

A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE GROWTH OF THE
BRAZILIAN BAPTISTS AND THE ASSEMBLIES OF GOD IN
METROPOLITAN SÃO PAULO, 1981-1990

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ABSTRACT

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Missionaries make strategic decisions all the time, often without realizing the strategic impact those decisions will have. Perhaps no strategic decision is more important than how leaders should be trained, who should assume leadership of a fledgling church, and when the expatriate missionaries should relinquish control of the work to the local leadership.

This dissertation attempts to examine the long term effects of strategic decisions made by the early Assemblies of God and Southern Baptist missionaries in Brazil, the postures they assumed as they inserted their faith into the Brazilian culture by examining the relative success of these two groups in the metropolitan São Paulo area at least seventy years from the time the first Assemblies of God missionaries set foot in Brazil, and roughly a hundred years after the first Southern Baptists arrived.

In fact, although the Assemblies of God in Brazil sprang out of a Baptist church, the early missionaries took very different approaches to the missionary task. Perhaps due to their own background, as well as early Pentecostalism's roots among the working classes, the first Pentecostal missionaries to Brazil began a

popular, working class, church, while the Baptists intentionally targeted the middle and upper classes.

Further, the early Assemblies of God missionaries both trained local leadership and handed over effective leadership of the fledgling church very early in its history, while the Baptist missionaries insisted on greater amounts of formal training for their local leadership, and effectively held on to the reins of power for decades. Thus, despite massive amounts of foreign subsidy, the Baptists never really achieved the same results among the Brazilian people as did the Assemblies of God.

This work attempts to verify, by using the metropolitan São Paulo area of the 1980s as a case study, to what extent the patterns established by the early Assemblies of God and Baptist missionaries persist in the churches they began. It seems evident that, well over half a century after Daniel Berg and Gunnar Vingren set foot in Brazil, and nearly a century after the first Baptists arrived, the patterns they established in the fledgling churches do, in fact, persist.

KEY TERMS: Baptist history, Assemblies of God history, Brazilian history, Church Growth, Urban Studies, Latin American cities, São Paulo, Baptist missions, Assemblies of God missions, Contextualization.

DEDICATION

I dedicate this dissertation to my wife, Sarah; and to our three daughters, Christina, Deborah, and Jessica. Without your patience and encouragement, I would not have been able to complete this work.

GLOSSARY

AD. *Assembléia de Deus*. Portuguese for the “Assembly of God.”

AOG. “Assembly of God.”

CBB. *Convenção Batista Brasileira*, or Brazilian Baptist Convention.

CBESP. *Convenção Batista do Estado de São Paulo*, or “São Paulo State Baptist Convention.”

CGADB. *Convenção Geral das Assembléias de Deus*, or “General Convention of the Assemblies of God.”

COMIBAM. *Comissão Ibero-Americana de Missões*, or “Ibero-American Missions Commission.” (NB – “Latin America” is actually a misnomer, as “Latin” may also be used to refer to people of French and Italian descent. “Ibero-America” is far more precise, referring to countries in both North, Central, and South America with historical and cultural ties to the Iberian peninsula.)

IBGE. *Fundação Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística*, or the Brazilian Institute for Geography and Statistics Foundation, the Brazilian Census Bureau.

IURD. *Igreja Universal do Reino de Deus* or “Universal Church of the Kingdom of God.”

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Chapter 1

Introduction

From a small group of people praying for the baptism of the Holy Spirit together with Agnes Ozmam in Topeka, Kansas (1901) and others gathered in a ramshackle building on Azusa Street in Los Angeles (1906), Pentecostalism has grown into a worldwide movement, easily the fastest growing segment of Christianity. In fact, David Barrett routinely cites Pentecostalism as a separate form of Christianity (separate from, say, evangelicalism, from which it stems) in his annual *Statistical Table*.

In Latin America, a plethora of studies have sprung up since Lalive D'Epinay's classic study of Chilean Pentecostalism (1969) and Hollenweger's study of worldwide Pentecostalism, originally published in Spanish (1970). The most recent spate of such studies seems to have been triggered by David Martin's *Tongues of Fire: The Explosion of Protestantism in Latin America* (1990), followed by David Stoll's *Is Latin America Turning Protestant: The Politics of Evangelical Growth*. In both cases, the term "Protestant" could be exchanged for "Pentecostal" with no loss of meaning. All this attention to the Pentecostal phenomenon even caught Harvey Cox' eye, leading him to write *Fire from Heaven*, where he sees Pentecostalism as the harbinger of postmodern religiosity.

Studies of Latin American Pentecostalism seem to follow one of three lines of thinking. Stoll was already mentioned as studying the implications of grassroots Pentecostalism for the Latin American political process. Both Paul Freston (1993) and Rowan Ireland (1991) follow this same research theme with regard to Brazil. In fact, Paul

Freston's doctoral thesis (1993) concentrated on evangelicals' participation in Brazil's 1988 constitutional assembly.

John Burdick (1993) follows a similar, but different, line of study when he compares the social adaptation of a Catholic Base Community, an Umbanda "Center," and a Pentecostal (Assembly of God) church in a Rio "suburb."¹ Despite his sympathy for the Base Communities, Burdick comes to the startling conclusion that the Assembly of God offers his subjects their only valid option for social change. Both the Base Communities and the Umbanda Center are simply too tied into the *status quo*, the first because they are still very much middle class Catholic organizations and the latter because, in Brazil, Spiritism is a "client religion" of Roman Catholicism. The Pentecostal Assemblies of God have managed to both identify with the poor and offer them an alternate way of being, one that offers them real hope for change.

Last but not least, students of Pentecostalism like Harvey Cox see the phenomenon as the harbinger of a new, postmodern, wave of religiosity, one that is not nearly so doctrinaire as traditional western Christianity, with its interminable arguments over creeds, confessions and catechisms. The Pentecostal emphasis on heartfelt religion and being led by the Spirit appear to give the postmodern westerner a religious alternative that does not require that he or she hold to the objective validity of his/her religious claims. Holding on to objectively valid religious claims would, of course, require one to retain at least some aspects of a modern, enlightenment, worldview in

¹ "Suburban living" in Latin America is somewhat different from its North American counterpart. While North American suburbs are middle class enclaves, it is the poor who live in Latin American suburbs, those who could not afford housing closer to the city's center.

a culture which is moving, willy-nilly, away from the acceptance of objective truth of any kind – particularly in the religious sphere.

Further, many researchers use “capitalist” language to describe religious phenomena, particularly Pentecostal growth. References are made to the “appeal” of a particular church, to the needs (both material and symbolic) it meets; while traditional Pentecostals, at least, tend to explain their growth in terms of God’s blessing. This self-understanding changes, however, with the newer, prosperity-oriented “neo-pentecostals,”² who attribute their success to their successful marketing strategies. Religious faith for them, at least, becomes a consumer commodity. “Capitalist language” thus fits their self-understanding.

These studies exhibit a number of common characteristics. First, *each assumes the fact of phenomenal Pentecostal growth without demonstrating said growth*. The best-known statistics are based on denominational self-reporting. In Brazil, at least, this presents some difficulty. When Patrick Johnstone recently asked Lawrence Kraft of OC Ministries and COMIBAM to help him verify his statistics, Kraft found the Brazilian Census Bureau’s count of the Assemblies of God, based on statistical sampling, was less than one fifth of what that denomination reports as its membership!

At the same time, the “traditional,” or “historic” (i.e. non-Pentecostal) denominations’ self reported statistics were extremely

² This popular term refers to churches like the IURD (the “Universal Church of the Kingdom of God”) and “Renascer em Cristo” (“Rebirth in Christ”). The latter was founded by, Estevam Hernandes, a former marketing executive for Xerox Corporation. Both self-consciously “market” themselves to the Brazilian consumer.

close to those of the Brazilian Census Bureau³. It would appear that the Pentecostal denominations greatly exaggerate their growth and numbers, while the historic churches report them with a fair measure of accuracy. This opens the possibility that much of the writing about the growth of Protestantism in Latin America (or at least Brazil) is based on a fundamental misapprehension of the real composition of Latin American Protestantism, due to the Pentecostal penchant for self-exaggeration. In short, while the Pentecostal churches are growing more rapidly than the historic churches, one cannot say with Benjamin Gutierrez: “While the Catholic Church and the so called historic Protestant Churches are *growing ever emptier*, the Pentecostal churches are growing to the extent they satisfy the needs of the people” (Gutiérrez and Silveira Campos, 1996: 15, emphasis added). The facts do not support such a conclusion, at least with regard to the Baptists and the Assemblies of God in São Paulo during the decade under study.

Together with the assumption of spectacular Pentecostal growth, based on these denomination’s own statistics, *most of these studies are qualitative in nature*. Burdick’s *Looking for God in Brazil* is based on participation observation, while Ireland based *Kingdoms Come* on a series of interviews. From these interviews he extracted a “rich description” of the religio-political reality of “Campo Alegre” à la Geertz.

While qualitative studies provide rich insights into the internal dynamics of a particular social situation, extrapolation from them is problematic. First, they focus rather narrowly on a *particular* social

³ I will discuss this matter in some detail in the chapters on the growth of the Assemblies of God and the Brazilian Baptists in São Paulo. This issue presents one of my major methodological challenges.

situation. While conclusions drawn from qualitative studies can speak with relative authority about that situation, they can only *suggest* how another situation can be analyzed, and then only to the degree that the two are similar.

Second, qualitative studies are, by their very nature, subjective⁴. Analyses made and conclusions drawn are very much a product of the researcher's biases and perceptions and thus, *difficult, if not impossible, to reproduce*. Another researcher with slightly different biases, personality, and technique may well come to significantly different conclusions, even with regard to a study within the same narrow context of the original. Thus, while qualitative studies provide valuable insight into the inner workings of communities (which, by the way, quantitative studies *cannot* do), they must be supplemented both by quantitative and other forms of research. When this is not done, one runs the risk of fundamentally misunderstanding the data, precisely because one is likely to assume facts not in evidence, as mentioned above.

The Research Problem

Fundamentally, the issue being studied is a strategic one: How has the way the Brazilian Baptists and the Assemblies of God inserted themselves into Brazilian society 90 – 130 years ago influenced their appeal / growth in the metropolitan São Paulo area between the last two published Brazilian censuses, in 1980 and 1991? Both denominations began as the result of foreign “missionary” efforts. In

⁴ I do not intend to discuss the subjective nature of all knowledge. While this fact is universally accepted, it is also acknowledged that certain types of study rely more thoroughly on the researcher's subjective perceptions, and are thus more heavily influenced by his or her biases. That is my point here. With regard to sociology, *qualitative* research is seen as less “objective” than other kinds of research.

fact, the Brazilian Assemblies of God are an offshoot of the Brazilian Baptists. Yet both assumed different postures with regard to Brazilian culture and, consequently, found different niches within Brazilian society, with the result that the Assemblies' numerical growth, while not as spectacular as their self-reporting would suggest, has been greater than that of the Baptists.⁵

Strategically, the issue is twofold. First, I will attempt to demonstrate that, while both denominations identified themselves with certain segments of Brazilian society, this identification was largely the result of the *identity* of the missionaries who founded each denomination. Like attracts like; and the missionaries who founded both the Brazilian Baptist Convention and the General Convention of the Assemblies of God tended to attract those Brazilians whose worldview was most similar to their own, thus founding denominations that greatly reflect the character of the missionaries and their initial associates on Hiebert's "cross-cultural bridge."

Second, both denominations reflect widely varying approaches to mission. For years, Brazil was the Southern Baptists' largest mission field, with literally hundreds of missionaries. Southern Baptist missionaries founded seminaries, a publishing house, and much of the denominational apparatus still in existence. Land worth millions of dollars was purchased for church buildings, seminaries,

⁵ Brazilian Census (IBGE) figures tell us that while the Baptists in the SP metro area numbered 146,272 in 1991, 258,437 people identified themselves with Assemblies of God. CGADB (Assemblies) statistics place them at 12.8 million nationally in 1991 (1995:10), with about 10% of their numbers in the SP metro region – approximately 1.3 million. IBGE statistics put AD membership at 514,406 **nationally** during the 1991 census, making the AD estimate of their size **25 times** that of the Census Bureau's nationally, and nearly five times the IBGE's count in the SP metro area!

and private schools.⁶ In fact, up until recently, the three major Brazilian Baptist seminaries received annual subsidies worth tens, if not hundreds, of thousands of dollars. As a result, non Southern Baptist missionaries were forbidden from teaching at these institutions.

In short, the Brazilian Baptist Convention is the product of a missionary strategy involving the investment of tens of millions of US dollars and the lives of hundreds of expatriate missionaries, whose numbers and influence are only now waning, *nearly one hundred and thirty years after the establishment of the first Baptist church on Brazilian soil!*

In contrast, the AD⁷ in Brazil represents a “minimalist” missionary paradigm. The first AD church in Brazil, in the city of Belém, was begun as the result of a schism initiated by two penniless Swedish immigrants, Daniel Berg and Gunner Vingren. With no overseas denomination to call on for support, they were forced to develop their church within local parameters and with local leadership and funding. I will argue that this “minimalist” paradigm, in addition to AD identification with a much larger segment of Brazilian society, including its worldview, symbols, and lifestyle, is largely responsible for the AD’s numerical success in the urban environment.

⁶ As a matter of fact, several of the Brazilian Baptists’ oldest churches *still* don’t have the deeds to their properties. Due to differences between their corporate charters and those of the Southern Baptist mission when these properties were first purchased, their properties belong to a foundation whose charter is of the same class as the mission’s whose board is coterminous with the elected officers of the Brazilian Baptist Convention.

⁷ *Assembléia de Deus*, heretofore “AD.”

Relevance

In addition to addressing the question of the extent to which assertions of Pentecostal growth are exaggerated, with roughly 1.5 billion unreached people, Christian missions have a great deal of pioneer work to do. It appears to me that the usual missionary selection process, at least among evangelical missions in the U.S., pays a significant amount of attention to the candidate's background, doctrinal stance, and perhaps gift set, while ignoring the match between his or her socio-cultural background and worldview and the culture and worldview of the people to whom he or she will be sent. This effectively leaves one of the most powerful variables in the success of the church to be started, namely the missionary's personal identification with his target people, up to chance. At best, the missionary muddles through and actually manages to identify, at a core level, with his or her host culture. At worst, his or her identification with the host culture remains superficial, and so does the church's.

If part of the "secret" to Pentecostal / AD success in Brazil lays in the initial identification of the early AD missionaries to Brazil with the Brazilian people and culture, then mission agencies should consider revamping their approach to pioneer ministries. Instead of just picking a field and a few likely candidates (*volunteers*, in the great American tradition) and sending those candidates to develop their strategy as they are in the process of adjusting to the culture, these agencies should carefully analyze the target culture *and* their missionary candidates and personnel, then proceed to develop a strategy for reaching that culture with the Christian message, selecting those candidates whose worldview and background best

enables them to identify with their target people (or even people within the people, as in the case of the AD in Brazil).

Second, the AD's numerical success in Brazil suggests that "minimalist" approach may, in the long run, enable the churches founded by those missionaries who use it to spread more quickly and with greater penetration throughout their societies than those churches begun and sustained with the massive infusion of missionary capital and labor. As evangelical missionary agencies seek to "reach the unreached" with limited amounts of both money and labor, they may be encouraged to realize that the judicious use of those resources may ultimately result in stronger, more successful, churches on the field.

Presuppositions

Statistical

Perhaps the most significant presupposition involves the acceptability of data regarding the numerical size of the denominations being studied. As has already been mentioned, the IBGE and the AD figures for the size of the AD in Brazil, including São Paulo, vary greatly, while the IBGE's figures for the more "traditional evangelical" denominations tally closely with those denomination's own figures.⁸ The IBGE figures are based on the method of statistical sampling, while the AD figures are mere estimates on the part of that denomination's leadership.

This discrepancy is due, in part, to the fact that the AD does not keep up to date membership records, including those who leave their churches, as do the more traditional evangelical denominations. Instead, they record baptisms, which tend to follow professions of

⁸ See footnote 5, above.

faith in relatively short order, and ministerial consecrations. *At no time do they record either current membership totals, as a census would, nor do they track those who leave their churches for any reason* (José de Oliveira, May 11, 1999). Statistically, they assume that, once a person has entered the church through baptism, they never leave, even by death. Nor do they record those who leave the ministry for any reason. Naturally, this results in rather inflated estimates of their own size.⁹

Therefore, this study assumes the accuracy of the official government statistics, as published by the IBGE (Brazilian Census Bureau) and EMPLASA (literally, the “Metropolitan Planning Company for Greater São Paulo, an organ of the State government). Evaluating the quality of these statistics goes far beyond the purview of this dissertation. As a matter of fact, the IBGE census figures form the backdrop for all the statistics used in this study. Censuses were performed in 1980 and 1991, as well as a “population count” in 1996. Both the IBGE and the EMPLASA figures between these dates represent projections based on the trends demonstrated by the 1980 census. Thus, this study uses the hardest figures available, those of the censuses themselves.

Further, this study assumes the **relative** accuracy of the statistics provided by the São Paulo Baptist Convention concerning the growth of their churches in greater São Paulo over the decade.

⁹ While I was greeted cordially by the president of the CGADB, and treated equally cordially by Pastor José de Oliveira, in charge of the church records for the period I studied, *at no time was I permitted direct access to AD records*. The data I have on the Belém ministry are based on statistical summaries prepared by my informant, Pastor José de Oliveira. While my informant appeared to be aware of the discrepancies between his church’s claims of its size and those of the IBGE, he was either unable or unwilling to allow me to make any sort of direct study of the church records. In this, my experience was radically different from Andrew Chestnut’s.

These statistics are based on the reports of the churches involved to the Convention's headquarters, which then collates and publishes the figures for the all the churches in the State Convention. It is thus assumed that the same general flaws in gathering and collating information continued throughout the decade studied, giving an accurate picture of the **relative** growth or non-growth of the churches associated with the denomination in the metropolitan area – although the figures themselves may not be precise. Nonetheless, since these figures tally rather closely with those of the IBGE, they are understood to be nearly as accurate as those of the IBGE.

Finally, this study discounts all AD claims to their overall membership; as such claims have no apparent foundation in empirical data, certainly not data that can be verified.¹⁰ Nonetheless, the Belém ministry of the AD in São Paulo has graciously given this researcher data regarding the number of baptisms and ministerial consecrations for the period under study. As these figures result from data which the AD *do* collect and maintain, and are the result of public ceremonies, witnessed by thousands, they are presumed to be accurate – in spite of the fact that AD records were not open to me.

Denominational

It will be assumed that churches affiliated with the CBESP, the Baptist Convention of the State of São Paulo are both typical of Brazilian Baptist churches in that state in general, as well as the slightly broader category of Baptists. NB – Brazilian Baptists make up over 80% of all Baptists in São Paulo.

¹⁰ For this reason, the folk at ISER counted church buildings in their evangelical census of Rio de Janeiro in 1991.

It will also be assumed that the Belém ministry of the AD, or Assemblies of God in Brazil, is representative of the AD the São Paulo region. While it is difficult, if not impossible, to determine what proportion of all AD membership belongs to this ministry, current estimates have it around half. Further, this ministry is historically the oldest and most traditional; and its Pastor President, José Wellington, currently serves as the president of the CGADB, or the General Convention of the Assemblies of God in Brazil.

Delimitations

Chronological

Chronologically, this study reflects the period between the last two published IBGE censuses, understanding that these censuses, based on immediate observation, will provide the hardest possible data on the growth and socioeconomic realities of metropolitan São Paulo. Again, the statistics provided by both the federal and state governments between the 1980 and 1991 censuses are projections, based on the trends verified by the 1980 census.

Although the “Densification” project of the CBESP¹¹ is a valid topic for study and overlaps a good part of this study, hard census figures are not available either for the year it was implemented, 1983, nor for the year it terminated, 1992. Since the statistics available from the São Paulo Convention and the Belém ministry of the CGADB¹² do not vary in quality from year to year, the study is limited to the years for which the best background statistics are available.

¹¹ *Convenção Batista do Estado de São Paulo*, or “São Paulo State Baptist Convention.”

¹² *Convenção Geral das Assembléias de Deus no Brasil*, or the “General Convention of the Assemblies of God in Brazil”.

Geographic Region – Metropolitan São Paulo:

Geographically, the area under study includes all of metropolitan São Paulo, as defined by the State Government (Empresa Metropolitana de Planejamento da Grande São Paulo, 1985: 40). This area includes the following regions:

REGION	MUNICIPALITIES INCLUDED
Center	São Paulo, Osasco
Northwest	Carapicuíba, Barueri, Cajamar, Santana de Parnaíba, Pirapora do Bom Jesus
West	Cotia, Vargem Grande Paulista, Itapevi, Jandira
Southwest	Taboão da Serra, Itapeverica da Serra, Embu, Embu-Guaçu, Juquitiba
Southeast	Santo André, São Bernardo, do Campo, São Caetano do Sul, Mauá, Diadema, Ribeirão Pires, Rio Grande da Serra
East	Mogi das Cruzes, Suzano, Poá, Itaquaquecetuba, Ferraz de Vasconcelos, Guararema, Salesópolis, Biritiba-Mirim
Northeast	Guarulhos, Arujá, Santa Isabel
North	Franco da Rocha, Mairiporã, Caieiras, Francisco Morato

It should be noted that these regions represent a vast variety of social, economic, even geographic situations. While some communities are urban and industrial, others are rural, even agricultural, in nature. Still others are “bedroom communities,” whose inhabitants work in offices downtown. These factors will be noted as they relate to the insertion of the Baptist and AD churches into these communities.

Corresponding Baptist Associations

Baptists have churches and church associations in all of these regions. Although these associations do not always entirely overlap with the State’s geographic delimitation of the regions covered by metropolitan São Paulo, in most cases there is significant overlap.

Where there are differences, these differences are noted in the following table:

CITY REGION	CORRESPONDING ASSOCIATIONS
Center:	Abancisp, Central, East Central, Northeast Capital, Northwest Capital, Southern Capital, Western Capital
Northwest	Osasco and Vicinity (Barueri, Carapicuíba, Cotia, Ibiúna, Itapevi, Jandira, Osasco)
West	Pinheiros and vicinity (some SP, mostly Taboão da Serra, Embu, & Itapeperica da Serra)
Southwest	Southwest Capital
Southeast	ABC (Santo André, São Bernardo, São Caetano do Sul)
East	Mogi das Cruzes and vicinity (Mogi, Suzano, Poá, Itaquaquecetuba) & Eastern Capital
Northeast	Central Brazilian, Guarulhos and vicinity (Arujá, Guarulhos, Santa Isabel)
North	Northern Capital

Corresponding AD Sectors

The Assemblies of God structure themselves somewhat differently from the Baptists in Brazil, yet they also have churches throughout the metropolitan area. While several “ministries” belong to the CGADB, the most important being Belém, Madureira, and Ipiranga, each individual ministry is organized in an Episcopal fashion. Each “Pastor-presidente” functions as a bishop, reserving to himself the right to baptize all new believers and consecrate both clergy and lay leaders. His church is the “seat,”¹³ from which he governs his denomination.

¹³ Portuguese *sede*. Although the AD in Brazil avoids Roman Catholic nomenclature, it merely translates the more formal Catholic terms into more popular variations. “Cathedral,” for instance, means “seat,” literally where the bishop sits to govern his subordinate churches, much as the “pastor-presidente” does. This unconscious borrowing of Episcopal forms of government makes a fascinating study. In fact, AD government in urban Brazil follows the Roman Catholic urban pattern in Italy: “The bishop’s cathedral was the urban *pieve* and the subsidiary city churches which were founded did not normally enjoy rights of baptism, burial, and tithe. . . . In sum, on the Italian model we

The next level of AD organization in Brazil corresponds quite well to the Catholic parish. Each “sector” ministers to a circumscribed geographical area, normally has property (NB – All property is owned by the ministry, and not by the local church.) and an established church building, and is led by a pastor. Together, these pastors form the council for the ministry.

Finally, each sector will have a number of congregations, which vary greatly in terms of their formal organization. Some will meet in storefronts, or garages under lay leadership, while others will meet in more permanent structures under more formal leaders. Nonetheless, neither congregation nor sector has its own membership, for each is listed only as a member of the overall ministry. Still, for statistical purposes, the AD does keep track of how many are baptized from each sector, which allows us to track growth by sector, after a fashion.

The following table identifies those AD sectors with their corresponding city region, according to the IBGE. Where regional growth is identified, it will be on the basis of this correspondence.

CITY REGION	CORRESPONDING SECTORS
Center:	Osasco, Artur Alvim, Vila Nhocuné, Belém, Jardim Itapema, Ermelino Matarazzo, Guaianazes, Indianópolis, Itaquera, Jardim Ângela, Lapa, Pinheiros, Ponte Rasa, São Mateus, São Miguel Paulista, Tucuruvi, Jardim Vila Formosa, Parque São Lucas,
Northwest	Barueri, Cajamar, Carapicuíba, Campo Limpo Paulista
West	Cotia, Itapevi, Vargem Grande Paulista
Southwest	Embu, Embu-Centro, Embu-Guaçú, Itapeçerica da Serra, Taboão da Serra
Southeast	Diadema, Cidade Ademar, São Bernardo do Campo
East	Ferraz de Vasconcelos, Itaquaquecetuba, Vila Ré, Mogi

find a three-tier structure of cathedral church, principal churches or *pievi*, and chapels.” (Fletcher, 1997: 467)

	das Cruzes, Parada XV de Novembro, Poá, Suzano
Northeast	Guarulhos, Bairro das Pimentas, Vila Espanhola, Santa Isabel
North	Caieiras, Parque Santa Madalena, Francisco Morato, Franco da Rocha, Atibaia

Denominational:

Denominationally, when referring to Baptists, this study will limit itself to churches belonging to regional Baptist associations in the metropolitan area, as reported by the “Convenção Batista do Estado de São Paulo,” the “São Paulo State Baptist Convention,” an organization fraternally linked with the Brazilian Baptist Convention. It is important to note that the links between each of these three levels of denominational cooperation are fraternal, and not institutional. That is, the regional associations, the State conventions, and the Brazilian Baptist Convention are each separate legal entities, with **no legal ties** between them. Most, **but not all**, Brazilian Baptist churches belong to entities on each of the three levels, viz., a regional association, a State Convention, and the Brazilian Baptist Convention.

