ advocated that the *Bible* was a dangerous²⁰⁵ book to read. Arguments were even advanced that the Bible was a book of the devil, and, therefore, prohibited from the Roman Catholic pulpits. Many living people in Portugal may still witness to the assertion that the *Bible* was being portrayed by many Catholic priests as a book of the devil. As for the prohibition, Barata shows us how a Portuguese citizen, who lived in England at the time, interpreted the catastrophe that destroyed Lisbon in 1755,

In the 18th Century, after the earthquake of 1755, a Portuguese living in England attributed the catastrophe to the prohibition that was done to the reading of the Bible in its vernacular form...²⁰⁶

The ninth reason for the lack of Protestant and Evangelical growth in Portugal was the internal weakness of Protestantism and Evangelicalism, as religious bodies established in a country dominated by the Roman Catholic Church. Santos even indicates this to be the very principal cause for Protestantism and Evangelicalism occupying such a small and insignificant margin in the Portuguese society.

The final reason is attributed to the fact that proper theological and ministerial training of the Protestant and Evangelical leadership in general was not in place earlier. Probably, this was due to a lack of resources.

2.1.2 The Portuguese attitude towards Protestants and Evangelicals in the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries

As Santos says, “the period from mid 19th century to mid 20th century was not culturally favourable to a greater expansion of the Protestant religious sensibility”.²⁰⁷ We cannot ignore that

204 Barata, A. C., Personal documents not published, Op. Cit.

205 It is important to remember this dissertation is not about the Roman Catholic Church in general and its official position and belief concerning the Bible. Nevertheless, the Portuguese case of the Roman Catholic Church and its usual practical attitudes towards the Bible has to be incorporated for the sake of the true historical interpretation and explanation of the contemporary Christian history in Portugal. Although it might be difficult for someone not acquainted with the Portuguese Catholic history to believe, the sad truth is that many Portuguese Catholic bishops and priests preached that the Bible was a dangerous book and of the devil. For these reasons the burning of Bibles was encouraged by these Portuguese Catholic ministers. Basically, this happened until recently including the prohibition from the pulpits of the reading of the Bible. However, it is also true that this is visibly in the process of changing.

206, Barata, A. C., (personal documents, not published), Op. cit.

Portugal was under Inquisition for about 300 years and that had a very devastating impact on the efforts to establish Protestantism and Evangelicalism. Thus, as previously mentioned, when Almeida Garret published *Portugal na Balança da Europa* (Portugal in the Scale of Europe), nine years after the Inquisition was extinct in 1821,

A Inquisição foi oficialmente extinta em Portugal em 1821. Nove anos mais tarde Almeida Garret publicou *Portugal na Balança da Europa* em que ele claramente referiu a perda grande que Portugal sofreu em não ter um maior contacto com as influências liberalizantes da Reforma.²⁰⁸

The Inquisition was officially extinct in Portugal in 1821. Nine years later Almeida Garret published *Portugal na Balança da Europa* [Portugal in the Scale of Europe] in which he clearly referred the great loss that Portugal suffered for not having had a bigger contact with the liberalizing influences of the Reform.

As Ericson says,

No século dezanove, Portugal foi profundamente marcado por tensões políticas muito fortes entre as quais assumiu particular relevo o anti-clericalismo... Se bem que uma pessoa não tivesse que pagar com a própria vida o preço da sua fé depois de 1821, a tensão entre conservadores e liberais a nível do governo continuou, afectando o meio ambiente religioso... Os crentes evangélicos, aos quais ainda não tinha sido reconhecido o direito de se reunirem, estavam proibidos de aceitar novos membros no seu seio.²⁰⁹

[In the nineteenth century, Portugal was profoundly marked by very strong political tensions amongst with assumed particular relevance the anti-clericalism... Although a person need not to pay with his or her own life the price for his or her faith after 1821, the tension between conservatives and liberals continued, affecting the religious environment... The Evangelical believers, to whom the right of reunion had not been still given, were prohibited from accepting new members.]

Even throughout the twentieth century, the various Protestant and Evangelical churches were very small and without expression. They met in very narrow, hidden and unattractive shops, located in back streets. This was either because of a lack of finances, or because of the difficulties created by the public exposure to their members, or simply because of a lack of vision of the leadership. We need to highlight the fact that the absolute majority of the Protestant and Evangelical members were from the poorest members of the Portuguese society. The financial constraints allied with the political persecutions or disdainful attitudes, and the social Catholic antagonism, formed an extraordinary pressure against the establishment of the Protestant and Evangelical movements. The fact remains that, according to Ericson,

207 Santos, L. A., Op. cit., p.4.

208 Ericson, G. C., Op. cit., p.20.

209 Ericson, G. C., Ibid, pp.21-22.

Em 1932, o número de praticantes protestantes rondava os 3000. No entanto se aos membros activos juntarmos os simpatizantes o seu número deveria aproximar-se dos 10000. Só na Igreja Lusitana de então havia umas 2000 pessoas.²¹⁰

[In 1932, the number of the Protestants who openly practised was about 3000. Nevertheless, if to the active members of the Protestant churches we add the sympathisers its number should be close to 10,000. Only in the Lusitanian Church there were then about 2,000 people.]

One of the main forces against the growth of the Protestants and Evangelicals in Portugal in the twentieth century was the political and religious dictatorship of Dr. Oliveira Salazar. “Portugal signed the *Concordata* with the Roman Catholic Church in 1940”²¹¹ that gave full power to this church, against all Protestant and Evangelical Denominations.

The persecution experienced by Protestant and Evangelical ministers has already been mentioned²¹² but only two examples were used. One was the report, sent to Sweden in 1943 by Tage Stahlberg, relating how Pastor Quedas reported on his ministry in Azores. And the other how the Diary “*Novidades*” of 9th of January 1944 presented the Catholic view on what should be done to the Evangelical Pentecostals in Portugal. But we could speak of other persecutions, like the stoning experienced in Beira Baixa, and in the village of Espírito Santo in Coimbra, and in the famous mill house of Sernache, near Pombal.

There was a case of a persecution experienced when the Baptist Church wished to inaugurate their church in Trofa; the Judge actually helped this evangelical church, by opening the court on a Sunday to discuss the public case.²¹³ Deliberate, and many times, organized persecution was carried on, with particular violence like stoning, illegal police arrest, destroying of worship property and the burning of Christian literature. Actually, this was the daily experience of every non-Catholic believer across the country, when the population, instigated by religious fury, persecuted the Protestants and the Evangelicals as if they were criminals, anti-nationalists and dangerous people. However, it is necessary to highlight that the response of the Protestant and Evangelicals was always with an attitude of forgiveness, tolerance and pity for their neighbours’ historical and biblical ignorance, and prayer for those violent and resistant infuriated people. The violence has been carried on until recently.

210 Ericson, G. C., *Ibid*, p.24.

211 Ericson, G. C., *Ibid*, p.24.

212 See section: 1.4 Portuguese structural changes and the attitude towards Protestant and Evangelicals from 1822 up to 1974.

213 Da Silva, F. C., *Interview with Luísa Costa, on the 14th of January 2005*, (Done at the Portuguese Evangelical Church in Benoni, RSA).

The Second Vatican Council outcomes, the disappearance of the “New State” Dictatorship of Salazar with his death in 1969 with the consequent Law of Religious Freedom in 1971, and the Revolution of the Carnations of 25th April 1974, profoundly changed the social environment towards religion in the Portuguese society.

2.2 The establishment of Protestant and Evangelical denominations and organizations

Several denominations and Para-church organizations were established in Portugal that opened the way for a future transformation of the country.

2.2.1 First Protestants and Evangelicals in Portugal

The case of Portuguese contemporary church history needs to be seen differently from other cases for a proper understanding of what really happened in Portuguese Christianity. Therefore, it is important to explain that from the beginning in Portugal the concepts of Protestant and Evangelical have been intermingled. Churches of a Protestant nature were called Evangelical and all Evangelical churches were usually called Protestant by the Portuguese Roman Catholic society and authorities. However, all non-Catholic Christians call themselves Evangelical, many times using both terms in their formal denominations. Even today, most non-Catholic church members would not be able to explain the difference between the two terms, Protestant and Evangelical.

The first Protestant and Evangelical Church to be established in Portuguese territory was The Dutch Reformed Church, also known as *Primeira Igreja Evangélica de Lisboa*. It was established in 1641 within the facilities of the Dutch Embassy. According to Barata, “It is possible that Anglicans, Lutherans and Huguenots met together until Lisbon’s earthquake in 1755 ... and in 1761, a new community appeared which exists until today, the *Igreja Alemã* in Av. Bordalo Pinheiro, Lisbon, being therefore the oldest reformed family in Portugal, with continuity”.²¹⁴ The Spanish Episcopal Evangelical Church, founded in Lisbon by Dr. Vicente Comez e Tojar²¹⁵ in 1839, followed it. However, those were at first churches mainly for foreigners living in Portugal.

²¹⁴ Barata, A. C., *História: A Reforma Religiosa em Portugal, História dos Evangélicos em Portugal*, Op cit., p.4.

²¹⁵ Persecuted in his country, Spain.

2.2.2 The Bible Society and the colporteurs

The contributions of the British Bible Society (SBBE) and the persistent even if dangerous work of the colporteurs were the deciding factors for the establishing of the Protestant and Evangelical denominations in Portugal.

2.2.2.1 The British Bible Society (SBBE)

The Bible Society, particularly through the efforts of foreign missionaries and mainly from 1835 to 1850, went from house to house spreading the Word of God and selling Bibles. “Robert Moreton, the first Methodist missionary in Portugal, was also the superintendent of the Bible Society”.²¹⁶ According to a Portuguese website,

The Portuguese Bible Society is operating since 1835... It has as its mission to promote the most effective and amplified way the Bible in Portuguese... It is integrated in a world fraternity of Bible Societies, with about 130 Bible Societies... The Portuguese Bible Society (SBP) resulted from the definitive autonomation of the Portuguese agency of the Britanic and Foreign Bible Society (SBBE), in January 1989.²¹⁷

It is important to mention the British and Foreign Bible Society (SBBE), founded²¹⁸ in London by Pastor Thomas Charles in 1804. It played a fundamental part in the establishment of the Protestant and the Evangelical Movements in Portugal. Its importance is because,

The first Bibles of the SBBE might have been introduced in Portugal, as from 1809, by Britain military chaplains during the Peninsular War, although the first versions in Portuguese seem to be only from 1811. In November of 1835 was for the first time, an agent of the SBBE, George Borrow; ... and might have left the interests of the Society in Lisbon to an English businessman established there, John Wilby. Only in 1864, after a visit to Lisbon of Rev. Tiddy of the SBBE, a definitive agency was established of which Rev. F. Roushton was its first manager.²¹⁹

Since the Bible is so important for the establishment of Protestantism and Evangelicalism, some more information will be given regarding the Portuguese case. According to the information displayed by the website of the Portuguese Bible Society

216 Ericson, G. C., Op. cit., p.30.

217 <http://html.sociedade-biblica.pt>

218 <http://html.sociedade-biblica.pt>

219 <http://html.sociedade-biblica.pt>

The SBBE used since 1809, for the distribution in Portuguese, the translation of João Ferreira de Almeida (1681) and that of Father António Pereira de Figueiredo (1790)...

There are no specific statistics about the minimum of Bibles published in Portuguese by the SBBE, since the beginnings of the 19th century until 1922; nevertheless, since that year until 1997, there were about two and an half million exemplars, of which five hundred thousand were printed in Portugal.²²⁰

Ericson tells us that the Portuguese Bible Society was established and linked with the Methodist Church. As he puts it,

A designação “Metodista” está intimamente associada com os primórdios do trabalho de colportagem da Sociedade Bíblica em Portugal no início do século XIX.²²¹

[The designation “Methodist” is intimately associated with the primordial colporteur work of the Bible Society in Portugal in the beginning of the 19th century.]

2.2.2.2 The endeavours of the colporteurs

The colporteurs of the Bible were pioneers in dealing directly with the Portuguese population by selling Bibles in their vernacular language and explaining its doctrines in a personal manner from house to house. However, they continually faced the most aggressive and dangerous persecution. Information about their work in Portugal is found in the website of the Portuguese Bible Society that states,

Until the establishment of a complete religious tolerance and of the modern ways of distribution, the action of the Society was intimately linked to the person of the colporteur. Who travelled across the country selling Bibles, and in some cases establishing local churches. The colportors, due to their mobility, were the goal, much more than any established congregation, to the persecution of the local authorities or anti-protestant zealous groups...

To that work of disseminating the Bible, tribute must be given to Manoel Vieira and José Alexandre (who were still arrested the first in 1872, and the second in 1905), João Nunes Pinheiro, Bráulio Ferreira da Silva, Manuel Santos Gil, Jerónimo de Jesus, Arduino Adolfo Correia, and already in the second half of the 20th century, António Almeida Gil, António Eloy, Ernesto Serra and António Gonçalves.²²²

220 <http://html.sociedade-biblica.pt>

221 Ericson, G. C., Op. cit., p.30.

222 <http://html.sociedade-biblica.pt>

2.2.3 Establishment of other denominations in Portugal

The Englishman James Halley was the first to expose the Presbyterian denomination by initiating prayer meetings in Funchal, Madeira Island, in 1837. But “It was in 1845 that Dr. Robert Kalley organised the first Presbyterian Church in Portugal ...in Funchal, Madeira”.²²³ Nevertheless, “the violent persecution to which the couple, the Kalleys, were subjected thereafter, did not give them other alternative, but to abandon the Island of Madeira”.²²⁴ Further, according to Ericson, the Bibles were confiscated and burnt and the population were agitated with persecutory intents. Although the believers met in houses, only by 1875 was the Presbyterian Church of Funchal reorganised by António de Matos.²²⁵ The first Presbyterian Community in Lisbon was founded in 1866, by the Scot, Robert Stewart. The Church still exists situated in Rua Tomás da Anunciação, 56, Lisbon. Thereafter the Portuguese Methodist Church was established first by Thomas Chegwin, in the mines of Palhal, Aveiro, in 1854, and later in 1871 by Robert Hawkey Moreton in Porto, which still exists.²²⁶

Another Spanish Episcopal Church was established in Praça das Flores, Lisbon. And from this Church was organized the Lusitanian Catholic Apostolic Evangelical Church in 1878, with the help of Thomas Godfrey Pembroke Pope. According to Barata, the first Synod of the Lusitanian Church was organized on 8th of March 1880. Ericson tells us that this first “Synod of 1880 was the result of an official request of the Lambeth Conference of the English Anglican Church”.²²⁷ To highlight the circumstances he even reminds us that,

A Igreja Episcopal Lusitana começou oficialmente em Portugal na altura em que a Igreja Católica Romana tinha acabado de promulgar um dogma que iria provocar certa agitação em alguns quadrantes afectos à referida igreja [Católica Romana]. Convirá lembrar que na primeira metade do século XIX já havia vestígios de Anglicanismo em Portugal. No entanto, al longo dos anos 70 do século XIX para muitos sacerdotes e leigos da Igreja Católica Romana foi um período de desencantamento e desacordo com algumas das conclusões do Vaticano I, entre as quais se contava o dogma da infalibilidade papal. Assim, em 1880, os católicos que discordavam dos dogmas promulgados no vaticano I junto com os simpatizantes do anglicanismo organizaram-se sob a denominação de Igreja Apostólica Evangélica Católica.²²⁸

[The Lusitanian Episcopal Church started officially in Portugal by the epoch that the Roman Catholic Church had just promulgated a dogma that would cause a certain agitation in some realms affected with the

223 Ericson, G. C., Op. cit., p.28.

224 Ericson, G. C., Ibid, p.28.

225 Ericson, G. C., Ibid, p.28.

226 Barata, A. C., *História: A Reforma Religiosa em Portugal, História dos Evangélicos em Portugal*, Op. cit., p.5.

227 Ericson, G. C., Op. cit., p.36.

228 Ericson, G. C., Ibid, pp.35-36.

referred church [Roman Catholic]. It is convenient to remember that in the first half of the 19th century there were already signs of Anglicanism in Portugal. However, from the seventies of that century, for many priests and laics of the Roman Catholic Church it was a period of disenchantment and discord with some of the conclusions of the Council Vatican I, amongst them was the dogma of papal infallibility. Therefore, in 1880, the Catholics who disaccorded with the promulgated dogmas of Vatican I, together with the sympathisers of Anglicanism organised themselves under a denomination, Igreja Apostólica Evangélica Católica [Catholic Evangelical Apostolic Church].]

One Catholic priest who left the Roman Catholic Church in 1891 to collaborate with the Lusitanian Church was Santos Figueiredo.²²⁹ Having worked in several denominations like the Methodist and the Presbyterian, he came to serve in the Lusitanian. Ericson also states,

Dez anos mais tarde foi publicado o seu livro *Factos Notáveis da Igreja Lusitana Desde a Sua Origem*²³⁰ que constitui uma preciosa ajuda para contextualizar a Igreja Lusitana numa perspectiva correcta em termos históricos que passa naturalmente pela visão sincrónica dos acontecimentos da época (fim do século XIX) no seio da Igreja católica Romana.²³¹

[His book *Factos Notáveis da Igreja Lusitana Desde a Sua Origem* (Notable Facts of the Lusitanian Church Since its Origin), was published ten years later which constituted a precious help to contextualise the Lusitanian Church in a correct historical perspective that naturally passes through the synchronic vision of the events of the epoch (end of 19th century) within the Roman Catholic Church.]

In 1971, the Presbyterian, Methodist and the Lusitanian Churches formed the Concílio Português das Igrejas Cristãs (Portuguese Council of the Christian Churches) (COPIC), which maintains organic links with the World Council of Churches. Ericson informs that “since that time these three denominations withdrew from their affiliation with the Portuguese Evangelical Alliance”.²³²

Helen Roughton in 1860 initiated a primary school for poor children in São Sebastião da Pedreira, Lisbon. The case went up to be discussed in the Portuguese Parliament and, after some investigations, was praised and the wishes were that many more works of the same type would be welcomed in Portugal. She died in 1885, “but before her death (at an unknown date) Helen Roughton had adhered to the doctrinal principles of the Brethren”.²³³ Nevertheless, it was Richard and Cathryn Holden who established the first Brethren Church in Lisbon in 1877. The Portuguese

229 Ericson, G. C., *Ibid*, p.37.

230 Italic added.

231 Ericson, G. C., *Ibid*, p.37.

232 Ericson, G. C., *Ibid*, pp.37-38.

233 Ericson, G. C., *Ibid*, p.33.

Assemblies of God adopted the autonomy pattern of the local church and national organization structure of the Brethren Churches. According to Ericson,

As assembleias dos Irmãos nunca estiveram totalmente interligadas em Portugal por uma organização de âmbito nacional. No entanto, aqueles que se denominam Irmãos encontram-se geralmente unidos em espírito, sobretudo por causa das suas doutrinas comuns e interdependências dos seus missionários e líderes nacionais. Visto que cada assembleia é considerada autónoma, a história do movimento dos Irmãos em Portugal é, na realidade, um quadro composta de muitas congregações individuais.²³⁴

[The assemblies of the Brethren have never been totally interlinked in Portugal by an organization of national ambit. Nevertheless, those that denominate themselves as Brethren are generally united in spirit, above all because of their common doctrines and the interdependency of their missionaries and national leaders. Since each assembly is considered autonomous, the history of the movement of the Brethren in Portugal is, in reality, a framework composed by many individual congregations.]

The Congregational Church was established in Portugal in 1879, by Manuel dos Santos Carvalho, in Calçada do Cascão, St^a Apolónia, Lisbon. According to Barata, “the Brethren and the Congregational Churches were the two Denominations that grew the most towards the end of the 19th Century and early 20th Century”.²³⁵ According to the Baptist historian Herlânder Felizardo, cited by Barata, “the first Portuguese Baptist Church was organized in 1888. This was due to the fact that some time before, the Methodist and Episcopal Churches in Porto, refused to baptise Joseph Charles Jones’s (1848-1929) two daughters by the immersion rite, so he took them to London where they were baptised by immersion. Returning from London, they started meetings.”²³⁶ The Nazarene Church according to Francisco Xavier Ferreira, cited by Barata, was started in Ilha Brava, Cape Verde Islands, by the end of 1800, but only in 1901 was officially commenced as a Pentecostal Church. “After some years, the Church of the Nazarene thought it appropriate to take away the word Pentecostal from its official name”.²³⁷ This denomination was only established in continental Portugal in 1973.

In terms of a list of the denominations established in Portugal, according to Ericson,²³⁸ the following denominations were all established in Portugal in the nineteenth century the: Methodist (1835), Presbyterian (1845), Brethren (1877), Episcopal Lusitanian (1880), Baptist Churches (1888), and the Congregational Churches (1890). The various Pentecostal churches established in

234 Ericson, G. C., *Ibid*, p.32.

235 Barata, A. C., *História: A Reforma Religiosa em Portugal, História dos Evangélicos em Portugal*, Op. cit., p.6.

236 Barata, A. C., *História: A Reforma Religiosa em Portugal, História dos Evangélicos em Portugal*, *Ibid*, p.7.

237 Barata, A. C., *História: A Reforma Religiosa em Portugal, História dos Evangélicos em Portugal*, *Ibid*, p.6.

238 Ericson, G. C., *Op cit.*, pp.27-47.

the twentieth century were the: Assemblies of God (1913), Pentecostal Evangelical Church (1962), Church of God (Cleveland, Tennessee) (1965), Apostolic Church (1970), Assemblies of God Universal (1978), Wesleyan Methodist (1979), Livramento Churches (1979), New Life Church (1982), Maranatha Evangelical Church (?), Pentecostal Independent Churches (Azores) (?). Other denominations established in Portugal in the twentieth century were: Acção Bíblica (1921), Missão Aliança Evangélica (1938), Portuguese Lutheran Evangelical Church (1958), Gypsy Evangelical Church (1966), Salvation Army (1971), Nazarene Church (1973).

2.3 Origins of the Brazilian and the Portuguese Assemblies of God

At this stage the Pentecostal Movement that interests us is the one that spread around the world and had its expansion from January 1901, related with Kansas City and particularly Los Angeles. Paulo Branco, a Portuguese Pastor and author of several works in the field of church history says, “The two places of reference are: Bethel’s Bible School, in Kansas, connected with Charles Fox Parham, and that of Azusa Street, in Los Angeles, California, connected to Mr William J. Seymour”.²³⁹

Probably, the first Portuguese to visit Portugal with the aim to preach the Pentecostal message was Adolfo Rosa,²⁴⁰ who “was converted in autumn of 1906 and was baptised with the Holy Spirit in Oakland, CA. Some time later we find him with the first pioneers spreading the good seed in the centre of California and finally the pastor of a small church in S. Francisco”.²⁴¹ According to the journal *Azuza, The Apostolic Faith*, (No 8, May 1907), “Brother Adolfo Rosa left S. Francisco to Portugal to preach the gospel to the people there”.²⁴² However, we find no trace of his endeavours in Portugal.

In Azusa Street in Los Angeles, as well as in Chicago and South Bend, revival broke out with a new flavour, the experience of the *glossolalia*, the baptism of the Holy Spirit with the speaking in tongues. This new God-given experience spread rapidly throughout the world, including Belém do Pará, in Brazil.

239 Branco, P., *90º Aniversário da Convenção das Assembleias de Deus em Portugal, 1913-2003, Das Origens à Actualidade*, (Convenção das Assembleias de Deus em Portugal, Av. Almirante Gago Coutinho, 158, 1700-033, Lisbon. 2003), p.2.

240 Unfortunately, not much data is available about Adolfo Rosa’s life details and ministry.

241 Branco, P., *Ibid*, p.4.

242 Branco, P., *Ibid*, p.4.

Barata tells us²⁴³ that Gunnar Vingren, a young pastor of the Swedish Baptist Church in South Bend, Indiana, USA, went to the revival meetings to witness what was happening. He experienced the baptism of the Holy Spirit and, some time after, met another young Swedish man, Daniel Berg (1894-1963), who also had been baptised with the Holy Spirit. By sharing their ideas of what was happening, they discovered that God was leading them both in the same direction, that is, to go into the missionary field in a foreign country. Some time later, Daniel Berg visited Pastor Vingren in South Bend. During that visit, the Lord spoke to them by means of a prophetic dream to leave America to go and preach the Good News of Pentecostal Revival elsewhere. The place mentioned in the prophetic dream was “Pará”.²⁴⁴

The story goes like this,

In 1909, in Chicago, as participants of a Conference, after a long dialogue, in which they identified and were aware of the call of God upon their lives, they started praying daily to seek God’s guidance. Some days after, a brother baptized with the Holy Spirit, Adolf Uldin, told them a dream, in which appeared both friends as personages, and a strange name, but very legible: Pará. Uldin had never heard such a name but somehow he knew it was the name of a place somewhere.²⁴⁵

Without having a clue of where that place would be, they went to a bookshop to search for a map. It was then that they discovered it was one of the Brazilian states in the northeast. They left on the 5th of November 1910 from New York to their new missionary destiny, Bélem do Pará, Brazil. They did not have any address of anyone in town; so, they walked down the main street, solely led by the Holy Spirit. As they sat on a bench on the plaza, they prayed the first prayer for the people they did not know but loved and were ready to give their lives for them.

They found the Methodist pastor, Justus Nelson, who introduced them to Raimundo Nobre, pastor of the Baptist Church, as they were members of the Baptist Church in America. They started learning the Portuguese language and, full of fire, they prayed day and night. That fact was noticed by some members of the church who criticised them, labelling them as fanatical, for dedicating so much time to prayer. By this time they preached to them about their experience with the Holy Spirit, based on the Scriptures. Celina de Albuquerque and Maria Nazaré were the first believers to embrace the new Christian Pentecostal experience. These ladies decided to pray until they would

243 Barata, A. C., (personal document, not published), Op. cit.

244 Conde, E., *História das Assembleias de Deus no Brasil*, (“N.P.”, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. 1960), pp.11-13.

245 Oliveira, J. de, *As Assembleias de Deus no Brasil*, (CPAD, Casa Publicadora das Assembleias de Deus, Brazil. 1997), p.34.

receive the baptism with the Holy Spirit, which happened during a vigil at one o'clock in the morning of the 2nd of June 1911.²⁴⁶

The happening was brought to the knowledge of the Baptist Church members' attention.²⁴⁷ The church was full of enthusiasm on the 10th of June 1911, but, as Celina came to teach her Sunday school class she was not permitted to do so. Nevertheless, the superintendent of the Sunday school, the Portuguese José Plácido da Costa, sympathised with the movement. On that day, Raimundo Nobre, without legal authority to do so, called a general meeting of the church for the following day, the 12th of June 1911. The group of people who had the Pentecostal experience, present in that general meeting, was told to stand up, and they were the majority of the church members present. After that, Manoel Maria Rodrigues read out from the Book of Acts about the baptism in the Holy Spirit. Then, José Plácido da Costa also stood up and read the Scriptures in 2 Corinthians 6:17-18,

Therefore, come out from among them and be separate, says the Lord. Do not touch what is unclean, and I will receive you. I will be a Father to you, and you shall be my sons and daughters, says the LORD Almighty.²⁴⁸

The Brazilian acclaimed Christian historian Emílio Conde²⁴⁹ also writes that after this the “rebels” prayed with their hands raised up, gave glory to God and left the Church. From that day, the 18th of June 1911, they started meeting elsewhere to found the first Assemblies of God Church in the Portuguese-speaking world.

Without knowing it, a very small flock of twenty people, they would launch the foundations of a gigantic movement that spread throughout all Brazil, Portugal and to all nations where Portuguese has been spoken.²⁵⁰

In Portugal, the Portuguese Pentecostal Assemblies of God Church was founded early in the twentieth century. José Plácido da Costa (1869-1965), who had been an immigrant in Brazil since 1901, was a “native of Valezim, Beira Alta. He was led to Jesus Christ in 1903, by the then

246 Branco, P., Op. cit., p.4.

247 Conde, E., Op. cit., pp.21-24.

248 *Holy Bible, New King James Version*, Op cit, 2 Corinthians 6:17-18.

249 Conde, E., Op. cit., p.25.

250 Barata, A. C., (personal documents, not published), Op. cit.

colporteur of the Brazilian [Bible] Society, João Jorge Oliveira, and was baptized in water in the Baptist Church, in the same year”.²⁵¹

In 1910, he, his family and other members of the Baptist Church in Belém do Pará, Brazil, were baptized with the Holy Spirit and adhered to the doctrine of the *glossolalia*, and, en bloc, they were excluded from membership. In 1911, they organized the Brazilian Apostolic Faith Mission, which they changed later into Pentecostal Assemblies of God in 1918. Silas Daniel, another Brazilian church historian, says,

When the missionaries Gunnar Adolf Vingren and Daniel Hogberg (or Berg, as he became known), founded the first Pentecostal Church in Brazil in 18th of June 1911, they called it The Apostolic Faith Mission. The choice of the name was inspired by the title of the journal edited by the Afro-American pastor William J. Seymour, leader of the most famous Pentecostal congregation in early 20th Century, which functioned in a very humble and abandoned barn from 1906 to 1909, in Azuza Street, 312, Los Angeles, California.²⁵²

After being established for only two years, this young church decided to send missionaries into other countries. In January 1913, Gunnar Vingren felt the need to speak with José Plácido da Costa about missions. Plácido da Costa felt he was being called by God to get involved with missions, particularly to take the message and experience to his homeland people in Portugal. On the 4th of April 1913, Da Costa and his family embarked on the “Ilderbrand” from Belém do Pará, to depart to their mission in Portugal with the intention to bring the good news with a Pentecostal flavour.

According to José Plácido da Costa, the work was initiated in the following month in Valezim, Seia. The evangelist, Sales,²⁵³ who did an Evangelistic Crusade in Cape Verde Islands²⁵⁴ in 1914, baptized the first Pentecostal believer in Portuguese territory. A small bulletin²⁵⁵, *O Mensageiro*, numbers of September and October of 1913, mentioned the coming of José Plácido da Costa to Portugal. It reads as follows,

There are already some months that our brother José Plácido da Costa is residing in our village, he came to work for the Master... Also our brother Thomaz L. Costa was here, having initiated a series of six

251 Barata, A. C., *História: A Reforma Religiosa em Portugal, História dos Evangélicos em Portugal*, Op. cit., p.7.

252 Daniel, S., *História da Convenção das Assembleias de Deus do Brasil*, (CPAD Casa Publicadora das Assembleias de Deus, Brazil, 2004), p.9.

253 Note: Full name is not known. The name Sales, is the only one used in written records.

254 Barata, A. C., (personal documents, not published), Op. cit.

255 It was very unusual for non-Catholic churches to have a bulletin in those days.

conferences on the 24th of September, holding meetings four times a week during two months, five people were converted.²⁵⁶

Under Plácido da Costa's ministry, from 1913 to 1919, the work did not grow much. Due to financial difficulties in furthering his work, he accepted the invitation of his first Brazilian Baptist Pastor, João Jorge de Oliveira, to become a Baptist minister and settle in Porto. From Porto he moved to Viseu, and in 1922 he settled in Tondela.²⁵⁷

2.4 Three main stages of the History of the Portuguese Assemblies of God

From its start, the Portuguese Assemblies of God Church had the concept of being a Movement of the Spirit of God²⁵⁸ not a denomination, controlled by a national directory or headquarters. The Swedish missionaries implemented a system, which they thought to be the most accurate, from their home country experience of Church government and organization. They also used the same experience of the Brethren Churches in Portugal.

Through time, the Movement – as it is still called among the pastors of the Assemblies of God – headed towards spreading nationally. The following high points mark its history: first, the establishment of the Movement, up to its national scale level; second, the establishment of theological schools which greatly shaped and changed its future, and; third, the main dissident events, which led to it becoming a formal legal denomination.

2.4.1 The establishment of the Movement to a national scale (1921)

To establish the Movement to a national level the missionaries started off by planting solid local churches.

2.4.1.1 The establishment of local Churches: from villages to cities

On the 21st of July 1921 the Pentecostal Assemblies of God of Belém do Pará, Brazil, sent another minister as a missionary to Portugal, José de Matos Caravela. Barata wrote,

256 Moreira, E., [?], (Article in: O Mensageiro, Ano IV, No. 37, Setembro e Outubro de 1913. Valezim, Seia. 1913), [?].

257 Barata, A. C., *História: A Reforma Religiosa em Portugal, História dos Evangélicos em Portugal*, Op. cit., p.7.

258 Barata, António Costa, (personal documents, not published), Op. cit.

He did not like to see his colleague working with who he was not in accord! Matos ends up by founding, in mid 1922, the Pentecostal Assemblies of God, in Tondela. The Baptist brethren made a great campaign against them and Matos closes the work and moves down to Portimão – Algarve, in 1924.²⁵⁹

Travelling all across the country, he was persecuted, physically beaten and mistreated. Nevertheless, he established fruitful churches in Tondela, Lagos, Silves, Rio Maior, Évora and Santarém.²⁶⁰ Barata further stated Matos did a pioneering work in the Beiras, selling and distributing literature.²⁶¹ Thereafter he moved to the Algarve. Settling in Portimão, then Vila Nova de Portimão, he founded the first organized Portuguese Assemblies of God in 1924.²⁶²

In 1930²⁶³ Daniel Berg (1894-1963) travels from Brazil to establish the work of God in the north of Portugal, particularly in Porto. He contacted several brethren who had come from Brazil to gather them as a Pentecostal Community in a single common place of worship. This way he started what became the launching of the Assemblies of God of the North of Portugal. The Swedish missionary Holger Baecstrom (1904-1964) cooperated in this endeavour.²⁶⁴

Plácido left the Baptist denomination and returned to Valezim. After that he immigrated through Argentina and various parts of Brazil, including a last visit to his former church in Belém do Pará. There he was informed that the Pentecostal work had been established by the Swedish missionary Daniel Berg (1894-1934). In 1935 he returned to Porto to be a Pentecostal pastor and became the senior pastor of the Assemblies of God of Porto in 1939, a position he held until 1954.²⁶⁵

In Lisbon, the Portuguese capital, the Swedish missionary Jack Hardstedt (1895-1973), organised the church in Lisbon on the 3rd of October 1933, “in a rented small Roman Catholic chapel. Some brethren from Évora, from the church founded by Pastor José de Matos, helped in the establishment of the church in Lisbon, this was because of personal reasons that some families moved to the capital”.²⁶⁶ The first baptismal service “which saw the inauguration of its first church meeting place was on the 13th of May 1934”.²⁶⁷ Five years later, when Hardstedt departed back to

259 Barata, António Costa, *História: A Reforma Religiosa em Portugal, História dos Evangélicos em Portugal*, Op. cit., p.8.

260 Hurlbut, Jesse Layman, *História da Igreja Cristã*, (Zondervan Publishing House. 1970), p.235.

261 Barata, António Costa, (personal documents, not published), Op. cit.

262 Pessoa, José, et al, *Manual dos Candidatos ao Baptismo*, (Casa Publicadora da Assembleias de Deus, Edições Novas de Alegria, Lisboa. 1987), p.97.

263 Ericson, Gerald Carl, Op. cit., p.45.

264 Barata, António Costa, (personal documents, not published), Op. cit.

265 Barata, António Costa, *História: A Reforma Religiosa em Portugal, História dos Evangélicos em Portugal*, Op. cit., p.8.

266 Barata, António Costa, (personal documents, not published), Op. cit.

267 Barata, António Costa, *História: A Reforma Religiosa em Portugal, História dos Evangélicos em Portugal*, Op. cit., p.8.

Sweden, the church had 18 members in fellowship. The following two Swedish missionaries greatly influenced the furthering of the work from Lisbon, Samuel Nystrom and Tage Stahlberg (1902-1980). Doctors Colin and Margaret Bowker, both medical doctors, were also missionaries in Portugal.

The name: Pentecostal Assemblies of God was given to the Church on the 3rd of January 1939. In the same year, on the 23rd of March 1939, the Civil Governor of Lisbon approved the constitution of the church according to the law in place.²⁶⁸ The church in Lisbon soon became the unofficial, but de facto, mother church of the National Assemblies of God Churches.²⁶⁹

It is relevant to notice the fact that the intentions in establishing each church were always that they would be autonomous and self-governing bodies. That is, independent from the interference from other churches or entities, whether national or international. Therefore, the churches should be totally Portuguese in character for their continuity. “And God raised Portuguese leaders who were capable of doing so. The Assemblies of God Churches are growing. The main driving force has always been ... that the Pastors are totally dedicated to the spread of the Gospel”.²⁷⁰ Among many such for instance, is the first Portuguese Pastor in Lisbon, Alfredo Rosendo Machado who is amongst the greatest pioneers and is still alive.

The first National Pastoral Convention was held in 1939. And the organisation of other main national events and permanent religious institutions were also very effective in both keeping the fire burning with enthusiasm as well as furthering the growth of the Movement, as it is known. Other activities undertaken by the Assemblies of God were: Short term Bible Schools, youth camps in Foz do Arelho, yearly national Youth Congresses, the six months duration Bible School in Lisbon, the three year Bible School (1975) and the ICI, International Correspondence Institute in Fanhões, Loures, the National Evangelistic Campaign (1976), the Teen Challenge (1977), the CAPU, Publishing House of the Assemblies of God with its new premises since 1978. All these helped the churches to have about 20,000 people by 1981, 120 fulltime pastors, and 390 recognized lay preachers in an organization of 315 churches and another 170 places where people worshipped.²⁷¹

268 Ferreira, J. C., *Ebenezer*, (Casa Publicadora das Assembleias de Deus, Edições Novas de Alegria, Maio de 1944), p.18.

269 Pessoa, José, *Interview given to the Division of Foreign Missions of the Assemblies of God in the USA*, (Springfield, Missouri, USA, on the 18th of April, 1977). (Photocopy of the document is with Pastor A. C. Barata).

270 Barata, A. C., (personal documents, not published), Op. cit.

271 Ericson, G. C., Op. cit., pp.45-46.

Therefore, many churches were organised and established throughout the country and the then Portuguese empire, by many missionaries and indigenous ministers.

2.4.1.2 The characteristics of local church structures

As mentioned above, one of the most important characteristics of the governing structures of the church was that each local church should always be autonomous and a self-governing body. That is, it should be independent from the interference of other churches or entities, whether national or international.

Another important characteristic of the Portuguese Assemblies of God was that they were established, under the concept of a “Mother Church”. It derived from the Swedish Church’s organization system, brought about by the first Swedish missionaries to Portugal. The Brethren Church also used it in Portugal as the pattern of church organization.

According to this concept, for a local church to be recognized as not being just a congregation²⁷² but indeed a church, it has to have several conditions in place. In terms of leadership and governance, the church needed to have at least one fulltime Pastor with the help of a team, or plurality, of elders and deacons, who would all constitute the Governing Body Ministry of that local church. They had to cater for the spiritual as well as for the practical matters of the community.

Second, the local church needed to have enough finances to supply for the pastor’s needs as well as for all the church expenses and also to propagate itself and the gospel, by the planting of other congregations. And, third, the local body must have its own legally approved constitution, so to be able to exist in legal terms and to have its own properties.

These conditions endured for many decades. That is, the Assemblies of God, which were known as the Movement, had no headquarters and no head office. Further, there was no official or legal national representative or constitution.

272 When a body of believers was still dependent financially or of leadership from a local church, it has the status of a congregation, implying it belonged and was under the control and full authority of the mother church.

2.4.1.3 The establishment of national informal structures

For the Movement to grow from the cities to be able to touch the whole Portuguese Empire there should be some national strategies and means of carrying on leadership, to accomplish the task.

Probably, one of the main tools in place for the uniformity and unification of the churches across the country was the establishment of the National Pastoral Conventions, after the pattern of the Swedish Church.²⁷³ Another unifying tool was also the establishing of several magazines: *Novas de Alegria*, the official monthly bulletin; *O Avivamento*, a magazine to promote teaching and theological discussion; and, *O Expositor Dominical*, for the use in the Sunday schools in the local churches across the Empire. Even a third unifying tool, greatly efficient, was the establishment of the national publishing house: CAPU, which stands for Casa Publicadora das Assembleias de Deus.

A fourth tool that must also be mentioned is that of the establishment of several organizations to help any local church to further evangelism and church planting. Some of these organizations were: CDL, which is Centro de Distribuição de Literatura Cristã. This organization produced and distributed Christian literature, evangelising across the whole country. One of its leaders was Pastor Joaquim dos Santos Lucas da Silva. Another was CEN, which stands for Campanha de Evangelização Nacional. This organization organised evangelistic crusades in the main cities of the country, holding meetings with 10,000, 15,000, 20,000 people. Some of CEN's leaders were Pastor Luís Reis and Pastor Leonídio Ascensão. Another organization was the Desafio Jovem, founded by the above-mentioned Pastor Joaquim dos Santos Lucas da Silva, or just Lucas da Silva as he is known. This was an organization to reach drug and alcoholic addicts, prostitutes and marginal young people.

A fifth tool also useful for the unification of the work into a national network of churches and pastors was the establishment of theological schools. These were of two kinds: first, of short-term duration, and second, of a more conventional Bible College type. "The need to prepare leaders became more evident as the Local Churches kept opening new Congregations in the neighbouring

²⁷³ Ericson, G. C., Op. cit., p.45.

areas. The first labours of the Pentecostal work in Portugal did not have the blessing of being theologically prepared as today”.²⁷⁴

Sponsored by the Assemblies of God of Lisbon, the first Bible School was held in the capital from the 6th of October to the 2nd of November 1942. It was organized every autumn for about five weeks.²⁷⁵ Lay preachers and Sunday school teachers gathered for this first Bible School from across the country and it was attended by 35 young people. “The students learned their lessons and on the following Sunday they had to teach them in Sunday School. There were two full days set apart solely for fasting and prayer in the presence of the Lord, and many students were baptised in the Holy Spirit during that time. After that, the students held public services with the participation of a choir. And many accepted Jesus as their Saviour as a result of such training endeavours”.²⁷⁶

Another tool was that of the Youth Congress and, later, the Conferences of the Assemblies of God. According to an article²⁷⁷ by Barata, in 1964 a meeting was held in Porto to prepare the First National Encounter, which started in Coimbra²⁷⁸, and ended in Porto in 1965. From these meetings the name Youth Congress was founded.

The organization of these events clearly indicates the national geographic presence of the churches, and the help every church gave to the spread of the gospel across the country. The Youth Congresses were used in at least two senses: first, to galvanize the whole Movement as a one national unit, by promoting acquaintances, relationships and a sense of belonging to a greater organization than that experienced in their local church. Second, it was used to promote evangelism on a mass scale and highlighting these events through the media.

One last tool to be mentioned that galvanized the Movement giving it a national sense was also the passion for missions. As an internal strategy, missionary and evangelistic efforts were made through the planting of many preaching points, (such as services held in homes), congregations and churches. As an external strategy, missionaries were sent by the Movement to

274 Barata, A. C., (personal documents, not published), Op. cit.

275 Barata, A. C., (personal documents, not published), Ibid.

276 Velez, A. R. da C., *A Escola Bíblica*, (Article in: *Novas de Alegria*, Casa Publicadora das Assembleias de Deus, Número Especial de Natal, 1942) p.4.

277 Barata, A. C., *História: A Reforma Religiosa em Portugal, História dos Evangélicos em Portugal*, Op. cit., p.8.

278 The 2nd Congress was held in Lisbon in 1966, the 3rd in Portalegre in 1967, the 4th in Aveiro in 1968, the 5th in Tomar in 1969, the 6th in Caldas da Rainha in 1970, the 7th in Estremoz in 1971, the 8th in Covilhã in 1972, the 9th in Portimão in 1973, the 10th in Porto in 1974, the 11th in Lisbon in 1975, the 12th in Santarém in 1976, the 13th in Évora in 1977, the 14th in Coimbra in 1978, the 15th in Setúbal in 1979, the 16th in Cascais in 1980, the 17th in Aveiro in 1981, the 18th in Amadora in 1982, the 19th in Vila Franca de Xira in 1983, the 20th in Lagos in 1984, the 21st in Tomar in 1985. From the 1985 Tomar Congress, it was decided that it would be alternate every second year to give place to the Conferences of the Assemblies of God. The 22nd Congress was held in Faro in 1988.

establish the churches of the Movement in East Timor, Macao, Mozambique, Angola, South Africa, Rhodesia, Angola, São Tomé and Príncipe, Cape Verde Islands, Azores and Madeira, France, Germany, USA, and Canada.

2.4.1.4 The establishment of links with international structures

Since its beginnings, there were the initial international links with the Brazilian Church in Belém do Pará. But, indeed, the international relationship was even stronger with their mentors, the Swedish missionaries Daniel Berg and Gunnar Vingren. Therefore, the relationship with the Swedish Pentecostal Movement was of greater importance for what would happen in the development of the Portuguese Assemblies of God. Later it became involved with the American Assemblies of God.

Although the vision of the missionaries was that of establishing self-supporting local churches, for many decades the Portuguese Movement depended largely on foreign support. Firstly, the Movement needed spiritual leadership who could serve as its father figures. This was due to the fact that the majority of the newly converted Portuguese were coming from a Roman Catholic background, and were very ignorant in biblical terms. A learning process was necessary for the apprehension of the new Christian type of living and Church experience. Secondly, the financial support which the missionaries deposited²⁷⁹ directly in the offering baskets during the services, as any other church member did. The Movement needed financial support since the people being reached with the Good News were mainly from the poorest classes and the spread and the development of the planting of new Local Churches required permanent and constant financial support.

In the early decades, the relationship between the Portuguese Assemblies of God and the Swedish Pentecostal Movement seemed to be of a permanent nature. But, in the early seventies there was a change. This occurred when the National Pastoral Convention of the Assemblies of God of Portugal asked for assistance from the American Assemblies of God. What motivated such a swing is important to determine. For the question remains, was it a result of a specific decision made by the Swedish missionaries? Or, was it signs of maturity by the Portuguese who were now taking their destiny into their hands?