When referring to the AD, this study will limit itself to the Belém ministry of the CGADB. While other ministries are certainly worth studying, the fact of the matter is that they are even less willing than the Belém ministry to openly discuss their growth with an outsider. I was only able to get the information I did from the Belém ministry because I was personally introduced to that Ministry’s *pastor-presidente*, Pastor José Wellington Bezerra da Costa, by a long time friend of his and mine, Pastor Waldemar Carvalho. With Pastor José Wellington’s permission, I was then permitted to interview Pastor José de Oliveira, my principal informant and that ministry’s statistician.

Without Pastor Waldemar's personal intervention, I would not have been permitted to enter the Belém ministry's *sede* during business hours. In fact, I had some difficulty on subsequent visits, even after being introduced!

Historically, the Belém ministry is the direct descendant of first AD church in Brazil, in Belém, Pará. Hence the name. In this sense, it is the closest historical cousin to the Brazilian Baptists, as that first AD church was established from a schism within the First Baptist Church of Belém.

Further, this ministry's popular name is *ministério da missão*, or the "ministry of the mission." As such, it has maintained the closest ties with the few AOG¹⁴ missionaries sent from Sweden, the U.S., and Canada. In this sense, it most closely parallels the Brazilian Baptist Convention. Both the Madureira and Ipiranga ministries split from the Belém ministry, at least in part, to distance themselves from this foreign influence.

Language

Place names will remain as in the original Portuguese. Institutional names will be translated. For example, "São Paulo" will remain as is, and not be translated into "Saint Paul." At the same time, this study refers to the Brazilian Baptist Convention, not the "Convenção Batista Brasileira."

Abbreviations and acronyms, such as AD for *Assembléia de Deus* will also be used for convenience' sake. A glossary is provided should the reader forget the most common acronyms.

¹⁴ Assemblies of God, or "AOG."

Methodology

Archival

Much of the research involved in this study is archival in nature. Both the Brazilian Baptists and the Belém ministry of the CGADB have provided the researcher with statistics from which their growth can be adduced. In the case of the CBESP, these statistics stem primarily from the Baptists' annual reports to the Convention of their churches. On the other hand, their statistician, Pastor José de Oliveira, furnished the AD statistics privately.

Further, the IBGE publishes reports of their 1980 & 1991 censuses, in addition to a "population count" in 1996.¹⁵ Said reports are available to the public both in their libraries in Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo, and over the Internet at www.ibge.gov.br

In addition to providing the backdrop for this study by allowing the researcher to determine both the relative growth rates and socioeconomic status of the regions being studied, the IBGE also provides valuable data regarding the overall religious composition of the SP metro region, as well as of the smaller, "micro-regions" of which it is formed. In fact, the IBGE also provided this writer with *previously unpublished* data regarding the specific religious makeup of the entire state of São Paulo when I requested this information for the SP metro region. This information was sent directly to me over the Internet, and will not be posted on their web site, although it should be made available to the public at their São Paulo library.

Finally, archival research will also be used to track the involvement of the Southern Baptist Foreign Mission Board

¹⁵ The 1996 "population count" provides the decadal growth rates, by region, between each of the IBGE censuses in 1970, 1980, 1991, and 1996.

(currently, “International Mission Board”) in the growth and development of the Brazilian Baptist Convention.

Statistical

This study does have a few statistical limitations. First, IBGE figures for the 1980 census do not break down religious affiliation any further than “Traditional Protestant (or Evangelical¹⁶)” and “Pentecostal Protestant.” Initially, published IBGE figures for the 1991 census in the metropolitan area maintained the same discrimination, while **statewide totals** discriminated between those who identified themselves as “Assemblies of God,” or “Baptist.” I was able to contract the IBGE to break down their regional and municipal studies for the state of São Paulo by religious affiliation, on the assumption that the statewide totals reflected information gathered at these levels.

Thus, while it is possible to determine a growth rate for “Traditional Protestants” and for “Pentecostal Protestants” on the basis of the IBGE figures, even by region, it is impossible to do so *directly* for either the Baptists or the Assemblies of God, as these religious affiliations were not the topic of IBGE study in 1980. One can, at best, assume that these denominations grew proportionally to their classifications within the census figures on this basis.

As I mentioned earlier, the Belém ministry has no reliable membership records for the period under study. Fortunately, they recorded the number of baptisms performed each year during this

¹⁶ In the Brazilian context, the terms *protestante* (“Protestant”) and *evangélico* (“Evangelical”) are used almost interchangeably. Some Protestants more closely tied to the immigrant Protestant denominations and the conciliar movement have coined the term *evangelical* (in Portuguese, mind you) to distinguish between those of a theologically evangelical persuasion and all Protestants. The term has yet to catch on with Brazilian evangelicals.

period, and even discriminated these baptisms by sector shortly into the 1980's. They also kept records of ministerial consecrations during this period without, however, discriminating them by sector. If one assumes that the *growth* in the rate of baptisms and ministerial consecrations corresponds roughly to overall church growth, one may arrive at an approximate figure for the Belém ministry's *rate of growth* during the decade, if not at that ministry's actual membership.

However, since one arrives at nearly the same result as the IBGE by adding each "Traditional Protestant" denomination's own figures for both the 1980 and 1991 censuses, one may simply chart the CBESP's growth by using their published tables.

One may then compare each denomination's growth rate during the decade, as calculated by these means, with the growth rate of the corresponding *class* of religion, "Traditional Protestant" or "Pentecostal." One must also, however, take into account the fact that other significant, fast growing; Pentecostal churches appeared on the religious scene during the 1980's. The most notable of these churches is the IURD¹⁷, or the "Universal Church," as most Brazilians call it.

The "Traditional Protestant" scene was somewhat more stable during this period, not giving rise to any significant, fast growing denominations. Thus, the Baptist figures can be more easily corroborated than the ones for the AD.

In short, the IBGE figures track only the overall religious classification between the censuses, although data regarding specific religious affiliation, by region, is available for the 1991 Census. Brazilian Baptists publish their membership figures on an annual

¹⁷ *Igreja Universal do Reino de Deus*, or the "Universal Church of the Kingdom of God."

basis, and those figures tally well with the IBGE figures, thus will be used. The Belém ministry of the CGADB has no verifiable membership figures, so its growth rates will be determined by using its figures for baptisms and ministerial consecrations.

Bibliographic

Finally, bibliographic research will be used to provide the background for the central items of this study. The histories of both the Brazilian Baptists and the Assemblies of God will be based primarily on bibliographic research. Further, widely available sociological analyses of both the general Brazilian religious scene and Pentecostal and Baptist use of Brazilian religious symbols and categories will be used to describe each denomination's posture with regard to Brazilian society and culture.

Outline

This chapter lays the groundwork for the entire dissertation, introducing the topic, thesis proper, as well as delimiting both the research methodology and assumptions. Since both Brazilian and missionary expectations greatly impact how a new faith was received, Chapter Two will discuss the historical context for the insertion of Protestantism in Brazil.

Chapters Three and Four discuss the history of the Brazilian Assemblies of God and of the Brazilian Baptists since their inception, giving particular attention to the people involved in their birth and growth, as well as to the posture each group assumed in relation to Brazilian society and culture.

The fifth chapter will discuss the eighties both as a transitional decade in Brazilian life, and the specific growth of the São Paulo metropolitan region, thus providing the reader with the background

to analyze the growth of the Brazilian Baptists and the Assemblies of God in that region. Chapters six and seven will examine the growth of the CBESP and of the Belém ministry of the CGADB, respectively.

Finally, the conclusion will examine how the posture each denomination assumed as it entered the Brazilian context affected the quality of its adaptation to the urban Brazilian context, as measured by its growth in metropolitan São Paulo between 1980 and 1991.

Chapter 2

Historical Context for the Introduction of Protestantism in Brazil

Brazilian History before the Emperor Moves to Brazil

Brazilian history begins with the history of Portugal, its colonizer. Lusitania was a Roman colony from the first through the fifth centuries of the Common Era. Ten different cultures, from the Germanic to the Roman, from the Phoenician to the Celtic, combined to form a culture that was to have its roots in Asia, Africa and Europe.

In the eleventh century, two knights left the court of Bourguignon to offer their swords to Alphonse VI, the king of Lyons, to help him reconquer the Iberian Peninsula. These two cousins, Henry and Raymond, then marry and receive the counties of Portucale (a tax collection station) and Galiza. Count Henry then annexes the Galizan lands to his own. Upon his death, his son, Alphonse, declares the Portuguese kingdom in 1140 (Ferreira, 1967a: 17). Until its consolidation in 1385, Portugal gains all of its territory by conquest from the moors, in the crusading spirit.

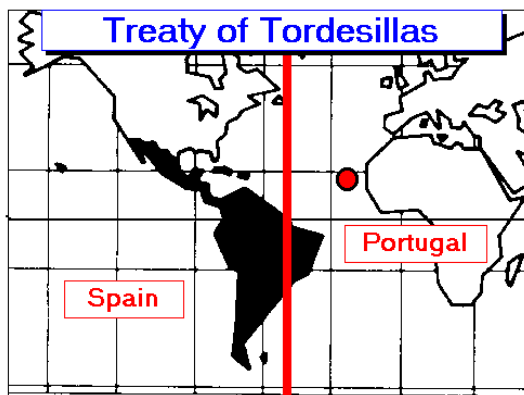
Due to its prior history as a tax collection station, King Alphonse' rule depended in part on the cooperation of the municipal government, with its elected representatives, which we shall call councilmen. When Brazil was finally "discovered" and colonized by the Portuguese in the sixteenth century, this relationship between the king's appointed representatives, called "Captains," and the local aristocracy continued.

The Portuguese kingdom was consolidated in 1385. The king's son, Henry, begins the world's first naval academy. The Portuguese invent the *caravel*, a sailing ship capable of ocean crossings, as opposed to the galleys used heretofore.

Portuguese Settlers in the New World

The late 1400's were a time of discovery. In 1480, the Portuguese discover the Antilles, which Columbus was to make famous twelve years later, after inspiring Isabel, queen of Castille, to pawn her jewelry in order to fund his expedition.¹⁸ In 1487, Bartholomew Dias rounds the Cape of Storms, which Dom João II renames the Cape of Good Hope.

Pedro Álvares Cabral is credited with discovering Brazil, which he sees for the first time on April 22, 1500, having been sent by Dom João II to chart the Portuguese lands under the treaty of Tordesillas. This treaty, signed in northwest Spanish village of Tordesillas, both ratifies and clarifies the Papal Bull *Inter Caetera* signed by Pope Alexander IV on May 4, 1493. This earlier decree, "established an imaginary line running north and south through the mid-Atlantic, 100 leagues (480 km) from the Cape Verde islands. Spain would have possession of any unclaimed territories to the west of the line and



¹⁸ By the way, Columbus used Portuguese charts to reach the Antilles (Ferreira, 1967a: 20).

Portugal would have possession of any unclaimed territory to the east of the line.” (“Treaty of Tordesillas”)

Nonetheless, the Portuguese were dissatisfied with the location of the dividing line.¹⁹ So, “in June of 1494 the line was re-negotiated and the agreement was officially ratified during a meeting in the Spanish town of Tordesillas. The Treaty of Tordesillas re-established the line 370 leagues (1,770 km) west of the Cape Verde Islands.” (“Treaty of Tordesillas”) Duarte Pacheco Pereira, signatory to the Tordesillas treaty, and the Bartholomew Dias' navigator when he rounded the Cape of Good Hope, also navigates Cabral's fleet of thirteen craft in his transatlantic expedition.

Interestingly enough, Master John, Cabral's physician, directs Dom Manoel I to another navigator's chart when he describes "the land of the Holy Cross," the land which Cabral has just "discovered." Presumably, whoever charted this land had been there. Further, Vicente Ianez Pinzon, a Spanish explorer, attempting to follow Columbus' route, names what is now the Oiapock River, on the northern frontier, after himself. Still, Cabral is popularly credited with the discovery of Brazil. After all, his expedition was charged with mapping the land for the Portuguese crown.

Thirty years were to pass, however, before the Portuguese crown decided to settle the "Province of the Holy Cross." During this time, the crown sent out mapping expeditions each year. The first map of Brazil, from the mouth of the Amazon to the River Plate, is drawn up in 1519. Then, in 1530, Dom João III, the son of Dom

¹⁹ In fact, some suspect that Portuguese dissatisfaction with the Papal Bull stemmed from their knowledge of Brazil's location. So they accepted a treaty that ultimately gave most of the New World to Spain precisely because **the western lands** (i.e. those belonging to Spain) were still uncharted. (Prien, 1985: 61) After all, “a bird in hand is worth two in the bush!”

Manoel, the adventurer, charges Martim Alfonso de Souza with the task with settling "the land of Brazil." The crown itself will provide all the necessary supplies.

The five ships in Souza's armada capture both a French and another Portuguese vessel. Both are added to the armada, which arrives at the port of São Vicente on January 22, 1532²⁰. Brazil receives its first settlers, including one who speaks Tupi-Guarani, the Indian language (Ferreira, 1967a: 19-29).

It is worth noting that, by the time the pilgrims crossed the North Atlantic and settled Plymouth colony in 1619, some ninety years have passed since the Portuguese first settled Brazil. By 1619, São Vicente is a prosperous town, with over **fifty** sugar cane mills. Anchieta and Aspicuelta had reduced the Indians' tongue to writing, together with their grammar (Ferreira, 1967a: 33).

In 1535, Dom João III divides the Province of the Holy Cross into captaincies. A captain would rule each captaincy, with similar powers to those of the king over the territory he rules. It is worth noting that the Portuguese king was not an absolute monarch. Rather, from the beginning of the kingdom, his powers were circumscribed by an elected council from among the townspeople. This system will continue in the colony, with each captain assuming the role of the monarch within his captaincy (Ferreira 1967a: 34).

Thus, the captaincy of São Vicente is born in 1535. When its capital moves to São Paulo on March 22, 1681, the captaincy of São Vicente becomes the captaincy of São Paulo. In 1815, when King Dom João VI elevates the state of Brazil to the status of the United Kingdom of Brazil, Portugal and Algarve, the captaincy of São Paulo

²⁰ Crabtree dates this settlement in 1521 (1953: 16). Ferreira, however, appears to be the superior source, as he quotes the original logs of the journey extensively.

becomes the state of São Paulo. It remains so until this day, although this portion of the "United Kingdom" has since become the Brazilian republic (Ferreira, 1967a: 34).

The following table illustrates the political development of the Portuguese kingdom until 1822, when the Brazilian Empire is declared, under its constitutional monarch, Dom Pedro. Interestingly enough, he was declared emperor of the Brazilian Empire by the **city council** of Rio de Janeiro (Ferreira, 1967a: 171). The monarch, in this case, receives his power from those he governs!

When the Portuguese kingdom was declared in 1140, the area had an existing municipal government. This government was incorporated into the kingdom as an advisory council, with powers **equal** to those of the king, although its members were formally his vassals. With the creation of the Portuguese Empire, with subject states in South America, Europe, Africa, and Asia, separate administrative bodies are formed, under the Portuguese crown.

LUSITANIAN EMPIRE						
PORTUGUES E MUNICIPAL COUNCILS 900	---	PORTUGUESE MONARCHY 1140 - 1910 KING OF PORTUGAL LISBON			---	LUSO- BRAZILIAN MUNICIPAL COUNCILS 1532-1822
Kingdom of Angola, Guinea, and Mozambique (Portuguese Africa)	---	The State of India, Goa, Dio, and Damon Macao (Asia) Timor (Oceania)	---	Patrimony of the Order of Christ Province of the Holy Cross (1500-1548) The State of Brazil (1549- 1815) Vice-Royalty of Brazil (1639- 1815) The Principality of Brazil (1645- 1815) (South America)	---	The Kingdom of Portugal and Algarve (Europe) Azores, Madeira, and Cape Verde (Atlantic Islands)

THE UNITED KINGDOM OF BRAZIL, PORTUGAL, AND ALGARVES (1815-1822) RIO DE JANEIRO						
Both the Brazilian and the Luso-Brazilian Municipal Councils are on the same plane of equality with the King. He represents the monarchy, while they represent the people. The Luso-Brazilian Councils correspond directly with the King, under the terms of the Electoral code described in the ORDINANCES OF THE KINGDOM. All Portuguese, be they natives of Europe, the Atlantic, of Brazil, of Africa, and of Oceania are VASSALS OF THE KING, according to the CONSTITUTION OF THE ORDINANCES OF THE KINGDOM. Until 1822, whoever is born in Goa, Brazil or Angola is as Portuguese as whoever was born and lives in Lisbon.						
Ferreira. 1967. <i>História de São Paulo</i> . Vol. 1, São Paulo: Gráfica Biblos Editora, p.11.						

In Brazil, these bodies take the form of territorial captaincies, with each captain ruling his area in much the same fashion as the Portuguese king, with municipal councils circumscribing his power. In 1639, Brazil becomes a vice-royalty and in 1645, a principality.

What about the city of São Paulo? João Ramalho has been exploring the coastal lands since 1500, although São Vicente was only settled in 1530. With the settlement of São Vicente, he decides to explore the hinterlands. Governor Martim Afonso de Souza names Ramalho the Protector General of Piratininga.

In 1550, father Leonardo Nunes, sent by father Manoel da Nôbrega, crosses the mountains to the high plains to visit Ramalho. Ramalho asks father Manoel to perform the wedding ceremony of his son, Andrew, in the chapel he has built in *Santo André da Borda do Campo*. In his confession before the wedding, João admits to the father that his son is the offspring of his unconsecrated union with an Indian princess. It appears he had left a wife back in Portugal and cannot marry the princess without knowing whether his wife is alive or dead. (N.B. Ramalho has been in Brazil for the last fifty years!)

The priest expels Ramalho from the chapel, and then narrowly escapes being beaten by his sons. As a matter of fact, the only reason he is not beaten is that their mother, the Indian princess Bartira,

intercedes with them on his behalf (Ferreira, 1967a: 37). It appears that the Brazilian genius for miscegenation has deep roots.²¹

Three years later, Tomé de Souza goes over the mountains to visit Santo André. He then presides over the settlement's first municipal elections on April 8, 1553. The city of São Paulo was born through this exercise of its citizens' civil liberties sixty six years before the Pilgrims set foot on Plymouth Rock!

In a postscript to the earlier encounter of Catholic Christianity with João Ramalho's family, father Manoel da Nôbrega visits Santo André on August 29, 1553. He then baptizes Bartira, Ramalho's common-law wife, his sons, his father-in-law, and some fifty other souls. His father-in-law, the Indian chief Tibiriçá, takes the Christian name of Martim Afonso, after the governor of the province of the Holy Cross. There is no indication that Ramalho ever married Bartira, although the priest does inquire after Ramalho's wife in Portugal. Thus does São Paulo become a Christian town, and the bad blood between the Jesuits and its citizens disappears (Ferreira, 1967a: 39).

The official date for the founding of São Paulo is January 25, 1554. On this day fathers Nôbrega and Anchieta celebrate the mass founding the Royal College of São Paulo in Saint Benedict's square, still part of the downtown campus of the University of São Paulo.

The Tamoio and Tupi Indians, allies of the French Huguenots in Guanabara Bay (currently Rio de Janeiro) and the Portuguese, respectively, were at war with each other. In 1562, the Tamoio

²¹ This comment is far from idle. Brazilians, both culturally and genetically, can be described as a mixture of European, Indian, and African influences. Brazilian openness to both people and ideas from various cultures plays a major role in their willingness to receive both the messengers and the message of evangelical Christianity. This openness also explains their genius for syncretism. Evangelical Christianity first took root in those areas with the greatest influx of immigrants.

attacked the Portuguese settlement in Santo André, forcing it to move its City Council chambers to the Royal College of São Paulo.

Fathers Manoel da Nôbrega and Anchieta sign a separate peace treaty with the Tamoio. The Portuguese then attack and exterminate the French Protestants in Guanabara Bay, in the defense of Brazilian territorial integrity and "LusoChristianity" (Ferreira, 1967a: 52-54, *passim*). The first Protestant "invasion" of Brazil is repelled and Rio de Janeiro is born.²²

In many ways, the histories of the Royal College of São Paulo and of the "Bandeirantes" (literally, the flag or standard bearers²³) parallel each other. Ever since this first military expedition, Paulista "standard- bearers" have been at the forefront of the exploration and conquest of Brazil.

In 1580, Philip II of Castille, maternal uncle of Dom Sebastião, assumes the Portuguese crown. According to the treaty of Tomar, signed on November 12, 1582, Portugal is to maintain all of its customs, privileges and laws. The Portuguese and Spanish nations are not unified. ***They merely share a king.*** Philip II of Spain becomes Philip I of Portugal.

Portugal will remain unified with Spain for the next sixty years under the system of two nations, one crown. The Portuguese of Brazil will not recognize the Spanish sovereign and their "standard bearers," or militia, will continually seek to explore the continent and expand

²² The second Protestant "invasion" occurred between 1630 and 1654. During these years the Dutch occupied a good deal of what is now the Brazilian northeast, with Olinda, just outside Recife, as their main base. The Dutch carried out quite an active program of both settlement and evangelization of their tribal allies. Their forts still dot the northeastern coast. (Schalkwijk: 1989, *passim*)

²³ This popular name is based on a play on words in Portuguese. A "band" of people is called a "bando," while a flag, or standard, is called a "bandeira." Each "band" went out under its own flag, or standard. Hence, "bandeirantes," flag or standard-bearers.

the lands under the Portuguese crown. For this reason, "los portugueses de San Pablo" (the Portuguese of São Paulo) become *persona non grata* throughout Spanish South America (Ferreira 1967a: 69-72, *passim*).

These militia involved themselves in the conquest and population of 1) the hinterlands of Brazil, 2) Brazil's gold-bearing regions and, 3) its borders with Spanish America. Their bands were mixed, composed of about one Portuguese settler to every ten Indian allies.²⁴ Each band was composed of four companies, with an elected captain, as well as other officers. Their standards did **not** display the (Spanish) king's coat of arms (Ferreira 1967a: 103-107). These early Paulistas might be best seen as Portuguese nationalists at a time when Portuguese national pride was at low ebb. (In fact, they were first called "Paulistas" in 1671.)

Paulista militiamen continue to explore and settle Brazil throughout the seventeenth century, going as far a field as the upper Amazon and Paraguay. In this, the *bandeirantes* exhibit two abiding characteristics of the Paulista: drive and nationalism. São Paulo still produces one third of the GNP of the world's ninth largest economy, with one fifth of that country's inhabitants.

Paulistas were at the forefront of a number of innovations in Portuguese America. When the Portuguese monarchy was restored to Portugal in 1640, mints were established in several locations in Portugal, the islands and overseas. The first mint in Portuguese America was founded in São Paulo in 1644 (Ferreira, 1967a: 324-324).

²⁴ N.B. The Indians were seen as *allies*, not slaves. This led even the Spanish of Asuncion to comment on the joy with which the Portuguese and Tupi were received by the Guarani of Paraguay (Ferreira, 1967a: 290).

They are also responsible for settling the North, Northeast, and South of Brazil.

When Paulista militia discovered gold both in São Paulo and in what is now the state of *Minas Gerais* ("General Mines") in 1694, the gold rush is on and Paulista settlers flock to the fluvial mines. Gold is sifted out from the rocks and stones in the rivers of Minas. The king, for his trouble in purifying the metal, keeps one fifth and the miner four-fifths. One hundred years later, when Brazilians start to mine the ground deposits; Paulista settlers once again lead the way.

In 1710, King Dom João V of Portugal elevates the village of São Paulo to the category of city. The governor of the State of São Paulo and Minas do Ouro, Antonio de Albuquerque, displays the certificate before city council on June 12. On August 31, 1713, the first Post Office opens. And, in 1718, São Paulo "loses its firstborn," the State of Minas Gerais (Ferreira, 1967a: 355).

Eighteenth Century Developments Pave the Way for Protestant Insertion

Brazilian Catholicism described

In order to understand eighteenth century developments, one must first understand the unique nature of Luso – Brazilian Catholicism. The Portuguese Catholic mindset was indelibly marked by the crusading spirit as the Christian Portuguese expelled the invading Moors from the Iberian Peninsula and, not entirely by coincidence, won a land for themselves. This same spirit would mark the Portuguese conquest of Brazil.

When the Brazilian colony was established, Dom João III, the king of Portugal wrote Tomé de Souza, Brazil's first Governor-General: "The principal reason I have chosen to populate Brazil is so

that the people of Brazil would convert to our holy Catholic faith.” In this the Portuguese continue the crusading mentality that allowed them to conquer their portion of the Iberian Peninsula (Hoornaert, 1974: 32).

Within this description of the Portuguese mindset at the time Brazil was being colonized, Hoornaert quotes Jan De Bie’s doctoral dissertation (*God in Sermoenem van Padre Antonio Vieira*):

Portugal is the seminary of the faith to be propagated throughout the whole world (De Bie, 428). The Portuguese caravelles are “the angels of God sent to the waiting Gentiles” (Is. 18.2-7). Soldiers and missionaries are united in the grand task. For this task, the union between the spiritual power and the temporal is necessary. The “Padroado” is a necessity. “In other lands some are the ministers of the gospel and others are not: in the Portuguese conquests all are ministers of the gospel.” (De Bie, 320). It is not only the missionaries who are apostles, but also the soldiers and the captains: for all have come to seek Gentiles to bring them to the light of the faith and the fold of the Church. (1974: 35)

Both missionaries and soldiers, priests and conquering overlords (“captains”) ²⁵ are involved in the same spiritual task, that of bringing the true faith to the “gentile” inhabitants of Brazil.²⁶

The “Padroado:” Royal patronage over conquered lands

In order to accomplish this task, the spiritual and temporal powers, often separated, must be united under one command. Thus, in 1493, Pope Alexander VI, in the papal bull *Inter Caetera*, already

²⁵ In this context, “captains” refers to the hereditary lords of the “captaincies,” lands granted each one on the South American continent by right of conquest.

²⁶ It should be noted that the Dutch also unite spiritual and political motives in their invasion of Brazil. In addition to rebelling against their Iberian overlord (Spain and Portugal were ruled by the same king at the time), Schalkwijk quotes documents of the Dutch West Indies Company as saying their goals in the invasion were: “the honor of God and the true spread of the true reformed religion in other countries.” (1989: 256)

referred to, granted the Portuguese and Spanish kings a “feudal mandate” that would grant them the “right to occupy the territories of the West Indies on behalf of the Pope as the supreme authority of Christianity, tied with the feudal obligation to missionize them.” (Prien, 1983: 59)

According to Prien, this “feudal mandate” could not be characterized as a “bull of donation.” Instead it was a “recognition of their rights over conquered terrain,” which would place the New World under the power of the Portuguese *Padroado Régio* or the Spanish *Patronato Regio*.

Alexander VI confirmed the *Padroado* in 1501, in his feudal mandate *Eximia Devotionis Sinceritas*. Popes Julius II, in 1505, and Paul IV, between 1555 and 1558, complete the legislation installing the *Padroado* in Brazil as the system which would support colonial Christianity until the end of the nineteenth century (Ribeiro, 1996: 23).

The *Padroado* placed the Catholic Church in the colonies under royal control. The Pope could only appoint bishops if they were approved by the Portuguese king; and no papal edict was enforceable without royal approval. The Ultra Montane reforms will reverse this situation at the turn of the twentieth century, returning the Brazilian Catholic Church to papal control. Until then, Brazil’s political masters control the Church²⁷ as *part of their feudal mandate* as Brazil’s overlords.

The importance of this fact can hardly be overestimated. Both during the period leading up to and during the insertion of Protestantism into the fabric of Brazilian national life, the ***Brazilian***

²⁷ While describing Brazilian history, “Church” (capital “c” with no further modifiers) will refer to the Roman Catholic Church, as is the Brazilian custom.

state controlled the response of the Catholic Church to the arrival of this religious “competitor.” As we shall see, at least one leader at the time even proposed taking this state control one step further by declaring the Brazilian church’s autonomy from the Roman hierarchy. Following the example of the Church of England, Brazil would establish its own church!

Tridentine Catholicism and the Jesuits

In addition to owing a great debt, in terms of their worldview, to the crusading Catholic mentality of the Middle Ages, Brazilian Catholicism at the beginning of the eighteenth century was marked by a Counter-Reformation, Tridentine, mindset, characterized by the Jesuit domination of the Brazilian clergy, particularly its training. “The Company of Jesus, organized in 1539, and admitted to Portugal in 1540, were the elite troops of Tridentine Catholicism, with regards to both theological indoctrination and the support of papal supremacy over the Church.” (Ribeiro, 1973: 51)

These two phrases best characterize Tridentine Catholicism, or Catholicism following the Council of Trent: theological orthodoxy and papal supremacy. Few realize that Tridentine Catholicism was not fully established in the Church until the promulgation of Pius IX’s *Quanta Cura* on December 8, 1864, supplemented by his *Syllabus*, followed by the first Vatican Council in 1870. The intervening centuries were marked by conflict within the Roman Church until full papal control was established (Ribeiro: 51).

Theologically, Tridentine Catholicism was characterized by a reaction against three principal tenets of the Reformation, namely the universal priesthood of believers, justification by grace through faith in Jesus Christ, and the supremacy of the Scriptures as the rule for

faith and practice. Trent defined Roman Catholicism as the religion of priestly hierarchy, with works as the necessary concomitants of faith in the work of redemption, and with the rule of faith and practice centered on the pronouncements of the Church, which thus validated the Scriptures. Within this last point, the Church had to determine whether the Pope or the Council was the supreme authority. In 1870, with the first Vatican Council, it determined that the infallible authority of the Church was vested in the Pope.

Thus, at the beginning of the eighteenth century in Brazil, the prevailing Catholic mindset was both crusading and Tridentine. Lands were being conquered as a means of extending the kingdom of God. In spite of the *Padroado*, the papacy exercised real control over the Church in Brazil. Good works, devotion to the Church, and observance of the sacraments were essential to one's salvation. And the Scriptures were virtually unknown, as what they in fact said did not matter nearly so much as what the *Church said they said*.

Finally, the layperson, by virtue of both the Iberian bureaucratic and the Tridentine mentalities, found him or herself very much on the outside of Church life, looking in. "The layperson was an ecclesiastical subject: he or she lived outside of the religion, in a state we could describe as officially tolerated sin, and of total minority."²⁸ (Ribeiro: 53)

Tensions within Brazilian Catholicism

Royalism, Jansenism, and the Elimination of the Jesuit Order

²⁸ Translator's note: *Minority* here is contrasted with *majority*, or adulthood. The layperson was seen as child, in religious terms.

Although the Brazilian Catholic Church came under the formal control of the monarchy, it was in fact Tridentine. In Brazil at the beginning of the eighteenth century the Church was firmly under the control of the Roman hierarchy due, in particular, to Jesuit influence.

During the 1700's a number of voices were raised in defense of the royal prerogatives under the *Padroado* and against Papal / Jesuit control of the Church in Portuguese lands. Among the first voices raised against the Jesuits was that of Cornelius Jansen, even before the 1700s:

Cornelius Jansen (1585-1638) was a Dutchman who had adopted St. Augustine's views of sin and grace at the University of Louvain. He came to believe that the best way to defend Catholicism against the Calvinist challenge was to return to the doctrines of the great North African Father Augustine and establish a rigorous moral code for the Catholic clergy to combat the easy-going ethics of the Jesuits. The Jesuits called it Calvinism in Catholic garb. ("Jansenism (a)")

Thus Jansenism was a Counter – Reform movement teaching the need to rely on God's grace and to live by a strict moral and ethical code. Further,

Jansen held that the Catholic theologians of the Counter-Reformation attacked Luther's doctrines of grace by erring in the opposite direction-- over-emphasizing human responsibility at the expense of God's initiative. He and his followers held that the Counter-Reformationists had lapsed into the Pelagian heresy which Augustine battled centuries before. The Jansenists de-emphasized free will and discounted the idea that Christ died for all men. Jansenism was not an organized sect, but more of a movement.

Jansenism, a radical Augustinian movement in the Roman Catholic Church from 1640 to 1801, becomes known for their signs and wonders, spiritual dancing, healings, and prophetic utterances. Some reportedly spoke in unknown tongues and understand them. ("Notes on Jansenism")

Blaise Pascal was perhaps the most famous Jansenist:

"In 1646 Pascal came in contact with Jansenism, and though he struggled with it himself, he introduced it to his sister, Jacqueline. She fully embraced it, moving into a Jansenist convent in Port-Royal. Ten years later, Pascal was a follower, too, defending Jansenism fiercely against Catholic critics. In January 1656 Pascal wrote *Les Provinciales*, 18 brilliantly satirical essays attacking the Jesuits and arguing for the need for divine grace.

'We shall never believe with a vigorous and unquestioning faith unless God touches our hearts.' (Mark Galli, *Christianity Online*, May-June 1999 in "Notes on Jansenism")

"Arguing for the need for divine grace . . . We shall never believe with a vigorous and unquestioning faith unless God touches our hearts." God Himself must take the first step towards man. Certainly emphases with which few evangelical Protestants could disagree. It seems that the best means of defending Catholicism against the virus of Reform was to inoculate it with Augustinian notions of the fundamental importance of grace.

This plea, skilful as it was could not avert the solemn condemnation, by the Bull "Cum occasione" (31 May, 1653), of the five propositions, which were as follows:

- Some of God's commandments are impossible to just men who wish and strive (to keep them) considering (sic) the powers they actually have, the grace by which these precepts may become possible is also wanting;
- In the state of fallen nature no one ever resists interior grace;
- To merit, or demerit, in the state of fallen nature we must be free from all external constraint, but not from interior necessity,

- The Semi-pelagians admitted the necessity of interior preventing grace for all acts, even for the beginning of faith; but they fell into heresy in pretending that this grace is such that man may either follow or resist it;
- To say that Christ died or shed His blood for all men, is Semi-pelagianism. (“Jansenius and Jansenism”)

There is certainly a great deal here that a Calvinist might recognize, viz., the insistence on the human impossibility of keeping God’s commandments apart from the grace of God, on human inability to resist divine (interior) grace, that divine grace is essential for any obedient act, and that Christ did not die for all (merely the elect). One might add that the (Jansenist) Lyon and Montpelier catechisms, widely used in Brazil, required the faithful to read both the Old and New Testament Scriptures daily! (in Léonard, 1952: 38)

Pope Innocent X condemned these “five propositions” in 1653. Despite this condemnation, the Jansenists continued agitating within the Church for both a fuller dependence on divine grace, stricter morals, and against the Church’s doctrinal infallibility. The Advent Catholic Encyclopedia analyzes Jansenism in the following manner:

Abandoning the plainly heretical sense of the five propositions, and repudiating any intention to resist legitimate authority, they confined themselves to denying the infallibility of the Church with regard to dogmatic facts. Then, too, they were still the fanatical preachers of a discouraging rigorism, which they adorned with the names of virtue and austerity, and, under pretext of combating abuses, openly antagonized the incontestable characteristics of Catholicism especially its unity of government, the traditional continuity of its customs, and the legitimate part which heart and feeling play in its worship. With all their skilful extenuations they bore the mark of the levelling (sic), innovating, and arid spirit of Calvinism. (“Jansenius and Jansenism”)

Thus, the good Catholic finds it difficult to deny the Calvinist nature of this (Catholic) heresy. Further, towards the end, having been condemned by the Church, Jansenists increasingly denied that Church's doctrinal infallibility and sought the extinction of their archrivals, the Jesuits:

During the 18th century, Jansenism maintained a strong appeal, especially among the French parish clergy. Hundreds of clergymen refused to accept the bull *Unigenitus*, calling instead for a church council to examine the issue independently of Rome. The movement also spread to other areas of Europe, including Spain, Italy, and Austria. In the royal courts of France, the Jansenists increasingly allied themselves with the Gallicans, who also disliked the Jesuits and who were opposed to all papal intervention in French internal affairs (see [GALLICANISM](#)). The civil courts defended the Jansenists when certain bishops, supported by the royal government, attempted to deny them the last rites. A major political clash between the courts and the government developed over the issue in the 1750s. The greatest triumph of the Jansenist-Gallican faction came in the 1760s, when the courts forced the expulsion of the Jesuits from France. Thereafter, the movement declined in importance, although small groups of Jansenists survived into the 19th and 20th centuries. [T.N.T.](#) ("Jansenism (b)")

Jansenists, then, were a Roman Catholic movement dedicated to the propositions that one must ***experience*** God's grace in order to properly serve Him, and that those who served God must themselves observe a rigorous ethical standard. Jansenism's key tenets were proclaimed heretical by Pope Innocent X, in 1653. Once these tenets were proclaimed heretical, Jansenists reframed many of their beliefs in such a way as to skirt papal condemnation, and began to deny the infallibility of the Church with regard to doctrinal matters. As their movement waned, they became allied with the proponents of Gallicanism, at least in France; and began to practice phenomena

which we would associate today with Pentecostals and charismatics.

“Gallicanism” is defined as follows:

GALLICANISM, in ecclesiastical history, a combination of theological doctrines and political positions supporting the relative independence of the French Roman Catholic church and the French government in their relations with the pope. It was the opposite of ultramontanism, which called for active intervention of the pope in French internal affairs.

Three relatively distinct, although closely related, strands of Gallicanism existed. Ecclesiastical Gallicanism argued that the decisions of ecumenical councils had supremacy over the pope, that the pope was not infallible, and that all bishops were established by divine right as the successors of the apostles. Royal Gallicanism stressed the French kings' absolute independence from Rome in all temporal affairs. Parliamentary Gallicanism, a position of the French royal courts, or parlements, was more radical and aggressive, advocating the complete subordination of the French church to the state and, if necessary, the intervention of the government in the financial and disciplinary affairs of the clergy.

Although Gallicanism, by definition, refers to a French movement which asserted the autonomy of the French king, parliament, and clergy from Rome, similar events were taking place in Portugal, largely through the influence of the University of Coimbra, known for its Jansenist leanings; and where most of the Portuguese (and Brazilian) elite studied.

This affair came to a head during the “Pombalist Reform,” so named after the Marquis of Pombal (Sebastião José de Carvalho e Melo), named in 1750 minister of Foreign Affairs and War, and in 1756, Prime Minister. In fact, he was only elevated to the status of Marquis of Pombal in 1770 (Ribeiro, 1996: 43):

The reign of Joseph (1750-77) is made famous by the administration of the Marquis of Pombal, the

real ruler of Portugal for over twenty years. The energy he displayed at the time of the great earthquake (sic) of 1755 confirmed his hold over the king, and with royal support he was able to use the alleged "Tavora Conspiracy" to humble the nobility and to continue the campaign he was directing against the Jesuits, whom he was determined to master. His accusations against them of seditious conduct in the missions and of illicit trading were merely pretexts. He had already dismissed them from Court, delated²⁹ them to Rome and secured the appointment of a friend of his, Cardinal Saldanha, as their reformer, and when an attempt was made on the king's life he attributed it to Jesuit machinations, confiscated the property of the company in the Portuguese dominions and expelled the Portuguese Jesuits, retaining the foreigners in prison. The pope refused to incriminate the whole company for the faults of individuals, and Pombal's reply was to dismiss the nuncio and break off relations with Rome.³⁰ Henceforth the real head of the Church in Portugal was the Minister. He heaped ignominy on the Jesuits by securing the burning of Father Malagrida by the Inquisition, and his work was completed when, under pressure from the Catholic Powers, Clement XIV suppressed the Society in 1773. Pombal's ruin of the Foreign Missions was perhaps his greatest crime and was by no means compensated for by his abolition of slavery and of the distinction between old and new Christians. He undoubtedly made great and necessary reforms in internal administration and freed Portugal for the time from its subservience to England, but his commercial policy was a failure, and the harm he did far outweighed the good. Above all he forged those fetters for the Church which still paralyse her action. ("Portugal: A Historical Overview")

Several things stand out in this account: First, the Marquis was primarily interested in defending and consolidating the power of the Portuguese monarchy in relation to both the nobility and the Church. Since the Jesuits were the principal defenders of the Church hierarchy

²⁹ Probably a transliteration of *delatar*, to report criminal activity to the proper authorities.

³⁰ Here we have a "Roman" Catholic Church with no formal relationship to the Roman see, open to an Augustinian view of grace, and subservient to its country's government. Portugal, thus far, is following the path of the English Reformation.

within the Portuguese Empire, they had to be discredited. This led eventually to the Jesuits' expulsion from Portuguese lands in 1759, with their forced deportation to papal territories with only their clerical garb and prayer books; and to the extinction of the Society of Jesus in 1773 (Ribeiro, 1996: 44).

Pombal used several pretexts to accomplish his goal: First, when the king was returning from his lover, the Marquessa of Tavora's, home, an attempt was made on his life. Pombal successfully blamed the Jesuits. Further, while Spain and Portugal were negotiating the demarcation of the borders between Brazil and Paraguay, the Guarani Indians of Paraguay rebelled. Since the Jesuits had also carried out an extensive mission among the Guarani, Pombal convinced Joseph, the Portuguese king, they had instigated the Guarani revolt.

It should also be noted Jesuit properties in Brazil were quite extensive, due to the self-supporting missionary model they used. Once they received significant land grants from the crown, the Jesuits farmed them in order to support their work. The crown, at Pombal's behest, coveted these lands.

Finally, the Society of Jesus could not have been eliminated without the collusion of the other European Catholic powers, especially France and Spain, whose influence in helping elect Clement XIV was rewarded with the latter's suppression of the Order (Fischer-Wolpert, 1991: 145). France, as was mentioned, was experiencing similar events. These nations motives were likely similar to Portugal's.

Greising avers that:

The conflict regarding the missions cannot hide from us real character of the confrontation between the illuminist despots and the Company of Jesus

which goes beyond the Americas and that of the Company of Jesus. What the bourgeois elite sought was to create a new ideological hegemony and, for this, it should face the religious orders, the Jesuits, the papacy, and the world of the Counter – Reformation.

The Company was, without a doubt, the militant arm of Trent . . . Nonetheless, in the context of Illuminism, a contradiction arose between the kind of relationship between Church and State, proposed by the Jesuits, and the rationale for the State defended by the Illuminist despots. Both in America and in Europe, the Jesuits had accepted the humanist perspective of neo-scholasticism (1991: 127).

In other words, the elimination of the Society of Jesus must be viewed in the larger context of the contest between the illuminist monarchs of France, Spain and Portugal and the Tridentine Church, which the Jesuit Order so ably defended. What these monarchs sought was the elimination of the Church, in order to strengthen the Illuminist worldview. Voltaire himself wrote in 1761: “When we have destroyed the Jesuits, it will be easy to annihilate the Infamous One” (the Church – Hughes, 1962: 200).

As result of discrediting the Jesuits and expelling them from Brazil, the Portuguese government (through this minister) assumed direct control of the Catholic Church, especially in Brazil. This control was to continue until the Ultramontane reforms at the end of the nineteenth century, nearly 150 years hence. Consequently, ***the Church’s interests were held as subservient to those of the state during the entire time Protestant Christianity gained a foothold in Brazil.*** Thus, the Emperor determines the Church’s response to the arrival of Protestant Christianity – especially during the Feijó regency and the reign of Dom Pedro II.

It is only *after* Protestant Christianity successfully gains a foothold on Brazilian soil that control over the Brazilian Church is returned to Rome. In fact, in the opinion of the aforementioned encyclopedist, the “fettters” forged by Pombal still paralyze the Church.

Liberalism

Pombal was careful to undermine Jesuit power on several fronts at once. While he was looking for excuses to discredit the Society of Jesus and expel it from Portuguese lands, he arranged for extensive, liberal, reforms at the University of Coimbra, where most of Brazil’s elite were trained, including its clergy (Ribeiro, 1996: 47). The new, liberal, ideas had already spread throughout much of Europe. Basically, they involved the right to property, equality, and the novel concept that government did not depend so much on the divine right of kings as on the consent of the governed.

Both Deism and Atheism followed in the wake of Liberalism. Religiously, the scorn that both deists and atheists heaped on the rigid, Tridentine, orthodoxy of the Church was far more difficult to combat than Jansenism. In fact, “around 1750, deist attacks against Catholicism turned into attacks against the Jesuits and, in this, the deists found themselves with powerful Catholic allies” (Ribeiro, 1996: 42).

Since the Jesuits were the “outstanding collaborators in the formation of colonial society and the principal articulators of the concept of Catholic State in Brazil,” their expulsion will provoke a “crisis of Christendom” from which the Church will never fully recover. This crisis will require the Church’s reform and ultimate

transformation through the process of Romanization some 150 years hence (Azzi, 1991: 8).

Meanwhile, the Church in Brazil finds itself significantly weaker as a result of the Jesuit expulsion. First, an alternate educational program has to be established. Thus, a philosophy program is established in the Franciscan convent in Rio de Janeiro, from which illuminist ideas spread throughout Brazil.

However, Portuguese Illuminism was quite different from the French variety:

Portuguese Illuminism is closer to seventeenth century Europe than the true Illuminism of the eighteenth century. In fact, at least officially, the Portuguese kingdom continues to maintain barriers against the deism and anticlericalism of the French encyclopedists, as well as with regard to the democratic and liberal thought which from this point onwards begins to gain legitimacy in the Western world.

Lusitanian Illuminism, therefore, as espoused by the Pombaline Reform, maintains the absolutist conception of power. It merely seeks to replace the absolute monarchy sacralized by the Church with an illustrated absolutism, dominated by the reason of the State . . . The specific goal of the Pombaline movement is to create a strong, centralized, national state, based on modern economic structures (Azzi, 1976: 54).

However, Brazilian liberalism was quite different from either the French or Portuguese varieties. It allies itself with Catholicism, both due to the general weakness of the clergy within the colonial period, and to the widespread clerical adherence to liberalism. It is for this reason that *bishop* Muniz Tavares will defend, in the 19th century, freedom of worship for non-Catholics in Brazil, against the opposition of a lay economist! (Ribeiro, 1996: 49) A Church leader defends the introduction of his Church's traditional rivals against a

layperson, who wishes to defend the Church's traditional prerogatives!

In this he typified the stance of a number of his colleagues who

also perceived quite clearly that the regime of the obligatory and exclusive nature of the Catholic religion, characteristic of colonial Brazil, became, in the final analysis, counter-productive for religious formation, for one of the necessary conditions for the full experience of faith is its free acceptance. They refused, therefore, to maintain the regime of the imposition of the Catholic faith (Azzi, 1976: 123).

Politically, this liberalism was translated into an admiration of the progress and success of the European Protestant nations, most notably England and Prussia. Around 1815, not too far into the nineteenth century, we find the figure of the "young men in straw hats," imitators of British fashion (felt hats), using tropical materials. In addition to imitating British fashion, as:

sympathizers of both England and Portugal, they had no prejudice against Protestantism – the religion of the country that had recently saved the Portuguese crown – they thought, since it was impossible for them to reason guided by this philosophical spirit which leading Brazilians inherited from the eighteenth century (Léonard, 1952: 35).

These leading young men considered themselves patriots, yet admired British values, particularly the Protestant spirit and liberalism, to which they attributed Britain's material progress at the time. If only Portugal and Brazil could appropriate this spirit, then similar progress might be seen there, as well!

The Relative Weakness of the Church and Popular Catholicism

The Church's Tridentine Catholicism of the early eighteenth century was first, challenged by Jansenism, then by a Portuguese version of Gallicanism, then by the Pombaline reforms, culminating in Jesuit expulsion from Portuguese territory and the spread of liberal, illuminist, philosophy. Once the Jesuits were eliminated, the remaining clergy, in addition to being far fewer, and thus less able to exercise religious leadership over the people were both demoralized and themselves the exponents of liberalism. What was left?

If Feijó's reform in 1838 is any indication, the clergy's moral state was questionable. Feijó then proposed priestly marriage – as an alternative to the priestly concubinage that was then in vogue. In short, priestly celibacy in during the Feijó regency meant priestly non-marriage. It did not mean priests didn't have women³¹ and children! Feijó, a priest himself (and a Jansenist), proposed an Anglican or Orthodox solution to the problem: Priests might marry, but bishops couldn't.³²

Léonard confirms this charge:

The numerical insufficiency of the Brazilian clergy was accompanied by a weakening of its spiritual life. Although it was not to be expected, since the lack of priests should increase their prestige, nonetheless this (lack) constitutes an element in this weakening.

In fact, it is necessary to understand and distinguish between the weaknesses in which one immediately would think, that appear to have been exaggerated, and the real reduction in apostolic zeal. The weaknesses, that is, the dissolution of (priestly) conduct and the religious inference of a good number of the priests of Brazil (in fact, in all of Latin America) were for a long time a common

³¹ The most common Portuguese term for “wife” is actually *mulher*, literally “woman,” which deliberately avoids defining the couple's legal relationship.

³² Feijó's historical importance will be discussed more fully in the next section. A Jansenist priest, and regent during Dom Pedro II's minority, he will have a great impact on further opportunities for Protestant expansion.

theme of European travelers. The worst of these critiques, however came in the reports of the papal nuncios, Msgr. Lorenzo Caleppi (1808-1817), Msgr. Giovanni Compagnoni Marefoschi (1817-1820), Msgr. Domenico Ostini (1830-1832 . . .

However, he continues to opine about Kidder's observations from an interesting perspective:

However, a Puritan as is every good clergyman, but no Pharisee, he does not insist on these irregularities and, avoiding examples from personal observation, he merely limits himself to citing, without complacency, that which his informants tell him. Perhaps because he did not have a feel for these stories, which are a tradition in old Catholic countries; or because clerical concubinage³³ appeared to him to be that which it effectively was – and which it also appeared to Feijó to be – the establishing of a marriage, in fact, for priests, a marriage which society tended to accept of its own good will, and which he probably considered, ready to become respectable, as soon as the law would sanction it. (:31).

The relative lack of priests, as well their low moral state, gave rise to a widespread movement of folk Catholicism:

But the distance between the faithful and the priest in the central ceremony of Roman worship, the mass, was compensated for by popular identification with festive ceremonies; with the open air services of the processions, with the individualization of the service, going from the Mother church to the chapel, to the shrine and the patron saint; by lay initiative in the establishment of holy spaces and times; by the reformulation in the practices of fold religion. ***A “priesthood of believers” arises, as a result of the lack of priests; but also resulting from popular needs.***

³³ Translator's note: This is a transliteration of the Portuguese *concubinagem*, meaning “to make a concubine.” It refers to common – law marriage, couples who live together as man and wife without the benefit of a legal sanction of their union. Of course, in a Tridentine Catholic country, a priest and his “woman” could never have their union sanctioned!

Both Catholicisms come to live together in the religious system; the Tridentine Catholicism of the mass, of the priest; and the popular Catholicism of the saints of personal devotion; of the feasts; of novenas; of community patron saints; of the brotherhoods; of the calendar of a new hemisphere; of the processions; of short cuts, sought by the faithful in the heavenly cohort; of the chaplains; “emperors;” “kings;” and other laypeople invested with the trappings of the system, in a tranquil subversion of the Tridentine sacerdotal hierarchy. ***And, at the same time, the demoralization of the clergy, unfaithful to its vows of chastity, and often much more involved in secular life than the parishioners themselves*** (Ribeiro, 1973: 55-56, emphasis added).