²⁷⁹ The missionaries did this as means of a teaching example on how to give money to God.

2.4.2 The establishment of theological schools (1965)

This marks the second stage of the development of the Portuguese Assemblies of God. Pastor Manuel Ribeiro Fernandes, one of the leaders of the Portuguese Assemblies of God, informed the Movement that the type of Bible School of only several weeks was no longer enough to supply for the increasing needs of leadership training of the Assemblies of God at a national level. This Bible School needed to have duration of six months. He wrote,

As the Local Churches kept on growing, opening new places of worship and preaching, having each one of them at least six or seven places of preaching (a type of home cells) or constituted congregations (shops or houses rented and transformed to be solely for Church meetings and purposes), it intensified the need for an emphasis on a different kind of training. Therefore, it was decided in the National Convention of the Assemblies of God held in Portimão from the 10th to the 16th July of 1965, the following: the organization of a Bible Institute for those who felt a call of God on their lives to become Pastors and preachers of the Word of God.²⁸⁰

2.4.2.1 The Instituto Bíblico de Lisboa (1966)

The Portuguese Assemblies of God decided to establish a six-month Bible School to operate in the Avenida Almirante Reis, in Lisbon. It was founded on the 13th of January 1966. Its founding Pastors were João Sequeira Hipólito (1917-1979), Tage Stahlberg, Alfredo Rosendo Machado, and the missionary Ernest Newman (1910-1996). The permanent teachers at this Bible School were Dr. Jorge Pinheiro and Manuel Ribeiro Fernandes.²⁸¹

After some years of operation, this Bible School was no longer able to supply for the increasing needs of better-prepared ministers. The Assemblies of God churches were starting to grow very rapidly after the promulgation of the Law of Religious Freedom in 1971. So, the National Convention of the Portuguese Assemblies of God took a step to extend a formal invitation to the American Assemblies of God missionary Samuel Johnson, then working in Spain. The invitation was officially directed to the Foreign Missions Department of the Assemblies of God of America, to help and finance the establishment of a permanent Bible School in College format of a three year diploma in ministry and theology.

280 Fernandes, Manuel Ribeiro, *Notícia da XXVII Convenção das Assembleias de Deus de Portugal*, (Article in: *Novas de Alegria*, Casa Publicadora das Assembleia de Deus, Junho de 1965), p.79.

281 Branco, P., et al, *Instituto Bíblico*, (Panorama Pentecostal, Instituto Bíblico de Portugal, Julho de 1981), p.33.

2.4.2.2 The Instituto Correspondência Internacional (ICI)

Samuel Johnson, an American missionary to Spain, was first invited to establish the ICI, which is the International Correspondence Institute, an International Correspondence Bible Institute, in Portugal. This Institute had at some time about one hundred and ten thousand correspondence students²⁸² mostly from the Portuguese speaking countries.

2.4.2.3 The Instituto Bíblico de Portugal (IBP)

Johnson was invited to establish both the ICI to serve the Portuguese Assemblies of God and also a three-year Diploma Bible College. According to a *Missionary Report* sent by Johnson to his Missions' Directors of the Foreign Missions Department of the Assemblies of God of America, he wrote,

I was invited in various occasions and encouraged to make contacts with the Portuguese Assemblies of God, and to teach in the autumn Bible School, in the six months Bible School, and to preach in several Youth Congresses, National Pastoral Conventions, and many Local Churches across the country, since 1967.²⁸³

According to the *Report* Johnson wrote, it was obvious that the Movement of the Portuguese Assemblies of God was one of the strongest in Europe, being, however, desperate about the need of a permanent three year Bible College. Johnson also wrote that,

Seeing this with them, Brother Greenaway visited the country several times for talks with the national leaders, representatives of the Pastoral Convention of the Portuguese Assemblies of God, about the issue.²⁸⁴

Also, the missionary John Garlock related,

There's no dough that Portugal is totally an open door. I've never seen a group of nationals who are so concerned and still so honest and opened about the danger of the American influence and, at the same time, so brotherly to the point of acknowledging and admitting their need of help. I think that Samuel Johnson and I

282 Filomena S., one of the teachers from 1978 to 1983, has given this information.

283 Johnson, S., *Portuguese Field Report July 1977*, (Department of Foreign Missions of the Assemblies of God in América. Photocopy of the document is with Pastor A. C. Barata).

284 Johnson, S., *Portuguese Field Report July 1977*, Ibid.

were able to grant and reinforce on them the assurance of what you, brethren, have given them, that you would never try to interfere with their structure neither with their patterns of holiness.²⁸⁵

John Garlock gives even further information in his *Report*, a different one from that of Johnson's, which is relevant to our quest. To the Division of Foreign Missions he says,

They are ready to have a Bible College, according to the curriculum we have recommended them, and they are planning and preparing an official letter within the same lines. It was also their idea to make this letter go round for every Pastor of the Assemblies of God to sign it. This is a happening with no precedents, and an evidence of the unanimity with which they want their Bible College.²⁸⁶

2.4.3 The shift from the Swedish to the American mission support: Seeds for main dissident events

When Tage Stahlberg, and his wife Ingrid wrote²⁸⁷ about their lives, they say reports had been published repeatedly in Sweden by the *Evangelii Haröld*, until their departure. Brother Tage, as he was known in Portugal, says,

Report after report, the news were arriving in Sweden until 1978, year when he writes his last report for the *Evangelii Haröld*, the Evangelical news paper that always published the news he sent from Portugal. During forty years Tage Stahlberg and his wife have been missionaries in Portugal. Suddenly a sickness forced him to return to Sweden for medical treatment.²⁸⁸

The two official letters²⁸⁹ of invitation sent by the National Convention of the Portuguese Assemblies of God to the American Assemblies of God had some conditions for the establishment of the three-year Bible College. The main concern was that the American missionaries should adopt the Portuguese Assemblies of God code of conduct, “a ética dos Portugueses” (the ethics of the Portuguese) as they labelled it. This was for them to gain the respect of the members of the Portuguese Assemblies of God. This attitude of presenting conditions may be understood as a sign of the existing maturity of leadership in the National Pastoral Convention of the Portuguese Assemblies of God.

285 Garlock, J., *Field Report*, (to the Division of Foreign Missions of the American Assemblies of God, on the 22nd of March 1972. Photocopy of the document is with Pastor A. C. Barata).

286 Garlock, J., *Field Report*, *Ibid*.

287 A book in Swedish, partly translated into Portuguese, under the title: *Amendoeiras em Flor*.

288 Baptista, C., *Op. cit.*, p.91.

289 Pessoa, J., et al, *Two Letters Sent by Pastor José Pessoa and João Sequeira Hipólito as official representatives of the National Convention of the Assemblies of God on the 24th of May 1972, from Lisbon, Portugal, inviting the American Assemblies of God to invest missionary resources in Portugal*. (Photocopies of the documents are with Pastor A. C. Barata).

However, Barata highlights the fact that the traditional link of relationship with the Swedish Pentecostal Church was being stressed, and that these contacts with the American Assemblies of God were creating a new relationship between the parties involved. Barata even wonders what might have been the reason for the rejection of that entire historical Swedish spiritual heritage, which has never been communicated or spread around. He wrote,

It is interesting to note that the Portuguese Assemblies of God Pastors did not turn to their original spiritual parents: the Swedish Church, for this endeavour, instead, they turned to another source of support and inspiration.²⁹⁰

There are three hypotheses for the shift of the role to be played in Portugal from Swedish to American missionaries. First, was it an arrangement between the Swedish missionaries and the American missionaries, for a transition of the role being played? The Swedish missionaries departed so definitely after the arrival of the American missionaries. Regarding this issue, we may only mention what José Pessoa, one of the former Portuguese Assemblies of God leaders, wrote about an interview with the Division of Foreign Missions of the Assemblies of God of America, on the 18th of April 1977,

The fact is that Brother Tage Stahlberg invited Brother Samuel Johnson to visit Portugal in the early years of the seventies.²⁹¹

Whether the invitation Tage Stahlberg extended to Samuel Johnson to visit Portugal was just a normal ordinary visit to preach is not known. However, the Swedish missionaries were in the country for about six decades in a very comfortable relationship with the Movement. So, there are three hypotheses: First, the Swedish mission organisation decided it was time to leave the Portuguese mission because they had accomplished what they had endeavoured to do. That is, to plant solid Portuguese autonomous local churches. Second, it could have been that their missionary supporters decided to invest elsewhere. And, third, because the missionaries were already advanced in age and the Swedish mission organisation did not have new missionaries to replace them. In any case, they decided to leave the country and their traditional position of leadership over the Portuguese Assemblies of God.

The second hypothesis is that it could have been the vision and initiative of the Division of Foreign Missions of the American Assemblies of God, to approach the Portuguese Assemblies of God. The Portuguese Assemblies of God Movement was the strongest Pentecostal Movement

²⁹⁰ Barata, A. C., (personal documents, not published), Op. cit.

²⁹¹ Pessoa, J., *Interview given to the Division of Foreign Missions of the Assemblies of God in the USA*, (Springfield, Missouri, USA, on the 18th of April, 1977), Op. cit.

across Europe in terms of membership, however, lacking proper training and financial support. So, there was an open door to effectively do missions in southern Europe. To support this theory, there is the mandate given in 1967 by the Division of Foreign Missions of the Assemblies of God of America to their missionary Samuel Johnson, then in Spain,

To try making contact with the Portuguese brethren, for the American Assemblies of God intended to get involved with Portugal.²⁹²

The third hypothesis is of the maturity of national leadership among the pastors of the Portuguese Assemblies of God. The Portuguese population were for many years under the curse of ignorance and low levels of literacy. They suffered from extreme poverty, and had a very low self esteem and lack of national pride. But, in time, they felt liberated from those oppressing conditions. So, the maturity of leadership of the Portuguese Assemblies of God at national level became visible. Did the Portuguese finally decide to react against foreign leadership and to find their own ways into the future?

The answer to these three hypotheses may probably be the one given by Pastor Alfredo Rosendo Machado.²⁹³ That is, simply, the Swedish missionaries had already given their leadership to the Elderships of each autonomous local church, and had established the Pastoral National Convention as the platform for leadership to the national matters. In this case, the Swedish missionaries simply respected the decision of the Portuguese leaders of the Assemblies of God to invite the Assemblies of God of America to help them in Portugal. Nevertheless, why not recognize that the historical flow had just used all the elements of change which played a role at the time to shape leadership matters.

2.4.4 The role of the IBP

The establishment of the three-year Bible College, the IBP, was the outcome of the Division of Foreign Missions of the American Assemblies of God deciding to approve its founding of a mission in Portugal. This was effected by the sending of four missionary couples to establish the Instituto Bíblico de Portugal (IBP). They bought a 30 acres farm in Quinta do Vale das Maias, in Fanhões, Loures. The renovation and transformation was done to host the first group of 12 students, and the opening was officially on the 7th of September 1975. In a letter by Johnson to Charles Greenaway, he wrote that on the following day another two students arrived and two weeks later

292 Johnson, S., *Portuguese Field Report, November 1977*, (Department of Foreign Missions of the Assemblies of God in América. Photocopy of the document is with Pastor A. C. Barata).

293 Da Silva, F. C., *Interview with Pastor Alfredo Rosendo Machado, on 6th of July 2004*, (Done in the Monte Esperança Bible School, Fanhões, Loures. Portugal).

they were altogether 23 registered students.²⁹⁴ In time many missionaries were sent from America to help in the Bible College.

In just a few years many pastors of the Portuguese Assemblies of God had been former students of IBP. They served under the former generations of pastors but soon the need forced them to occupy senior positions in the Movement.

The pastors that were trained at IBP were theologically equipped due to the broader theological exposure during the three years course. Plus, the American views were sown into the thinking of the students, even if involuntarily. That is the power of exposure to cultural influence through friendship and learning. The students were living on the facilities of Monte Esperança, the Bible School. The environment experienced there for three years was a cultural shaping melting pot for each student. Inevitably, pastors with a Diploma from the Monte Esperança were different from the other pastors trained in other schools and sources of influence.

However, the American school of thought was different, not so much in its Pentecostal theological approach, but indeed in terms of morals and ethics. The Swedish school of Pentecostal thought, was indubitably marked by the northern European cultural attitudes towards life. That was reflected in what they considered improper dressing, and behaviour. As a result, the female members of the Portuguese Assemblies of God were told not to dress in trousers, not to cut their hair, or shave their legs. If a woman did those things, they would be under a disciplinary process that could lead to excommunication. The same applied to a man who would grow a beard, listen to the radio or watch television. That is, the Swedish school of thought imposed a kind of lifestyle strange to the Portuguese, in a very legalistic way. Nevertheless, this was important as it was seen as signs of holiness. However, the American missionaries, also Pentecostal, had a very different view on the cultural issue. Members were even allowed to wear make- up, and go to cinema as normal people did in society. So, when the American missionaries formed the next generation of preachers and ministers, these had formed different opinions on the ethical matters.

294 Johnson, S., *Personal letter to Charles Greenaway, on the 19th of September 1975.* (Photocopy of the document is with Pastor A. C. Barata).

2.5 The impact of the 1974 revolution and the collapse of the Portuguese Empire on the Portuguese Assemblies of God

The Movement of the Portuguese Assemblies of God had spread and been established internationally. Strong local churches had been established abroad and kept many Portuguese missionaries busy. Those churches were in the Portuguese empire and also amongst the Portuguese communities of emigrants around the world. The Swedish influence, however, which was mainly felt in continental Portugal, was not experienced elsewhere. Rather, the Portuguese missionaries received inspiration from many other sources, which they encountered wherever they laboured. The very fact that they were far away from the Metropolis, out of that old Portuguese mentality, made them think differently and be different as happens with any emigrating group. And the number of these pastors was substantial.

In the 25th April 1974, a *coup d'e tat* replaced the old fascist regime in Portugal. The Revolution of the Carnations, as it is labelled, was a result of fundamental changes of perception by the Portuguese nation. The poor and ignorant people living in Portugal were not allowed to settle in the colonies. They were treated as second class citizens. The social conditions of poverty, misery and unemployment in which Salazar left them, forced them to take action. Many thousands fled illegally across the border to seek work in France, Germany and the rest of the world. Then, the war in the colonies led Salazar to ask those Portuguese to give their children to fight for the rich Catholic colonies. The perception became clear, if the poor people were not allowed to settle in the colonies it was because the colonies were not Portuguese. They belonged to the upper class of the Portuguese society. Therefore, it was time to stop sending their children to defend their oppressors. In addition, there was not political will to resolve the colonial wars, so the military acted to depose the government. The collapse of the regime through the revolution was inevitable. And the social changes resulting from the 1974 Revolution had an impact to reshape the Portuguese Assemblies of God. As Giddens points out, "Social changes affected the Church and its followers".²⁹⁵

The Revolution produced instability and social turmoil in Portugal. It was a turning point promoting new concepts in public opinion, of personal and individual affirmation. The discussion on what is liberty was on the streets, creating confusion until the discovery of the concept that "my liberty ends when the other person's starts".²⁹⁶ It was a new and revolutionary era of fundamental political, social and even religious changes, which would, inevitably, affect all spiritual and

²⁹⁵ Giddens, A., *Sociologia*, (Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, Lisbon, Portugal. 2nd Edition. [?]), p.534.

²⁹⁶ Portuguese were using this phrase repeatedly, some time after the Revolution.

religious bodies in the country. The Catholic Church was seen as co-responsible for the oppressive and the degrading conditions in Portugal because of its ties with Salazar. The Revolution also led to the independence of almost all Portuguese colonies. Finally, in its history, there were fundamental changes that shaped the Portuguese society into new paradigms and new social, economic and cultural trends. It turned out to be a new, fresh, and re-thought Portugal.

Portugal, until then cut off from the rest of the international community, was now able to start a process of entering the European Economic Community (the EEC) which happened in 1986. This event turned around the low self-esteem feelings of national pride into a modern and new way of approaching life. Now it was a new day, a day of national and also of personal independence and freedom. The resistance up to revolution to the outdated feudalistic patterns of culture gave place to a modern lifestyle. The shackles of oppression of any kind were removed from the Portuguese feet for they shall walk in liberty. The slogan, “viva Portugal” was the freshly discovered motto. How, then, could the Portuguese pastors of the Assemblies of God submit to foreign leadership?

The “Revolution of the Carnations”, as it became known, was inspired by democracy and new European liberal ideals. It was a revolution to replace the outdated traditional thinking and political organizational structures. The people had to be freed from dictatorship and that old mindset reminiscent of the Catholic linked old fashioned way of believing. “Viva liberty!” was the cry across the Portuguese Empire that would make the lifelong ruling classes tremble and the political system collapse.

As a direct result of this Revolution most Portuguese colonies got their independence. The political and social turmoil that followed in the Portuguese former colonies forced large numbers of people to move elsewhere, particularly to Continental Portugal. With them also came pastors to live in Portugal because most of those newly independent countries came under communist rulers. The new governments were fundamentally opposed to any religious corporate body, even to the point of nationalizing church property. This was the case in Mozambique where the Assemblies of God property was confiscated and nationalised, only being returned to its owners many years later.²⁹⁷ The threats and persecution to pastors and church members in the newly independent Portuguese speaking countries was great and life was very dangerous. It was in this time of turmoil that the pastors from the overseas colonies were integrated into the Movement in Portugal, to minister wherever they could be fitted in.

297 The devolution of the Assemblies of God's property in Maputo was done under the assistance of Mr Rahil S. Khan, a graduated of the IBP, a member the church, and member of the Mozambican Parliament.

2.5.1 Signs of change

The political and social turmoil experienced in Portugal in the mid- seventies and early eighties as a result of the Revolution of 1974, led to fundamental changes in the Portuguese culture. The changes in Portuguese society had its impact in religious life including on the Assemblies of God. It encouraged revolt, particularly against the ecclesiology of the Swedish missionaries. One sign of this revolt is what happened in the Youth Congress held in Lisbon in 1975. A group of young people, members of the Assemblies of God, tried to force changes by distributing pamphlets in the meeting and demanding changes from the platform. The speaker of this movement was António Fernando Nogueira Dias.²⁹⁸ He is known in the Assemblies of God simply as Fernando Dias and today he is a Professor of Sociology. In an interview Dias explained the need for changes to happen in the Assemblies of God.

Eu tenho cinquenta e três anos ... e ao longo deste meio século eu observei muitas coisas, neste processo histórico, que são as igrejas evangélicas em Portugal. Sou do tempo em que era pecado ver televisão, era pecado ouvir telefonia, era pecado estar em cafés e em lugares públicos [como cinemas e teatros]. Era pecado as mulheres pintarem o cabelo, usarem mini-saias e por aí fora.

E praticamente tudo era pecado. Portanto, vivíamos uma teologia do pecado, uma teologia do não. Não toques, não passes, não bebas. E curiosamente, com esta teologia, havia também a teologia da negação do eu, quer dizer, muitas vezes se ouvia os dirigentes e algumas pessoas da assistência a orarem dizendo: Senhor, Jesus, Deus, esmaga o meu eu, apaga o meu eu, aos pés da cruz. Eu não sou ninguém, só Tu é que és isto e aquilo.

Bom, isto é uma teologia da negação da pessoa humana. No meu ponto de vista e até do ponto de vista sociológico, isto é um erro autêntico. Porquê? Porque o ser humano tem em si as potencialidades para o seu desenvolvimento, desde que enquadrado e inserido no meio social que lhe facilite o seu desenvolvimento.²⁹⁹

[I am fifty three years old ... and during my life time ... I have observed many things in the historical process of the establishment of the Evangelical Churches in Portugal. I am of the time when it was sin to watch television, it was sin to listen to the radio, and it was sin to go to a café or to public places, [like cinemas or theaters]. It was sin for women to paint their nails, to cut their hair, to use mini-skirts and so on...

Practically, almost everything was sin. Therefore, we lived a theology of sin, a theology of the no. Don't touch, don't pass, and don't drink. And, curiously, with this theology there was also the theology of the negation of self... Leaders and believers prayed: Lord Jesus, smash my ego, extinguish the self in me at the feet of the cross. I am nothing, only you are everything.

Well this is a theology of the negation of the human self. In my opinion and even from the sociological point of view this is an authentic error. Why? Because the human being has in himself or herself the potential for his or her development, as long as it is in line with and inserted in the social milieu that might facilitate him or her to develop.]

298 Da Silva, F. C., *Interview with Prof. Dr António Fernando Nogueira Dias on the 12th of July 2004*, (Done in Lisbon).

299 Da Silva, F. C., *Interview with Prof. Dr António Fernando Nogueira Dias on the 12th of July 2004*, Ibid, [pp.3-4].

As Dias further points out, many Evangelicals were brought up under a repressive social and spiritual environment. As he explains,

Ora, se a criança ou o adolescente, está inserida no meio social que ... lhe está constantemente a dizer para negar o seu eu, desvalorizando esse mesmo eu, o que é que vai acontecer? Essa criança, esse indivíduo, quando chegar a adulto ... não tem uma auto-estima equilibrada, não tem uma imagem de si mesmo, minimamente em condições de fazer face à vida. Sente-se depois inferiorizado, sente-se complexado, sente-se mal, e desconfortável perante o mundo que o rodeia.

Porque a mensagem que ele incorporou e interiorizou ao longo do seu processo de socialização é a teologia da negação de tudo aquilo que é vida, que é prazer, que é alegria e que é relação com os outros.³⁰⁰

[If a child or teenager is inserted in a social environment ... which is constantly ordering him or her to deny his or her self, devaluating that same self, what will happen? That child, that individual, when he or she reaches adulthood ... he or she will not have a balanced self-esteem, he or she will not have a proper self-image to be able to face life. He or she will feel inferior, with complexes, feels bad, and discomforted towards the world.

This is because the message he or she incorporated and interiorised during the process of socialisation was the theology of negation of everything that pertains to daily life, related to pleasure, related to happiness and in relation with others.]

However, changes had to happen amongst the Evangelicals in Portugal, and they did happen. Professor Fernando Dias testifies of the transformation process taking place during the last two decades amongst the Evangelicals in Portugal. Nevertheless, he stresses the transformation has resulted in another, probably dangerous, reality. According to Professor Dias,

De há uns vinte anos para cá ... as igrejas evangélicas – numa tentativa de ultrapassar estes bloqueios e outros bloqueios, começaram por se segmentar criando as suas próprias autonomias e dando origem a novos movimentos. Ora, o que acontece é que, tem havido movimentos que, nesta ânsia de se autonomizar, e de defenderem valores próprios, acabou por se criar ilhas, ilhas que rebentam como cogumelos, num cenário do movimento evangélico. Isto por um lado é bom porque proporciona uma certa libertação, proporciona uma certa liberdade de ideias e de pensamento, mas por outro lado tem um inconveniente, é que cada um fabrica a sua própria teologia ... pelo menos na prática.³⁰¹

[As from twenty years ago ... the Evangelical Churches – in a tentative to depart from or to overpass the blockages [of the internal conservative positions on morals and ethics] and other blockages [like the Portuguese social pressure] – they fragmented by creating their own autonomies, giving birth to new [churches]... [But] in the desire to be autonomous, and to defend their own values, they ended up creating “islands”, “islands” that sprout as mushrooms, in the scenario of the Evangelical Movement.