Although this “priesthood of believers” had a definitely Catholic flair, Brazilian Catholics became accustomed to maintaining their own personal (Catholic) devotions, organizing their own processions, and even their own worship services. In short, Brazilian Catholicism at the time Protestantism entered Brazil suffered both from weak, even demoralized, leadership and a lack of priests.

Brazilian Catholics thus had many “Protestant” habits, including lay leadership at the level of the local churches, free exercise of their consciences with regard to religion and maintaining family devotions. Often, even if a priest *was* present at these devotions, he did not lead them.³⁴ Doctrinally, many were Jansenists, accepting of Augustinian notions of grace, a desire for greater ethical commitment, and a love for the Bible. In all, Brazil was fertile soil for the plant of Protestantism to take root.

³⁴ Kidder even tells the story of evening devotions at a Brazilian *Fazenda* (large self-supporting farm. Same root as Spanish *hacienda*) led by a black slave in the presence of a priest! (1845: 245-250.)

Brazil During the Insertion of Protestantism: The United Kingdom of Brazil, Portugal, and Algarves (1808-1889)

The Royal Family Comes to Brazil: Initial Openness to Protestantism, with a Little Help from the British Empire

In the early 1800's, the winds of change were beginning to blow throughout Brazil. Dom João VI moves his capital to Rio de Janeiro.

Kidder and Fletcher tell the story:

The French Revolution and the leading spirit which was raised up by it involved the slumbering kingdom of Portugal in the troubles of the Continent. Napoleon determined that the court of Lisbon should declare itself against its ancient ally, England, and assent to the Continental system adopted by the Imperial ruler of France. The Prince-Regent, Dom John VI, promised, but hesitated, delayed, and finally, too late, declared war against England. The vacillation of the Prince-Regent hastened events to a crisis. The English fleet, under Sir Sidney Smith, established a most rigorous blockade of the mouth of the Tagus, and the British ambassador left no other alternative to Dom John VI, than to surrender to England the Portuguese fleet, or to avail himself of the British squadron for the protection and transportation of the royal family to Brazil. The moment was critical: the army of Napoleon had penetrated the mountains of Beira; only an immediate departure would save the monarchy. No resource remained to the Prince-Regent but to choose between a tottering throne in Europe and a vast empire in America. His indecisions were at an end. By a royal decree he announced his decision to retire to Rio de Janeiro until the conclusion of a general peace. The archives, the treasures, and most of the precious effects of the crown, were transferred to the Portuguese and English fleets; and, on the 29th of November, 1807, accompanied by his family and a multitude of faithful followers, the Prince-Regent took his departure amid the combined salvos of the cannon of Great Britain and of Portugal. That very day Marshal Junot thundered upon the heights of Lisbon, and the next morning took possession of the city. Early in January, 1808, the news of these

surprising events reached Rio de Janeiro, and excited the most lively interest. (1857: 64)

Ferreira avers that Portugal had been an ally of the British since 1642, just after it regained its own crown. Reilly declares that Britain gained almost complete ascendancy over Portugal through the treaty of Methuen in 1703. English wool was traded for Port wine and gold from Minas Gerais (1993: 38).

The Napoleonic wars reinforced this alliance. Napoleon ordered all the ports of Europe closed to the British, an order that Portugal refused to obey. The Spanish king allows the French to cross his territory to invade Portugal in the treaty of Bayonne. Portugal would be divided between the Spanish and the French after its conquest.

Napoleon deposes the Spanish king and names his own brother to the Spanish throne, then invades Portugal. Dom João, the Prince of Brazil and Regent of the Realm, transfers the Portuguese capital to Rio de Janeiro on his arrival in 1808 (1967b: 93-93), having arrived on a British man o'war. Although final legal ratification of this change takes several years, he rules the Portuguese Empire from Rio de Janeiro until 1822.

"In 1810, he negotiated a treaty with Lord Strangford of England, opening Brazil to foreign trade. This treaty contained the germ of liberal principles, which in 1824 were incorporated in the Constitution of the Empire" (Crabtree, 1952: 27).

Up until this time:

All commerce and intercourse with foreigners had been rigidly prohibited by the narrow policy of Portugal. Vessels of nations allied to the mother country were occasionally permitted to come to anchor in the ports of this mammoth colony, but neither passengers nor crew were allowed to land,

excepting under the superintendence of a guard of soldiers.

To prevent the possibility of trade, foreign vessels, whether they had put in to repair damages or to procure provisions and water, immediately on their arrival were invested with a custom-house guard, and the time for their remaining was fixed by the authorities according to the supposed necessities of the case. ***As a consequence of these oppressive regulations, a people who were rich in gold and diamonds, were unable to procure the essential implements of agriculture and of domestic convenience . . . The printing press had not made its appearance. Books and learning were equally rare.*** The people were in every way made to feel their dependence; and the spirit of industry and enterprise were alike unknown (Kidder, 1842: 44-45, emphasis added).

As a result of the transfer of the Portuguese throne to Brazil, “the ports were thrown open. A printing press was introduced, and a Royal Gazette was published. The Royal Library, containing sixty thousand volumes of books, was opened for the free use of the public. Foreigners were invited, and embassies from England and France took up their residence at Rio de Janeiro” (Kidder, 1842: 45). In fact, João VI first official act upon arriving (in Bahia, before he was able to make it to Rio de Janeiro) in Brazil in 1808, was to open Brazilian ports to trade, and allow foreigners the right to worship in buildings that did not have the outward appearance of temples, on the condition they would not speak ill of Brazil’s national religion (Kidder and Fletcher, 1857: 65).³⁵

Heady changes, indeed. Formerly a colonial backwater, Brazil now becomes the center of an empire!

³⁵ One wonders whether this decree was promulgated from the British man o’war on which the Prince Regent found himself a guest.

The Prince – Regent declares Brazil a kingdom in 1815, part of the United Kingdom of Portugal, Algarves, and Brazil.

The First Kingdom: Dom Pedro I

Unfortunately, Dom João was not a very popular ruler. He abdicated in favor of his son, Dom Pedro I, in 1821 – leaving Brazil for good on April 21 of that year (Kidder: 49). Prior to Dom Pedro's assumption of the throne, "blue" and "red Masons" had been doing political battle. The "Red Masons" wished to separate Brazil from the Portuguese Empire, while the "Blue Masons" wanted them kept together. São Paulo, true to its nationalist spirit, sided with the "Blue Masons" (Ferreira, 1967b: 115).

Dom Pedro must decide. Having been ordered by the Portuguese court to abolish the royal tribunals in Brazil and return to Portugal, will he remain in Brazil and rule a united empire from Rio de Janeiro? Or will he give in to the Republicans in Lisbon, declare Brazil's independence, and return to Portugal? On January 9, 1822, he decides to remain (Ferreira, 1967b: 134), ruling his empire from Brazil.

As Crabtree noted, one of the results of the transfer of the Portuguese crown was Brazil's opening to foreign, liberal, influence. The country begins to receive wave after wave of immigrants. The very first Protestant immigrants Brazil received, of course, was the band of French Huguenots led by Vice Admiral Nicolas Durande de Villegaignon, and expelled in 1567 (Crabtree, 1953: 28). The Dutch also maintained a colony, for a few short decades, from 1624-1649.

The treaty of 1810 formalized the agreement that paved the way both for foreign immigration and for the initial toleration of divergent religious practices in Brazil. Article 12 of this treaty is worth quoting

in its entirety, as it shall govern Protestant conduct in Brazil until destitution of the monarchy and the establishment of the Republic in 1889:

His Royal Highness the Prince Regent of Portugal declares, and obligates himself in his own name, as well as that of his heirs and successors, that the vassals of His Royal British Majesty, resident in his territories and domains, shall not be perturbed, disturbed, persecuted, or molested because of religion. Instead, they will have perfect liberty of conscience a license to attend and celebrate divine services in honor of Almighty God, whether within their own homes, or their churches and chapels, that His Royal Highness now and forever graciously extends them the permission to construct and maintain within his domains. However, this permission is granted on the condition that said churches and chapels shall be constructed so as to seem like simple dwellings; and that the use of bells shall not be permitted them to announce publicly the hours of their divine service. In addition, it stipulated that neither the vassals of Great Britain, nor any other foreigners belonging to a fellowship different from the dominant religion in Portuguese domains shall be persecuted, or disturbed with regard to matters of conscience, both with regard to their persons and their properties, as long as they conduct themselves in an orderly, decent, and moral fashion and in a way fitting to the customs of the country, and of its religious and political establishment.. However, if it is proved that they preach or proclaim publicly against the Catholic religion, or that they seek to make proselytes, or conversions, the people who thus become delinquent may, having their misdemeanor made manifest, be commanded to leave the country, in which this offense was committed. And those who, publicly, shall conduct themselves without respect, or with impropriety regarding the rites and ceremonies of the dominant Catholic religion shall be called before the civil police and may be punished with fines, or with confinement to their homes. And if the offense be so serious or so great that it disturbs the public peace and places in danger the safety of the institutions of the Church and of the State established by law, the people who have committed said offense, with proof of the fact, may be commanded to leave the dominions of Portugal.

Vassals of His Britannic Majesty shall be permitted to buried in places so designated by His Royal Highness and the Prince Regent of Portugal; neither their funerals, nor their dead nor their graves shall be disturbed in any way, or for any reason. In the same fashion, the vassals of the Kingdom of Portugal shall enjoy in the domains of His British Majesty a perfect and unlimited liberty of conscience in all matters of religion, according to the system of tolerance that they have established. They shall freely practice the exercises of their religion publicly, or privately in their own homes, or in chapels, and places of worship designated for this purpose, without having placed on them any obstacle, problem, or difficulty, both now and in the future. (Reilly, 1993: 40 – 41)

This treaty had two immediate consequences. First, the Inquisition had to be abolished in all Portuguese lands. After all, an empire that established religious tolerance could no longer coerce compliance with a given religion! (Ribeiro, 1973: 17)

In fact, the papal nuncio, Lourenço Caleppi, called for the *return* of the Inquisition! (Ribeiro, 1996: 58) The Bishop of Rio de Janeiro, Dom José Caetano da Silva Coutinho, replied with the now famous words:

The English really have no religion, but are a proud and obstinate people. If there is opposition to them, they will persist and make of this subject one of maximum importance. ***However, if we meet their wishes, the chapel will be built, and no one will go near it.*** (Reilly, 1996: 46 – 47, emphasis added)

Said chapel was only inaugurated *twelve years later*, on the eve of Brazilian independence (Reilly: 47).

Second, where Protestants had heretofore been seen as religious invaders, they were now a protected religious minority,

whose practices were both tolerated and regulated (Ribeiro, 1996: 57 – 58).

Crabtree adds:

The treaty of 1810 guaranteed to the English residents of Rio the privilege of maintaining religious worship in their homes and chapels. German Lutherans were permitted to propagate their beliefs by the establishment of churches and parochial schools. Groups of these evangelical colonists asked for government permission to hold worship in their churches and protection for their families in the practice of their faith. These requests in behalf of Brazilian citizens, prepared to contribute to the cultural and economic development of the country, could not be denied. Forward-looking statesmen began to promote legislation for the protection of evangelical churches from persecution, with the purpose of encouraging Protestant immigration. The liberal government not only protected the Lutherans, but also gave them lands for their schools, and even paid the salaries of some of their pastors (1953: 29).

In fact, in addition to tolerating Protestant practice, the government will soon subsidize it as a means of enticing colonists!

In 1818, Dom João VI contracts the first group of Swiss colonists, on the condition that they are Roman Catholic. They founded Nova Friburgo. However, when Dom Pedro I assumes power, he sends Major Schaeffer to Frankfurt to bring more immigrants. For these immigrants the Emperor hires a Protestant pastor to accompany them. On May 3, 1824, Pastor Friedrich Sauerbronn, the Emperor's employee, presides over the first worship service of the Evangelical Church of Nova Friburgo (Ribeiro, 1973: 79).³⁶ Evangelical Churches are soon begun near São Leopoldo and,

³⁶ The term "evangelical" here is a translation of the Portuguese "evangélico," which refers to all Protestants, both conciliar and non-conciliar. Protestants received this name when

in 1827, at the Imperial court! In fact, one of the colonies, and colony churches, was begun at the Imperial retreat near Rio de Janeiro (Petrópolis), with the purpose of supplying that city with agricultural products, as well as the results of its cottage industry.

Between 1824 and 1874, 40 “evangelical colony” churches are started, largely under Imperial auspices. However, since one of the objects of these colonies was to populate the Brazilian hinterlands, especially those close to her borders, most of the colonies (and their Protestant subjects) were far from the centers of power and culture. Mendonça, in fact, compares them to encapsulated “cysts” within the Brazilian culture, present but with little discernible impact on the larger body (1984: 17).

Although this may have represented the Dom Pedro I’s hope when he first invited these Germans, both Catholic and Protestant, to begin their own colonies within Brazil’s borders, it would appear that the emperor got more than he bargained for. First, the mere presence of another religious option, though hardly compelling in terms of conversions at this point, forces the Brazilian body politic to deal with a number of issues resulting from its formal policy of religious tolerance.

The thousands of Protestant colonists who arrived during this period expected to be able to marry, christen their children, bury their dead, and pass on their property to their heirs in an orderly fashion. As a result, laws assuming a Tridentine relationship between Church and State had to be transformed.

they entered Brazil in 1816, **long** before Edinburgh 1910, the genesis of the World Council of Churches, and the fundamentalist - modernist controversy, which gave birth to the modern evangelical movement. That this church was so named illustrates this point.

When the Protestants³⁷ among these colonists arrived, they found that the only legal marriages were Catholic marriages celebrated by Catholic priests; birth certificates were only available to those who were christened in the Catholic Church; and the only available burial grounds were consecrated Catholic cemeteries. Protestant “heretics” were not welcome. Their wives, legally, were concubines; their children bastards, unable to inherit the properties their parents were acquiring; and their burials profane!

The government only became aware of these problems as they arose. No one had given any prior thought to all the legal implications of opening a formerly exclusive Catholic society to religious pluralism! Further, as befitted a constitutional monarchy, they were accomplished with no little public debate, raising the awareness of the issues involved, at least among the politically influential classes.

Ribeiro again outlines the problem:

With regard to the Protestants in the English chaplaincy, they had recourse to the social organization of their own countries, for marriage and the registry of births; they created a new sort of extraterritoriality: the English cemetery in Gamboa; their political participation was in the social organization of their own nation; they did not attempt to propagate their faith among the Brazilians.

However, the integration of Protestants into our social organization, facilitated by the non Tridentine stance of the Constitution (Editor’s note: of 1824) provoked a radicalization in the attempts to impose the Tridentine model and demanded changes in the very organization of Brazilian society (1973: 107 – 108).

³⁷ These Protestants were both Lutheran and Reformed. However, since the majority of the German speaking colonists were Lutheran, their Reformed brethren ultimately became part of the Lutheran communities.

Ribeiro then describes the challenges non-Catholics faced in the three areas mentioned above: burials, marriages, and registration of births (:108 – 116, *passim*). Since all the cemeteries belonged to the Catholic brotherhoods, municipal cemeteries were created in 1828. Yet these cemeteries only began to be used in 1850. Even then, when these cemeteries were consecrated by the priest so Catholics could be buried there, non-Catholics could no longer be buried in these cemeteries until a means was found to either annex land next to these cemeteries or “unconsecrate” land for their burial (:109 – 110).

Protestant marriage was just as thorny. Either they could marry before a Catholic priest, in a religious ceremony not of their faith, or marry before a pastor, and not have their marriage recognized by the State. In the latter case, of course, their children would be illegitimate, unable exercise the right of inheritance. It was not until September 11, 1861 that Law 1.144 was passed, allowing the tolerated religions to celebrate their own weddings. On April 17, 1863, Decree 3069 regulated the law and placed it into effect. Within a month, Reverends Blackford, Schneider, and Simonton – all Presbyterian missionaries, were elected pastors of the Presbyterian Church of Rio.

Indirectly, then, the “colonial evangelicals,” or Protestant colonists pried open the Brazilian religious and political cultures to make the necessary for religious pluralism to exist, in fact, not merely in terms of imperial policy. However, this took place over a span of forty-five years, a lifetime in that day and age. The final solution to the Protestants’ problems did not come until the Republic was established, together with the institution of civil marriage.

Directly, Ribeiro tells us that:

Although the evangelicals of the Colony did not concern themselves with proselytism among the Brazilians, they nonetheless inserted themselves in the country's social organization, interpreted the constitutional restrictions on their worship liberally; established their worship; entered the agendas of the kinship system (baptism, marriage, and burial) heretofore monopolized by the State religion – and they did so deliberately, even before the necessary accommodations were made to the legal system, with the knowledge, and so to speak, the connivance, of the authorities. They entered the scene with their cemeteries, their temples, their parsonages, their schools. They conserved their community homogeneity, educating their children in their schools, under the direction of their Protestant teachers. And some of the Roman Catholic families sent *their* children to these Protestant schools. (1973:91, emphasis in the original).

In addition opening the door of the Brazilian legal system to accommodate the real practice of religious pluralism in the country, these “colonial Protestants” boldly took their place in Brazilian society, unapologetically creating an entire community, religious, infrastructure parallel to the Catholic structures already in place.

Finally, it should be noted, with regard to immigrant Protestantism, that the experience of the immigrants who did not come to set up separate colonial enclaves was quite different from their compatriots. Where their compatriots arrived in Brazil under government auspices as freemen, contracted to meet a recognized political need,³⁸ these immigrants were brought to Brazil under private contract (although government agencies assisted with the advertising) to serve as bondsmen and sharecroppers. Landowners

³⁸ They were to serve as a buffer between Brazil and neighboring states. While defending their own homes against invasion, they would, “coincidentally,” also be defending the country itself. Thus, the government's need for a standing army would be reduced, having these immigrants serve as a militia, instead.

were quick to set up the infamous “company store” system, through which immigrant sharecroppers were kept perpetually in debt. In fact, their situation was hardly better than that of the slaves they were replacing (:125 – 152, *passim*).

Thus, Evangelicals had already entered Brazil in 1810, although the first wave of immigrants came in 1818. Brazil opened its doors (and arms) gradually to the influx of various types of Protestantism. The Anglicans were already in Rio, among the British trade representatives, when the treaty of 1810 was signed. The German Lutherans followed them. They were more easily tolerated than those who followed them, because “they were not missionary, and made no effort to win Brazilians to their faith” (Crabtree, 1953: 30).

According to the Treaty of Commerce and Navigation of 1810, although the vassals of His British Majesty were free to exercise their conscience with regard to religion, their houses of worship were in no way to resemble houses of worship. Rather, they must outwardly resemble residential homes (Reilly, 1993: 40-41). To this day, most Brazilian evangelicals object very strongly to the use of visible religious symbols.³⁹

Further, non-Catholics were forbidden to worship publicly, to distribute pamphlets derogatory of the official religion, Roman Catholicism, to have worship services with more than fifteen people present, or to exercise is any public discourse contrary to the fundamental truths of the existence of God and the immortality of the

³⁹ We have to ask American and British short term visitors to refrain from the use of crosses in their jewelry, for instance. Further, my wife and I display our wedding picture in our home. In it, we are posed underneath a cross, not a crucifix, symbolizing our intent to live out our marriage under the cross. We've lost count of the number of Brazilian friends who have asked us if we became Christians after we were married when they saw that picture. Yet most Brazilians do not realize that this aversion is cultural, due to the circumstances in which evangelical Christianity was introduced to Brazil.

soul. In short, the practice of the Protestant religion was expected to be a private matter, having little bearing on the public discourse. German Lutherans were tolerated, and even supported by government gifts of property and pastoral support, insofar as they established separate, isolated communities where their divergent religious views had little impact on the body politic at large. To this day, many of these communities still preserve German language and culture. In fact, one community in Espírito Santo now preserves a Pomeranian dialect of German no longer spoken in Germany!

The Second Kingdom: Dom Pedro II Invites Protestant Settlers

Before evangelical missionaries, *per se*, entered Brazil, evangelical colporteurs distributed Bibles and Scripture portions in that country. Both Figueiredo's Catholic Bible and Almeida's Protestant version were available by the beginning of the nineteenth century. The British and Foreign Bible Society, founded in 1804, and the American Bible Society, founded in 1816, distributed these Bibles in Brazil. James Thompson was their first official agent in South America, beginning his work in 1818 (Reilly, 1993: 69).

"The first evangelical missionary effort was started by the Methodist Episcopal Church of the United States in Rio de Janeiro in 1835." Fountain Pitts, who organized a church in 1836, and Daniel Kidder followed him the following year. Unfortunately, the Methodist mission was abandoned in 1842 (Crabtree, 1953: 30). Reilly adds that Justin Spaulding was the first Protestant *missionary* to Brazil (1993: 92).

James Fletcher traveled in Brazil from 1854 to 1856, representing the American Bible Society. He and Kidder later publish a work, appealing to American Protestants to come to Brazil. Some American Protestants heed this call, culminating in the implantation of Protestantism among the Brazilian populace.

Protestant Missionaries Follow Protestant Settlers

Robert Reid Kalley, a physician, started the first permanent Protestant missionary work in Brazil. He came from the Portuguese Island of Madeira to begin a Sunday school in the Imperial retreat town of Petrópolis, in the mountains outside of Rio de Janeiro, in 1855. His wife, Sarah Poulton Kalley, was responsible for the publication of the first Protestant hymnal, *Salmos e Hinos* (Reilly, 1993: 104, 108).

Ashbel Green Simonton, the first Presbyterian missionary to Brazil, arrived in Rio in 1859. During his eight years of ministry in Brazil, Simonton and his colleagues founded the first Presbyterian Church, the first evangelical newspaper, the first presbytery, and the first seminary in Brazil (Reilly, 1993: 117). His accomplishments are particularly notable in light of his historical context. He was sent by the PCUS (Northern Presbyterians) just prior to the outbreak of the American Civil War, and ministered throughout that period, with likely difficulty in communicating with, and receiving funds from, his home base. As a matter of fact, largely Southern Presbyterian settlers and missionaries following the war continued his work.

Brazil was an attractive place for defeated southerners to emigrate following the American Civil War. Land was cheap. The Imperial government had instituted a number of policies to attract immigrants. Finally, Brazil was the only slave holding state left on the

planet. It would remain so until the declaration of the Republic in 1889, nearly 25 years hence.

American Southern Methodists, Presbyterians, and Baptists would come to Brazil; one suspects, partly to get away from their defeated land, as well as the hated *Reconstruction*, together with its *carpetbaggers*, and partly to preserve some semblance of their former way of life. Many of those buried in Brazil had Confederate flags engraved on their tombstones (Oliveira, 1985: 378-379).

These southerners began an American colony in 1866⁴⁰ in the interior of the State of São Paulo; in Santa Bárbara do Oeste, between Campinas and the city now named "Americana." Among these emigrants were Methodists, Presbyterians, and Baptists. The roots of the Brazilian Methodist Church, the Brazilian Presbyterian Church, the Independent Presbyterian Church, and the Brazilian Baptist Convention are in this colony.⁴¹

Bishop Wightman, of the Southern Methodist Episcopal Church, appointed Junius E. Newman to work in Brazil. He was the first pastor of the Methodist church in Santa Bárbara.

The Southern Presbyterian Church appointed Edward Lane and G. Nash Morton as missionaries to Brazil in 1868, at their own request. They located in Campinas, then a large town, not far from the village of Santa Barbara. Morton founded the International College of Campinas in 1869 while Lane founded the world renowned Lane Clinic.

⁴⁰ Just a reminder: The "War Between the States," or the American Civil War, ended with the northern conquest of the South in 1865.

⁴¹ I think it one of God's little ironies that those fleeing to preserve a system I find iniquitous should be used to begin denominations which now number in the millions, with missionaries in many countries. Then I wonder where His ironies are at work in me!

American Developments Affecting the Sending of Missionaries to Brazil

As has been noted, the treaty of 1810 and Brazilian tolerance of Immigrant Protestantism paved the way for the advent of Missionary Protestantism. Congregationalists, Baptists, Methodists and Presbyterians all effectively began their work in the latter half of the nineteenth century.

Each of these **denominations** came to Brazil by way of the United States. A denomination, in the American context, is neither a state church, nor is it a sect in the Troeltschian sense. American denominations are first, characterized by *the principle of voluntarism*. Those who adhere to the denominations do so of their own free will, without compulsion and give of themselves for the support and extension of the work voluntarily. In short, in denominations Americans apply the principle of free enterprise to the practice of religion.

Furthermore, each denomination exists for a specific purpose. "Sidney Mead defines a denomination as a voluntary association of individuals with feelings and thoughts in common, united on the basis of common beliefs for the purpose of reaching tangible, well-defined objectives. One of the principle objectives is the propagation of their own point of view" (*The Lively Experiment*. New York: Harper & Row, p. 105 in Reilly, 1993: 34).

Third, each denomination expected to be an ecumenical unit, not a characteristic of the sect. The very word "denomination" suggests the group is really a part of a larger group, taking on its name, its "denomination." No one manifestation of the Church should be identified with the whole of the true Church.

Fourth, denominational structures were *means* to an end, not ends in themselves. This permitted the proliferation of other, Para ecclesiastical, structures to accomplish the common mission. In essence, the denomination was just one more *structure* created for the purpose of propagating the Christian faith (Reilly, 1993: 34-35)⁴².

Americans also came to Brazil imbued with the concept of the separation of church and state, together with the practice of a civil religion. Since each of the thirteen colonies practice a number of different confessions, the Unites States simply would not and could not establish any one of them as the true faith. Nonetheless, a civil religion was established, based on the lowest common denominator between the different confessions, leading to an American self-image as the "Israel of God."

Further, Methodism was in vogue in the United States. From 1784, when there were only 15,000 Methodists in the country, Methodism grew by the mid-1800's to become the United States' largest single denomination. How did they accomplish this feat? They grew better than anyone else along America's expanding frontiers. Their methods (pun intended), including the camp meeting, the class, and the circuit rider, were particularly well suited to the hinterlands.