300 Da Silva, F. C., *Interview with Prof. Dr António Fernando Nogueira Dias on the 12th of July 2004*, (Done in Lisbon), [p.4].

301 Da Silva, F. C., *Interview with Prof. Dr António Fernando Nogueira Dias on the 12th of July 2004*, Ibid, [pp.4-5].

In a sense, this is good because it proportionate liberation ... of ideas and of thought. But on the other hand it is inconvenient ... [because] each ... [dissident pastor/church] fabricates his or her own theology ... at least in daily practice.]

A philosophical vacuum was created in society that opened the door for new trends of thought and cultural change through all the political, social, and religious changes taking place. Several antagonist forces were also at work within the Assemblies of God Movement deriving from various schools of thought and diverse Christian experience that would lead to dissidence. Pastor Alfredo Rosendo Machado, one of the great pioneers of the Assemblies of God Movement in Portugal, is a reference point for many pastors. He was born on the 23rd of August 1914. Converted in 1933, he started his ministry in 1934; seventy years ago.³⁰² In an interview on the 6th of July 2004, Pastor Machado agreed that the religious life in Portugal did change, including the views of the pastors of the Assemblies of God. As he puts it,

[Durante várias décadas, os pastores] tentaram preservar a pureza [espiritual e santidade ensinando] uma separação completa de tudo o que fosse do mundo ou tivesse algum acêrvo de mundanismo... Isso foi bom no sentido, embora exagerado, foi bom para conservar o Movimento. Depois vieram outros obreiros, outra camada, outra geração, e as coisas começaram a alterar, a alterar e hoje é diferente.³⁰³

[[During several decades, pastors] tried to preserve the [spiritual] purity [and holiness by teaching] complete separation from everything of the world, the worldly [values]. It was good to a point to preserve the Movement³⁰⁴, although exaggerated. Other pastors came after, another group of them, another generation, and things started to alter... Today it is different... Things are very different nowadays.]

For various reasons there were signs of changes, a shift into new spiritual paradigms.

2.5.1.1 The return of Portuguese pastors to the metropolis

The pastors who were serving in the former colonies returned to Portugal to work in the Portuguese Assemblies of God Movement. But their thinking had been shaped differently and soon their influence was felt in the Movement. With the introduction of pastors returning from the ex-colonies, the Portuguese Assemblies of God altered. Pastors like Cordeiro, Eusébio, Cartaxo, and others still tried to integrate with the old Swedish school of thought. But Joaquim Leitão, Reganha Pereira and others aligned more with the American ways of thinking or their own.

302 Da Silva, F. C., *Interview with Pastor Alfredo Rosendo Machado, on 6th of July 2004*, Op. cit., [p.1].

303 Da Silva, F. C., *Interview with Pastor Alfredo Rosendo Machado, on 6th of July 2004*, Ibid, [p.9].

304 As mentioned before the Assemblies of God are known by its pastors simply as "The Movement".

2.5.1.2 The newly IBP formed pastors

Another source of new pastors was the IBP. As they finished their Bible School training they were assimilated by the structures of the Assemblies of God wherever they were needed. Nevertheless, it is obvious their school of thought had been of American origin, even if many resisted that influence. From the first days of the American Bible School in Fanhões, most of the former students and pastors ministered in the Movement of the Assemblies of God and occupied leadership positions as the increasing need of pastors for the Movement arose.

The assimilation by the Assemblies of God Movement of this new generation of pastors, formed by the American Bible School of Fanhões, was enough to produce the energy conducive for ecclesiastical reform of the Assemblies of God in Portugal. These pastors had studied for three years. Their training was qualified differently from that of the previous Bible Schools. The ideological clash was inevitable.

In an interview, Pastor Óscar Segura, president of the Fraternal Association³⁰⁵ and senior pastor of the Malveira Assemblies of God, spoke on the differences between the Swedish school and the American school. In his words,

Eu penso que a “escola americana” é um bocadinho diferente da “escola suéca”. A “escola suéca” foi feita nuns moldes, amis artesanais, não tinha estrutura em termos de disciplinas como tinha a “escola americana”. E em termos de instalações podemos dizer a mesma coisa. Portanto, a “escola americana” era uma escola já mais voltada mesmo para o ensino com vertentes que a “escola suéca” não tinha.³⁰⁶

[I think the American school is a little different from the Swedish school. The Swedish school was done in models more artisan because it did not have structure in terms of disciplines as the American had. In terms of facilities, we may say the same thing. Therefore, it was vocationally prepared for teaching, which the Swedish were not.]

Today, João Cardoso is the president of the Portuguese Evangelical Alliance and the senior pastor of a Charismatic Church in Lisbon. He says the education at the American Assemblies of God Bible School moulded a new generation of pastors,

Havia era convicções fortes, creio que originárias também pela formação. Entre a “escola suéca” e a “escola americana” havia diferenças. A “escola americana”, pelo menos naquilo que nos era transmitido, era uma escola mais aberta. Não quer dizer que a “escola suéca” ... já não tivesse evoluído na própria Suécia. Mas essa evolução não atingiu Portugal. Pronto, e nós, por causa também da formação – era uma escola de três anos

305 Fraternal Association was registered in the Conservatory on the 6th June 1997, and its legality status published by the Diário da República 9-10-97, 3ª Série, Nº 234.

306 Da Silva, F. C., *Interview with Pastor Óscar Segura: President of the Fraternal Association on the 6th of July 2004*, (Done in Malveira on 6-7-2004), [p.1].

– houve mais formação, e enraizamos bastante mais convicções. Não é assim? Convicções pelas quais lutamos. E acabou por ser um certo processo de liderança [para a mudança].³⁰⁷

[There were strong convictions; I believe originally from the type of education and formation. There were differences between the Swedish school and the American school. The American school, at least in that which was transmitted to us, it was a more open school. This does not mean the Swedish school ... would not evolve in Sweden. But that evolution did not reach Portugal. Therefore, because of our formation, it was a three-year school there was much more formation, and a realm to better root the convictions. Is not this natural? And we had to defend our convictions, to fight for them. And this became a certain process of leadership [into change].]

2.5.1.3 The world wide Charismatic new trends

The worldwide Charismatic new trends are better understood if we agree that the Reformation was a starting point of a process, a restoration process. The restoration process starts by the respect for the Bible as the Scriptures, and then diligently turns to find in them how God Himself wishes to restore His Church.

Dr. Bill Hamon, an internationally recognized professor of theological matters, describes the actual historical process on the restoring of the Christian Church as the Body of Christ. In his book *The Eternal Church*, he dedicates the section: The Restoration of the Church³⁰⁸ to his explanation. Christendom deviated from the original biblical truth. Therefore, there was the need for restoration, which led to Reformation. The different Protestant flows that originated into the various denominations are today understood by the Charismatic as the light of the six doctrines, that is, the foundation stones of Hebrews 6:1-2. The non-acceptance of the light of the specific revelation by the previous Christian body, led them to persecute those to whom it was revealed, and the establishment of the churches organized to accommodate the restored biblical truth.

According to Hamon³⁰⁹ Martin Luther got the revelation of the first doctrine, “Repentance form dead works”.³¹⁰ The Roman Catholic Church did not accept it, so, Protestant churches were established. The second doctrine – “faith towards God”³¹¹ – was the next to be found by a new generation of reformers who established the traditional Evangelical Movements, the Methodist, and the Presbyterian. The third doctrine – “the doctrine of Baptisms [in plural form]”³¹² – was revealed in two historical stages. First, its relation with the water baptism by immersion, administered to

307 Da Silva, F. C., *Interview with Pastor João Cardoso: President of the Portuguese Evangelical Alliance on the 8th of July 2004*, (Done in Lisbon), [p.4].

308 Hamon, B., *The Eternal Church*, (Christian International Publishers, Route 2, Box 351, Point Washington, FL 32454, USA. 1981) pp.115-305.

309 Hamon, Dr. Bill, *Ibid*, p.158. In his chart Hamon summarises his views on the process of restoration of the church.

310 Hebrews 6:1-2.

311 Hebrews 6:1-2.

312 Hebrews 6:1-2.

adults only, instead of by the unscriptural sprinkling of children. This revelation originated in the Baptist Church. Second, the other aspect of the doctrine, the baptism with the Holy Spirit, as happened on the Day of Pentecost, by the speaking in tongues. This was experienced from the beginning of the twentieth century and originated in all Pentecostal Churches, including the Assemblies of God.

Then, by 1940, the next foundation stone was revealed, “the doctrine of the laying on of hands”.³¹³ From those days, new denominations appeared. Preachers like Catherine Khulman, Oral Roberts, and Kenneth Hagin brought renewal and division to the traditional Pentecostal denominations, creating a new Pentecostal movement, the Charismatic. Churches like the Rhema Church in America are a result of this revelation.

Others preachers, like Dr. Kevin J. Conner repeatedly refer to the fact that the Church must be like the one of the early days. In his book, *The Church in the New Testament*³¹⁴ Conner explains how accurately the Church should study the New Testament to apply it in its life as corporate body and also at personal level.

These waves of continuing progressive reformation as the result of more precise interpretation of biblical texts have been arriving in Portugal. Protestantism, as such, was just a wave of reformation among many others needed to restore all things so that the heavens may finally release Jesus. Therefore, reformation is still needed in our epoch. There is the need for “Modern Reformers” who will again search the Scriptures for new waves of truth hidden in mystery to be revived into church experience.

The desire to please God led to getting more understanding of God’s master plan. And, as anywhere in the world, pastors of the Portuguese Assemblies of God also seek that experience of the newness of God. However, this attitude has inevitably led to the historical patterns of dissidence as experienced in the last five hundred years.

2.5.1.4 The change of religious symbols

There was a changing of the religious symbols in the churches. Pastors who returned from missionary posts and the newly formed IBP pastors had different sources of inspiration. They started by introducing their points of view, which had become their convictions. Convictions on

³¹³ Hebrews 6:1-2.

³¹⁴ Conner, K. J., *The Church In The New Testament*, (Conner Publications, Waverley Book Store, P.O.Box 140, Vermont, Victoria, 3133, Australia. 1982).

theological interpretations, on minor issues; but also convictions on the way Christian worship should be experienced in church life and personally. Obviously, then, these led to an internal change of religious symbols. Instead of singing hymns, only choruses were being sung. Instead of kneeling down and praying, they prayed standing up and walking around. Instead of the application of the sermons with a general blessing prayer, pastors laid hands on each individual who came forward to receive this kind of ministry.

Giddens, a sociologist, explains,

Religions imply a conjunct of symbols, which call for feelings of reverence and fear, connected to rituals or ceremonials (like religious services), realized by a community of believers.³¹⁵ The existence of collective ceremonials is usually seen by sociologists as one of the factors that distinguish religion from magic...³¹⁶

If the religious symbols change, the religious body structure shakes. And departure is then inevitable. Giddens reports that according to a table³¹⁷ about the religious population in the world, Christianity had over 1.85 million members in 1993. Nevertheless, he highlights that “there exist many divisions of theological and organizational order”.³¹⁸

It is important to highlight that even the liturgy was changing as Pastor João Cardoso says in an interview,

The liturgical practices of the two schools [the American and the Swedish] were very different. This fact can not be denied.³¹⁹

2.5.1.5 The establishment of New Charismatic Movements in Portugal

With the freedom of expression and of religion solidly implemented in Portugal, several new forms of Christian Charismatic experience were established. These also played a role in the dissident events within the Movement of the Assemblies of God. The main new Churches established in the eighties were: The Igreja Maná; the Igreja Charisma, more in the north; the Igreja Universal do Reino de Deus (IURD) (Universal Church of the Kingdom of God).

315 Giddens, A., Op. cit., p.522.

316 Giddens, A., Ibid, p.523.

317 Giddens, A., Ibid, p.526.

318 Giddens, A., Ibid, p.525.

319 Da Silva, F. C., *Interview with Pastor João Cardoso: President of the Portuguese Evangelical Alliance on the 8th of July 2004*, Op. cit., [p.4].

These three denominations reflect various flows of world Pentecostal/Charismatic movements and they affected the established traditional Pentecostalism in Portugal. The pro-American school of thought was particularly influenced by them.

2.5.1.6 The social changes

Social changes inevitably affect the church and its followers. The sociology of Christianity is not different from that of any other religion when it deals with its implementation in a society. All religions seem to partake of the same characteristics when related to sociological changes, including Christianity. As Wuthnow puts it, “social changes affect the Church and its followers”.³²⁰

As was mentioned from Peter Wagner, particularly the second indicator of receptivity to the gospel was in operation in Portuguese society. Those churches are easily established and grow when there are major changes in society. As Wagner writes,

[Churches are easy to plant and grow better] where people are changing ... it can be social change, political change, commercial change, economical change, and psychological change.³²¹

Periods of social transition and transformation affect the church. As Win Arn says

A proven principle of church growth is that unchurched people are more responsive to becoming Christians and responsible church members during periods of transition.³²²

The period of social transition and transformation the Portuguese society experienced in the seventies and the eighties, also shaped the Pentecostal Assemblies of God in Portugal into new forms. Dissidence was approaching.

The radical changes experienced during those 15 years after the 25th of April 1974, were dramatic. Particularly the change of paradigms of the religious symbols into new rituals and ceremonials and the feelings of reverence and fear brought about shaking in the Assemblies of God. The Christian identity is changing very rapidly around the world, and also in Portugal.

Giddens mentions Wuthnow, a Christian sociologist, who interviewed several Church members.

320 Giddens, A., Op. cit., p.534.

321 Wagner, C. P., *Strategies for Church Growth, Tools for Effective Mission and Evangelism*, (Regal Books, a Division of GL Publications, Ventura, California, USA. 1989), pp.81-82.

322 Wagner, C. P., *Ibid*, p.82.

[Wuthnow] concluded that the Christian identity is transforming itself very rapidly into a more global one. The borders of the denominations are falling apart. In the past, people, being Christian, were Baptist, or Presbyterian, but now, Christians are becoming aware of the fellowship with other Christians around the world.³²³

Wuthnow goes on to ask the pertinent question,

With the impact of globalisation, what will be the role of this type of Church?³²⁴

Wuthnow believes that nowadays,

Church members want to think globally and act locally. That is, they search for the common identity of all believers around the world, but seek companionship with other believers close to them. Therefore, if Lilly and Sam are Presbyterians, they are not because of loyalty with the denomination in a general sense, but rather because they like the Pastor, they feel comfortable with the people, the building is according to their architectonic tastes, the Church is not far away. Wuthnow argues that the only way for the Church to keep being alive is to give the people a strong sense of community – communities of support, services and residence.³²⁵

2.5.1.7 The change of Evangelical attitude towards business, arts and sports

Another of the changing signs in the Pentecostal Movement into transformation was in the areas of business, arts and sports. In these three areas the Evangelical Christian testimony has grown to be respected. Particularly, this has happened in the realms of music and soccer.

2.5.1.7.1 The change towards business

Obviously a major area where the changes have been felt is that of the business world. During many decades, there were not many Evangelicals involved in business. Generally, they were workers instead. Most of them were part of the lowest class of society. However, since the 25th of April Revolution³²⁶ things have changed dramatically in this realm. Reimer says,

I know there are rich people. There are people that are in business in the Evangelical church. And there are Christian organizations of Christian Businessmen... A lot of times, local churches will have [also] their

323 Giddens, A., Op. cit., p.534.

324 Giddens, A., Ibid, p.534.

325 Giddens, A., Ibid, p.534.

326 The *coup de tat* of the 25th April 1974 which changed the political and social course of the Portuguese society an history is commonly known as: "The Revolution", "The Revolution of the Carnations", "The 25th of April", and "The 25th of April Revolution".

own businessmen's or women's club or group... [And] The Christian Businessmen's Association, the Full Gospel Businessmen's and different ones.³²⁷

2.5.1.7.2 The change towards arts: Music, dance

Up to the sixties almost every church of the Assemblies of God was proud to display its choir and its orchestra. These beautiful choirs and orchestras had to participate in every Sunday service in the main churches. It was impressive, and a good way to touch the Portuguese conservative society. The congregational worship was led by one of the leaders of the church: A pastor, an elder, or a deacon. Hymns were sung from the Pentecostal hymnbook, adapted from those used in the Pentecostal churches around the world.

Then, the soloists, the duets, and other singing groups started to give their contribution to contemporise the church image with the new trends in society. The Machados and particularly Sara Catarino gave a tremendous contribution in breaking this ground. In the main Lisbon Assemblies of God in Neves Ferreira, it was special and a blessing to listen to Sara Catarino's singing. There after came other groups, like the Embaixadores do Rei, with their recorded audiocassettes. Particularly the soloist, Fernando Dias³²⁸ later became much appreciated, having to sing in every Youth Congress or evangelistic campaign.

With the opening of the IBP, new performing artists came to the fore. Particularly the Trio Boa Esperança, with the participation of Raul de Jesus, Teresa de Jesus and Filomena Silva (best known as Mena), and Leonídio Ascensão came to enlarge the group of Portuguese Pentecostal artists. They were invited to perform in special events in the country and even in the Portuguese Assemblies of God churches among the immigrants across Europe. These four artists followed their own soloist careers as Christian artists, recording their own audiocassettes and Compact Discs. But until then the Evangelical artist seldom participated in secular events or television programmes.

Nevertheless, the Trio Boa Esperança was probably the first Pentecostal group of Christian artists to participate in a secular event in the Coliseum of Lisbon at the seventh show of Raoul Follerau on the 16th of February 1997. They were presented and accompanied on stage by one of the main Portuguese artists, Raul Indipo, of former Duo Ouro Negro. Various secular magazines and newspapers reported on their participation.

327 Da Silva, F. C., *Interview with Pastor James Reimer on the 8th July, 2004*, (Done at his office in Lisbon), [p.19].

328 Professor Dr. António Fernando Nogueira Dias.

As from the mid-eighties things changed in Evangelical music in Portugal. Pedro Lopes, son of Pastor António Lopes, pursued music as his profession. He is today a maestro, working in one of the main shows of a Portuguese television channel. And there are other evangelical musicians working with him. A missionary to Portugal, Dale Chapel, helped Sara Tavares to become the first evangelical professional singer in Portuguese secular music industry. It was a victorious thrill for the Evangelicals to be able to break such difficult ground in Portuguese society. The inverse also happened. Several professional secular performing artists became Evangelical, some examples are: Ágata, a very famous pop singer joined a Charismatic church; and Nucha, also a very well known Portuguese singer. About this area of music, Reimer testifies that there have been tremendous advances. As he puts it,

In the area of music we have had major victories. Some quite famous performing singers have converted and they have not hid their faith. They speak openly about their faith. Nucha, for instance, she is a very famous girl with fast growing popularity. As a result of her career she started having problems in her marriage and divorced. However, she came to the Lord who helped her to make peace with her ex-husband and they remarried...

And she now has several CD albums that are Christian. But she still does secular concerts as well as Christian concerts...

Many have learned music in church, they grew up in church, and now they are musicians, professional musicians on television or accompanying other artists around the world.³²⁹

One of the Portuguese Evangelical bands that are getting internationally famous is Tripletock³³⁰ whose vocalist is a musician in a Charismatic church. Reimer mentions also a choir of one hundred boys, the Gospel Group. This choir performed on the most magnificent stages in Lisbon filling to capacity the Centro Cultural de Belém and the Aula Magna. The Portuguese society is receiving these artists with enthusiasm because of their talent. Corroboratively, Reimer says,

For example, there is a choir, the Gospel Group, a hundred boys that regularly fill up the Centro Cultural de Belém, as well the Aula Magna. This choir has performed along side with other famous singers... [They] are members of Evangelical churches, and yet they are well known in the country. They are sought after even if they are Evangelicals... [The public] say “these people got talent, these people are good”.³³¹

Another area of arts having an impact from the Evangelicals is that of dance, the ballet. According to Reimer,

329 Da Silva, F. C., *Interview with Pastor James Reimer on the 8th July, 2004*, Op. cit., [p.21].

330 See: www.tripletock.com

331 Da Silva, F. C., *Interview with Pastor James Reimer on the 8th July, 2004*, Op. cit., [p.22].

In my daughter's generation, we had a number of professional ballerinas that were in the National Ballet Company. And these are areas that for many years were considered taboo for the [Evangelical] churches.³³²

2.5.1.7.3 The change towards sports: Soccer, basketball

In the realm of professional sports there are also profound changes. In the mid-eighties Evangelical ministers still considered it to be a sin to participate in sports. Their churches disciplined³³³ many young people for taking part in sports. However, this has changed. Professional soccer players join the *Atletas de Cristo*. This association promotes evangelism using the football athletes' fame and their high profile status. Evangelical professional basketball players also use their fame to evangelize. Reimer mentions various Evangelical professional athletes,

Marco Aurélio, Ricky, and many other ... famous people [are evangelical]. There is a whole football club in Madeira Island... [This] group joins fifteen athletes, professional football players that meet every week, [for Bible study and evangelism]. João Silva is their pastor. [There are other Evangelical professional athletes in various sports,] like basketball and other [types of sport, where Evangelical faith is displayed in public]. Salomão is pastor of Youth with a Mission and leads a group of these athletes. More and more these professionals are realizing ... they need to [use their public status to evangelize]. [On the other hand, Reimer also says these athletes should be the evangelistic target of the Evangelical churches. As he puts it,] We need to reach those people, because those people have more of an influence on the news and on society than many other people.³³⁴

The realm of the arts is one of the natural platforms being used by the Evangelicals. The visibility given to the Evangelical Movement in Portugal by these professionals has been a powerful tool for its growth and establishment. According to Reimer,

I believe is important ... to change the country and to have an impact we have to be visible. We can not just be a few couple percent of the population caught up in rather small little store front churches, or ware houses. And no one knows what happens inside. We are a mystery, so we are suspected and maybe feared. Because we are a sect, and they [the Portuguese society] do not want their kids to get involved, and they do not want to go, and the husbands do not want their wives to get involved because of lack of visibility, lack of knowledge. And so, what I believe is necessary right now is that we must get people saved, we have to grow, from 2% to 20%. It needs to happen here what happened in Guatemala or ... Brazil, where it is almost a fashion to be an Evangelical.³³⁵

332 Da Silva, F. C., *Interview with Pastor James Reimer on the 8th July, 2004*, Ibid, [p.22].

333 Disciplinary religious process used by church leaders to impose the churches' ethos and values, including the eventual excommunication.

334 Da Silva, F. C., *Interview with Pastor James Reimer on the 8th July, 2004*, Op. Cit., [p.20].

335 Da Silva, F. C., *Interview with Pastor James Reimer on the 8th July, 2004*, Ibid, [p.23].

2.5.1.8 The impact of Portugal joining the EEC (1986)

The transition and transformation experienced in the Portuguese society particularly from the 1st of January 1986 with Portugal joining the EEC, was overwhelming. The economy improved dramatically. The directives from the EEC changed the Portuguese law, and in turn, the traditional culture of the nation. The Portuguese became aware of the developments in the rest of Europe.

The impact felt amongst the Protestants and the Evangelicals was an experience of profound relief, awakening from their backstreet positions; they dared to go into the now open Portuguese traditional society. And, the rights of non-Catholic Portuguese, whether as individuals or their church organisations, were indeed secure. This created an atmosphere of independence from foreign support. Protestants and Evangelicals believed in themselves as being full citizens. And their churches and Christian organizations also reflected that state of mind.

One of the ultimate transformational impacts in the Portuguese society was that of the amalgamation and fusion process into European society. The pact of convergence implies a process of common identification of fundamental values. And that includes those of a religious nature, in terms of a tolerance de facto and mutual respect. One sign of that transformation process was that on 10th of January 1998, the President of the Republic, Dr. Jorge Sampaio, publicly met the Evangelical community for the first time in the First National Evangelical Encounter. “Also present was the Minister of Justice, Dr. Vera Jardim, and the Provider for Justice, Dr. Cunha Rodrigues”.³³⁶

This transformation culminated in the promulgation of Law No. 16th/2001, on the 22nd of June – The Law of Religious Freedom.³³⁷

2.6 The Pentecostal metamorphosis into a multiform Charismatic Movement

Pastor Lucas da Silva is the founder of the Desafio Jovem, a well-respected Evangelical organisation dedicated to the recovery of drug addicts. Da Silva summarised the metamorphosis process within the Pentecostal Movement in Portugal in the following manner,

There were two general causes for the spiritual metamorphosis [in the Pentecostal Movement] in Portugal. The first was of a spiritual nature, and the other was social. Firstly, it was the impact of the visit of

336 Pinheiro, S. R., *História da Aliança Evangélica Portuguesa: Datas e Textos Históricos da História Recente da Aliança Evangélica Portuguesa*, Op. cit., [?].

337 Published in the *Diário da República* nº 143/2001, SÉRIE I-A, according to the article 161st of the Portuguese Constitution.

the Brazilian evangelist Dr. Luis Shciliró on the traditional Evangelical established mindset. The uproar raised against him – [Dr. Shciliró] – brought about spiritual disastrous results: the fall of Pastor Machado, the death of José Gonçalves Bastos, the sickness of Tage Stahlberg, the fall of Pastor José Barros de Sousa ... the cancer of Pastor Sequeira Hipólito.³³⁸

As from then, according to da Silva, many internal struggles arose. Metamorphosis was in full development. Something new would spring out of those internal struggles. As he said,

The Swedish went away, due to their advanced age... And, by 1989, due to the spiritual coldness, the Pentecostal [experience in church life], with the speaking in tongues and the operation of the gifts of the Spirit, was non-existent... There was a group of newer pastors who were discontent; they searched for more of God, [more of the Pentecostal experiences of the Neo-Testamentary church of the Book of Acts]. That contrasted with the struggling spiritual climate experienced in every National Pastoral Convention of the Assemblies of God. Particularly felt after the 25th of April [the 1974 Revolution]. Then the Igreja Maná also helped to the shift. The proliferation of videos of the conference with Chris Bowater in Lagos, showing old ladies dancing in the religious service [which was a scandal] also contributed to the shift.³³⁹

2.6.1 Causes that shaped changing events

There were several causes that shaped the historical transformation of the Pentecostal characteristics in Portugal. These causes changed the spiritual and ecclesial Evangelical landscape. The tradition and Pentecostal Movement of the Assemblies of God in Portugal, with a strong denominational historic background, gave rise to a Pentecostal Movement inspired by the worldwide Charismatic churches. That is, independent churches not so much linked by denominational ties but by brotherly free relationships.

The first step towards dissidence was caused by Jorge Azevedo, a former IBP student involved in the project of establishing the Igreja Maranata.³⁴⁰ In Almada, late in the seventies. Azevedo decided to leave the Assemblies of God to join Igreja Maranata, which had revelation newness compared to his previous church. This attitude was regarded by the Assemblies of God as rebellious and unscriptural. However, for Azevedo the new church had better understanding of biblical revelation.

Second, with social change inevitably arise new patterns of behaviour. And that always brings new problems to society. One of the problematic areas the Portuguese face is that of drugs,

³³⁸ Da Silva, F. C., *Interview with Pastor Lucas da Silva on the 8th of July 2004*, (Done in Fogueiteiro), [p.1].

³³⁹ Da Silva, F. C., *Interview with Pastor Lucas da Silva on the 8th of July 2004*, Ibid, [p.1].

³⁴⁰ Information of this issue is very scarce, it is mainly oral.

and their related evils. Already in 1977, the National Pastoral Convention of the Portuguese Assemblies of God invited “Howard Foltz, who at the time was the Director of Teen Challenge for Europe, with the aim for him to explain the work initiated by Rev. David Wilkerson in the United States, in 1959”.³⁴¹ A centre linked to this international Pentecostal organization was opened in 1981 in Fanhões, Loures. The first director of this centre, Desafio Jovem, was Pastor Lucas da Silva. This centre grew to be a very well respected institution in the Portuguese society.

Desafio Jovem promoted a sub “cross-cultural” way of uniting forces for the mission of evangelization by Evangelicals to the Portuguese society. In its endeavours it served as a constant reminder to the Baptists, to the Pentecostals and to the new Charismatic church pastors of their common task and duty to spread their common Evangelical message. The Centro – as it is known – did not highlight the unique specificity or the differences of any particular denomination. Instead, the Centro became a point of contact and meeting for all pastors. It joined together pastors from the Baptist Church, from the Assemblies of God, and from the new Charismatic churches. The leading and autonomous atmosphere and attitude created in the *Centro* was sometimes difficult to accept by the National Pastoral Convention of the Portuguese Assemblies of God that established the Centro Desafio Jovem in Portugal. However, they came to accept the new role of the Centro because they also felt it necessary to find the common ground of understanding and of working together for their common goal – the salvation of the Portuguese people.

This opportunity was used to serve as a point of reunion of all pastors, particularly after the dissident events of the late eighties and early nineties. It provided a platform for dialogue between the dissidents and those who stayed with the Convention. The following leaders of the Desafio Jovem were Pastor Leonídio Ascensão and after some years, Pastor João Martins³⁴² who have played a great role in building the bridge between all groups of pastors. They were able to bypass any ecclesiastical politics to preach in any church. The centre further helped to establish many new churches.

The “neutral” positioning of Desafio Jovem contributed to the establishment of what is labelled as the “*Forum*”, which is an informal forum for pastors of different sensibilities like those of the Baptist, those of the Pentecostal and those of the new Charismatic trends. This “*Forum*” promotes links and spiritual unity and purpose for all these pastors and unites the “Evangelical family” in Portugal.

341 See: <http://www.convencao-assembleias-deus.org/declaracao-fe/toxicodependencia.htm>

342 See: <http://www.teenchallenge.com/main/centers/portugal.html>

The third cause was Apoio Cristão Internacional, a Christian organization funded by American Churches to help the refugees who had come from the Portuguese ex-colonies after they gained their independence in the late seventies to early eighties. This organization was not linked to the Assemblies of God. One of the persons joining the work of this organization was Rahil Samsser Khan. Khan³⁴³ (pseudonym Amilcar) is a black man from Mozambique, a graduate of IBP. Khan was not invited by the National Pastoral Convention of the Assemblies of God to become a pastor of their churches. In an interview³⁴⁴ he says he was discriminated against for racial reasons. In his words,

Of all finalists of my year in Bible School, almost all were invited to fulltime pastoral ministry, except ... the few black Christians that were there ... Some [Portuguese Assemblies of God pastors] told us our place to work for God was not Portugal but in Africa... Because we were black, we had a call to Africa. I found it strange... we should return because we had no opportunity to minister... There was a lot of segregation [in the Portuguese Assemblies of God Churches].³⁴⁵

On the issue of racism and discrimination he experienced within the Assemblies of God in Portugal, he said, “he hopes the lack of respect for black Christians may end. ... A true respect of equality between black and white brothers must arise”.³⁴⁶ Nevertheless, Khan (Amilcar) was invited to work with the Apoio Cristão Internacional (ACI). “This ministry permitted that some that did not have a place of work with the Assemblies of God, they had an opportunity to minister and evangelise ... in the refugee camps”.³⁴⁷

The Apoio Cristão Internacional introduced new trends of Pentecostal and Charismatic experience to Portugal. Pastors of different Pentecostal and Charismatic backgrounds preached at ACI, interacting with the staff members. One of them was Rev. Jim Croft through whom Khan met James Reimer in a trip to the United States of America. The influence of Reimer was to be of fundamental importance to Portugal as we shall see later.

The fourth cause came with the establishment of Missão Fonte Transbordante. When the church Loures Assemblies of God that Khan was a member of, had a dispute with the senior pastor, José António Lourenço, Khan supported the pastor. When the dispute resulted in the pastor leaving the church, Khan’s position in the church was jeopardized. As Khan said,

343 Mr. Rahil S. Khan is presently a member of parliament of Mozambique.

344 Da Silva, F. C., *Interview with Mr. Rahil S. Khan on the 20th August, 2004*, (Done in Benoni).

345 Da Silva, F. C., *Interview with Mr. Rahil S. Khan on the 20th August, 2004*, Ibid, [p.3].

346 Da Silva, F. C., *Interview with Mr. Rahil S. Khan on the 20th August, 2004*, Ibid, [p.4].

347 Da Silva, F. C., *Interview with Mr. Rahil S. Khan on the 20th August, 2004*, Ibid, [p.9].

After all I had to leave the church. There was, therefore, the profound need to create Missão Fonte Transbordante... It would become a tool to teach those new things, [the new Pentecostal and Charismatic trends], we had discovered [in ACI]. In terms of the [Portuguese] Assemblies of God, it was the first [meaningful] rupture noticed.³⁴⁸

Croft, a minister in the USA, supported Khan's efforts to try to establish Missão Fonte Transbordante in the early 80s. Reimer came physically to support his endeavours. "The arrival of Pastor Jim [James] Reimer from USA was with the intention to get involved with Missão Fonte Transbordante. ... I was the senior responsible for the church, the founder, but with great support from Pastor Jim Croft, of USA. He was supporting us financially during some time. And he also supported Jim Reimer, who we received to stay in our home".³⁴⁹

Jim Reimer decided to settle as a missionary in Portugal after a short visit to the country. And he became a very influential person, regarding the bringing of the new Charismatic international trends into the country. As Reimer settled, the first church he was associated with in Portugal under the leadership of Khan was closed down after a short period. There was some disagreement between Khan and Reimer that led Jim Croft to believe Reimer's side of the story, "maybe because both were Americans,"³⁵⁰ says Khan. Jim Croft decided to stop his financial support to Khan. And as Khan says,

It is logical that, without financial assistance, we [Missão Fonte Transbordante] would subsist with difficulty... Jim Reimer immediately departed from us. He rented a space [in Lisbon] and initiated a work [church] of his own.³⁵¹

Khan tried to establish still another church later in 1992 – Comunidade Cristã Pão Quebrado.³⁵² But he soon closed the church and left for Mozambique. There, he became involved in political affairs, closely supporting Renamo, while an active member of his first church, the Maputo Assemblies of God. As Khan puts it, "I concluded that the Portuguese society was not ready to accept a black man as the senior pastor. ... That led me to come to my senses. I concluded I should, instead, pursue my political inclinations for the interest of Mozambique. ... After joining

348 Da Silva, F. C., *Interview with Mr. Rahil S. Khan on the 20th August, 2004*, Ibid, [p.10].

349 Da Silva, F. C., *Interview with Mr. Rahil S. Khan on the 20th August, 2004*, Ibid, [p.12].

350 Da Silva, F. C., *Interview with Mr. Rahil S. Khan on the 20th August, 2004*, Ibid, [p.13].

351 Da Silva, F. C., *Interview with Mr. Rahil S. Khan on the 20th August, 2004*, Ibid, [p.13].

352 Khan, R. S., *Comunidade Cristã Pão Quebrado / "Broken Bread" Ministry*, (Article in: Magazine 1, August/92, Year 1. Rua 7, Lote 30, R/c – Loja, Tapada das Mercês, 2725 Mem Martins Portugal. 1992), [p.2].

the Renamo Party ... I am today one of its senior Leaders and one of the Members of the Mozambican Parliament. ... Christians must be involved with politics”.³⁵³

2.6.2 Early sources that shaped changing events

First was James (Jim) Reimer who had the vision to introduce the Portuguese Pentecostal pastors to the new trends and characteristics of a Charismatic nature. Reimer himself was never a member of the Assemblies of God in America. Naturally he had experienced and viewed a fresher type of renewed Christianity, the newer trends of Pentecostalism in American society.

In the mid 1980s, Reimer’s initial action, after departure from Khan’s Church, was to start by inviting pastors for informal meetings at his home. The more receptive from the Assemblies of God were those educated at the IBP. Another pastor who arrived at that time and also took part in the meetings was Jorge Tadeu. These meetings introduced new doctrinal Charismatic concepts as well as a different approach to ecclesiology.

The new information supplied aroused a new spiritual desire among the ministers. With this new information, the pressure to change was also mounting. Resistance was only to the point of checking the new trends against the Scriptures. And for this, the former students had been well prepared at IBP. The tools of Biblical Studies, Systematic Theology, Church History, but particularly those of Hermeneutics and Apologetics were to be fruitfully used. As they did so, most of new trends became new convictions and the inevitable rupture with what they considered an outdated traditional Pentecostalism became imminent.

One of the participants at Reimer’s meetings was Pastor Carlos Cardoso, the senior pastor of Igreja Cristã Manancial de Águas Vivas (ICMAV), and vice-president of the Fraternal Association. Commenting on why such a change was taking place in Portugal, he said,

Um dos factores que considero essenciais foi a presença do Pastor Jim Reimer e do Pastor Jorge Tadeu em Portugal. Ambos iniciaram reuniões a que assistiam várias dezenas de líderes de vários quadrantes do panorama evangélico português, inclusive das Assembleias de Deus. Ambos iniciaram a Igreja Maná, que foi um refúgio para muitos evangélicos em Portugal.³⁵⁴

[One of the factors I consider to be essential was the presence of Pastor Jim Reimer and of Pastor Jorge Tadeu in Portugal. Both initiated meetings at which many pastors were assisted. These were leaders of

353 Da Silva, F. C., *Interview with Mr. Rahil S. Khan on the 20th August, 2004*, Op. cit., [p.14].

354 Da Silva, F. C., *Interview with Pastor Carlos Cardoso: Vice-President of the Fraternal Association on the 2nd July 2004*, (Doneat his residence in Cascais), [p.34].

various quadrants of the Portuguese [Pentecostal] ... panorama, including the Assemblies of God. Both [later] initiated the Igreja Maná, which was a refreshing in Portugal.]

The second was Pastor Jorge Tadeu, the founder of a very effective Charismatic denomination: Igreja Maná, a cell-church type of ecclesiastical structure. He did so with the help of Jim Reimer, who, later, decided to go on his own to establish: Logos Comunhão Cristã. Pastor Jorge Tadeu was born in Mozambique, completed his education on civil engineering, and participated in the building of bridges and special structures in South Africa.

[Tadeu] knew Jesus Christ [converted from Catholicism] in South Africa where he received his God's calling for the ministry. Studied the Bible Course at Rhema Bible Training Centre, in South Africa... Igreja Maná was officially founded in September 1984, in Lisbon... Presently, the denomination is implanted in 20 countries in 3 continents.³⁵⁵

One of the strategies of Pastor Tadeu is his famous Faith Conventions and his television programmes broadcast by the church.

The campaigns and conventions are tools for the church to go to all people. Normally, they are held in neutral public spaces, like pavilions, with the purpose to reach those people who are ashamed to go to [an Evangelical] church... The Church also has radio stations and ManáSat 1 and 2. This is a satellite space with two television channels. One dedicated to the public in general with a large variety of Christian programs. The other is for private training of leadership. ManáSat is an alternative channel of Christian inspiration, dedicated to the family. It is the channel of life, with the vision to construct positive moral values: in the children, in the youth and in the adults. In the world today, children and young people are exposed to all type of immoral information. This channel is an alternative to collaborate in the education of young children relatively to their civic and human formation.³⁵⁶

Pastor Segura's praise and worship conferences with Chris Bowater, was the third aspect. Segura even thinks the two praise and worship conferences he organised in Algarve were crucial for the Pentecostal metamorphosis into a multiform Charismatic Movement. According to him,

O louvor, sobretudo, trouxe uma grande mexida no movimento das Assembleias de Deus ... [Pelo menos] hoje toda a gente diz que as duas conferências que organizei no Algarve estiveram na origem da mudança do louvor em Portugal... com o Chris [Bowater da Inglaterra].³⁵⁷

355 See: http://www.igrejamana.com/quem_somos/origem.html

356 See: http://www.igrejamana.com/quem_somos/origem.html

357 Da Silva, Fernando Caldeira, *Interview with Pastor Óscar Segura: President of the Fraternal Association on the 6th of July 2004*, Ibid, [p.3].

Praise, above all, brought a great change to the Movement of the Assemblies of God. I think the fact that everybody was going to praise conferences impacted the Movement ... [At least] today everybody says the two conferences I organized in Algarve were in the origin of the change in terms of praise and worship in Portugal... with Chris [Bowater, who was from England].

Following Chris Bowater, there was another influential minister as a fourth cause. He was Pastor Leonel Ferreira who settled in Portugal in the mid-eighties in the Porto region. Ferreira established Igreja Karisma with several congregations in the north. The leadership seminars he organized also provided new information which many pastors of the Assemblies of God absorbed. The written materials provided by Ferreira spread as wild fire amongst many pastors of the Assemblies of God. As a result, Pastor Jacinto Martins joined Ferreira leaving his former church Coimbra Assemblies of God, and many others were encouraged to follow his dissident steps.

The fifth source of influence was the establishment of the Igreja Universal do Reino de Deus (IURD). This became an enormous denomination, with the most effective impact on the Portuguese society, and the Evangelical Movement in general. Bishop Edir Macedo was the initial founder of the denomination in Brazil in 1977. The denomination was introduced into Portugal in 1989.

It was in the year 1977, and behind the Brazilian political arena, that the slow gestation of an openness, that would be consolidated in the 1980's decade. Far from the palatial intrigues, a determined young man believed in the salvation of the Brazilian people, and started diffusing the Word of God... in Jardim do Méier... North of Rio de Janeiro.³⁵⁸

In Brazil, and around the world, the church grew immensely to be present in almost all countries of the earth, including South Africa: The Universal Church of the Kingdom of God. It is an Evangelical denomination with a Charismatic nature, with some non-traditional Evangelical practices that, however, appeal to great multitudes. The establishment of the denomination in Portugal was a consequence of that international exponential expansion.

In Portugal this [denomination] started in Estrada da Luz, [Lisbon] in a small space, which attracted slowly, many people, by curiosity and by the work of evangelisation... Due to the efforts of its dedicated leadership and to its social work, [IURD] registers a growth that impresses those who have studied the Christian Movement, and particularly, those that convert to it. This way, the IURD counts with 112 churches.³⁵⁹

358 See: <http://www.iurdportugal.com/história.htm>

359 See: <http://www.iurdportugal.com/história.htm>

The founder of the denomination in Portugal was Bishop Paulo Roberto. He founded this denomination on the 17th of December 1989. Like other charismatic churches, the IURD also has radio and television stations to broadcast its evangelical message.

Six, Pastor Segura also highlights the importance of several Charismatic conferences being held across Europe. Accordingly,

A Conferência Eurofire tinha sido na Alemanha, [e mais tarde na Inglaterra e em Portugal, promovidas por Reinhard Bonke], e pronto, começaram alguns pastores a visitar também determinados países e determinadas conferências e aí começaram a ver coisas até aí novas para nós que de alguma maneira portanto vieram a fazer com que a mudança se antecipasse ou se desse naquela altura. Para mim, o mais importante foram as coisas ligadas ao movimento do espírito, começou a haver o ensino na área do espírito em termos da pessoa cantar no espírito conforme a Bíblia diz que pode acontecer. O louvor, sobretudo, trouxe uma grande mexida no movimento das Assembleias de Deus.³⁶⁰

[The [Euro Fire] Conferences held in Germany [and in England by Reinhard Bonke] were a motive for some Assemblies of God pastors to visit those countries and participate on those conferences. And there, they started seeing new things, at least new for us, which contributed for the anticipation of change. For me, the most important were those things related with the spiritual biblical experiences, the movement of the Spirit. It started having teaching on the Christian to be able to sing in the Spirit [singing in tongues, those of Pentecost], as the Bible says may happen. Praise, above all, brought a great change to the Movement of the Assemblies of God.]

Seven, a cause from the National Pastoral Convention of the Assemblies of God, that is, its meetings held from 1987 to 1989. There were two well-defined blocks of thought. The majority of the pastors were still part of the old traditional Pentecostal Swedish School. The other group, which was a minority, was influenced by the Charismatic school of thought. Shifting positions were counted everyday, and a National Convention was called to nominate the Pastoral Council of the National Convention of the Portuguese Assemblies of God. Out of this Convention, a commission was constituted, the Pastoral Council, as it was known. The responsibility of this Pastoral Council was to ensure that every pastor of the Assemblies of God would turn to the old traditional Pentecostalism.

The Pastoral Council was to visit the “extravagant” pastors, who were labelled like that because they were very different in their preaching and their ecclesiology. The churches of these pastors were growing faster than of the Swedish school of thought. This was the beginning of the first main dissident events in the Assemblies of God in Portugal.

³⁶⁰ Da Silva, Fernando Caldeira, *Interview with Pastor Óscar Segura: President of the Fraternal Association on the 6th of July 2004*, Op. cit., [p.2].

Last, the Euro Fire Conference held in Lisbon in 1990 was probably the most effective event to highlight the differences of vision. This event encouraged the dissidence process in the Portuguese Assemblies of God. In an interview with Pastor João Cardoso he confirmed,

Eu creio que a Eurofire³⁶¹ de uma forma, digamos, inconsciente ... veio acentuar as diferenças. Porque a Eurofire estava ligada a ministérios ou a pessoas que normalmente participavam na Eurofire eram ministérios avivados... O nosso grande sonho era de facto o grande mover de Deus. Algo de sobrenatural acontecer na nossa nação. Havia uma certa inércia, vamos dizer assim, na maior parte das igrejas do nosso país... A Eurofire ... foi mais uma ferramenta ou chave para alguma coisa fresca de Deus para os destinos determinados para a nação... Foi um instrumento que estava a ser colocado nas nossas mãos em Portugal para o avivar ou reavivar igrejas, no sentido de deixar a inércia, encontrar outras potencialidades presentes nelas... mostrar que era possível em Portugal as igrejas trabalharem em unidade, realizar grandes eventos. Porque de facto, foi o maior evento, provavelmente realizado em Portugal até então.³⁶²

[I believe, that Euro Fire, let's say, even if without conscience ... came to accentuate the differences. Because the Euro Fire was linked with ministries or preachers who normally were connected with spiritually revived and renewed ministries... So, our great dream was in fact the experience of a fresh God's move. That is, something supernatural to happen in our nation. There was certain inertia, let's say, in the majority of the churches in our country... The Euro Fire was one more an instrument, a key or tool towards something else fresh of God's determined destiny for Portugal... It helps the churches to break with the inertia towards finding out all potentialities present in them [and in the Portuguese society]. To demonstrate that it was possible in Portugal for the churches to work in unity, and to organize great events. Probably, it was the greatest Evangelical Charismatic event ever held until then in Portugal.]