Their theology was Arminian, particularly well suited to the individualism and "can-do" spirit of the American psyche. Their leadership, although not as well trained as the Presbyterians', was able to follow the mass migration west. Baptists, by the way, had the figure of the farmer-preacher where the Methodists had the circuit rider, and were nearly as successful.

⁴² I am, in fact, following Reilly's analysis throughout this section.

The American people and nation were deeply divided by slavery. While the small farm and industry characterized the North, the plantation characterized the South. Where revival in the North was closely tied to social change, southerners were social conservatives, accepting of the institution of slavery and unwilling to change it. Is it any wonder that the American settlers, who brought their denominations, came to Brazil, where both the plantation system and slavery were still dominant?

Every major American denomination divided on the slavery question. And most of the missionaries to Brazil came from the southern branch of their denominations. Since the vast majority of American missionaries to Brazil were from the south, American Missionary Protestantism emphasized "individual conversion, a life of prayer and devotion, and impeccable personal ethics. However, the translation of this Christian life into the fight for liberty and justice for all was sadly lacking" (Reilly, 1993: 38).

Brazil, at this time, was preparing to join the modern world itself, going through a period of tremendous intellectual and political ferment. Brazil would emancipate its slaves and declare the Republic in 1889, separating itself politically from Portugal.

This period corresponds with the reign of Dom Pedro II. His "liberal reign was marked by social reform, increasing commercial and diplomatic relations with other countries, the attraction of large foreign colonies to Brazil, the abolition of slavery, the growth of liberalism, material and cultural progress, and the development of a growing national sentiment" (Crabtree, 1953: 18).

As to the period following the proclamation of the Republic (1889-1930), Crabtree avers:

Freemasonry and Positivism exerted considerable influence in the establishment of the Republic; but the proclamation of November 15, 1889 was due primarily to a combination of continental and world forces. The Constitution of the Republic was patterned after that of the United States, providing for the separation of Church and State, the secularization of the cemeteries, the institution of civil marriage, freedom of religion, and other important reforms. This liberal constitution appealed to the idealism of the people. But, with a large percentage of illiteracy and the lack of historical preparation for electing their representatives, Brazilians overestimated the importance of republican government for their country. Many political disturbances arose and, with the growth of prosperity, the people faced new and unforeseen problems without experience in self-government (1953: 18-19).

The time was ripe. Brazil was open to new ideas, in ways that it hadn't been for three hundred years. Liberal politics and economics would become dominant. American missionaries would be welcomed by certain segments of society, including the emperor himself, as a liberalizing influence - much as they were at this time in much of Latin America.

Conclusion

Through the transfer of the Portuguese crown and empire to Brazil, the door for evangelical presence, and eventual immigration, was cracked open. Noé Gonçalves sums up the prevailing wisdom regarding the introduction of various forms of Christianity into the Brazilian body politic in the following chart. Catholic Christianity, of course, arrived with the first settlers and prevailed, without significant rivals, for three hundred years. Immigrant Protestantism was introduced in the first half of the 19th century followed by the first

wave of Missionary Protestantism in the second half.⁴³

Pentecostalism entered Brazil with Vingren and Berg in 1910, and the second wave of Missionary Protestantism followed the end of the Second World War in 1945.

THE INTRODUCTION OF VARIOUS FORMS OF CHRISTIANITY IN BRAZIL ⁴⁴										
1500		1600		1700		1800		1900		1980
ROMAN CATHOLICISM										
						IMMIGRANT PROTESTANTISM				
						FOREIGN MISSIONS				
							PENTECOSTALS			
Noé Stanley Gonçalves. "Quadro Panorâmico: A Igreja Brasileira" In Valdir Steuernagel, ed. 1985. <i>A Evangelização do Brasil: Uma Tarefa Inacabada</i> . São Paulo: ABU Editora. p. 66.										

⁴³ Actually, it would be more appropriate to mark the advent of Missionary Protestantism *after* the end of the American Civil War in 1865, as this wave was triggered by the immigration of families from the American south (the Confederacy), who chose to emigrate over submitting to the indignities of Reconstruction.

⁴⁴ This chart uses one of the standard classifications of Brazilian Protestantism, based on each group's historical means and date of entry. Anglicans, Lutherans and, later, Mennonites are classified as Immigrant Protestants. Methodists, Baptists, and Presbyterians are seen as Missionary Protestants. The Christian Congregation and the Assemblies of God, together with the later Foursquare Gospel churches, are seen as classical Pentecostals. Most would add the later Paraeclesiastical Missionary Protestants, arriving after WWII, as a separate group from the earlier Missionary Protestants, and the more recent "neo-Pentecostals" as separate from the classical Pentecostals. Mendonça also classifies different Protestant groups institutionally, as well as according to their theological stance and their liturgy (Mendonça and Velásques Filho, 1990: 15-16, 145-159).

Chapter 3

Brazilian Baptist History

Southern Baptists in São Paulo (1866-1879)

Baptists, as a whole, have their roots in the Puritan-separatist movement within the English Reformation. General Baptists, largely Arminian in their theology, owe much to John Smyth, a separatist who took the Gainsborough congregation to Amsterdam and, under Mennonite influence, baptized both himself and the members of his congregation. Part of this congregation returned to England and founded the first Baptist church on English soil, in 1611 or 1612. Another group separated itself from the Congregational Church of Southwark in 1633 to start the first Particular Baptist Congregation, of Calvinist persuasion.

Baptists found their way to the New World, and found themselves expelled from the Massachusetts Bay colony. Roger Williams started the first Baptist Church in North America in Rhode Island in 1639. American Baptists held their first convention in 1707 in Philadelphia, and adopted the Philadelphia Confession of Faith, itself derived from the London (Baptist) Confession, a slightly edited version of the Westminster Confession, in order to bring it more in line with Baptist beliefs, especially those regarding baptism.

Northern Baptists, then, tended to be Particular, or Calvinist, in their theology. Southern Baptists, on the other hand, tended toward the General, or Arminian, viewpoint. Brazilian Baptists, in fact, accept the New Hampshire Confession of Faith, written by John Newton Brown, c. 1833. This Confession is considerably more

Arminian than the Philadelphia Confession, as the following excerpt will demonstrate:

VI. On the Free Nature of Salvation: We believe that the blessings of salvation are placed at the disposal of all through the Gospel; that it is the immediate duty of all to accept them through a cordial, penitent, and obedient, faith, and that nothing will deprive the worst sinner in the world of salvation but his own inherent depravity and voluntary rejection of the Gospel; and that this rejection involves him in aggravated condemnation (in Reilly, 1993: 130).

When Adoniram Judson, who had gone out as a Congregational missionary, converted to the Baptist point of view (under Carey's influence?), both Northern and Southern Baptists were forced to unite in order to maintain the work of missions, in 1814. However, the slavery issue was soon to divide them, and the Southern Baptist Convention was born on May 8, 1845.⁴⁵

The Southern Baptist Convention determined in 1850 that missionary work should begin in Brazil. However, it was not until 1859 that they sent the first missionary, Thomas Jefferson Bowen. Rev. Bowen was transferred from the Yoruba mission to Brazil, at his own request, for health reasons. Nonetheless, Rev. Bowen's mission failed, and he was forced to return to North America in 1861, again for health reasons.

Reilly goes so far as to suggest that Bowen's practice of speaking to the slaves in their native Yoruba led to his arrest, imprisonment, and eventual withdrawal from the field (1993: 132). Oliveira suggests that the principle reasons were financial. The

⁴⁵ The issue was whether slaveholders could be appointed as missionaries. The Southern Baptist Convention was formed in order to appoint slaveholders as missionaries. Secondary to this issue was the theological issue of General vs. Particular Baptist theology.

Bowens were unable to afford anything more than a small hotel room, even for the services they wished to start - because the Board had no money to send them. When he suffered yet another bout with malaria, Mrs. Bowen decided she had had enough and wrote the board, declaring their intention to return to Baltimore (1985: 81).

In an interesting parallel to Brazil's own history, the history of Brazilian Baptists also begins in São Paulo; with the settlement of Santa Bárbara do Oeste;⁴⁶

From the beginning of 1866, the emigrants⁴⁷ began to arrive in the region of Santa Barbara. The families established themselves on the land by acquiring or renting properties destined to agriculture. They spread themselves out in various directions, in an area that would have an average ray of 25 to 20 Kilometers, in a straight line, from the village of Santa Barbara. In the case of the Meriwether and Cherry families, this distance reached 93 kilometers when they moved to Botucatu.

Others continued to arrive until 1872 or 1873, when the flow of these arrivals diminished until ceasing altogether (Oliveira, 1985:17-18).

Baptists first successfully established themselves in Brazil at the end of the wave of Immigrant Protestantism. These emigrants, or southern refugees, fled the vanquished south in the hopes of reestablishing themselves in another country. As farm people, they sought thinly settled farmlands not too far from the train lines, in order to ship their produce.

The first Baptist church in Brazil was organized in Santa Barbara on September 10, 1871, and lasted as an organized body for

⁴⁶ I will here follow Antunes and Reilly, rather than Crabtree and Pereira, due to their more extensive use of original documents.

⁴⁷ See my earlier discussion on the use of this term.

approximately 38 years. Rev. Richard Ratcliff was the founding pastor (Oliveira, 1985: 177).

The church first asked the (Southern Baptist) Foreign Mission Board to send missionaries in a letter dated January 1, 1873, and repeated this request on April 04, 1877 (Oliveira, 1985: 179). Unlike earlier Protestant Immigrant churches, this church wished to break out of the bonds of its own language and culture and see Brazilians evangelized. Thus, it also requested to be designated a self-supporting *missionary nucleus*, most likely in its administrative session of June 1878.

The church's appeals were sent to Pastor Ratcliff, who had returned to the United States. He, in turn, interceded on behalf of the church before the Foreign Mission board.

Almost simultaneously, in May of 1878, the Foreign Mission Board met and determined to establish its mission in Brazil, with the First Baptist Church of Santa Barbara its first mission. Interestingly enough, the first missionaries appointed were already on the field. The Rev. Elias Hoton Quillin and Mr. Edwin Herbert Soper and his wife, Grace, were the first three missionaries appointed. In addition, Charles D. McCarthy and his wife, Thomas Collins Joyce, Solomon Louis Ginsberg and his wife, Amelia Carolina, Eric Alfred Nelson, and Anne Hope Thomas were all appointed by the Foreign Mission Board as self-sustaining missionaries before they sent out their first supported couple, William Buck Bagby and his wife, Anne Luther Bagby. When it comes to missionary status, no distinction is made between self-supporting missionaries and those on full-time salary (Oliveira, 1985: 181).

On November 2, 1879, the new mission church organizes the second Baptist church in Brazil, in the town of "Estação," or "Station,"

so named because there was a train station there. The train line linked the town to the Port of Santos, through Jundiaí and São Paulo. By the way, it is now called "Americana."

Oliveira cites four probable reasons for the founding of this church:

The desire to execute a more daring missionary work, giving a greater emphasis to the expansion of the work than the First Baptist Church wished to give. The SBC, meeting in 1879, through its FMB, had already adopted the First Baptist Church as its participant in the work of missions, as a self-supporting missionary unit.

The strategic location of this new church, near the rail line, would provide greater opportunity for the execution of a plan of missionary activity.

Its constituent members would have their properties closer to one another and to the Station, easing their access.

Although its members were North Americans, they were willing try a new form of having their services, so that Brazilians and those of other nationalities would be more easily attracted (1985:182, emphasis mine.).

This was to be the Baptists' first attempt at starting a national church. In spite of the fact most of its founding members were North Americans, they called the Brazilian ex-priest, Antônio Teixeira de Albuquerque as their pastor. He made his profession of faith, was baptized and ordained on June 20, 1880. Interestingly enough, this all took place, not in a church building, but in the "George Washington Masonic Lodge." It would appear that this was the same day several of the masons had their picture taken for posterity (Oliveira, 1985: 43). The Reverends Thomas and Newman, a Baptist and a Presbyterian minister are included (Oliveira, 1985: 372). If so, we can see the nature of the ecumenical spirit among the members of this early American community in Brazil.

***From Immigrant to Missionary Protestantism:
The Southern Baptist Mission to Brazil (1880-
1889)***

Finally, in 1880, the Foreign Mission Board decides to send "more missionaries" to Brazil, in part encouraged by the new convert, General A.T. Hawthorne. They had a young couple, about to be wed, in mind: Anne Ellen Luther and William Buck Bagby.

William Buck Bagby was born in Coryell County, Texas on November 5, 1855. "In his youth, parts of Texas were yet in a primitive stage of economic and cultural development. Savage Indians sometimes invade nearby settlements, burning houses and killing inhabitants" Crabtree, 1953: 37). Still, his family moved to Waco when William was seven, and he enjoyed a Christian upbringing and a college education.

He married Anne Luther, of Independence, Missouri on October 21, 1880, having sensed a call to missions and a sense of God's direction to Brazil, partly due to the influence of General Hawthorne. It seems the good General was at work with both Anne and William. He supported the Brazilian missionary project so enthusiastically that soon there were over 200 "Anne Luther" Missionary Societies in the state of Texas (Oliveira, 1985: 185)!

Although Brazilian Baptist work began with the two immigrant churches near modern-day Americana, they were ultimately unable to break out of their immigrant community in the rural villages where they were begun. Their historical value lies more in providing the impetus for missionaries coming to begin work strictly among the Brazilians than in the work they did to reach Brazilians. The churches that now make up the Brazilian Baptist Convention can trace their

historical origins to William Buck and Anne Luther Bagby's arrival and ministry in Brazil.

Doctor and Mrs. Bagby, the FMB's fourth and fifth missionaries to Brazil arrive in Rio de Janeiro en route to "our mission in Santa Bárbara" on March 2, 1881. They arrived in Santa Bárbara on the seventh. Forty days after their arrival, they moved to Campinas to begin their language study. Dr. Bagby assumes the pastorate of the Santa Bárbara church on May 21, 1881 (Oliveira, 1985:185-186). Rev. Quillin finally resigns from the church and FMB on March 3, 1882.

Z.C. Taylor and his wife, Kate (missionaries six and seven) arrive in Rio on February 23, 1882. From there they went to Santos, then on to Campinas and, finally, Santa Bárbara. The work in Santa Bárbara is progressing well, to the point one meeting has an average attendance of forty-five Brazilians (Oliveira, 1985: 187).

Still, before Dr. Taylor has been in Campinas for two months, both he and Dr. Bagby decide to go to Minas Gerais and, quite possibly, Bahia - following in Hawthorne's footsteps. Still, they did not make it to Bahia in this trip.

On their return, they decide to ask the FMB for authorization to go to Bahia to begin work in Salvador. When they receive approval, they leave for Salvador, together with Rev. Albuquerque.

"The city of Bahia was at that time the ecclesiastical capital of the country, the See of the Archbishop, and the most fanatical center in the Empire. The missionaries received letters full of abuse and threats, and also a few letters of welcome, expressing the wish that their work might be a blessing to the people" (Crabtree, 1953: 44). The three families arrived in Bahia in August 1882.

For three months the three families occupied a small house in the city, each family using a private room, while all shared the kitchen. Later they rented a building in the center of town that had been used by the Jesuits. The second and third floors were occupied by the three families, leaving three spacious rooms for the work of the mission: one for a book deposit, another for a school room, while the large assembly hall, which would accommodate 200 people, was reserved as an auditorium.

Bagby preached in the morning and Teixeira at night. The other received the visitors, offered them Gospel tracts and invited them to return. Those who came out of curiosity soon lost interest when they began to understand the moral responsibilities involved in the acceptance of the Gospel in its fullness, and on one Sunday, three months after beginning their work, the three families constituted the entire congregation at the morning worship (Crabtree, 1953: 44).

Still, "the First National Baptist Church of Brazil was organized in the city of Bahia (Cidade do Salvador), with five members: W.B. Bagby, Mrs. Anne Luther Bagby, Z.C. Taylor, Mrs. Kate Crawford Taylor and Antonio Teixeira de Albuquerque" (Crabtree, 1953: 44-45), on October 15, 1882.

One might be forgiven a few observations here, both about the author's bias, and about the work itself. First, it seems passing strange to call a church where four out of five members are foreign nationals a "national church." Second, where was Pastor Albuquerque's wife when the church was organized?

On a more positive note, these American missionary pioneers showed an admirable willingness to live and work on an equal footing with their Brazilian colleague. They appeared quite willing to share their resources with him, as well as the work. This would not always be the case in relationships between missionaries and nationals.

Their first persecution occurred around this time. The Bagby and Teixeira Albuquerque decided to baptize two women on the beach. They were heckled, one person in particular decrying their disregard for the law of the land, inasmuch as they were holding a "heretical" religious ceremony in a public place.⁴⁸ Bagby was arrested and warned not to preach again in a public place. They returned a few days later, this time to a private home. A mob gathered. Windows were broken, and Bagby was apparently hit by a rock. This time, the Baptist missionaries were entirely within their rights, and the authorities promised to protect them in the exercise of their religious freedoms.

Until 1889, the Roman Catholic Church was the state church. Crabtree observes:

It has always been difficult for state churches to refrain from persecuting non-conformists. In view of these considerations, it is not surprising that Evangelical Christians suffered persistent opposition in Brazil. It is doubtful, however, whether persecution has either definitely hindered or retarded the progress of Baptist missions. It is perhaps worthy of note that persecution has not been even more persistent and severe. The explanation lies in the fact that Brazilians are, for the most part, liberal-minded, and the tolerance of well-informed people has made prolonged and systematic persecution almost impossible. Misguided fanatics, however, can easily arouse the ruthless, the jealous, the intolerant and perverse, to persecute in the name of religion, but such persecution is generally sporadic and ineffective (1953: 47).

The Transition Years: From Southern Baptist Mission to Brazilian Baptist Convention (1889-1907)

⁴⁸ The heckler had a point. The public baptism was in flagrant disregard of the law, which allowed only *private* Protestant religious worship.

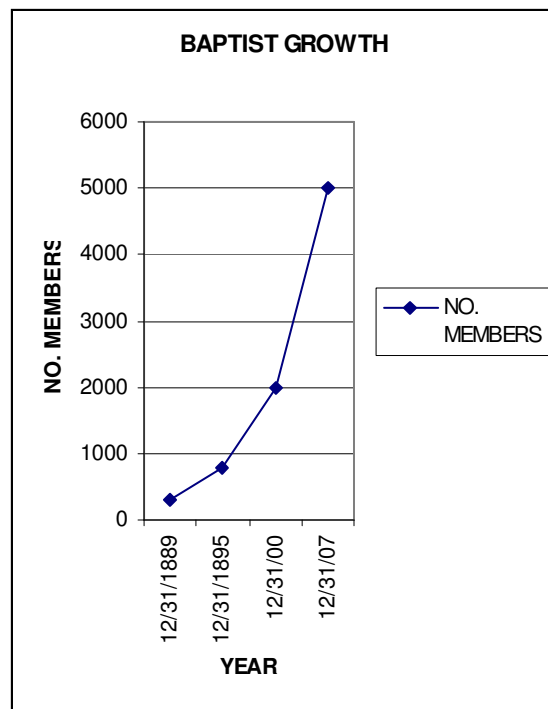
New fields were opened, by Teixeira in Maceió, Daniel in Recife, and the Bagbys in Rio de Janeiro. Still, there were only 312 church members at the close of the empire in 1889, 784 in 1895, 2000 in 1900, and 5000 in 1907, when the Convention was organized (Crabtree, 1953: 61). Crabtree goes on to cite all the difficulties the missionaries faced, lack of resources, being widely separated, lack of Sunday schools, and necessary confinement to the "task of leading people to a personal acceptance of Christ, and organizing them for training and service" (1953:61).

Although Crabtree does not seem terribly impressed with early Baptist growth, the following table illustrates that actual growth rates were actually quite healthy, based on his figures. Over each five to seven year period Crabtree cites, Baptists actually grew around 150%!

BAPTIST GROWTH IN THE TRANSITION YEARS⁴⁹

YEAR	1889	1895	1900	1907
NO. MEMBERS	312	784	2000	5000
GROWTH RATE		151.28%	155.10%	150.00%
NO. OF YEARS		6	5	7

⁴⁹ 1889 marks the end of the Empire and the beginning of the Republic, while 1907 marks the formal organization of the Brazilian Baptist Convention - for the purpose of sending missionaries!



What about São Paulo? Had this dynamic state been forgotten? In 1891, European Baptists organized churches in the cities of São Paulo and Campinas. Unfortunately, all but one of the members of the Campinas church were struck down by Yellow Fever, and the membership of the São Paulo church emigrated (Crabtree, 1953: 114). E.H. Soper and his wife also relocate for a time to the city of São Paulo from Santa Bárbara in 1888, where they begin to develop a work. They then heed an urgent call to go to the Federal capital in Rio to assist with the work there.

However, in May 1899, J.J. Taylor and J.L. Downing, together with their wives and colleagues, Bertha Stinger and May Wilcox arrive in São Paulo to lay the groundwork for Baptist work in this city of

250,000. They organize the First Baptist Church of São Paulo with 18 members (Crabtree, 1953:115).⁵⁰

Crabtree further notes that:

The story of the beginning of the work in São Paulo is not as dramatic as that of some other fields, because the people are more progressive, more tolerant of new ideas, and not so easily incited to persecution. Furthermore, the founder of the Mission, J.J. Taylor, sought to avoid conflicts and persecutions which sometimes contributed to the progress of the Gospel, but at time encouraged some to believe that the principal work of Evangelical Christians was to combat Catholicism (1953:115).

Downing accepts a position as the physician of the São Paulo Company in 1900, while Stinger and Wilcox also withdraw from the field. A.B. Deter and his wife arrive in July 1901. Dr. and Mrs. Bagby move from the Federal capital in October of 1901 (Crabtree, 1953: 115).

By the end of 1900, the First Church has 38 members. A church is organized in the city of Campinas. Missionary Deter assumes the pastoral care of the Campinas and Santa Bárbara churches, which begin to thrive.

Manoel Tiago is sent from the First Church to assist Pasquale Giuliani and Sarah Gooda, who had begun a work in Piracicaba. While Tiago arrived in September of 1902, by November of that year, he was able to organize a church with ten members.

The church in Santos was organized in 1903. Churches were later begun in Limeira and Rocinho⁵¹. Fifty-five Russian immigrants

⁵⁰ One wonders if they were able to build somewhat on the foundation laid by the Sopers the previous year, or if both were following migrating church members from rural Santa Bárbara to the capital.

arrive and organize a church in São Paulo in 1906. The Baptist Association of the State of São Paulo is also organized this year. As a matter of fact, A.B. Deter, one of the new missionaries to São Paulo, comes up with the idea (Pereira, 1985: 83).

Crabtree sums up the results:

By the end of this period there were ten churches with more than 300 members. The population of the capital⁵² had grown to 300,000, and there were numerous towns and cities that had not been reached but, as usual, Baptists felt that there was no territorial limit to their responsibilities. There was only one Brazilian pastor; the workers were few and the membership was pitifully small, but the churches were building up zones of influence in strategic locations, and were growing in strength and confidence, as they recognized the wide field that was ready for the harvest (1953: 117).

It should be noted that the work did not really begin to prosper in the State until 1) full time missionaries arrived on the scene, and 2) they began to pursue an urban, as opposed to a rural, strategy. Still, most of the new churches were begun in the smaller towns surrounding the urban centers, as opposed to those centers themselves. One wonders if the missionaries' small town origins made them feel more at home in the smaller towns.

The missionaries also did two more strategic things. First, missionary Taylor established a bookstore. And Mrs. Bagby organized the *Progressive Brazilian School* on January 13, 1902 (Crabtree, 1953: 117). This school is later renamed the *Colégio Batista Brasileiro*.

The Brazilian Baptist Convention is organized in 1907. "Missions was the predominant topic of this first Convention. The

⁵¹ With the exception of the Santos church, the other churches organized were in the smaller towns around Campinas.

⁵² The city of São Paulo, as state capital, is often just called "the capital."

Chilean appeal was enthusiastically received . . . We add that the Convention also approved a recommendation to the recently created Board of Foreign Missions to study the possibility of opening missionary work in Portugal" (Pereira, 1985: 85-86, emphasis added).

Pentecostalism arrived in Brazil in the form of a church split from the Baptist church in Belém do Pará. At least the largest Pentecostal denomination in Brazil, the Assemblies of God, can trace its history back to the Baptist church in Belém.

Two young Swedish immigrants from the United States, Gunnar Vingren and Daniel Berg, following what they believe to be divine guidance, go to Belém. They asked to join the church in the absence of the pastor. Gunnar then informs the congregation he is a pastor. They are well received, and begin prayer meetings in the basement where they live. People began to speak in tongues, going so far as to do so in the church's prayer meeting. Since the church's moderator was also involved, a visiting evangelist called an extraordinary congregational meeting, and the Pentecostals were excluded, some 170 in all (Pereira, 1985: 111).