The Pentecostal European Movement had supported the Portuguese Assemblies of God with the holding of the VI Pentecostal European Conference (PEK³⁶³) from 22-26 July 1987. Over 8,000 people attended this conference. However, the Euro Fire Lisboa'90 had a different spiritual tone and supported the dissident pastors. Although many attribute to this conference a great importance, not much data is available to substantiate this, apart from the fact that it was held around the 23 of August 1990³⁶⁴ at FIL, in Lisbon.

2.6.3 The first main dissident events within the Assemblies of God Movement (1988-1989)

Among the many results, the most cathartic was the intervention of the Pastoral Council in the Coimbra Assemblies of God Church. The actions of the Pastoral Council sent by the National

361 The official name was Eurofire Lisboa'90.

362 Da Silva, F. C., *Interview with Pastor João Cardoso: President of the Portuguese Evangelical Alliance on the 8th of July 2004*, Op. cit., [p.6].

363 Pinheiro, S., *Um Século Pentecostal*, (Article in: O Melhor de Tudo, Colectânea de Textos 1973-2003, (CD) Compact Disk edited by the author, [Aliança Evangélica Portuguesa, Av. Conselheiro Barjonas de Freitas, 16-B, 1500-204, Lisboa, Portugal.] 2003), [?].

364 Pinheiro, S., *Um Século Pentecostal*, Ibid, [?].

Convention caused several pastors to leave this local church and the National Convention of the Assemblies of God. Jacinto Martins had already left to work with Leonel Ferreira. Some of the others to follow were: Paulo Cardoso and Manuel Galvão. Paulo Cardoso detached his local church in Figueira da Foz from the Movement of the Assemblies of God and gave it the name: Igreja Shalom. The fellowship of the Movement of the Assemblies of God in Portugal had come to the point of dissidence.

A Bíblia diz: andarão dois juntos se não estiverem de acordo? E começou a haver muito conflito, muita desconfiança, inclusive houve alguns colegas – incluindo eu – que achamos que seria melhor sair. E tínhamos mais liberdade para servir a Deus e de alguma maneira dar o incremento à nossa visão, dar lugar, fazer expandir aquilo que Deus tinha colocado nos nossos corações. Dentro da Convenção, estávamos sempre muito limitados. Por qualquer coisas que fazíamos havia comissões ... que vinham ... ter connosco [para tirarem satisfações pelo desacordo com as práticas tradicionais das Assembleias de Deus].³⁶⁵

[The Bible says: is it possible for two to walk together if they are not in accord? There was a lot of disaccord and mistrust. Inclusive there were some colleagues [pastors] who thought it was better for us to go away, [departing from the Movement]. And we also thought in this way we would have our freedom to serve God in the manner we could fulfil and give an increase to our vision. That was, to somehow make increase that which God had lain in our hearts. Within the national Convention [of the Assemblies of God] we were very limited. There were the commissioners who would come after us [because we were in discord with the traditional practices of the Assemblies of God].]

2.6.4 The second main dissident event within the Portuguese Assemblies of God (1990-1993)

Some pastors still tried to resist having to leave the structure and the security of the Assemblies of God. But the “wind of doctrine” as the old school had labelled these dissidents’ convictions had become profound, particularly after the Euro Fire conference Lisbon’90.

Therefore, some of the bigger churches of the Assemblies of God decided to leave the Assemblies of God Movement. That was the case of the following pastors with their churches: João Cardoso with the church of Moscavide; Joaquim Leitão with the church of Cascais; Reganha Pereira with the church of Amadora; Natálio Marques with the church of Sete Rios; Paulino Verdilheiro with the church of Charneca do Lumiar; Brissos Lino with the church of Setúbal; António Monteiro with the church of Loures; and, later, Óscar Segura with the church of Malveira. However, those that left the National Pastoral Convention of the Assemblies of God did not stay together.

365 Da Silva, F. C., *Interview with Pastor Óscar Segura: President of the Fraternal Association on the 6th of July 2004*, Op. cit., [p.3].

Estou certo que nem todos os que saíram ... temos o mesmo ponto de vista... Há uma grande diversidade de pensamento naqueles que saíram. E a prova é que nem todos estamos juntos hoje. Mas pronto foi a melhor maneira que nós encontramos para continuar o trabalho.³⁶⁶

[I am sure not all of those who left ... have the same point of view... There is a great diversity of thought amongst those who left. And the proof of this is that not all of us are together, nowadays. But [to depart] was the best way we found to keep on with the work.]

2.6.5 The impact of these dissident events

Internally, the Movement of the Portuguese Assemblies of God decided to become a formal denomination by creating and formalising a National Constitution, Declaration of Faith, Internal Regulations, and a Deontological Pact of the Members of the Convention of the Assemblies of God of Portugal.

Second, the Movement decided to stop its relationship with the American Bible College, thus creating their own Portuguese self-governed Bible College in Foz do Arelho. This was with the intention to train leadership according to the patterns of the vision of the Portuguese Assemblies of God.

Third, the Pastors that remained within the Movement developed an inward looking position, away from the Swedish, the Americans and away from those that left them. On the other hand, those pastors that left the Movement also departed from the Swedish, from the Americans, and from the Movement's National Pastoral Convention of the Assemblies of God.

2.7 New structural church organizations

Some pastors who left the National Pastoral Convention of the Assemblies of God still kept the name Assemblies of God as the formal name of their churches for convenience reasons. Others, however, started afresh their own ministries using new names. But it was a time of uncertainties. For some pastors who left the fellowship of the Assemblies of God the experience was fearful, because they were accustomed to the comfort and security of the National Pastoral Convention of the Assemblies of God. That sense of belonging to an organization with national weight was enough to give that security. The Assemblies of God, generally speaking, took good care of their

366 Da Silva, F. C., *Interview with Pastor Óscar Segura: President of the Fraternal Association on the 6th of July 2004*, Ibid., [p.3].

pastors to the extent of retirement. For that reason, they had the FOAD, a retirement fund for ministers. But the pastors who left lost all these benefits.

The majority of the pastors who left the Assemblies of God affiliated with the Portuguese Evangelical Alliance, but the organisation did not provide the same sense of belonging. Its goals were more towards society and the relationship with the authorities. However, it was an arena where pastors could meet with each other, even with the old friends from the Assemblies of God. Some of the pastors who left the Assemblies of God still joined the Igreja Maná³⁶⁷ for a while, but none joined the IURD. However, after a few years of experiencing with the Igreja Maná type of ecclesiology, one after the other found out they did not fit there. Their rigorous training in the Assemblies of God was still very present in their convictions and attitudes. This led to the establishment of the following two bodies: The Comunhão Internacional de Ministros (CIM) and the Comunhão Nacional das Assembleias de Deus (CNAD).

Pastor Jim Reimer, an emerging leader of those ministers that had left the Assemblies of God, had more information and experience than many ministers. He had never belonged to the Assemblies of God, he was an American, and he had experience with the newer Charismatic moves in his country. On the other hand, Pastor João Cardoso and others did not want to keep any identification with what the Assemblies of God represented. These pastors wanted a total break off with those ties, so as to be viewed as being on the foreground of revelation truth. And there were also several Charismatic pastors established in Portugal who had never been involved with the Assemblies of God. These factors gave birth to the Comunhão Internacional de Ministros (CIM). According to Reimer,

We started a Pastor's Meeting and there was such an edifying time that they wanted to have more, then, an identity. So they decided that, this was where we have our identity, let's call it Comunhão Internacional de Ministros (CIM). And we did not create anything structured or legal, like statutes, bylaws, and all that. But a fellowship in which we would have like a newsletter, or a magazine, or something like that, and we would have regular meetings for pastors. And we would be there just to help and serve other pastors. And people like myself and João Cardoso, and others ... we formed a small alliance of churches that were Charismatic. A place where people would have a sense of belonging... There were some difficulties... but we maintained the monthly meeting, the monthly time of edification.³⁶⁸

There was another group of pastors who thought their churches also needed identification. They thought there was a need for a legal organization to give identification for their churches. This

³⁶⁷ Maná is the Portuguese for Mannah.

³⁶⁸ Da Silva, F. C., *Interview with Pastor James Reimer on the 8th July, 2004*, Op. Cit., [pp.10-11].

was called: The *Comunhão Nacional das Assembleias de Deus* (CNAD). This group of pastors had all left from the Assemblies of God. The feelings of insecurity were very strong as the processes of dissidence were going on. As Pastor Óscar Segura, one of the members of CNAD, with his church in Malveira, recalls what he felt in those days,

I had fears, like everybody else. I was afraid to go out of the [National Pastoral Convention of the] Assemblies of God. The processes of dissidence were not all the same. Some were contested more than others. It was common to hear that those that left had robbed the Assemblies of God [Movement]. They had stolen the believers, inclusive the places of worship [that belonged to the Movement] ... However, there were those churches that decided to leave in a formal general meeting of the church... In those cases, the dissidence was taken collectively in a legal manner.³⁶⁹

In this case, the National Pastoral Convention of the Assemblies of God could do nothing about it. The Convention was not a national legal entity, as there was also no national legal entity over the local churches. In fact, each local Assemblies of God Church was legally autonomous. The CNAD was, therefore, the first organization³⁷⁰ in Portugal, with that legal character, involving Assemblies of God churches with their own legal statutes.

The reason for the establishment of the CNAD was obviously to give security to the church members. They were used to the informal fellowship with the other members of the Convention's churches. They still received the *Novas de Alegria* and the *O Avivamento* and *O Expositor Dominical* and the *Boa Semente*, magazines of the Nacional Pastoral Convention of the Assemblies of God. They knew what was going on. And they also had a word to say in all the dissidence process. But, as Reimer points out,

[The dissident pastors] were not any more allowed to be part of the Convention [of the Assemblies of God], but they wanted to still maintain an identity with the Assemblies [of God] Movement around the world. So, they called themselves *Comunhão Nacional das Assembleias de Deus* [CNAD]... And there were some nations that had those two things going on like Germany, which has two different identities for the Assemblies of God... Like Brazil that has four groups.³⁷¹

The pastors of CNAD³⁷² legalized their organisation. This organization was able to organize some events of national character like, the Encontro Anual de Senhoras e Homens, organized by Pastor Filomena Silva. And even a main public event big enough to fill up the Pavilion Carlos

369 Da Silva, F. C., *Interview with Pastor Óscar Segura: President of the Fraternal Association on the 6th of July 2004*, Op. cit., [p.4].

370 This organization has been dissolved; therefore, not much information can be substantiated regarding dates.

371 Da Silva, F. C., *Interview with Pastor James Reimer on the 8th July, 2004*, Op. cit., [p.10].

372 The information is scarce, so, it is impossible to give proper dates.

Lopes, in Lisbon. It was a national gathering of the members of each church affiliated with the CNAD, joining several thousands of believers.

Some of the pastors, whose churches adhered to the CNAD organization, were: Brissos Lino and his Igreja do Jubileu in Setúbal; Joaquim Leitão and his Igreja Cristã Manancial de Águas Vivas in Cascais; Joaquim Lucas da Silva and his Igreja Viva in Fogueteiro; José António Ribeiro and his Assemblies of God in Palmela; António Monteiro and his Igreja Vida Vitoriosa in Loures; Fernando da Silva and his Igreja Monte Sião in Vialonga; Natálio Marques and his Igreja Nova Aliança in Sete Rios; Paulino Verdilheiro and his Igreja de Filadélfia in Charneca do Lumiar; Reganha Pereira and his Igreja Nova Vida in Amadora. However, the type of leadership of CNAD was very different from that of CIM.

The two organizations were indeed not fulfilling the greater needs of national identity required to meet the challenges within the transforming Portuguese society. Therefore, both CIM and CNAD served only temporary purposes. These organizations were more concerned with the internal and personal needs of pastors and churches than with a solid vision to face the world. The shifts and changes in Portuguese society were too rapid for these two structures to cope with them. And those involved in both organizations did not realise that they needed to do something else. As a result, another organizational structure was to emerge.

Chapter 3: The Portuguese Evangelical Alliance and the Fraternal Association

From the nineteenth century, the Protestants and Evangelicals had felt the need to join forces to cope with the pressure of hostility towards them. As we have seen, the characteristics of the Portuguese society slowly opened gaps, which could be used by the Protestants and Evangelicals to enter and settle. Various Christian organisations worked together. Pastors from the Methodist Church would collaborate with the Lusitanian Churches. The missionary efforts were noticed particularly from the nineteenth century. As Ericson says,

O século XIX em Portugal correspondeu a um período de iniciativa missionária... No entanto, Portugal teve um começo muito mais lento do que a maior parte dos outros países.³⁷³

[The nineteenth century in Portugal corresponded to a period of missionary initiative ... Nevertheless; Portugal had a very slow and quite beginning than in the majority of the other countries.]

These missionary efforts in Portugal may be traced back to the work of colportage done under the auspices of the Bible Society. The establishment of Christian organizations like the Bible Society – other than denominational Evangelical churches – contributed immensely to the establishment of Protestantism and Evangelicalism in the country. This happened especially through organizations that tried identification with the Portuguese society. Ericson says,

As organizações para-eclesiásticas estrangeiras que foram bem sucedidas no processo de indigenização até ao ponto de perderem a sua identidade pela ênfase dada a uma liderança nacional... O seu ministério permitia à igreja ser menos dependente e mais reprodutiva.³⁷⁴

[The foreign para-ecclesiastical organizations that succeeded in the progress of indigenisation to the point of losing their own identity by the emphasis given to the national leadership... Their ministry permitted the church to be less dependent and more auto-reproductive.]

The need for an organisation to give national identity to the diversity of the Protestant, Evangelical and Pentecostal denominations operating in Portugal, led in 1935 to the formal establishment of the Portuguese Evangelical Alliance, also called AEP, as it is popularly known in Portugal.

373 Ericson, G. C., *Os Evangélicos em Portugal*, (Núcleo, Centro de Publicações Cristãs, Lda, Apartado 1, 2746, Queluz, Portugal. 1984), p.19.

374 Ericson, G. C., *Os Evangélicos em Portugal*, (Núcleo, Centro de Publicações Cristãs, Lda, Apartado 1, 2746, Queluz, Portugal. 1984), p.58.

A Aliança Evangélica Portuguesa foi estabelecida em 1921, sob a liderança do seu primeiro presidente, Eduardo Moreira, muito embora o seu estatuto legal só tenha sido alcançado em 1935. Em 1947 ... Moreira e outros propuseram que os estatutos fossem alterados de uma membraza por igrejas, houve alguns líderes evangélicos que não estiveram de acordo. Lançava-se uma semente do que viria a constituir-se, já em 1971, como o Conselho Português das Igrejas Cristãs, [known as COPIC].³⁷⁵

[The Portuguese Evangelical Alliance was established in 1921, under the leadership of its first president, Eduardo Moreira, although its legal statute was only reached in 1935. In 1947 ... Moreira and others proposed the statutes should be altered from an individual membership to a membership of churches, and some disagreed. That was the seed for what would be the Portuguese Council of the Christian Churches [COPIC], later in 1971.]

3.1 Brief history of the establishment of the Portuguese Evangelical Alliance

Until 1997 the composition of the Portuguese Evangelical Alliance (AEP) had three main denominations as members: The Brethren Churches, the Baptist Churches and the Assemblies of God Churches. The presidency was under a rotational system. However, the dissidence events in the Assemblies of God and the establishment of other Pentecostal and Charismatic Churches in Portugal changed the composition of the AEP.

Como o número de igrejas independentes da área Carismática ou Pentecostal cresceu grandemente, houve várias tentativas de formação de vários grupos de comunhão, que normalmente assentavam na comunhão. Mas, há alguns anos atrás, surgiu a Fraternal. A Fraternal, é uma associação de Igrejas independentes, de caris Pentecostal ou Carismáticos. E a nossa Igreja – o Centro Cristão – é uma parte integrante da Fraternal... Como as igrejas independentes cresceram muito, houve necessidade de alterar. Houve a alteração dos estatutos em que ficou decidido que cada grupo de igrejas, ou cada família de igrejas indicaria um nome para presidente [da AEP].³⁷⁶

As the number of independent Charismatic and Pentecostal churches grew considerably, there were tentative to form various fellowship groups... Some years ago was also established the Fraternal [Association]. The Fraternal [Association] is an association of independent Churches of a Pentecostal and Charismatic nature. And our Church, *Centro Cristão*, is an integral part of the Fraternal [Association]. Because the independent Churches have grown very much, there was the necessity to alter ... the statutes ... so [now] each “family of churches” [OCI] indicates a name to be voted as the president [of the AEP].

The Portuguese Evangelical Alliance had been established as a result of the efforts needed to defend the Portuguese Protestants and Evangelicals, which had been carried out by the World

375 Ericson, Gerald Carl, *Os Evangélicos em Portugal*, (Núcleo, Centro de Publicações Cristãs, Lda, Apartado 1, 2746, Queluz, Portugal. 1984), p.58.

376 Da Silva, F. C., *Interview with Pastor João Cardoso: President of the Portuguese Evangelical Alliance on the 8th of July 2004*, Op. cit., [p.10].

Evangelical Alliance. Therefore, Barata says the Statutes³⁷⁷, which envision the AEP, derive from the World Evangelical Alliance. Barata argues that since there was the Portuguese Protestant Association in Lisbon and a delegate in Porto, it was not necessary to establish a new organization to defend the Protestants and Evangelicals. However,

According to the Evangelical minister Eduardo Henriques Moreira, the Luso American João Marques da Mota Sobrinho, who had arrived from Brazil in 1911, became the most effective agent to organize the Portuguese Evangelical Alliance. [But Barata questions why there was a need for such an organization. It was probably because he was a “foreigner”, and, “foreigners” always fascinated the Portuguese, he argues].³⁷⁸

Mota Sobrinho called the ministers from the north to the south of Portugal who met in various general assemblies in Lisbon and Porto, between 1917 and 1921. So, according to the minutes of the meeting, mentioned by Barata, the official date of the establishment of the AEP was the 1st of October 1917. However, after many efforts, the Constitution³⁷⁹ of the Portuguese Evangelical Alliance was finally approved, on the 6th of February 1935. This is confirmed by Celestino Torres de Oliveira, who wrote the synthetic history of the AEP as displayed in its website. According to de Oliveira, “The AEP would only be recognised in legal terms on the 6th of February 1935, under the leadership of Rev. Eduardo Moreira”.³⁸⁰

Mota Sobrinho called the ministers from the north to the south of Portugal who met in various general assemblies in Lisbon and Porto, between 1917 and 1921. So, according to the minutes of the meeting, mentioned by Barata, the official date of the establishment of the AEP was the 1st of October 1917. However, after many efforts, the Constitution³⁸¹ of the Portuguese Evangelical Alliance was finally approved, on the 6th of February 1935. This is confirmed by Celestino Torres de Oliveira, who wrote the synthetic history of the AEP as displayed in its website. According to de Oliveira, “The AEP would only be recognised in legal terms on the 6th of February 1935, under the leadership of Rev. Eduardo Moreira.”³⁸²

The AEP engaged actively with Christian responsibilities towards its members and the society in general.

377 Barata, A. C., *História da Aliança Evangélica Portuguesa*, Op. cit., p.5.

378 Barata, A. C., *História da Aliança Evangélica Portuguesa*, Ibid, p.6.

379 Barata, A. C. *História da Aliança Evangélica Portuguesa*, Ibid, p.16.

380 Oliveira, C. T., *Histórico – sínteses [of the AEP]*, (Article in: the official AEP’s website: <http://portalevangélico.pt>).

381 Barata, A. C. *História da Aliança Evangélica Portuguesa*, Ibid, p.16.

382 Oliveira, C. T., *Histórico – sínteses [of the AEP]*, (Article in: the official AEP’s website: <http://portalevangélico.pt>).

Towards the end of the decade of the 40^s the efforts developed by the AEP were intense and immensely positive in the help given to the needy of the nations devastated by the war. These efforts and work counted with the help of the majority of the Evangelical Churches in Portugal.³⁸³

Some of the objectives of the AEP are:

To unite all the churches that would like to join, according to common interests... However, it does not have legal or administrative power over the member churches. It only represents a reciprocal understanding between those Churches for the practical fulfillment of their vital union, as members they are all of the Unified Body of Jesus Christ.³⁸⁴

Second, from the minutes of the general meeting held on 10th April 1918,

The [AEP] should be an arm of the World Evangelical Alliance, and should not have legal or administrative authority over the churches... And, it should adopt the doctrines ... and the religious principles proclaimed by the World Evangelical Alliance... We sign this pact [Nine Articles' Pact], with the aim to be recognized as representatives [of the World Evangelical Alliance], the Portuguese Evangelical Alliance, a national and autonomous branch of that organization.³⁸⁵

At the meeting of 14th and 15th of November 1921, it was decided that the president of the Portuguese Evangelical Alliance should be Mr. Joaquim dos Santos Figueiredo³⁸⁶. However, it seems difficult to understand why Ericson argues that, “Rev. Eduardo Moreira was the first president”.³⁸⁷ Mr. Samuel Pinheiro, Executive Secretary of the Portuguese Evangelical Alliance, mentions the following as the AEP presidents: Joaquim dos Santos Figueiredo (1921-1927); Eduardo Moreira (1927-1947); Paulo Irwin Torres (1947-1958, only elected in 1949); Guido Waldemar de Oliveira (1958-1967); Augusto Esperança (1967-1971); Jaime Vieira Torres (1971-1989); Luís Reis (1989-1992); José Dias Bravo (1993-1998); Moisés Gomes (1999-2001); João Cardoso (2002 to date).

383 Oliveira, C. T., *Histórico – sínteses [of the AEP]*, Ibid.

384 Barata, A. C., *História da Aliança Evangélica Portuguesa*, Op. cit., p.7.

385 Barata, A. C., *História da Aliança Evangélica Portuguesa*, Ibid, pp.7-8.

386 Barata, A. C., *História da Aliança Evangélica Portuguesa*, Ibid, p.11.

387 Ericson, G. C., *Os Evangélicos em Portugal*, (Núcleo, Centro de Publicações Cristãs, Lda, Apartado 1, 2746, Queluz, Portugal. 1984), p.58.

3.2 The role of the Portuguese Evangelical Alliance

The role played by the Portuguese Evangelical Alliance has been two fold. That is, the internal and the external.