The issue of the gifts is to return in the 1960's, this time as a "doctrinal issue" (Pereira, 1985: 193). The issue of the doctrine of the Holy Spirit came up in the 1962 Convention and, in good Baptist fashion, a committee was formed to discuss the issue of the Baptist understanding of the Holy Spirit. The Committee met some fourteen times. In its report to the Convention, the Committee stated:

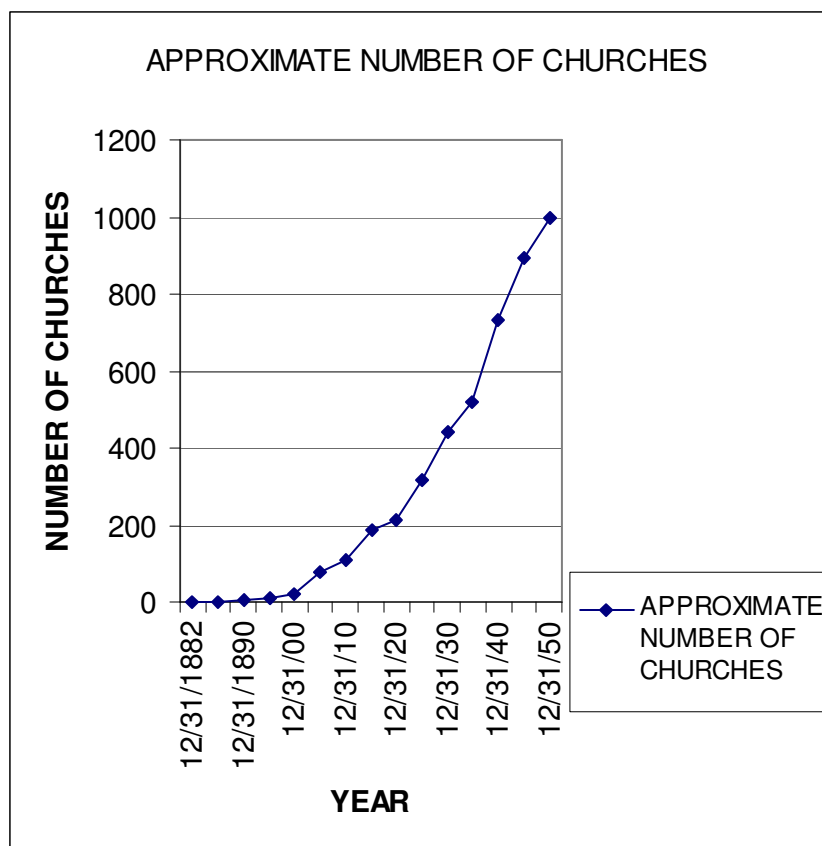
That it would not define "baptism in the Holy Spirit," for it had never been defined in any Baptist declaration of faith. Nonetheless, it affirmed that belief in a "second blessing," as well as the current existence of the gifts of tongues and healing, were not points of view adopted by Brazilian Baptists throughout the years, that the consensus of Brazilian Baptists was that the work of the Holy

Spirit in the life of the believer came about through a process called "progressive sanctification;" that emotional manifestations, however sincere, could not be presented as a pattern to be followed by all; and that the emphasis given to the doctrine of the "Baptism of the Holy Spirit" Has caused noisy meetings, full of emotionalism, appropriate to Pentecostalism and has caused manifestations of spiritual pride, as well as the proselytism of believers who do not adopt such ideas (Pereira, 1985: 197-198).

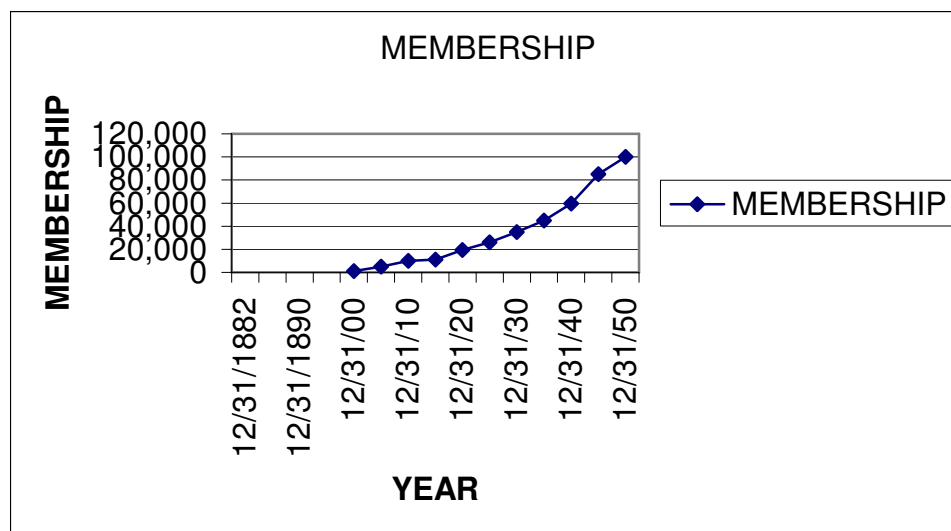
This report was finally presented to the Convention in 1964, and finally approved in 1965. As a result, the churches involved in the "renewal movement" withdrew, forming their own Convention, which is now called the "National Baptist Convention." In 1985, this Convention had some 400 churches (Pereira, 1985: 200).

Brazilian Baptist Expansion (1907-1930)

From 1907, the Brazilian Baptist Convention grew at a steady pace, both in terms of the overall number of churches and in membership. From perhaps 80 churches in 1905, Brazilian Baptists reach 440 by 1930, and 1000 by 1950 (Crabtree, 1953: 218).



And, from a membership of perhaps 5000 in 1905, Brazilian Baptists reach 35,000 by 1930, and 100,000 by 1950 (Crabtree, 1953: 221). Brazilian Baptists grew by 102.6% in the decade between 1911-1920, 70.6% between 1921 and 1930, and 58% between 1931 and 1940 (Pereira, 1985:114).



They deal with only one question of missiological significance during this time, the "radical question." Simply put, what is the proper relationship between expatriate missionaries and the national church? Following the First World War, many Brazilian leaders felt it was time to take on a greater role in leading their church,

with a corresponding rejection of the leadership of the North American missionaries; the problem Brazilian leaders had with the resources spent on educational work to the detriment, in their view, of the greater and more rewarding needs of evangelistic work, the financial dependence in which many workers lived before the missionaries, and the total control, by the missionaries, of funds coming from the United States (Pereira, 1985:113-114).

Since much of their funding came from the United States, a missionary led each of the major Brazilian Baptist institutions. The Mission held the deeds to most of the Baptists' property, including

many of the older churches.⁵³ Apparently, the lion's share of the funding also went to the maintenance of these educational institutions, and not to evangelism and church planting. What the Brazilian "radicals" ask is simple. They want to determine where the funds coming from the U.S. are spent. The missionaries' reply is also simple: The money belongs to the board, and not to them. They cannot simply give it to the nationals to spend.

After three years of internecine struggle, the Brazilian Baptist Convention signed a partnership agreement, in 1925, with the Foreign Mission board of the Southern Baptists. In this agreement, the "basis for cooperation" between the groups was established, efforts made to place both properties and funds under Brazilian control. At the same time, the boards of the Brazilian Baptist institutions would have a minimum number of missionaries, in order to protect the mission's interests. Further, in practice, the executive officers of each of the State associations, as well as of the major institutions were all missionaries.

The question comes up again in 1935, whereupon the Convention appoints a Committee to study the question. Their two most significant recommendations for our purposes were: 1) that the institutional boards should be composed of Brazilian Baptists, independent of nationality, and 2) the Executive Committee of the Convention, composed of its officers, would be responsible for negotiating the placement of new missionaries with the Northern and

⁵³ Baptists had at least five major properties, including two seminaries and three Baptist schools, as well as a number of smaller ones. To this day, a body legally parallel to the Convention, but composed of its officers, administers at least thirteen properties, including these seminaries and a number of older churches. For some reason, they were never transferred to their rightful owners.

Southern missions.⁵⁴ Brazilians would now decide where missionaries were to serve and, while missionaries might still serve on institutional boards, they would do so *as Brazilian Baptists* (Pereira, 1985:139).

Brazilian Baptists from the Vargas to the Military Dictatorships (1930-1964)

Brazil's history is marked by five major political shifts: 1) the king's taking up residence in Rio, and ruling his empire from Brazil (1808), 2) the Proclamation of the Republic (1889), 3) Getúlio Vargas revolution in 1930, 4) the advent of the military dictatorship in 1964, and 5) the return of civilian control in government in 1986, with the election of Tancredo Neves as president.

Vargas' "revolution" might be better called a "coup." In spite of opposition from the State of São Paulo, this *gaúcho* from Rio Grande do Sul deposed a popularly elected president. However, on July 9, 1932, in the last gasp of *bandeirismo*, Paulistas revolted against Vargas' dictatorship in what is often called the "Constitutionalist revolt." However, it was one state against the entire country, and São Paulo's forces were defeated in three months (Ferreira, 1967b: 288)

Brazilian Baptists from the Military Dictatorship to the Present

In 1964, another duly elected Brazilian government suffered a military coup. Some say it was backed by the CIA. In any case, the rationale used was the necessity to combat Communism. Each of the Christian denominations responded differently. However,

⁵⁴ Due to Brazil's size, the Southern Baptists, at this time, divided their missionaries into two administrative units, called missions.

Of all the historic churches, only the Baptists managed to maintain their old evangelistic emphasis, without going through a major crisis.⁵⁵ The most outstanding characteristic of the denomination in the period of the military regime has been its great national and continental evangelistic campaigns (Reilly, 1993: 317).

Reilly goes so far as to see the Baptists' 1965 campaign, "Christ, our only Hope" as typical of the Baptist response to the military take over. Due to the extraordinary organizational skills of Rubens Lopes, Brazilian Baptists blanketed Brazil with their theme (1993: 317).

Reilly quotes two articles, written by the editor of the *Jornal Batista*, the "Baptist Journal," the official denominational newspaper. In these articles Reis Pereira takes the standard evangelical position that social change is only possible, in the ultimate sense, through lives transformed by the power of Christ. Hence, winning people to Christ is, in and of itself, a social statement (1993: 318-323).

Again, in the context of a Baptist response to the military regime and the political ferment then taking place in the nation, João Filson Soren, Pastor of the First Baptist Church of Rio de Janeiro and frequent president of the Brazilian Baptist Convention, writes in the *Jornal Batista*:

The Political Incompetence of the Church: The Church is not competent, as the Body of Christ, to exercise any prerogative of political function. Said prerogatives are foreign to it, just as foreign as are religious and ecclesiastical attributions are to the State.

The so-called politicizing function is also not of the competence of the Church . . . [Christians ought to act in politics, but] as citizens, not as spokespeople or representatives of the churches.

⁵⁵ Some might consider a denominational split a crisis. Apparently, Reilly does not. However, if Reilly's wording were amended to "political crisis," he would be correct. Baptists did not split over their *political* response to the military regime. Rather, they split over the charismatic issue.

Ecclesiastical pronouncements and manifestations of a political nature: Said pronouncements, when emitted by churches, or by entities linked with churches, constitute transgressions against the principle of separation of Church and State . . .

Tying the Church to political movements and organizations: The Church, in order to be faithful to its mission, cannot ally itself with political, ideological, or party movements and organizations, even when said organization unfurl flags and display tickets in harmony with the Church and the Gospel.

Political-Partisan Penetration in the Ecclesiastical realm: Individually, believers have the right to political-partisan preferences, but they do not have the right to use their church membership for the purpose of political propaganda or counterpropaganda through the institutions, meetings, and other services maintained by the churches.

The Church and political regimes: If the Church may not be yoked to political parties, then it may not be yoked with government regimes . . .

The skewed use of political and ideological terminology in ecclesiastical and theological subjects. Much confusion has come about through the use of political clichés and jargon with regard to questions of a religious nature. This has even happened in the pulpit.

Soren took the traditional Baptist emphasis on the separation of Church and State and applied it to his situation. Baptists, as individuals, were free to exercise their consciences to support a political party, ideology, or government. However, *Baptist institutions* must not do so.

Who Are the People Called Baptists in São Paulo?

Brazilian Baptists in São Paulo exhibit characteristics common to both Baptists and *Paulistas*. As both Baptists and *Paulistas*, combine the traditional Portuguese emphasis on self-government

with the Baptist emphasis on the freedom of conscience. Time and time again Paulistas have given their blood to defend their country and their freedoms.

As Paulistas, they exhibit the "can-do" spirit typical of this state. Many of Brazil's pioneers, her *bandeirantes*, came from São Paulo. Paulistas are at the forefront of much that is dynamic and innovative in Brazil, no less so in the ecclesiastical realm. São Paulo, with one-fifth of Brazil's population, still produces one-third of her Gross National Product.

Theologically, Brazilian Baptists in São Paulo would be described as Arminian. The Brazilian Baptist Convention still subscribes to the New Hampshire Confession. They still emphasize the free will and voluntarism in religious affairs, while subscribing to the doctrine of eternal security, some even to the perseverance of the saints.

Institutional political engagement is not a priority, although most churches would subscribe to the idea of a holistic presentation of the gospel, where the whole person is met on an individual basis. The individual's decision is still the key!

Brazilian Baptists in São Paulo would also describe themselves as evangelical, and non-charismatic. Although attitudes have softened somewhat regarding the gifts, as well as emotional displays in worship, Brazilian Baptists in São Paulo would still count themselves more with the historical, as opposed to the Pentecostal, churches.

It is a matter open to debate whether their small town roots still show. One would suspect so, in light of the fabulous growth of more recent "neo-Pentecostal" churches, particularly in the urban centers.

In 1991, there were some 60,000 Brazilian Baptists in metropolitan São Paulo, roughly 7.5% of the then estimated 800,000 Brazilian Baptists in the country. In this, they were somewhat underrepresented, inasmuch as the population of the metropolitan area was nearly 10% that of the country.

Chapter 4

History of the Brazilian Assemblies of God

The Brazilian Assemblies of God⁵⁶ have their roots in the American Pentecostal tradition, while at the same time manifesting a unique accommodation of that tradition to the Brazilian culture and ethos. They have provided the spark for the much broader Pentecostal movement within Brazil, and make up part of a much broader Pentecostal landscape worldwide, but especially within Brazil.

It is the purpose of this chapter to trace these relationships, through an historical study of AD progress within Brazil. I will first trace the roots of the Pentecostal movement in the millenarian, Keswick, and holiness movements in the United States of the late nineteenth century. This will be followed by a description of the genesis of Pentecostalism in that country. Then I will describe how Daniel Berg and Gunnar Vingren, Swedish Baptist immigrants to the United States, came to become involved in the nascent Pentecostal movement, and then brought it to Brazil, following a dream they should go to Pará, a land of which they had never heard.

When these Swedish Baptists, revived by the Pentecostal flame, first arrived in Brazil they quite naturally fellowshipped in the Baptist church of Belém, where they encouraged others to seek the Pentecostal awakening. Since their efforts were not well received by the church's leadership, both they and their followers were encouraged to leave. The rest, as they say, is history.

Interestingly enough, the fledgling denomination first received further missionary assistance from Sweden, the founders' homeland.

⁵⁶ Assembléias de Deus. From here on, I will use the abbreviation "AD."

Only later did it become a part of the worldwide General Council of the Assemblies of God, while still maintaining its ties with Sweden.⁵⁷

From there, I will concentrate on the Assemblies' growth in all of Brazil, with a special focus on the state and city of São Paulo. Finally, I will attempt taxonomy of Brazilian Pentecostalism, thus situating the AD within their larger socio-religious context.

Historical Roots of the Pentecostal Movement

First, one must define what a Pentecostal is. It strikes me that Hollenweger's definition combines the advantages of simplicity and accuracy. His "book includes as Pentecostals all the groups who profess at least two religious crisis experiences (1. baptism or rebirth; 2. the baptism of the Spirit), the second being subsequent to and different from the first one, and the second usually, but not always, being associated with speaking in tongues (1972: xxi - xxii)."

Thus, Pentecostals are evangelical Christians, inasmuch as they emphasize the need for the new birth. Yet they have added an emphasis not common to other evangelicals – that of a second crisis experience following the new birth, called the baptism of the Spirit, usually associated with speaking in tongues.

Second, one must attempt to define the starting moment of Pentecostalism, *as a movement*. Most writers would trace its beginnings to two revivals, one in Topeka, Kansas in 1901, and the other in a decrepit building on Azusa Street in Los Angeles, in 1906. According to Gary McGee the

Leaders of these revivals proclaimed the need of a salvation experience, faith healing, a life of

⁵⁷ One informant, Lars Bertil Ekström, a Swedish Baptist missionary, tells me that, while the Swedish Baptists sent most of their missionaries in Brazil to work with the Assemblies of God, at least one of their number worked with the Brazilian Baptist Convention – in the south, where the AD had no work.

holiness, the Baptism in the Holy Spirit for power in Christian witness, the premillennial return of Christ and the absolute necessity to evangelize the world through missionary endeavors. (1984: 45)

Thus, early American Pentecostalism emphasized the salvation experience, faith healing, and the need for the Spirit's empowerment for a life of holy service in light of Jesus' imminent, premillennial, return. Whence came these emphases?

Edith Waldvogel Blumhofer traces the roots of early Pentecostalism to four sources: Early American Fundamentalism, Restorationism, Wesleyanism, and the Welsh Revival (1985: 9 – 22, *passim*). Early fundamentalists trace their roots to Dwight L. Moody, who was in turn influenced by the English (or Plymouth) Brethren movement in the 1870s. From John L. Darby, the leader of that movement, Moody brought premillennial dispensationism to the United States (:10).

Early American Fundamentalism

Once Moody and his colleagues were convinced of Christ's imminent return, they reordered their priorities. Moody himself, in perhaps his most famous quote, said: "It was as if God had given me a lifeboat and said to me, 'Moody, save all you can.'" (:11)

Further, "those evangelicals convinced of Christ's soon return found it motivated them in the area of evangelism. Since they believed they were living in the last days, their task was momentous: the evangelization of the world in their generation." To do this, they required the empowerment of the Holy Spirit. So they began to study the Spirit *as a Person*.

Reuben Archer Torrey, especially, began to encourage his contemporaries to seek the baptism of the Holy Spirit. The Spirit's

baptism would enable believers to live holy lives and to witness effectively for Jesus Christ.

A third element that Blumhofer includes is the fact that at least some of these early fundamentalists “concluded that divine healing was in the Atonement (:13).” In fact, “once they had concluded that they lived in the last days, some had come to expect a ‘latter rain’ revival (:14).”

Those of the “latter rain” persuasion came to expect “full salvation” for the body, soul, and spirit. Perhaps the clearest example is the denomination founded by A.B. Simpson, the Christian and Missionary Alliance, which preaches Jesus as the One who “saves, sanctifies, heals, and is coming again.” Although the Alliance does not consider itself a Pentecostal denomination, few Pentecostals would quibble with these emphases.

Structurally, Moody established annual conferences in Northfield, Massachusetts, following the British Keswick pattern. In fact, this teaching became popularized as “Keswick teaching.”

For McGee this “Keswick teaching” results from a

Reformed perspective emphasizing a deeper life experience (which) merged later in the nineteenth century through the preaching and writing of several prominent American preachers, notably Dwight L. Moody, Reuben A. Torrey, Adoniram J. Gordon and A.B. Simpson. The same emphasis appeared in sermons at the Keswick Conference grounds in Great Britain. According to this Reformed perspective, at conversion the believer is baptized by the Holy Spirit in the body of Christ and this baptism begins a lifelong process of sanctification. After conversion and closely associated with the process of sanctification, the believer should experience a second baptism. This second experience in the Holy Spirit by Christ

produces an “endowment of power” for effective Christian witness. (:44)⁵⁸

Finally, Moody’s conferences had a strong missions emphasis. He further became convinced that seminaries educated ministers away from the urban masses (Blumhofer, 1985: 15). This ultimately led him to start a practical training institute, now known as the Moody Bible Institute. Later Pentecostals would follow this emphasis on practical ministerial training.

Restorationism

Blumhofer further traces the roots of Pentecostalism to a radical variant of the “latter rain” theology. While “latter rain” evangelicals expected an outpouring of the Spirit that would restore the New Testament gifts to the body, others expected a full return to New Testament Christianity. Among these theologians was John Alexander Dowie.

Dowie, a Congregationalist minister, understood healing to be apart of the Atonement and conducted a successful healing ministry on this basis. Further, due to his belief, he eschewed doctors and all medicine, founding the Christian Catholic Church and eventually the town of Zion, Illinois as a “Christian community void of doctors, tobacco, liquor, or pork products.” More than 6000 responded to his call (:17).

⁵⁸ It is worth noting that Brazilian Pentecostals are the only heirs of this movement to enter Brazil before the end of World War II. Brazilian “traditional,” or historic, churches have other roots. While Brazilian Lutherans trace their roots to European Lutheranism, Brazilian Baptists and Presbyterians owe their roots to mainstream American Protestant denominationalism of the mid-1800s.

The Wesleyan Contribution

Interestingly enough for a movement with Reformed roots, Pentecostalism has another of its roots in Wesleyan pietism.

John Wesley's doctrine of Christian perfection said a believer could be freed from the desire to sin through an experience of perfect love. Americans modified Wesley's original concept that had allowed for both gradual and instantaneous perfection and taught that the experience should always be instantaneous. The claim that a "second definite work of grace" should always be the norm was identified in late 19th-century America with the holiness movements. (Blumhofer, 1985: 18-19)

Both of these currents seeking to *experience* God's power and holiness, His enabling to live a fuller Christian life, give evidence to a thirst within the American soul for a day-to-day walk with God and sense of His intimacy which Pentecostalism would seek to satisfy. Although the Keswick emphasis differed from the holiness one on the issue of the achievability of absolute, instantaneous, perfection in this life, **both** approaches taught that Jesus' followers could experience victory over sin on a regular basis through the baptism of the Holy Spirit. It was in this baptism that the Spirit came upon a believer to give him or her the **power** needed for victorious Christian living. In this regard, early Pentecostals were merely men and women of their time.

The Welsh Revival

Finally, the Welsh revival of 1904 – 1905 provided Pentecostalism with much of its early language and symbolism.⁵⁹ Roberts, a historian of this period, "explicitly linked the revival with

⁵⁹ The Portuguese term for this concept is "imaginário." The closest English equivalent is "imagination," the mental symbols and rational structures that allow a person or people to reason in a particular fashion. The product of this "imagination" is a worldview.

the fulfillment of Joel's prophecy in Acts 2 . . . From this point of view the revival had both end-time and Pentecostal meaning" (Blumhofer: 21). In fact, "the revival further popularized terms relating to spiritual power and matched them with specific types of experience" (:21).

Thus, the Welsh revival provided early Pentecostals with the mental framework necessary to both identify their experience with biblical categories and explain it to others. For instance, the biblical category "Baptism in the Holy Spirit" became identified with a particular post salvation experience, as did "speaking in tongues." Soon this identification took on the nature of a premise, that which is uncritically accepted.

Another lesson learned from the Welsh revival, according to G. Campbell Morgan addressed the

Christian tendency to rely on organization and method. "It is divine visitation," Morgan concluded "in which God . . . is saying to us: 'See what I can do without the things you are depending on; see what I can do to answer a praying people; see what I can do through the simplest who are ready to fall in line and depend wholly and absolutely on me (Blumhofer: 21 – 22).'"

Pentecostals inherited a number of significant things from their forebears: a deep thirst for God and especially His holiness, an expectation that victory over sin could be achieved in this life, an orientation toward the urban masses (e.g. Bible Institutes so workers would not be trained *away* from the masses), an emphasis on evangelism and missions (the salvation of the world in this generation), and a deep reliance on God's direction and provision – resulting in a greater emphasis on spontaneity and a weaker one on high levels of organization and planning. Further, early Pentecostals inherited from the Welsh revival a conceptual framework that enabled them to identify their experiences with particular biblical categories,

thus positioning themselves as revivers of New Testament Christianity.

Early Pentecostalism in the United States and the Shaping of the Assemblies of God

How did this work itself out in the actual formation of Pentecostalism in its birthplace, among poorer urban dwellers in the United States at the beginning of the twentieth century? Two revivals are usually listed as fundamental both in shaping the Pentecostal movement, and later, the emerging Assemblies of God in the United States.

The Topeka Revival

Charles Fox Parham, born in Muscatine, Iowa in 1873, spent most of his life in eastern Kansas, where he began preaching in 1889 at the age of 16. Converted in the Congregational Church, he served as a Methodist minister for a time. “Theologically, Parham identified with the Holiness movement of his day, preached faith healing and believed in the imminent premillennial return of Christ” (McGee: 46).

In 1898, he and his wife, Sarah, moved to Topeka, Kansas, a city with a population of just over 33,000, where they opened the Bethel Healing Home. During his previous travels Parham had visited both Zion, Illinois to see the work of John Alexander Dowie, and Nyack, New York, to see A.B. Simpson, founder of the Christian and Missionary Alliance.

Like many of Parham’s other enterprises, the healing home and mission failed. So, “in the summer of 1900, Parham and several of his followers accepted an invitation to spend some time in Frank Sandford’s community in Shiloh, Maine” (Blumhofer: 24). Originally a Freewill Baptist, Sandford launched his own faith ministry, due to

his objections to authority. Calling himself Elijah the restorer, he founded a community a community near Brunswick, Maine, including a Bible school called “The Holy Ghost and Us” (:24).

Parham was clearly impressed by Sandford’s Bible school, and determined to open a similar school in Topeka upon his return. Parham’s purpose was entirely practical: “Not to learn these things in our heads only, but have each thing in the Scriptures wrought out in our hearts . . . that every command that Jesus Christ gave should be literally obeyed (:25).”

Parham soon gave his students an assignment before he left for the Christmas holidays in 1900. Although his peers generally associated the Baptism of the Spirit with either a purifying or an empowering work of the Spirit, “none had proposed a *uniform* initial evidence” (:25) When he returned, Parham found that his students had concluded that speaking in tongues constituted the evidence of this baptism (McGee: 47).

Both Parham and his students began to seek this experience, baptism in the Spirit, evidence by speaking in tongues. Revival spread as they began to receive this experience, particularly during the watch night service that ushered in 1901. In the words of Agnes Ozman, the first to receive the new experience: “As we spent much time in the presence of God, He caused our hearts to be opened to all that is written” (Blumhofer: 26).

Although both Parham and his students agreed that the experience of Spirit baptism gave them greater power for ministry, his ministry struggled for the next two years. It was not until 1903, when Mary Arthur, of Galena, Kansas was miraculously healed, that the revival began to spread.

After the Galena revival, Parham and his apostolic faith bands traveled as far abroad as Texas. In 1905, Parham began a Bible school, supported by freewill offerings, in Houston. One of his students, a black Baptist holiness preacher, by the name of William J. Seymour, would soon move from Houston to Los Angeles.

Revival on Azusa Street

When William J. Seymour arrived in Los Angeles, he found a rapidly expanding metropolis. The 1900 population of some 100,000 had more than tripled by 1910. Further, a strong nucleus of Christians, influenced by the Welsh revival, had already begun to gather for prayer. “Interdenominational Bible studies and prayer groups united those of *all social classes* who yearned for an outpouring of the Holy Spirit” (:28, emphasis added).

This point can hardly be over emphasized. *The Azusa Street movement crossed denominational, racial, and class lines.*

Christians were united in their expectation of a special visitation of the Holy Spirit to empower them to evangelize the world. Thus, they were willing to listen to a black holiness preacher tell them that tongues were the evidence of the baptism with the Holy Spirit.

The church that had originally invited him soon rejected Seymour’s teaching. Undaunted, he moved his meetings into an abandoned Methodist church on Azusa street. “Spontaneous singing, the manifestation of the Gifts of the Holy Spirit, praises shouted to the Lord, zeal to spread the Gospel around the world, spontaneous missionary offerings and an awareness of the soon return of Christ were all prominent characteristics of the meetings in this former Methodist church” (McGee: 51). In fact, these meetings were marked by spontaneity and expectancy.

McGee is particularly interested in highlighting the heightened concern for world evangelization, linked to the expectation of Christ's imminent return. He quotes the *Apostolic Faith*:

Pentecost has surely come and with it the Bible evidences are following, many being converted and sanctified and filled with the Holy Ghost, speaking in tongues as they did on the day of Pentecost *The real revival is only started*, as God has been working with His children mostly, getting them through to Pentecost, and *laying the foundation for a mighty wave of salvation among the unconverted* (September 1906, p. 1 in McGee: 52, emphasis added).

In fact, McGee finds the revival had three major characteristics. First among these, of course, is the understanding of the Gift of the Holy Spirit, evidenced by speaking in tongues, as empowerment for missions. He quotes J. Roswell Flower, who participated in the Azusa Street revival as saying:

The baptism of the Holy Ghost does not consist in simply speaking in tongues. No. It has a much more grand and deeper meaning than that. *It fills our souls with the love of God for lost humanity, and makes us much more willing to leave home, friends, and all to work in His vineyard, even if it be far away among the heathen . . .*

“Go ye into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature.” This command of Jesus can only be properly fulfilled when we have obeyed that other command, “Tarry ye in the City of Jerusalem till ye be endued with power from on high.” When we have tarried and received that power, then, and then only are we fit to carry the gospel. *When the Holy Spirit comes into our hearts, the missionary spirit comes in with it*; they are inseparable, as the missionary spirit is but one of the fruits of the Holy Spirit. Carrying the gospel to hungry souls in this and other lands is but a natural result of receiving the baptism of the Holy Ghost (untitled editorial in *The Pentecost*, August 1908, p. 4 in McGee: 55, emphasis added).

Tongues thus became a sign of divine empowerment. “A second characteristic of the revival was the unique sense of being ‘led’ by the Spirit to go overseas in ministry” (:57). Scores went out due to the leading of the Holy Spirit.

Finally, “the third characteristic was the ‘faith’ element. Most of these people went on missionary journeys using their own financial means, for they believed that since God had called them, he would supply whatever they needed” (:59).

These three elements then, confidence in God’s power, the sense of being “led by the Spirit” and the concept of “living by faith” became the cornerstone of Pentecostal missionary practice. Further, since anyone could be empowered and led by the Spirit, and could live by faith, there was no lack of volunteers to go to the mission field. We will soon see that both the founders of the Brazilian Assemblies of God and the “Christian Congregation,” (the first two Pentecostal denominations in Brazil, founded nearly simultaneously in different parts of the country) were just such humble volunteers.⁶⁰

Naturally, such a movement also demonstrated a few weaknesses. Since these missionaries left without any formal plans or strategy, and without the backing of any organization – likely related factors, little is known about the permanent results of their missionary enterprise.

Blumhofer, on the other hand, emphasizes the doctrinal aspects of these events. Seymour preached three stages in the salvation process: “Believers were to be converted, sanctified, and Spirit-filled” (:29). McGee, however, does observe that early

⁶⁰ It is also worth noting that there was no shortage of outstanding women who volunteered for missionary service. However, “our” volunteers went to Brazil as single men.

Pentecostals understood the gift of tongues to refer to a “language gift to be utilized in overseas ministry. Those who articulated this position only found disillusionment on the foreign fields. There is no evidence of any early Pentecostal missionary ever receiving a language in this manner” (:53-54).

Blumhofer also notes three themes which “became noticeable in the Azusa Street revival: (1) cleansing through the blood of Jesus, (2) the soon return of Christ, and (3) restorationism, or ‘unity’ (which was, at the same time, a rejection of denominationalism)” (:30). These early Pentecostals emphasized forgiveness through the blood of Christ, an expectancy of Christ’s imminent return which moved them to missions, and a rejection of denominational, as well as class and racial, boundaries. “Strongly Congregationalist and anti-denominational even before the denominations began to reject them, Pentecostals had tended to criticize if not reject denominationalism in their pre-Pentecostal days” (:31)

Spontaneous exuberance marked their worship and lives. They expected God to do great things. Therefore, He did great things.

Notice that the major emphasis was *not* on the gift of tongues *per se*. Tongues were merely the outward symbol of this spiritual and conceptual transformation.

The Hot Springs General Council

Unfortunately, a movement as anti-organization – and thus disorganized – as this one could not help but bear within itself the seeds of its own fragmentation. Problems soon surfaced. Parham moved to Zion, Illinois, in an attempt to put Dowie’s ministry back together. Still, his most capable associates rejected his leadership due to allegations of sexual misconduct. The Azusa street mission became

a black church and wound up on the sidelines because it accepted practices most other Pentecostals rejected.

A split also occurred within the Christian and Missionary Alliance, one of the forerunners of the Pentecostal movement.

In a revival at Simpson's Missionary Training Institute in 1907, several of the Alliance's young, promising leaders accepted Pentecostal teaching. In a matter of months, entire Alliance congregations became Pentecostal. After a period of uncertainty in responding to Pentecostalism, Alliance leaders virtually excluded tongues-speaking from their movement: They adopted the position that tongues should neither be sought nor forbidden. Alliance spokesmen believed that *any* gift might evidence Spirit baptism. **In this way they rejected both the Pentecostal focus on tongues as the evidence of the Baptism and the Pentecostal distinction between tongues as evidence and tongues as a gift** (:32-33, bold emphasis added).

In spite of coming from a denominational split, these leaders greatly enhanced early AOG ministry. Still, this demonstrates the splintering effects of the Pentecostal message. Most Pentecostals worshiped in independent congregations and missions. In fact, most Pentecostals resisted any centralized authority almost as much as they believed in the gospel. Still, thoughtful leaders saw the need for greater organization and cooperation.

Accordingly, E.N. Bell and the southern Pentecostals took the lead. Bell had come into fellowship with a group of Pentecostals in Texas who had rejected Parham's leadership. "This group came into fellowship with H.G. Rodgers and other independent Pentecostals in the southeast to form the loosely knit organization: The Church of God in Christ and in Unity with the Apostolic Faith Movement" (:35). This church was merely a loose knit ministerial association, and

“some believed more organization was needed to prevent cliques from ‘galloping off each in its own direction,’ so Bell and his colleagues called a General Council to convene at Hot Springs, in April 1914” (:35-36).

This meeting had five objectives: 1) unity, 2) stabilization, 3) effective missions outreach, 4) legal chartering of the movement, and 5) the consideration of a Bible school to serve Pentecostals (:36). It is worth noting that, in addition to the basic organizational considerations such a movement required, establishing an effective missionary outreach was a major reason these leaders came together.

After several days of meetings, delegates rejected denominational organization and “agreed to promote a voluntary cooperation that would not affect congregational self-government” (:37). Each local assembly would receive the name “Assembly of God.” Further, the delegates “agreed to incorporate under the name ‘General Council of the Assemblies of God’ (:37).

Although some delegates chose not to transfer their credential to the new fellowship, several hundred did. “For example, much of the loosely structured white Church of God in Christ was absorbed by the Assemblies of God” (:38).

Thus began the American Assemblies of God. Born in a revival, convinced of Jesus’ imminent return and the need to evangelize the world in this generation, powered by the Spirit of the Almighty, delegates gathered to assure that their fraternal bonds would be strengthened to the point that they would be able to cooperate in missions and in the training of their own leadership.

At the same time, these delegates rejected a strong denominational structure, preferring congregationalism, and founded a largely white Pentecostal fellowship. Blacks presumably went

elsewhere. Some of the utopian elements present at Azusa Street were lost when this minimal structure was formed, yet much of the dream remained.

Daniel Berg and Gunnar Vingren Bring Pentecostalism to Brazil

The birth of Pentecostalism in Brazil is tied to three names, Daniel Berg, Gunnar Vingren, and Louis Francescon. All three arrived in Brazil as immigrants via the United States. While Berg and Vingren, who founded the AD, were originally from Sweden, Francescon, founder of the *Congregação Cristã*, was born in Italy. From here, the beginnings of both denominations differ greatly. While Francescon sought to establish a work among the urban Italian immigrant population of São Paulo, Berg and Vingren proceeded to the more traditional, tropical, city of Belém, where they established their work among *Brazilian* urban dwellers. Apart from the fact that the Congregation followed (and still follows) an essentially Plymouth Brethren polity, and the AD a more congregational, shading into an Episcopal, one; the AD never had to make the transition from largely ministering to an ethnic community and ministry to the Brazilian masses. For better or worse, Berg and Vingren went straight for the masses. Their story is both fascinating and typical of Pentecostal missionaries of the time.

Daniel Berg was born April 19, 1884 in the “city” of Vargon, Sweden. His parents, Gustav Verner Horberg and Fredrika Horberg, raised him in the Baptist church. He was converted and baptized by immersion in 1899, at the age of fifteen (Almeida: 15). He left home for the United States on March 5, 1902, due to a depression that made it seem likely he would lose his factory job.

Upon disembarking in Boston, Berg proceeded to Providence, Rhode Island, where he got a job on a farm. Since the work was too heavy to suit him (He frequently found himself pulling wagons with the horses), he moved on to Glassboro, Pennsylvania, where he worked in a foundry.

After eight years in the U.S. (1910), Daniel returned to Sweden to visit his family and show off his affluence. While there, he went to visit an old friend, who was pastoring a church in a nearby town. This friend spoke to Berg of the “Baptism in the Holy Spirit,” which he sought from that moment on (:25). It is worth noting that Berg learned of this experience while in Sweden, among his Baptist friends there, although he would later receive it en route to the United States.

When he returned to the U.S., Berg got a job in a vegetable stand in Chicago. While there, he met Gunnar Vingren at a conference in the First Swedish Baptist Church of that city⁶¹. Vingren, at this time, sought missionary service in “Zion,” or Palestine. Again, it is worth noting that, although these events take place in the United States, they take place within the Swedish immigrant community there. Gunnar and Berg are not the typical southern whites who would make up the founding membership of the American Assemblies of God five years hence. They are Swedish immigrants to the United States, who would soon choose to emigrate to Brazil.

Gunnar Vingren was clearly the older and more well educated of the two. Born in Ostra Husby, Ostergötland, Sweden on August 8, 1879, Vingren felt the call of God at nine years of age. However, at eleven, he fell away from the Lord until he reached the age of

⁶¹ The chronology here is a little vague. Berg’s own testimony places their meeting after he returned to the U.S. from Sweden. Since he first went the U.S. from Sweden in 1902, this would place their meeting in 1910. However, both Vingren and Almeida (following Vingren?) place their meeting in 1909 (Almeida: 16; Vingren: 22).

seventeen. During the New Year's Eve service, 1896, Vingren gave his life to the Lord (Vingren: 18).

In June of 1903, more or less, Gunnar left Sweden for the United States. Upon his arrival in Boston, he continued on his way to his uncle's house in Kansas City. Soon (1904) he moved to St. Louis then on, in that same year, to Chicago to study at the Swedish Baptist Theological Seminary, where he graduated in 1909 (:22).

Apparently he met a girl in this time, for he tells us that both he and his fiancé went to the General Convention of the American Baptists in that same year, seeking appointment as missionaries to Assam, India. He had evidently not forgotten his call to missionary service. Nonetheless, he did not feel God leading him to become a missionary of the Northern Baptist Convention, so he resigned his appointment, which also resulted in his fiancé's breaking of their engagement. After making this decision, he again felt the power and peace of God (:23).

In the summer of 1909, Vingren went to a conference at the First Swedish Baptist Church of Chicago, where he sought the baptism of the Spirit, which baptism he received after waiting there for five days. There he also met Daniel Berg, while seeking the baptism of the Holy Spirit.

Upon his return to his church in Menominee, Michigan, Vingren began to teach the baptism of the Spirit there. When he was fired for his teaching, he went on South Bend, Indiana, where twenty people received this baptism and turned the church into a Pentecostal one.

Both Berg and Vingren tell of the prophecy they received through Adolph Ulldin, that they would go to *Pará*, where the people to whom they would witness would be of a "very simple social level."

Vingren adds that the prophecy told him he would marry a person named “Strandberg.” He later married Frieda Strandberg (:25).

From this point on to their arrival in Brazil, Vingren and Berg tell the same story. Vingren had ninety dollars he expected to use for their tickets to Brazil. Yet, one night, while he was praying, he felt the Lord telling him to give their passage money to a Pentecostal paper, which he did. Then, when they were invited by B.M. Johnson to speak at a church in Chicago, they went. There they received ninety dollars in love offerings from the congregation.

So they went on to New York. Having received another prophecy through Adolph Ulldin that their ship would leave on November 5, they looked for a ship that would leave that day. After some difficulty, they found a ship that had been in dry dock that was scheduled to leave for Pará on November 5, so they took it.

Once the pair arrived in Brazil, they sought other Protestants in Belém. Once they found a Methodist minister, he directed them to the pastor of the Baptist church, Erik Nillson, a Swedish missionary sent from the United States. This pastor rented them a hot, stuffy, room for half what they had been paying in the hotel. Vingren’s account suggests Nillson was no true Christian, as he had once sought the baptism of the Spirit, but then rejected it when it frightened his wife (:35).

Vingren goes on to tell of Celina de Albuquerque’s baptism in the Spirit after she was healed of “an incurable disease on her lips” (:36) – after being invited by the Baptist deacons to lead a prayer meeting. Then, according to Berg, the pastor came in. I quote Berg’s account at some length, as it reveals the categories of thought both Berg and Vingren were using:

One evening the local preacher appeared in our modest dwelling. When he opened the door, a wave of song and prayers struck him. We got up and invited him to take part in our improvised service. He refused and declared that it was now time to make a decision. He said that a short time before he had discovered that people had dared to engage in a discussion of doctrine, something that had never happened before. He accused us of sowing doubt and unrest and of being separatists.

Gunnar Vingren got up and declared that we did not desire any division. On the contrary, we wanted unity among everyone. "If only everyone had the experience of the baptism of the Spirit, we would never be divided. On the contrary, we would then be more than brothers, like a family."

The pastor spoke again. The discussion was open. He said that the Bible did indeed speak about the baptism of the Spirit and also said that Jesus healed the sick. But that was in those days. He said that it would be absurd if educated people of our time believed that such things could happen today. We had to be realistic — he continued — and not waste time with dreams and false prophecies. Nowadays we had knowledge to know what to do with it. "If you do not mend your ways and recognize your error, it is my duty to inform all the Baptist congregations and to warn them about your false doctrine."

Vingren listened to these words very quietly and then replied: "Dear brother, we should not allow themes as important as those we have discussed to be lost in a personal dispute. We are both servants of God and so we both want to stand in the truth, for he to whom we pray is the truth. In my view we are colleagues and not competitors. Who brings souls to God is a matter of secondary importance. What is important is the fact that more and more souls are saved. I would not want to say that the brother does not stand in the truth but that he has not found the whole truth — the truth of the baptism of the Spirit and the healing of the sick by Jesus, as we can experience them today."

When Vingren had finished, the preacher looked round at all those present in the hope that someone would support him. But no one did so. Then he looked pointedly at a deacon and waited for his judgment on the question. This deacon, one of the oldest pillars in the church, stood up after he had

been looked at in this way and remarked in the name of all those present: "I can understand your feelings very well, pastor. You say that you have come into a group of traitors who have departed from your teaching. You think that we are not following the way you have shown us. But that is not true. We have never been so certain of our cause as we are now. We have never had as much faith as we have now. We have found even more: faith and power of the Holy Spirit.

We do not hold it against you that you did not say these things to us, for you did not know them yourself and so you could not teach them. But we very much want you also to receive these blessings from God. Then we shall understand each other better and feel the same unity with the brothers who have come to us from abroad.

All the members of this church, pastor, are now on 'higher ground' and nearer to heaven. You yourself said that you wanted to be a realist. Very good, I will give you some instances of realities of the healing power of Jesus in our days: this sister, who has belonged to our congregation for years. You may have noticed that she used to have to walk on crutches. Now she no longer needs them. The crutches hang on the wall of her house, visible to everyone, so that all can see the wonderful way in which Jesus has healed her. And Jesus has healed not only her, but also a tumor on the throat of one of the brothers."

"Dear pastor," the deacon continued, "we cannot and will not accuse you. You have worked to win souls for Jesus. You have asked Jesus for strength to stand fast in sickness. But you have not prayed for healing from sickness, because you did not believe in that. Now you have seen with your own eyes the two examples which I have mentioned."

Hoping for an expression in his support, the preacher let his eyes sweep round the room. In vain. He turned to brother Vingren and myself and said, "I have come to a decision. From now on you may not meet here any longer. Look for another place. After what has happened here we no longer want you."

Then he turned to the small group of people and asked, "How many of you are in agreement with the false teaching?" Eighteen people resolutely raised their hands. They knew that that meant their expulsion from the church.

We thanked the preacher for our life together and hoped that he would soon receive the blessing of the same baptism of the Spirit. He did not reply, but turned his back on us and walked out. (Daniel Berg. 1982: 45 – 47)

Although Vingren's account has the expulsion occurring during an extraordinary congregational meeting, called by the evangelist, not the church's pastor, he agrees with Berg in the other details, and adds one. "*This occurred on June 13, 1911,*" after the pair had spent merely six months in Brazil (:37, emphasis in the original). Emílio Conde, a later AD historian, states that "the church was without a pastor," and further identifies this "preacher" as Raimundo Nobre, who "was studying to be an evangelist" (:25). Vingren further adds that this preacher fell under the "judgment of the devil" (:37)⁶².

Antonio Mesquita tells a slightly different story – from the Baptist point of view:

In April 1911, two Swedish missionaries, Gunnar Vingren and Daniel Berg, landed in Belém. They called themselves Baptists . . . They immediately

⁶² Both Vingren and Berg's autobiographical accounts have strong hagiographical overtones. Thus, one does not expect them to be precise in every detail. However, they are instructive inasmuch as they reveal the themes which the authors deemed important to transmit to their readers. Fletcher's comments are helpful in this regard: "One way of keeping the memory of the saint fresh was by the composition of a memoir, the saint's life (*vita*), which could be read aloud for edificatory purposes in the religious community to which the holy man or woman had belonged in life, and where his relics were treasured after death. *Edification is the key word in this context.* Although hagiography came – as it still comes – in many different costumes its aim was consistently to edify – to hold the saint up as an example of godly living and holy dying, to spur listeners and readers to compunction and devotion. *One means of edification which may cause disquiet to the modern reader was the recording of wonders and miracles worked by the saint . . .*" (:10, emphasis added). Both Berg and Vingren's memoirs and diary, respectively, constitute just such literature. Written either at the end of the hero's life, or posthumously, they record the miraculous beginnings of AD work in Brazil. As such, they are intended to encourage the current generation to follow in the founders' footsteps. Their utility as historical documents stems primarily from *what* they are being used to teach succeeding generations, viz., the *themes* they emphasize, where current generations are encouraged to follow the founders' example.

went to Nelson, their fellow-countryman, to find shelter with him. They were offered the cellar of the church; they put up there and learnt the language in order to be able to “help” Nelson in the work of evangelization. The good missionary [Nelson] then made one of his numerous journeys into the state of Piauí and left these two behind in the church, in the sweet hope that even though they could not speak [Portuguese], they would be able to continue the work. After a short while, however, these (so-called) Baptists began to quiver and shriek in a meeting. Soon Brazilians imitated them.

What had happened? What kind of a new religion was this, people asked.

They replied that it was the baptism of the Spirit. The speaking with tongues and the cackling made the services frightful. Nelson was away, and the work of the congregation was under the supervision of a young man without any experience The whole church was infected, because so many people were already talking in this so-called speaking with tongues, with the exception of the deacons, whom this development did not escape. The evangelist called a meeting of the congregation with the help of the organist, declared the Pentecostals, who were already in the majority, to be outside the order and with the help (of the minority who had remained Baptists) excommunicated those who had falsified sound doctrine. The latter attempted to assert their rights as the majority, but they were excluded. In this way the congregation was decimated . . . That was the beginning of the Pentecostal movement in Brazil. (A.N. Mesquita. *História* II, pp. 136ff. in Hollenweger, 1972: 77 – 78)

Several themes are apparent in these accounts. First, both Berg and Vingren saw themselves as Baptists with just a little something extra. Upon their arrival in Belém, they first sought out any other Protestants. When they found a Methodist, he led them to the local Baptist work, where they fellowshipped for a number of months.⁶³

⁶³ Again, discrepancies between the accounts make it difficult to determine whether they were with the Baptists for two or six months. In any case, it wasn't long.

While with the Baptists, they were not bashful about teaching the Baptism of the Holy Spirit, just as Vingren had already done while in the United States. Further, they expressed surprise at the leader's rejection of their ministry, as if their teaching should be perfectly acceptable to the Baptist leadership of the time. Although one does wonder a bit, since Vingren had been expelled from one pastorate in the United States, and split another Baptist church there to start a Pentecostal church, precisely because of this teaching.

Second, both Vingren and Berg evince a strong sense of God's leading and empowerment. At least in retrospect, neither expresses much doubt about God's direction, His provision, or His enabling. They began their ministry on a shoestring, arriving in Belém with just enough money for the first night's lodging. Early in their ministry, Berg went to work in a foundry to pay their rent, buy the groceries, and pay for one language tutor for Vingren, who would then teach him at night.

Once he started work as a colporteur, Berg tells of repeated occasions where he went days between meals. Even then, many were of fruit he picked by the side of the road during his itinerant ministry.

Third, both healings and ecstasy associated with tongues speaking are seen as confirmation of the truth of their preaching. Although Vingren treats the Baptist leader with respect in their confrontation, he is definitely seen as one whose spiritual experience is deficient, precisely because he hadn't been "baptized by the Spirit."

In fact, Vingren later excoriates the leader, saying he had fallen into the devil's judgment, precisely because he did not seek Spirit baptism. Berg is only slightly more charitable, indicating that the Baptist pastor lost both congregation and status in the community, to the point where he relied upon the Assemblies' folk, expelled from his

own congregation, for his financial support – because he rejected their doctrine (:52).

This brings us to a final theme in Berg's account of the split. I would sum it up like this: God foreordained the AD. Hence it was unstoppable. Anyone who tried to get in the pioneers way, and there were many, was severely punished by God for their temerity in standing against God. Thus opposition to AD progress was equated with opposition to God Himself. The converse was also true. If one wished to ally oneself with God, then all one had to do was ally oneself with the AD. This sense of "manifest destiny" pervades both AD and other Pentecostal work to this day.

One further theme may be noted, based in part on the Baptist account. The AD began much of its early work where other missions had already gone. In some cases, as in this one, churches were split in order to begin the work. In others, it would appear that the AD followed, whether consciously or unconsciously, the groundbreaking work of other missions to begin its own work. In other words, time and again, after some other Protestant group had entered an area and begun to make the populace aware of Protestant Christianity, the AD would then and begin its own work:

When the Assemblies of God descended from the Northeast to the North towards Rio de Janeiro, after going through the Northeast, they found a route already opened by proselytist Protestantism, over an eighty year period, and to demarcate the area where Pentecostals would later be planted. When the Assembly of God descended from the North to Rio de Janeiro, after crisscrossing the Northeast, it found a way already opened by proselytist Protestantism: the Bible was read and preached, worship services were conducted in small halls and cramped temples, Sunday Schools received initiates.

What happened in Brazil was, in this sense, entirely different from the Argentine case. As Lalive

D'Epinay reminds us, in Argentina Pentecostalism sprung up in areas worked by ethno-cultural evangelicalism. Thus its penetration was quite slow, dragging along with difficulties. The strategy used was not immediately that of proselytism. It was demonstrating that, in addition to conversion to the Gospel, another step needed to be taken, that or seeking sanctification given directly by God (Rolim, 1985: 24 – 25).

Rolim contrasts the Argentine and Brazilian cases. Whereas in Argentina, Pentecostalism rooted itself in Protestant ethno-cultural enclaves, which this study calls “immigrant Protestantism,” Brazilian Pentecostalism (specifically the AD in Rolim’s quote) followed the tracks of Protestantism of the proselytizing variety, which this study calls “missionary Protestantism.” In short, because missionary Protestantism had paved the way, both in terms of helping the Brazilian public grow accustomed to the presence of Protestant proselytizers and in demonstrating the conversion model of social penetration, the AD was able to reap the harvest of earlier missionary efforts.

Overall AD Growth in Brazil

Hollenweger continues his account of early Pentecostal growth in Brazil:

From Belém, the Pentecostals did missionary work in the Amazon region; in the twenties they pressed south into the industrial and coffee growing areas and founded large communities in the cities of Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo, Port Alegre, etc. In 1930, a number of preachers from the Igreja de Cristo (Mata Grande, Alagoas), an American evangelical church, joined forces with the Assembléias de Deus. From that year they moved also into the interior. At a very early stage (from 1913) missionaries were sent to Portugal, and later also to Madagascar and France.