3.2.1 The internal role played by the Portuguese Evangelical Alliance

The AEP served to solve problems arising amongst or between its members.³⁸⁸ Second, it provided social care for the poor and needy members of its churches. It also created a Fund to this effect. Third, it gave a common identity to the Protestants and Evangelicals in Portugal. Last, it established a Theological Assessors Commission to deal with possible theological quarrels and questions amongst members but also to check on the doctrinal and spiritual standing of possible future candidates to membership.

3.2.2 The external role played by the Portuguese Evangelical Alliance

More visible was the external role played by the AEP than its internal role. The Portuguese Evangelical Alliance presented a united front to the Portuguese authorities and the society in general. And it certainly was a tool to bring³⁸⁹ forth the Law of Religious Freedom in Portugal. The Portuguese Evangelical Alliance has been from the start the main interlocutor between the Protestants, the Evangelicals and the Portuguese authorities. It offered and presented a defense of the churches when persecuted by the authorities. It did this through highlighting the cases to the media and disseminating information to the World Evangelical Alliance.

In its service to the public, in 1964, the Health and Assistance Minister gave permission to the Portuguese Evangelical Pastors to make religious Christian visits to the sick in public hospitals. Second, after the 25th of April 1974, the AEP endeavoured against the difficulties raised by the Portuguese Authorities concerning the legal registry of the Religious Associations.

Third, the AEP acquired the right to use the public television for the promotion of the Evangelical faith. Its known programme was *Caminhos*. Fourth, it acquired the government's approval which gave permission for the children of the Evangelicals to be taught Evangelical Morals in public schools instead of the Roman Catholic faith.

388 Barata, A. C., *História da Aliança Evangélica Portuguesa*, Op. cit., p.16.

389 Barata, A. C., *História da Aliança Evangélica Portuguesa*, Ibid, p.19.

Thirdly, the AEP acquired the right to use the public television for the promotion of the Evangelical faith. Its known programme was *Caminhos*. Fourthly, it acquired the government's approval which gave permission for the children of the Evangelicals to be taught Evangelical Morals in public schools instead of the Roman Catholic faith.

The pressure by the Portuguese Evangelical Alliance on the Portuguese society and authorities was organized and sustained from within the AEP through the different commissions. These commissions were known as Accessories. For example, there was the Accessory for Theology, the Accessory for Education, the Accessory for Journalism, the Accessory for the Youth, the Accessory for Paramedics, and the Accessory for Television. One of the areas where the pressure of the AEP has been producing is in the realm of education. For this purpose, the AEP established COMACEP.

The fruits of the Accessory for Education (COMACEP), took a long time to be seen. The AEP and the COPIC (which congregates the Presbyterian, the Methodist and the Lusitanian Churches) protested³⁹⁰ in September 1982 to the President of the Republic and to other members of the highest authorities. The case was that of a refusal to accept the semi-obligatory subject of Catholic Religion and Morals being taught in the public schools. The following year 1983, the Association of Evangelical Teachers also protested along the same line. Professor João A. C. Pinheiro, in 1984, presented before the Minister of Home Affairs several areas of concern of the Evangelicals.

One year later, 1985, was the time for the Order of the Baptist Pastors to send a protest against this very specific subject to ... the President of the Republic, the President of the Assembly of the Republic, the Constitutional Court, the Provider for Justice, the Prime-Minister, and the Minister of Education... [The] COMACEP (Commission for the Educative Evangelical Action in Public Schools) was established by the AEP ...and, in 1990 started operating four classes in four [public] schools.

But [the legalization of this Evangelical activity in public schools] was only effected ... by the promulgation of the Decree-Law 328/98, published in the *Diário da República*³⁹¹ on the 2nd of November 1998.³⁹²

According to Barata, it was a very painful and slow legal victory for a country that pertains to be democratic and a defender of human rights.³⁹³ By 1992, there were 368 students enrolled³⁹⁴ for the subject of Evangelical Ethics and Morals in public schools.

390 Barata, A. C., *História da Aliança Evangélica Portuguesa*, Ibid, p.17.

391 The Portuguese official State Journal.

392 Barata, A. C., *História da Aliança Evangélica Portuguesa*, Op. cit., p.17.

Pinheiro highlighted several relevant dates of the recent history of activity of the AEP. According to him, these are:

16th of November 1989. The Normative Dispatch 104/89, of [16th of November 1989], which determines that ... there would be classes [in public schools] of religious education of the diverse religious confessions established in Portugal.

In the early nineties there was the television program “Caminhos”. An informative television program...

September 1997. From this month two weekly television programs of seven minutes each have been allocated for the participation of the AEP...

10th of January 1998: The 1st National Evangelical Encounter was held... It marked with solemnity the end of the Universal Week of Prayer. This encounter counted for the first time in the history of the Evangelical community in Portugal, with the presence of [His Excellency] the President of the Republic, Dr. Jorge Sampaio. The Minister of Justice Dr. Vera Jardim and the Provider for Justice Dr. Cunha Rodrigues was also present.³⁹⁵

About this event,

The President of the Republic emphasized tolerance, as the mark ... of democracy. He highlighted equally that something goes wrong when a society does not believe in something... Statistically, the Evangelicals [in 1998] are 250 000 and there are 1500 local churches across the country.³⁹⁶

Councillor Judge Dr. José Dias Bravo, who was an Evangelical, also held a high position in the Portuguese State, that of Vice-Procurator of the Republic. At the time of the First National Evangelical Encounter, he was also the President of the Portuguese Evangelical Alliance. In his address he appealed:

Mister President: All this Evangelical Community sees in Your Excellency the ultimate guarantee of the fundamental rights of the Portuguese citizen. They expect your valuable contribution towards stopping everything that is discriminatory in matters of religious freedom, so that Portugal may become a State [that respects human rights] as its Constitution states.³⁹⁷

Dr. Bravo further argued,

393 Barata, A. C., *História da Aliança Evangélica Portuguesa*, Ibid, p.18.

394 Barata, A. C., *História da Aliança Evangélica Portuguesa*, Ibid, p.18.

395 Pinheiro, S. R., *História da Aliança Evangélica Portuguesa: Datas e Textos Históricos da História Recente da Aliança Evangélica Portuguesa*, Op. cit., [?].

396 Pinheiro, S. R., *História da Aliança Evangélica Portuguesa: Datas e Textos Históricos da História Recente da Aliança Evangélica Portuguesa*, Ibid, [?].

397 Bravo, J. D., *Appeal to the President*, (Discourse proffered during the 1st National Evangelical Encounter held with the presence of His Excellency the President of the Republic, Dr. Jorge Sampaio, in the 10th of January 1998. Article in: Pinheiro, Samuel R., *História da Aliança Evangélica Portuguesa: Datas e Textos Históricos da História Recente da Aliança Evangélica Portuguesa*, Ibid, [?].

It does not make sense in these days, almost at the beginning of the third millennium, that there are still the phenomena of intolerance and we witness discriminations – various, and more at the organizational level, statutory and fiscal – in the Portuguese juridical ordainment related to the domain of the right to the religious freedom.

The free access of the pastors and Evangelical religious workers to establishments: the prisons, tutelary, hospitals, educational and military, so they may fulfill their public *munus* and social service of visitation, comfort, harmony and social insertion, still today constitutes a fountain of inequalities...

It does not make sense that [a country as] Portugal integrated in the European Union, where the religious minority of one state is, after all, the majority of the other, that it might maintain in its juridical ordainment, flagrant violations of the fundamental rights of the citizen, by this way creating inequalities in reason of religion...

The harmony of the society demands a spirit of tolerance...³⁹⁸

Finally, the President of the Republic, Dr. Jorge Sampaio, promulgated the Law of Religious Freedom,³⁹⁹ Law No 16/2001, of 22 of June, 2001.

Law of Religious Freedom. The Assembly of the Republic decrees, in terms of line c) of article 161st of the Constitution, to be valid as general law of the Republic, the following...

The liberty of conscience, of religion and of worship is inviolable and guaranteed to all in conformity with the Constitution, the Universal Declaration on Human Rights, the international law applicable and the present law... No one may be privileged, beneficiated, damaged, persecuted, deprived from any right or exempt of any duty due to his or her convictions or religious practice. The State will not discriminate any church or religious community relatively one to the other... The churches and other religious communities are separated from the State and are free regarding their organization, in the exercise of their functions and of worship.⁴⁰⁰

3.3 The establishment of the Fraternal Association (1995)

As discussed before, the two organizations, CIM and CNAD, were not fulfilling the great needs of national identity required to meet the challenges within the transforming Portuguese society. Their relevance and purpose came, therefore, to an end. The need for a national united identity and image of the Evangelicals in Portugal became evident to those in leadership of the Portuguese Evangelical Alliance (AEP).

398 Bravo, J. D., *Appeal to the President*, Ibid, [?].

399 Published in the official Portuguese Journal, *Diário da República*, N° 143/2001, Série I-A.

400 See: [Http://www.dgm.mj.pt/legislacao/liberd_relig.asp](http://www.dgm.mj.pt/legislacao/liberd_relig.asp)

The AEP had been organized under what they called OCI's, that is, representatives of diverse spiritual identities amongst the Evangelicals and members of the AEP. There was the OCI of the Brethren autonomous Churches, the OCI of the Baptist Conventions and Churches, and the OCI of the autonomous Churches of the Assemblies of God. Pastors and churches that were not under one of these OCI almost did not have a voice in the AEP. And, with the dissidence and the other Charismatic pastors arriving and planting their own ministries they represented a big percentage of the total of AEP members.

Ecclesiastical events took a new turn during the nineties with Judge Councillor Dr. José Dias Bravo in the lead. As Pastor Carlos Cardoso, the vice-President of the Fraternal Association, says,

With a lot of wisdom ... Dr. Dias Bravo ... Eng. Rui Santos and Brother Fernando de Jesus, who at the time were part of the leadership of the AEP, they appeared in one of the meetings of CIM in Alenquer, and asked to make a proposal to the pastors that were involved with CIM. As they also did with those pastors involved with the National Fellowship of the Assemblies of God [CNAD]... The idea was that both groups might have a [single] organization, a realm to become one family of the Portuguese Evangelical Alliance, that which the [AEP] calls OCI.⁴⁰¹

Both groups perceived the vision as positive, and as a result, they embraced each other under the Fraternal Association. The fourth OCI was therefore created within the AEP. This meant that they were the representatives of the Charismatic churches in the AEP.

The establishment of the Fraternal Association was effected in 1995.

Today, the Fraternal Association is the second biggest group, OCI, after the National [Pastoral] Convention of the Assemblies of God in Portugal. It is the second biggest group within the Portuguese Evangelical Alliance [AEP].⁴⁰² It is a space of fellowship and relationship. However, due to the fact that we are affiliated to the AEP, we function as an institution. It functions as a means for people to come into the Portuguese Evangelical Alliance. And, that which we would like to be a space of relationships sometimes does not happen, in reality... The objective is to have a strong covering.⁴⁰³

As its name indicates, the Fraternal Association was formed to be a brotherly Charismatic Christian entity, to give a face to the ecclesiastical reality experienced by each of its members for more than a decade. It is composed of institutions, mainly churches, which have their own legal personality and constitution. That is, the freedom to express their unique experience of the

401 Da Silva, F. C., *Interview with Pastor Carlos Cardoso: Vice-President of the Fraternal Association on the 2nd July 2004*, Op. cit., [p.3].

402 Da Silva, F. C., *Interview with Pastor Carlos Cardoso: Vice-President of the Fraternal Association on the 2nd July 2004*, Ibid., [p.4].

403 Da Silva, F. C., *Interview with Pastor Óscar Segura: President of the Fraternal Association on the 6th of July 2004*, Op. cit., [p.6].

Christian Faith. But it also expresses the desire of its members to express their belief in the need for brotherly unity in the Christian Faith.

In terms of internal movement, the Fraternal [Association] is not a denomination in which people are all together, things are decreed and norm is established. And people are supposed to obey. We have [members] with very diverse past evangelical backgrounds. We have some that came from the Baptist ... from the Assemblies of God ... from the [Igreja] Maná. And their line of thought in terms of doctrine might be sometimes divergent.⁴⁰⁴

Freedom of association exists within the Fraternal Association for each church to fellowship with another, even if they are not part of the Fraternal Association. The coexistence is one that permits and respects each one's identity and freedom of expression. However, we should not presume that all those dissident pastors that left the Convention of the Assemblies of God, have joined the Fraternal Association. For instance, the Igreja de Filadélfia, in Charneca do Lumiar, which represents a good group of local churches with their pastors did not join the Fraternal Association.

Nevertheless, a group of 38 churches are members of the Fraternal Association. The *Prontuário das Igrejas da Fraternal [Association]*⁴⁰⁵ is a small booklet that serves as a directory of all churches of the Fraternal Association. The overview one can take from the *Prontuário* is that the Fraternal Association covers almost the whole country.⁴⁰⁶ And it also does good social work through its eleven social institutions. These social institutions consist of institutions that care for the children, theological colleges and a Bible School, coffee-houses to care for drug addicts and other addictions, old-age homes and the Institutos Particulares de Solidariedade Social (IPSS). The later is a government recognised institution to care for the needy. This institution is also supported by the Portuguese government.

The social action of the churches that compose the Fraternal Association goes beyond the Portuguese borders into the former colonies of Portugal in Africa. In Angola, for instance, the Centro Cristão Vida Abundante (CCVA) has one of the best primary schools of that country with 4500 children. The CCVA centre teaches and also feeds these children. Most of these children were street children or orphans.

404 Da Silva, F. C., *Interview with Pastor Óscar Segura: President of the Fraternal Association on the 6th of July 2004*, Ibid., [p.7].

405 Da Silva, J. L. da, Ed., *Prontuário das Igrejas da Fraternal*, (Pró-Luz Editora, Rua do Roque, 14-A, Fogueteiro, 2840 Amora, Portugal. [?]), p.4.

406 Da Silva, J. L. da, Ed., *Prontuário das Igrejas da Fraternal*, Ibid, pp.4-43.

Just as the AEP played a role in the formation of the Fraternal Association, the Fraternal Association in return is playing a role within the AEP. This happened when the Fraternal Association provided a president and one of the vice-presidents of the AEP. Pastor João Cardoso, a member of the Fraternal Association, reported about his election as the President of the AEP in 2002,

As the churches of the Charismatic area grew rapidly, there was a need to alter [the AEP's statutes]... And it was decided that each OCI ... would suggest a name to be chosen as the President of the AEP. Thereafter, in the General Assembly of the AEP, [those four names] would be voted. I was indicated by the Fraternal [Association], and I was voted [in a normal democratic internal election] as the President of the AEP in the general Assembly... in the second turn of the election.⁴⁰⁷

By its nature, and rooted in the Portuguese Pentecostalism, the Fraternal Association still have a nature less aggressive than that of the IURD. Their pastors never think in terms of confrontation with the Portuguese authorities. But this does not mean they do nothing against the inequalities and the discrimination experienced in Portugal. Therefore, together with the AEP they highlight and engage these Portuguese social problems. For instance they gave full support to the *Marcha Por Jesus*, (March for Jesus), highlighted by the Portuguese media. But this was an exception as the media still discriminates against the Fraternal Association⁴⁰⁸.

The dynamics of the Fraternal Association are less confrontational. When the Fraternal Association deals with the authorities the nature of their approach is typified by a more dialoguing manner. They do this within the AEP sphere. Maybe, because of this attitude the Portuguese Authorities are increasingly showing respect for the AEP Evangelical members. Nevertheless, the AEP President, Pastor João Cardoso, says he is not happy,

The Law [of Religious Freedom] ... was approved on the 16th of June 2001 and entered into action... It was regulated on the 10th of December 2003. Therefore, it took two and an half years to be [regulated]... Then, only in March [2004] the Commission for Freedom of Religion was nominated and since March they only had some meetings. Let us say, until December 2006 we will see no process of conform the Law to the Churches and the Churches to the Law...

But let us say, today, the relationship with the authorities is already better than before... However, even if [the Evangelicals] are the biggest religious minority, we are still ignored and forgotten in many situations... In the media, any event we organise is forgotten. For instance ... we did organise the biggest Evangelical event, reuniting the Evangelicals in Portugal. We rented the Pavilhão Multiusos, and there were no journalists [present to cover this national event].⁴⁰⁹

407 Da Silva, F. C., *Interview with Pastor João Cardoso: President of the Portuguese Evangelical Alliance on the 8th of July 2004*, Op. cit., [p.10].

408 [?], *Marcha Evangélica Reúne Milhares*, (Article in: *O Correio da Manhã*, 28 de Maio de 1995), [p.].

409 Da Silva, F. C., *Interview with Pastor João Cardoso: President of the Portuguese Evangelical Alliance on the 8th of July 2004*, Op. cit., [p.10].

Pastor João Cardoso further added,

Yes, there is still discrimination in Portugal, even political... This happens [for example]... if we [need to speak with some politician we must] find a relationship with someone, who in turn knows somebody else, and then we might be successful in arranging a meeting. If we go via the normal institutional ways it takes years, literally years [to make an appointment]. And if it is not years, it will be many months waiting to be received, for instance, by the Mayor of Lisbon...

The AEP has asked to be received by the Mayor [of Lisbon] and waited for a very long time for the appointment to be arranged... I was in that meeting with him on the 1st of April 2003, we are now on the 8th of July 2004, and I still did not receive any replay [to the matter I brought to his attention]. I know it has already been dispatched, but it takes months to come out... Now it passes to the architect then it goes to the engineer, and back again...

These are things ... we complain about... There are many others [pastors] experiencing the same... there is no respect for the number of people the ... [AEP] represents.⁴¹⁰

3.4 An opportunity for the growth of the Fraternal Association

The Evangelical community in Portugal is growing, but the Fraternal Association, due to its more liberal convictions and positioning has been growing very rapidly as compared with the other OCI's of the AEP. The phenomenon of church growth in Portugal needs to be understood. In fact, it seems as if the Portuguese society is Roman Catholic, but it is not. According to Pastor João Cardoso,

Data published by the Catholic Church estimates that the assistance to mass at the national average does not go higher than 11% of the population. Let us say, then, that about 10% of the Portuguese population are indeed attached to the Roman Catholic Church. Therefore, the other 90% are not Catholic. They may claim to be Catholic because they were born into a Catholic family in Portugal, and they have, by tradition, that demonstration of faith. If we think we are a country of about nine million people, 10% represent about nine hundred thousand people... To say, they are one million people traditionally attending the mass. If we think the Evangelicals are about two hundred thousand people, who indeed are members of the Churches, and come regularly to our Churches, then we are one fifth of the Catholic Church goers... I think that should lead the [Portuguese] Authorities to look at us with other eyes... I think we deserve that.⁴¹¹

Pastor João Cardoso further added,

410 Da Silva, F. C., *Interview with Pastor João Cardoso: President of the Portuguese Evangelical Alliance on the 8th of July 2004*, Ibid., [p.20].

411 Da Silva, F. C., *Interview with Pastor João Cardoso: President of the Portuguese Evangelical Alliance on the 8th of July 2004*, Ibid., [p.20].

Acho que a sociedade portuguesa está cada vez mais a ficar menos religiosa... No entanto ... acho que as pessoas deixaram de atender ao seu lado espiritual ... o que também cria nelas um vazio... Então ... há um crescente de busca espiritual. Claro que às vezes essa busca diversifica-se: desde religiões ... orientais, desde a prática ou a assistência a Igrejas Católicas ou Evangélicas, mas também naquilo que é oculto, daquilo que é transcendente... E daí o aumento que se deve ao ocultismo e a astrologia. Hoje é fácil ligar a nossa televisão e ver um padre a fazer oração e por detrás dele está a taróloga... Isso vê-se todos os dias nos programas da nossa televisão. Em qualquer das televisões, sejam elas públicas ou privadas. [Portanto, há também o interesse pelas nossas igrejas... Há a busca por aquilo que é livre.]⁴¹²

[The Portuguese society is becoming less religious... However, as the society tends to be less involved with spiritual and religious things... also a vacuum has been created within it... So, the spiritual search becomes inevitable, and grows more intensively. It is obvious that this search diversifies itself by ... oriental religions, going to the Catholic Church again, and also in the occult, or the transcendent... That explains the growth of occultism and astrology [even through public television]. I think the media promotes that occultism and astrology. Today is easy to turn our television set on and watch the [Catholic] priest praying and after him there is the card reader. This is happening in all television channels, public or private. [Therefore, there is also an interest for our churches... There is a search for that which is free].]

As we have mentioned before, the AEP is gaining ground and moving towards gaining the respect and attention of the Portuguese authorities. There is also the openness of the authorities towards the teaching of Evangelical morals to the Evangelical public school students.

The actual Protestant and Evangelical church growth in Portugal looks unprecedented. According to *Missão Global 2015*,

In the last 40 years, the number of Evangelical churches, of members and of persons connected [associated] to Evangelical communities, has multiplied more than five times.⁴¹³

The following tables extracted from *Missão Global 2015*, demonstrate the growth of the Protestants and Evangelicals in Portugal:

412 Da Silva, F. C., *Interview with Pastor João Cardoso: President of the Portuguese Evangelical Alliance on the 8th of July 2004*, *Ibid.*, [p.20].

413 [?], *Missão Global 2015*, (Article in: Compact Disk: published by the Aliança Evangélica Portuguesa, Av. Cons. Barjona de Freitas, Lisboa, Portugal, [?]), Slides 1-8.

Table 1
*Number of Protestant and Evangelical churches
 In Portugal in the last 40 years*

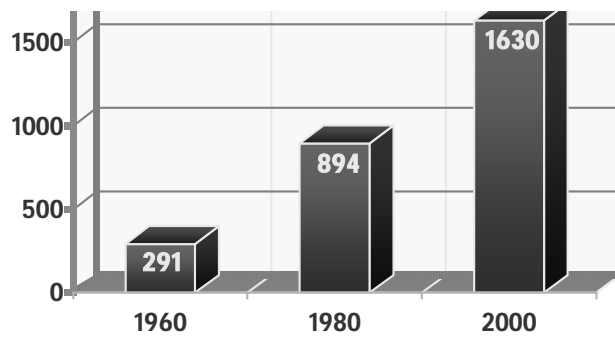


Table 2
Number of church members in Portugal in the last 40 years

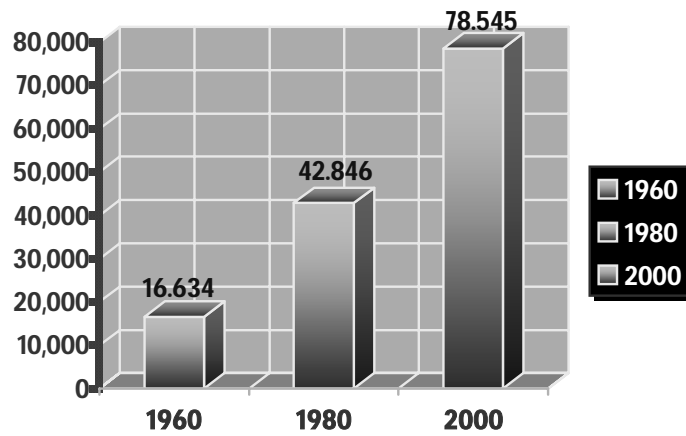


Table 3
Number of people associated with the Evangelical community

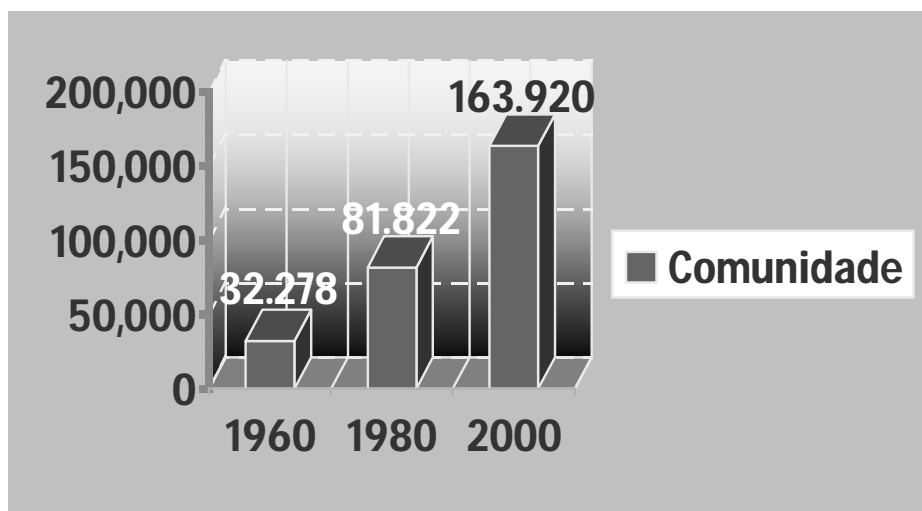


Table 4
Symbol of the expansion vision of the AEP

414



Officially, the AEP is not involved with the ecumenical reunions, as it is the case between the COPIC Churches and the Roman Catholic. However, the AEP has engaged in a serious informal dialogue, with the Roman Catholic Commission for Faith, whose members are bishops of the Catholic Church. One of the meetings was held in the Catholic Church of Viseu, and another on the IBP Bible School premises in Fanhões, Loures.

414 This symbol represents the vision of the AEP with its OCI's including the Fraternal Association to establish at least one Evangelical church in every municipality across the country until the year 2015.

Conclusion

The Portuguese society since the independence of the country has been essentially Roman Catholic. The establishment of Protestantism, Evangelicalism and Pentecostalism in Portugal was slow and faced many hardships. Compounding these hardships is the problem of illiteracy. Since Roman Catholicism is interwoven with Portuguese culture, the introduction of a new faith, in this case, Evangelicalism was perceived as treason.

The price to pay for the conversion to Evangelicalism is too high for some to bear. Moreover, resistance to the establishment of any Evangelical church is the common experience. The society in general looks with suspicion on these activities. The Portuguese authorities perceive a new church, other than Roman Catholic, as a threat to the local stability. The resistance against the process of the establishment of the new church is very strong and painful. Many converts leave the new church after some time because they cannot cope with the pressure from society.

However, the collapse of the Portuguese Empire brought about a revolution to alter society. The social transformation produced by the 25th of April 1974 Revolution of the Carnations in Portugal affected the religious atmosphere in the country. On one hand the Roman Catholic Church had to deal with its responsibilities with the previous political status. On the other hand, the vacuum created by the discredited Roman Catholic Church opened the doors for the Portuguese society to embrace other forms of the Christian faith.

However, with the establishment of the Evangelical churches, in particular, the Assemblies of God, it too experienced challenges, internally. A dissident movement was formed, which resulted in many pastors deciding to leave the Assemblies of God to start other churches and organizations. The dissident spirit has been taking shape and direction over several years. Painful as it was, it unleashed several forces that encouraged the establishment of more new churches in Portugal. It certainly encouraged a fresh zeal for evangelism and church planting. Many dissident pastors went on to establish their own churches which was a totally new practice in Portugal. These initiatives, however, made all pastors realize their need for fellowship and a common identity towards society. This resulted in the formation of the AEP.

In terms of civic matters, the Portuguese authorities looked towards the AEP for help in determining what to do with this drastic change in Christianity within the Portuguese society.

Particularly respected was the President of the AEP, Councilor Judge Dr. José Dias Bravo. The President of the Republic and the Minister of Justice even availed themselves of the opportunity to meet with the Evangelicals under the AEP. As this took place, the influence of the AEP increased. Thus, the AEP became the intermediary between the Evangelical churches and the Portuguese authorities.

The need for a clear theological and ecclesiastical identity increased within the AEP membership. For a church to be a member of the AEP, such a church benefited through the AEP, was essential for social respect and public protection. The AEP underwent an important change when its president, Councilor Judge Dr. José Dias Bravo, presented to the Charismatic members of the AEP the need to form a unifying body under which the dissident pastors and churches from the Assemblies of God could operate, find and express their common identity. Such a body became the Fraternal Association.

In their unique Pentecostal and Charismatic spiritual feelings, the members of the Fraternal Association move forward with vision, associated with the Portuguese Evangelical family. The engagement of the Fraternal Association with the AEP is relevant as the common projects are being built together. The main goal to establish at least one Evangelical church in each 318 counties across the country is uniting together all Evangelicals. They want to reach this goal by 2015. The theological sensibility of the Fraternal Association and their cosmopolitan views shape their actions in evangelism and church planting. Their strength lies in their unique vision. But they want to work together with the AEP family. The pastors of the Fraternal Association are committed within the Lisbon area with the informal forum created for Pentecostal pastors. This forum promotes common prayer and fellowship and is serving the purpose to heal ministerial relationships caused by the dissidence.

Bibliography

Books

Abbott, W. M., S.J. (Ed). 1966. *The Documents of Vatican II, With Notes and Comments by Catholic, Protestant, and Orthodox Authorities*. London-Dublin: Geoffrey Chapman, The American Press.

Baptista, C. 2002. *Milagres de Deus em Portugal, Ingrid e Tage Stahlberg sua vida e obra, 1938-1978*. Av. Almirante Gago Coutinho, 158, 1700-033 Lisboa, Portugal: CAPU, Casa Publicadora da Convenção das Assembleias de Deus em Portugal. Edições NA.

Branco, P. & da Silva, L. 1981. *Instituto Bíblico*. Fanhões, Loures, Portugal: Panorama Pentecostal, Instituto Bíblico de Portugal.

Branco, P. 2003. *90º Aniversário da Convenção das Assembleias de Deus em Portugal, 1913-2003, Das Origens à Actualidade*. Av. Almirante Gago Coutinho, 158, 1700-033 Lisboa, Portugal: CAPU, Casa Publicadora da Convenção das Assembleias de Deus em Portugal.

Cassels, D. 1906. *A Reforma em Portugal*. Porto, Portugal: Tipografia Viúva de José da Silva Mendonça.

Clearwaters, R. V. [?]. *A Igreja Local do Novo Testamento*. Apartado 1, Barreiro, Portugal: A Espada do Senhor.

Coelho, A. B. 1977. *A Revolução de 1383*. 3ª Edição. Rua Bernardo Lima, 23-1º, Lisboa, Portugal: Seara Nova.

Conde, E. 1960. *História das Assembleias de Deus no Brasil*. Rio de Janeiro, Brazil: N.P.

Conner, K. J. 1982. *The Church In The New Testament*. P.O.Box 140, Vermont, Victoria, 3133, Australia: Conner Publications, Waverley Book Store.

Cooke, Jean, Kramer. A., & Roeland-Entwistle, T. 1987. *História, Resposta a Tudo*, translation of the original *Fact Book of History* into Portuguese by Manuel Cordeiro. Círculo de Leitores, September, number of edition 2093.

Coutinho, A., & Serén, M. do C. 1980. *A Evolução das Longas Tendências das Crises Europeias desde o Século XIV a 1929*. R. Mártires da Pátria, 112, 4004 Porto, Portugal: Edições ASA.

Da Silva, J. L. Ed. [?]. *Prontuário das Igrejas da Fraternal [Association]*. Rua do Roque, 14-A, Fogueteiro, 2840 Amora, Portugal: Pró-Luz Editora.

Daniel, S. 2004. *História da Convenção das Assembleias de Deus do Brasil*. Brazil: CPAD, Casa Publicadora das Assembleias de Deus.

Dunstan, L., Ed. 1962. *Great Religions of Modern Man: Protestantism*. New York, USA: Washington Square Press, Inc.

Ericson, G. C. 1984. *Os Evangélicos em Portugal*. Apartado 1, 2746, Queluz, Portugal: Núcleo, Centro de Publicações Cristãs, Lda.

Ferreira, J. C. 1944. *Ebenezer*. Edições Novas de Alegria. Av. Almirante Gago Coutinho, 158, 1700-033 Lisboa, Portugal: CAPU, Casa Publicadora da Convenção das Assembleias de Deus em Portugal.

Giddens, A. [?]. *Sociologia*. (Second Edition. Lisboa, Portugal: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian.

Hamon, B. 1981. *The Eternal Church*. Route 2, Box 351, Point Washington, FL 32454, USA: Christian International Publishers.

Herring, H., & Herring, H. B. 1972. *A History of Latin America, from the Beginnings to the Present*. Third Edition. New York, [USA]: Alfred-A-Knopf.

Holy Bible, New King James Version. 1982. Nashville, USA: Thomas Nelson Publishers.

Hurlbut, J. L. 1970. *História da Igreja Cristã*. [USA]: Zondervan Publishing House.

Kavanaugh, J. [?] *Adeus à Velha Igreja*. [Translation of *Goodbye to the Old Church*]. Edições Delfos, Avenida Luis Bivar, 7. Lisboa. Portugal.

Keller, W. 1966. *História do Povo Judeu, da Destruição do templo ao Novo Estado de Israel*. Rua Alfredo Aldim, Alfragide, Lisboa, Portugal: Edições Acrópole.

Madariaga, S. de. 1943. *Spain*. 11 East 44th St., New York, N.Y. USA: Creative Age Press, Inc.

Marques, A. H. O. 1972. *History of Portugal, From Lusitania to Empire*. Volumes I and II. Second Edition. New York, USA: Columbia University Press.

Moreira, E. H. 1958. *Vidas Convergentes: história breve dos movimentos de reforma cristã em Portugal a partir do século XVIII*. Lisboa. Portugal: Junta Presbiteriana de Cooperação em Portugal.

Nichols, A., OP. 1998. *Catholic Thought Since the Enlightenment: A Survey*. PO Box 392, Pretoria, RSA: UNISA Press, University of South Africa.

Oliveira, J. De. 1997. *As Assembleias de Deus no Brasil*. Brazil: CPAD, Capa Publicadora das Assembleias de Deus.

Pessoa, J. & Martinez, F. 1987. *Manual dos Candidatos ao Baptismo*. Edições Novas de Alegria. Av. Almirante Gago Coutinho, 158, 1700-033 Lisboa, Portugal: CAPU, Casa Publicadora da Convenção das Assembleias de Deus em Portugal.

Rops, D. 1956. *A Igreja dos Apóstolos e dos Mártires*. Porto, Portugal: Livraria Tavares.

Rippy, J. F. 1958. *Latin America: A Modern History*. USA: University Of Michigan Press.

Saraiva, A. J. & Lopes, Ó. [?]. *História da Literatura Portuguesa*. 5ª Edição. Rua da Fábrica, 84, Porto: Porto Editora, Lda.

Saraiva, J. H. 1984. *História Concisa de Portugal*. 9ª Edição, Colecção Saber. [Portugal]: Publicações Europa América.

Sérgio, A. 1978. *Breve Interpretação da História Portuguesa*. 8ª Edição. Lisboa, Portugal: Livraria Sá da Costa Editora.

Shelley, B. L. 1995. *Church History In Plain Language* Second Edition. Dallas, Texas, USA: Word Publishing.

Silva, A. M. S. P. 1995. A Igreja Lusitana e o Republicanismo (1880-1910): convergências e expectativas do discurso ideológico, *in A vida da República Portuguesa, 1890-1990*. Lisboa, Portugal: Actas do Congresso, Cooperativa de Estudos e Documentação, pp. 739-756.

Spielvogel, J. J. 1999. *World History: the Human Odyssey*. Texas Teacher's Edition. USA: West Educational Publishing, West Publishing Company.

Torres, F. 1970. *Portugal Uma Perspectiva da Sua História*. 4ª edição do autor. Porto, Portugal: Afrontamento, Editado em Praga pela Universidade Carlos.

Velez, A. R. da C. 1942. *A Escola Bíblica*. Número Especial de Natal. Av. Almirante Gago Coutinho, 158, 1700-033 Lisboa, Portugal: CAPU, Casa Publicadora da Convenção das Assembleias de Deus em Portugal.

Wagner, C. P. 1989. *Strategies for Church Growth, Tools for Effective Mission and Evangelism*, Ventura, California, USA: Regal Books, a Division of GL Publications.

Wintle, J., Ed. 1982. *Makers of Nineteenth Century Culture 1800-1914: A Bibliographical Dictionary*. 9 Park Street, Boston, Mass. 02108, USA: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Wright, B. L. 1962. *The Cultural Life of the American Colonies, 1607-1763*. (Harper Torchbooks, The University Library, Harper & Row Publishers, Inc., 49 East 33rd Street, New York 16, N.Y., USA.

Articles

Barata, A. C. 2003. História da Aliança Evangélica Portuguesa. Av. Conselheiro Barjonas de Freitas, 16-B, 1500-204, Lisboa, Portugal: Editado por Samuel Pinheiro, em formato de CD, com o título: *O Melhor de Tudo, colectâneas de textos 1973-2003*. Aliança Evangélica Portuguesa.

Barata, A. C. 2001. História: A Reforma Religiosa em Portugal, História dos Evangélicos em Portugal. Edição Especial para a Campanha 2001. Fanhões, Loures. Portugal: Magazine *Vem e Vê*, Impressão Desafio Jovem.

Barata, A. C. [?]. *Personal documents*. (Not yet published).

Bravo, J. D. 2003. Appeal to the President. Discourse proffered during the First National Evangelical Encounter held with the presence of His Excellency the President of the Republic, Dr. Jorge Sampaio, in the 10th of January 1998. Av. Conselheiro Barjonas de Freitas, 16-B, 1500-204, Lisboa, Portugal: Pinheiro, Samuel R., História da Aliança Evangélica Portuguesa: Datas e Textos Históricos da História Recente da Aliança Evangélica Portuguesa, editado por Samuel Pinheiro, em formato de CD, com o título, *O Melhor de Tudo, colectâneas de textos 1973-2003*. Aliança Evangélica Portuguesa.

Diário da República nº 143/2001, SÉRIE I-A. 2001. Lei da Liberdade Religiosa. Lei Nº 16/2001, de 22 de Junho. Publicada de acordo com o artigo 161 da Constituição Portuguesa. [Lisboa, Portugal]: Governo Português.

Fernandes, M. R. 1965. Notícia da XXVII Convenção das Assembleias de Deus de Portugal. *Novas de Alegria* de Junho. Av. Almirante Gago Coutinho, 158, 1700-033 Lisboa, Portugal: CAPU, Casa Publicadora da Convenção das Assembleias de Deus em Portugal.

Jardim, A. J. 2005. *Crónicas à distância: Votar, Domingo!* Corner Northen Parkway & Rouillard Street, Ormonde, Johannesburg, RSA: O Século de Joanesburgo.

Khan, R. S. 1992. *Comunidade Cristã Pão Quebrado / "Broken Bread" Ministry*. Magazine 1, August/92, Year 1. Rua 7, Lote 30, R/c – Loja, Tapada das Mercês, 2725 Mem Martins Portugal: [?].

Lima, R. A. 1995. *Abrunhosa e Bandemónio acorrentados às portas: O Coliseu é nosso, carago!* Sociedade, Sábado, 5 de Agosto. [Lisboa, Portugal]: Diário de Notícias.

Moreira, E. H. 1913. [?]. *O Mensageiro*, Ano IV, No. 37, Setembro e Outubro de 1913. Valezim, Seia, Portugal: [?].

Pinheiro, S. R. 2003. História da Aliança Evangélica Portuguesa: Datas e Textos Históricos da História Recente da Aliança Evangélica Portuguesa. Av. Conselheiro Barjonas de

Freitas, 16-B, 1500-204, Lisboa, Portugal: Pinheiro, Samuel R., História da Aliança Evangélica Portuguesa: Datas e Textos Históricos da História Recente da Aliança Evangélica Portuguesa, editado por Samuel Pinheiro, em formato de CD, com o título, ***O Melhor de Tudo, colectâneas de textos 1973-2003***. Aliança Evangélica Portuguesa.

Pinheiro, S. R. 2003. Um Século Pentecostal, Av. Conselheiro Barjonas de Freitas, 16-B, 1500-204, Lisboa, Portugal: Pinheiro, Samuel R., História da Aliança Evangélica Portuguesa: Datas e Textos Históricos da História Recente da Aliança Evangélica Portuguesa, editado por Samuel Pinheiro, em formato de CD, com o título, ***O Melhor de Tudo, colectâneas de textos 1973-2003***. Aliança Evangélica Portuguesa.

Santos, L. A. 2000. ***O Protestantismo em Portugal (Séculos XIX e XX): linhas de força da sua história e historiografia***. Madrid, Spain: Conference presented to the First International Colloquium of the Investigation of the History of Protestantism in Spain and Portugal, 26th to 28th of April 2000. (A photocopy of this document is with Pastor António Costa Barata).

[?]. 2004. Adesão de Portugal à CEE. Edição em DVD rom, ***Diciopédia 2004***. Rua da Restauração, 365, 4099-023 Porto, Portugal: Porto Editora, Multimédia.

[?]. 1995. ***Marcha Evangélica Reúne Milhares***. Edição de 28 de Maio. Lisboa, Portugal: O Correio da Manhã.

[?]. 2004. Fado. Edição em DVD rom, ***Diciopédia 2004***. Rua da Restauração, 365, 4099-023 Porto, Portugal., Porto Editora, Multimédia.

[?]. 2004. Fátima, Santuário de Fátima. Edição em DVD rom, ***Diciopédia 2004***. Rua da Restauração, 365, 4099-023 Porto, Portugal., Porto Editora, Multimédia.

[?]. 2005. ***Jornal da Noite***. Broadcast news on 14th of February. Lisbon, Portugal: SIC Internacional.

[?]. [?]. ***Missão Global 2015***. Edition in Compact Disk format. Av. Conselheiro Barjonas de Freitas, Lisboa, Portugal: Aliança Evangélica Portuguesa.

[?]. 2004. Vila-Francada (1823). Edição em DVD rom, ***Diciopédia 2004***. Rua da Restauração, 365, 4099-023 Porto, Portugal., Porto Editora, Multimédia.

[?].2004. Vinte e Cinco de Abril de 1974. *Diciopédia 2004*. Porto Editora, Multimédia. Rua da Restauração, 365, 4099-023 Porto, Portugal.

[?]. 2005. *Telejornal*. Broadcast news on 14th of February. Lisbon, Portugal: RTP Internacional.

Letters

Da Silva, D. M. 1520. *Letter to his Portuguese king*. Sent from Rome to Lisbon on the 29th of August. Arch. Nac. Maç. 22 de Bullas, nº 15. Lisbon, Portugal: Corpo Diplomático Portuguez. (A photocopy of this document is with Pastor António Costa Barata).

Garlock, J. 1972. *Field Report*. Sent to the Division of Foreign Missions of the American Assemblies of God on the 22nd of March. [Lisbon, Portugal]: [?]. (A photocopy of this document is with Pastor António Costa Barata).

Johnson, S. 1975. *Personal letter to Charles Greenaway*. Sent on the 19th of September. (A photocopy of this document is with Pastor António Costa Barata).

Johnson, S. 1977. *Portuguese Field Report, November 1977*. Sent to the Department of Foreign Missions of the Assemblies of God in America. (A photocopy of this document is with Pastor António da Costa Barata).

Johnson, S. 1977. *Portuguese Field Report, July 1977*. Sent to the Department of Foreign Missions of the Assemblies of God in America. (A photocopy of this document is with Pastor António Costa Barata).

Pessoa, J., & Hipólito, J. S. 1972. *Two Letters Sent by Pastor José Pessoa and João Sequeira Hipólito as official representatives of the National Convention of the Assemblies of God on the 24th of May 1972, from Lisbon, Portugal, inviting the American Assemblies of God to invest missionary resources in Portugal*. (A photocopy of this document is with Pastor António Costa Barata).

Interviews

Da Silva, F. C. 2005. *Interview with Luisa Costa, one of the church members who witnessed the case, on the 14th of January 2005.* Benoni, RSA: Done at the Portuguese Evangelical Church.

Da Silva, F. C. 2004. *Interview with Pastor João Cardoso: President of the Portuguese Evangelical Alliance, on the 8th of July 2004.* Lisbon, Portugal: Done at the central offices of the Centro Cristão Vida Abundante (CCVA).

Da Silva, F. C. 2004. *Interview with Pastor Óscar Segura: President of the Fraternal Association, on the 6th of July 2004.* Malveira, Portugal: Done at his pastoral office.

Da Silva, F. C. 2004. *Interview with Pastor Carlos Cardoso: Vice-President of the Fraternal Association on the 2nd of July 2004.* Cascais, Portugal: Done at his residence.

Da Silva, F. C. 2004. *Interview with Pastor James Reimer, on the 8th July 2004.* Lisbon, Portugal: Done at his church office.

Da Silva, F. C. 2004. *Interview with Pastor Lucas da Silva, on the 8th of July 2004.* Amora, Portugal. Done in Fogueteiro.

Da Silva, F. C. 2004. *Interview with Mr. Rahil S. Khan, on the 20th August 2004.* Benoni, RSA: Done at Benoni Evangelical Church.

Da Silva, F. C. 2004. *Interview with Pastor António da Costa Barata on the 1st of July 2004.* Foros de Amora, Seixal, Portugal: Done at his residence.

Da Silva, F. C. 2004. *Interview with Pastor Alfredo Rosendo Machado, on 6th of July 2004.* Fanhões, Loures, Portugal: Done in the Monte Esperança Instituto Bíblico.

Da Silva, F. C. 2004. *Interview with Prof. Dr. Fernando Nogueira Dias, on the 12th of July 2004.* Lisbon, Portugal: Done in Praça de Londres.

Pessoa, J. 1977. *Interview given to the Division of Foreign Missions of the Assemblies of God in the USA, Springfield, Missouri, USA, on the 18th of April, 1977.* Lisbon, Portugal: (Photocopy of a document with Pastor António Costa Barata).

Websites

Oliveira, C. T. [?]. Histórico – sínteses [of the AEP]. <http://portalevangelico.pt>.

<http://www.convencao-assembleias-deus.org/declaracao-fe/toxicodependencia.htm>

http://www.dgrn.mj.pt/legislacao/liberd_relig.asp

http://www.igrejamana.com/quem_somos/origem.html

<http://www.iurdportugal.com/história.htm>

<http://html.sociedade-biblica.pt>

<http://www.stjames.wellington.net.nz/stjamesthegreater.pdf>

<http://www.teenchallenge.com/main/centers/portugal.html>

<http://www.tripletrock.com>