Both Hollenweger and Rolim trace the AD's progress in much the same way. From Belém, at the mouth of the Amazon, AD work spread throughout the Brazilian north and northeast. Once established in the north, the AD worked its way down the coast to the capital, Rio de Janeiro.

The first Brazilians ordained to pastoral ministry, Absalão Pinto and Isidoro Filho, were so ordained by Gunnar Vingren in 1913, just two years after the work was begun (Conde: 32). All told, five were separated in that year.

In that same year, the first AD missionaries were sent overseas – to Portugal. Thus the Plácido da Costa family left Belém on the Hildebrand (:36).

In November of 1917, Gunnar Vingren married Frieda Strandberg⁶⁴. That same year Samuel Nystrom⁶⁵ and Daniel Berg founded six churches in the state of Pará, baptizing 90 people.

On March 21, 1921, twelve new missionaries arrived from Sweden and the United States via the U.S., Conde tells us (:50). Their names were Victor Johnson and his wife, Ana Carlson, Beda Palma, Gay de Vris, Augusta Andersson, Esther Andersson, Elizabeth Johnson, and Ingrid Andersson. Again, the reinforcements' surnames suggest they came from either the Swedish community in the United States, or from Sweden itself.

Conde also hastens to assure us that, although these reinforcements were welcome, they were insufficient to deal satisfy the demand for further workers. Thus, more Brazilians were raised to

⁶⁴ No mention is made of how Frieda Strandberg came to Brazil. It may be assumed that both Vingren and Berg maintained correspondence with friends and relatives, both within the Swedish community in the U.S. and in Sweden.

⁶⁵ Nystrom is simply mentioned as Berg's traveling companion. No mention is made of his arrival, or of how he came Brazil.

leadership positions, including Bruno Skolimowski⁶⁶, who would later serve the AD with distinction (:50). From Conde's description, it would appear that these missionaries were as just more laborers for the harvest, *not* in any way superior to the Brazilians. If anything, the Brazilian leadership was seen as superior. *These missionaries were colleagues and reinforcements for the sake of the common ministry.*

In 1924, following the first Bible school for Brazilian pastors, the Belém church had as its pastors, Gunnar Vingren and Samuel Nystrom. The press was run by the missionary Nels J. Nelson (:53). It was during this year that several leaders moved to Rio de Janeiro, followed by Gunnar Vingren himself. He was later followed by both Samuel Nystrom and Nels Nelson in 1930.

Nelson appears to have rotated between Rio and the pastorate of the Belém church until 1947, when he settled permanently in Rio de Janeiro. At that time, Armando Chaves Cohen, a Brazilian, took over the Belém church. "Missionary Hultgren, who visited the churches and cooperated with them" attended his installation (Conde: 58). Again, missionaries are seen as collaborators. With the exceptions of Vingren, Nystrom, and Nelson, the missionaries who served the AD in Brazil served in auxiliary capacities, assisting with specialized ministries rather than controlling the denomination's apparatus.

Both Conde and Almeida follow a geographical rather than a chronological order in telling the story of AD expansion. From Belém, the ministry spread to the Amazon, then south to João Pessoa, Recife, and the Brazilian northeast. In fact, the AD followed the coast south towards what was then the capital, Rio de Janeiro.

⁶⁶ Despite his surname, Bruno Skolimowski was seen as Brazilian by the AD leadership, inasmuch as he came from immigrant stock.

The Rio church was started as the result of the migration of several brethren to that city. There they worshiped with other Pentecostal believers in the Church of God. In fact, the Church of God believers eventually chose to join the AD.

Other brethren continued to arrive, some received the baptism of the Spirit and various spiritual gifts, and a congregation was established. Once established this small, but thriving, group organized itself as a church and called a pastor (Conde: 219 – 222, *passim*).

Thus the Rio church is begun by the process Rolim calls *nucleation*. Rather than establishing a formal, hierarchical, plan for church growth and expansion, the AD spreads by cell division, as it were. Small groups of so called “lay people” move into a new city or area through the normal migratory processes, gather together for mutual encouragement and worship, see others converted to Pentecostal faith, and *then* call a pastor to lend formal leadership to this already functioning church:

Nucleation, or rather, the germination of small groups, composed of a reduced number of people, was the process that, from the beginning, the Assemblies used for its rapid expansion. It was this germ that made the temples multiply when this Pentecostal branch crossed the northeast and other regions. Its dynamism was in the initiative of each believer, not in any programming or planning laid out before hand. It remains in the flavor of the circumstances and of the care of each member. It does not come from the top down. It springs from the root. It is informal. Around some believer or pastor, it makes no difference, it is found in the beginning in the meeting of non-believers, curious or desiring to know the Bible. Many believers' homes were the womb of nucleation. In this simple dwelling the reading of the Bible attracted the neighbors. And the interest thus woken carried both to new encounter. Songs, the reading of texts, preaching woke the feelings, creating a consensus. Agglutinating. The simple people, who at that time

had no opportunity to hear in their oral culture the biblical stories, had in front of their eyes a new fact: simple people reading or telling them episodes from the Bible. The novelty spread quickly. Thus, the Bible formed the basis for nucleation. From it was born the solidarity to sediment the first relationships, to open in their consciences mutual assistance, that would be called a tithe or an offering. Instead of being a practice imposed by the church organization, it was born as the group was formed. Thus, it became a natural thing. In the poor, who generally ask for help from others, was slowly born the consciousness that they could bring resources to the group they themselves formed. Since, for them the group was anchored in the power of God, giving of what they had, even if only a little, would not be missed, because the work appeared to them to be of God (1985:46 – 47)

Rather than resulting from the implementation of a formal plan, AD growth stemmed from the humble initiatives of simple believers. As they met with their neighbors, these neighbors came face to face with the novelty of simple people, like themselves, telling the Bible stories and leading in worship. From this encounter sprang other novelties. This small group, unable to call on outside resources for assistance, was forced to rely on its own devices. Thus, people who might otherwise have sought the help of a powerful patron, simply gave of what little they had *to help each other* because of the relationships thus formed within their small group. Thus did poor Brazilian Pentecostals experience the Reformation doctrine of the priesthood of believers.

The Rio church grew more than any other in Brazil. It soon became the leading AD church in the country, both due to its growth and its privileged location in the country's capital.

One further item of interest occurred in Rio de Janeiro. Up until this time, the AD had developed successive “ministries” in each

city, planting essentially one church in each urban area, with daughter churches answering to the mother church. Paulo Leivas Macalão, who began the Madureira ministry, would break this pattern.

As a poor, young, student Paulo Macalão went to one of the more distant neighborhoods of Rio de Janeiro to begin a congregation. On November 15, 1929 he instead began a ministry. As the “ministry” grew, so did its outreach. First, the “Madureira ministry” went to other neighborhoods of the Federal District, then the State of Rio de Janeiro. Then churches were begun in the neighboring states of Minas Gerais and São Paulo. Finally, in 1941, it became a separate legal entity from the “Mission ministry” (Conde: 242).

The missionary, Nels Nelson, was the last missionary to pastor the Rio church of the “Mission ministry,” still the leading AD church, from 1947 to 1958. Conde’s only reference to any difficulties was that while Nelson remained pastor of the Rio church until 1958, this was a “difficult position in a growing church” (:238).

Thus was a pattern established for handling charismatic leaders. They would begin their own churches, some of which could become separate ministries, albeit still fraternally associated with the General Convention of the Assemblies of God in Brazil. Rather than resulting in a complete break, in this case, between those churches identified with the missionaries and those who wished their independence from missionary influence, fraternal ties were reinforced, while organizational ones were cut. The ministry system was born, allowing strong leaders to establish their own separate “denominations,” all within the framework of the AD in Brazil.

In the next section, I will report on how the AD entered São Paulo and grew there. I will complete this section by describing

overall AD growth in Brazil through the present. Please keep in mind that all statistics but the IBGE's (Brazilian Census Bureau) are based on the AD's own self-reporting, with the attendant difficulties this entails.

Hollenweger describes AD growth through the time of his writing (1972) as follows:

Many of their churches have several thousand members, the largest in Recife comprising about 7,000. In Rio they have 6,500 communicants, hold 180 services a week, run 15 Sunday Schools, 3 grammar schools, a Bible class and a trade school. In São Paulo they baptized 10,000 converts in a year.

Workers have gone where the people are. Churches have been established first in the metropolitan areas; then branches have been established later in the interior. As a result about 80% of the Assembléias de Deus membership is concentrated in strategic centers where 93% of Brazil's population lives.

Today the Assembléias de Deus are by far the largest evangelical church in Brazil. Along with the Catholics they are the only ones to be represented in all the states of Brazil. As William R. Read rightly remarks, 'Singer sewing machines, Coca-Cola, Lucky Strike, and the Assemblies are there. ***And they have done all this through their own resources, unlike the other evangelical churches, which are generously supported with money and personnel from USA*** (Hollenweger, 1972: 76 – 78, emphasis added).

As of 1967, the reference point for Hollenweger's 1972 book, the AD was present in every state of Brazil. Eighty percent of its membership was concentrated where 93% of the Brazilian population could be found. The São Paulo church, with only 30,000 members in 1969 (Read, Monterroso, and Johnson: 68), reported over 10,000

baptisms per year (Hollenweger)⁶⁷. They were the only non-Catholic church to be found in every Brazilian state – because of their emphasis on being with the people, functioning as a people movement.

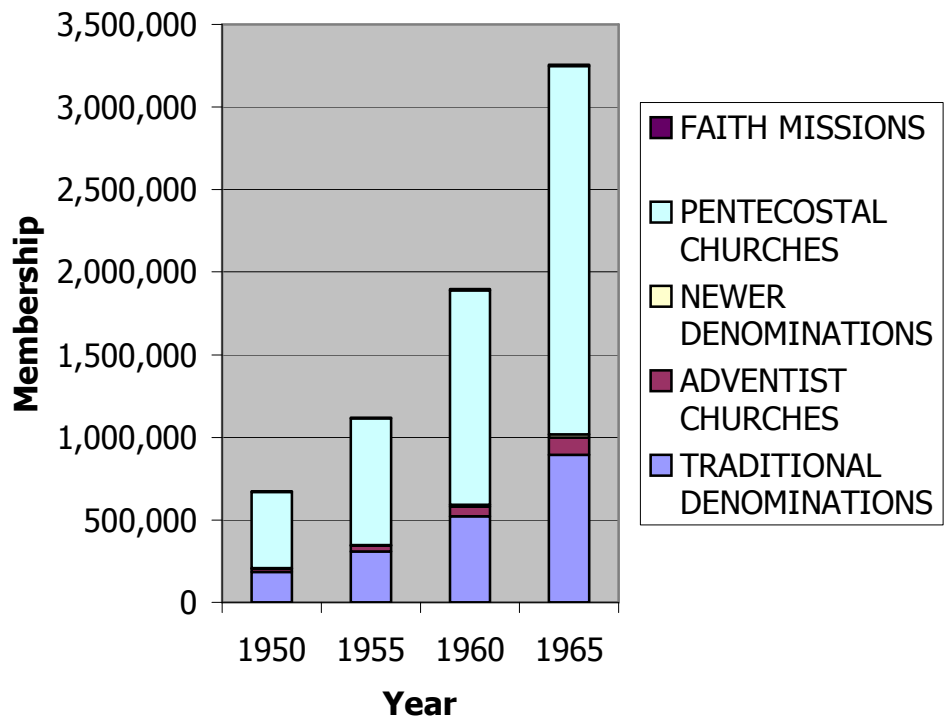
Further, these remarkable results were achieved with a minimum of outside resources. In stark contrast to the more traditional Protestants, especially the Brazilian Baptists, the AD received very little in the way of outside help. Except for some specialized ministries, missionary participation was kept to a minimum. Read, Monterroso, and Johnson later indicate that there was approximately one missionary for every 27,000 communicant members at the time of their study (:69).

In fact, they make a number of interesting observations regarding overall AD growth at the time of their study. First, Pentecostals then accounted for 68.5% of all Brazilian Protestants. And the AD accounted for 62.65% of all Pentecostals. Of the three and one quarter million self-reported Protestants in 1965, one million four hundred thousand belonged to the Assemblies of God. In short, nearly half (roughly 43%) of all Protestants in Brazil belonged to the AD at this time.

BRAZIL: TYPES OF CHURCHES					
DISTRIBUTION OF GROWTH: COMMUNICANT MEMBERS, 1950-1965					
	1950	1955	1960	1965	1965 %
TRADITIONAL DENOMINATIONS	185,131	307,883	521,380	895,813	27.50%
ADVENTIST CHURCHES	21,206	35,267	59,722	102,611	3.15%
NEWER DENOMINATIONS	4,039	6,717	11,376	19,545	0.60%
PENTECOSTAL CHURCHES	461,145	766,910	1,298,710	2,231,388	68.50%
FAITH MISSIONS	1,683	2,799	4,740	8,144	0.25%
TOTAL	673,204	1,119,576	1,895,927	3,257,501	

⁶⁷ It appears that both Hollenweger and Read, Monterroso, and Johnson use the same statistical basis for their studies. If so, ten thousand baptisms on a total membership base of 30,000 beggars the imagination – doubly so since the Belém ministry's median for 1980-1991 is only 3695.

**BRAZIL: TYPES OF CHURCHES -
DISTRIBUTION OF GROWTH:
COMMUNICANT MEMBERS, 1950-
1965**



AD growth, according to these same statistics, is nothing short of amazing. The Pentecostal churches, of which the AD makes up the majority, nearly quintuple in the fifteen years between 1950 and 1965.

As for the AD, according to Hollenweger, its growth in members from 1930 to 1967 is nothing short of miraculous.

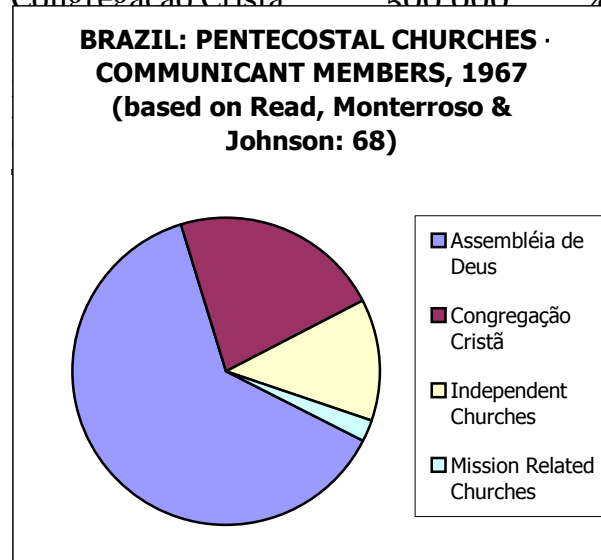
Beginning with a total membership of 13,511 in

1930, the AD reaches 400,000 members by 1940! By 1950, membership is at 680,000. Reaching 960,000 by 1960, the AD has 1,400,000 members by 1967 at the end of the study.

In other words, the AD grew thirty times in the 1930s, slowing to a more “sedate” 70% growth rate in the 40s. Between 1950 and 1960, the AD grew 41%; and between 1960 and 1967, they grew nearly 46%. It should further be noted that the 1991 census has 2,439,763 AD members in all of Brazil, giving the AD a 77% growth rate in the twenty-four years between 1967 and 1991.

**BRAZIL: PENTECOSTAL CHURCHES -
COMMUNICANT MEMBERS, 1967**
Based on Read, Monterroso, & Johnson:
68

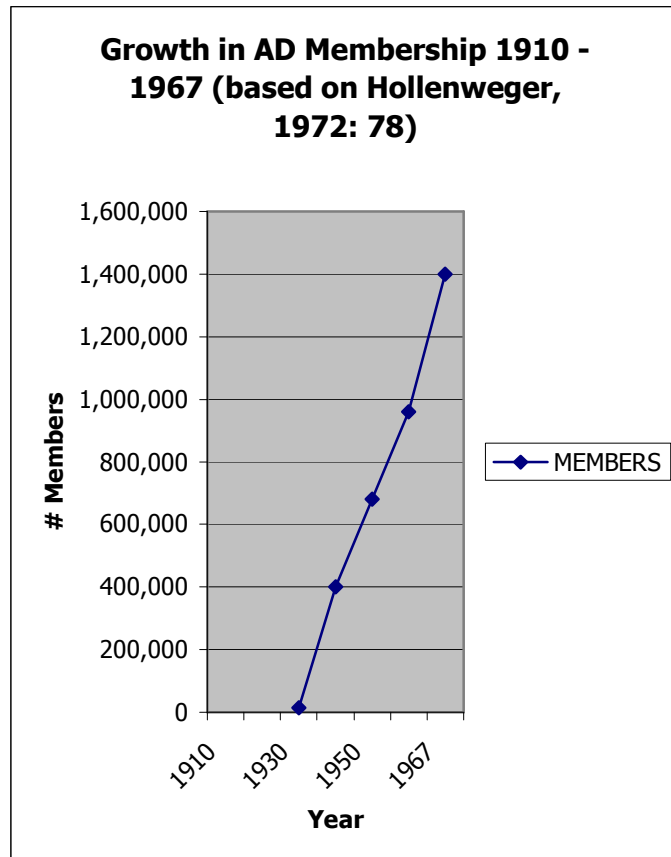
CHURCH	MEMBERS	
	HIP	%
Assembléia de Deus	1,400,000	62.65 %
Congregação Cristã	500,000	22.37 %



Growth in the number of AD congregations was somewhat less spectacular. Where the AD membership grew over 100 times between 1930 and 1967, its number of congregations grew some fifty times. This is still very good growth, likely indicating that the average congregation more than doubled in size during the period.

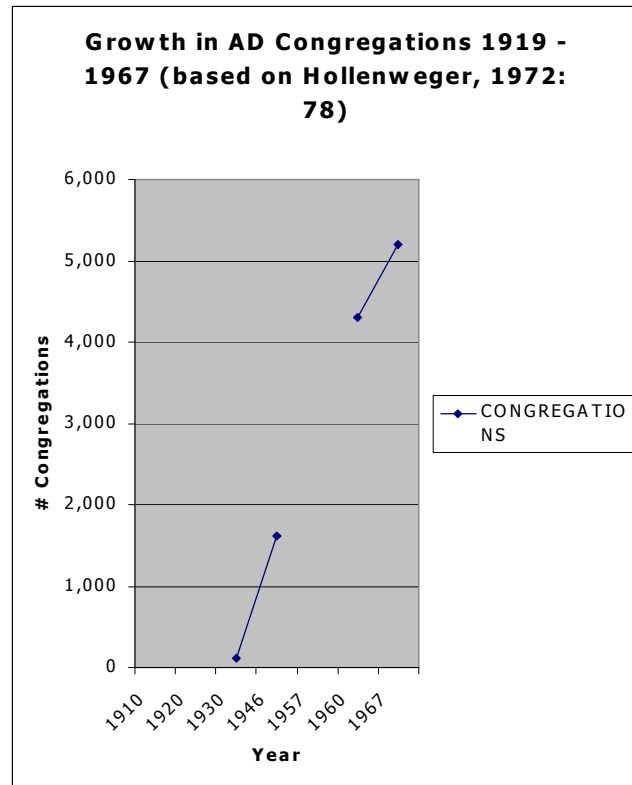
**GROWTH OF THE
ASSEMBLÉIAS DE
DEUS 1910 - 1967**

YEAR	MEMBERS
1910	
1920	
1930	13,511
1940	400,000
1950	680,000
1960	960,000
1967	1,400,000



GROWTH OF THE
ASSEMBLÉIAS DE
DEUS 1910 - 1967
 YEAR CONGREGATIONS

1910	
1920	
1930	109
1946	1,609
1957	
1960	4,300
1967	5,200



What about AD growth since 1967? Where is the AD today? The CGADB, or General Convention, held two conferences in the early nineties to discuss the issue of its own growth. The first was held in Criciúma, Santa Catarina in 1992 and the second, in Salvador, Bahia, in January of 1995. Both conferences' figures should give us a good picture of where the AD understands itself to be today. The figures from the first conference should provide a clear understanding of where the AD understood itself to be in 1991, the end of the period under study.

In 1991, the CGADB statistician, Valdir Bicego, understood the AD churches affiliated with the CGADB to have ten million members and an annual growth rate of 5% since the 1960s. Up until the 60s, he believed that the AD churches had an annual growth rate of 23%. Initially, he proposed that the AD churches strive towards a 17.47% annual growth rate. Since they did not achieve this rate of growth in the first two years of the decadal plan, he increased the hoped for rate of growth to the historic 23%, as the following figures will demonstrate⁶⁸.

DECADE OF HARVEST -

Graph I

January 1990 Goal versus Average real growth

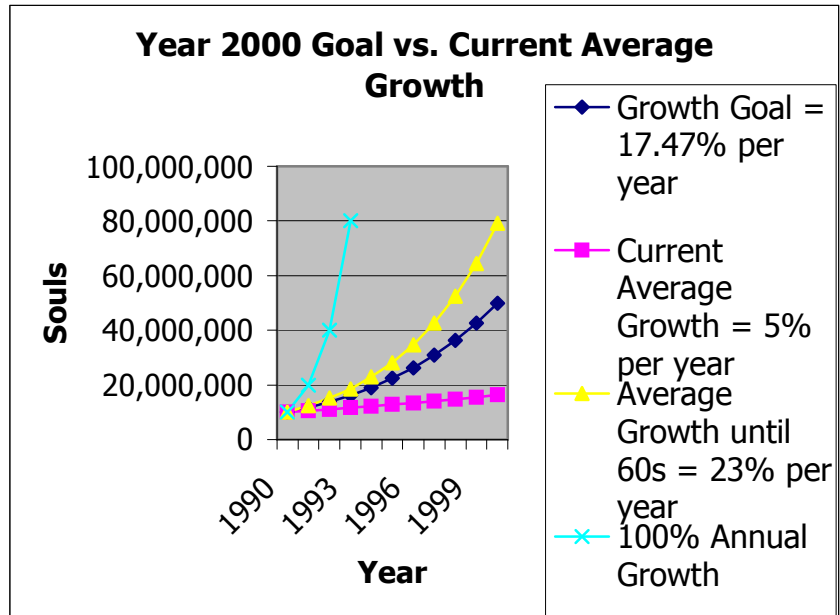
compiled by Valdir N. Bicego, November, 1992

January, 1990 Growth Goal until 2000 versus Average Real Growth

	Growth Goal = 17.47% per year	Current Average Growth = 5% per year	Average Growth until 60s = 23% per year	100% Annual Growth
			10,000,00	
1990	10,000,000	10,000,000	0	10,000,000
			12,300,00	
1991	11,700,000	10,500,000	0	20,000,000
			15,129,00	
1992	13,800,000	11,100,000	0	40,000,000
			18,608,67	
1993	16,200,000	11,600,000	0	80,000,000
			22,888,66	
1994	19,000,000	12,200,000	4	
1995	22,400,000	12,800,000	28,153,057	
			34,628,26	
1996	26,300,000	13,400,000	0	

⁶⁸ These tables and charts recreate the charts in the Criciúma manual, and place the data in those charts into table format. Again, the goal here is the AD *self-understanding*.

			42,592,76
1997	30,900,000	14,100,000	0
			52,389,09
1998	36,300,000	14,700,000	4
			64,438,58
1999	42,600,000	15,500,000	6
2000	50,000,000	16,300,000	79,259,461



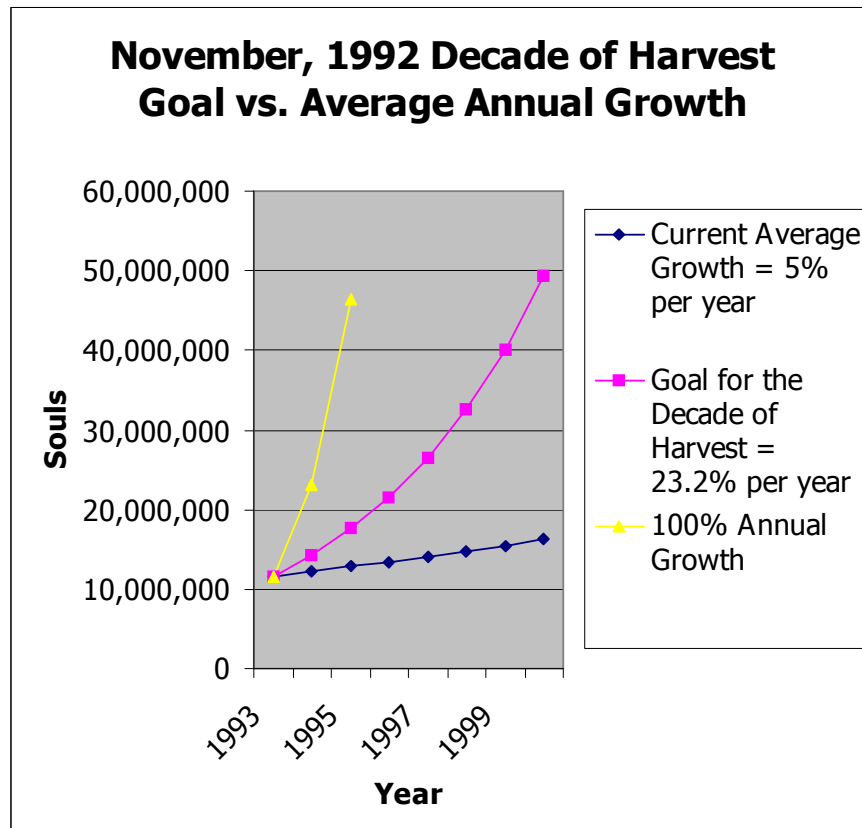
DECADE OF HARVEST - Graph II

November, 1992 Goal versus Average real growth

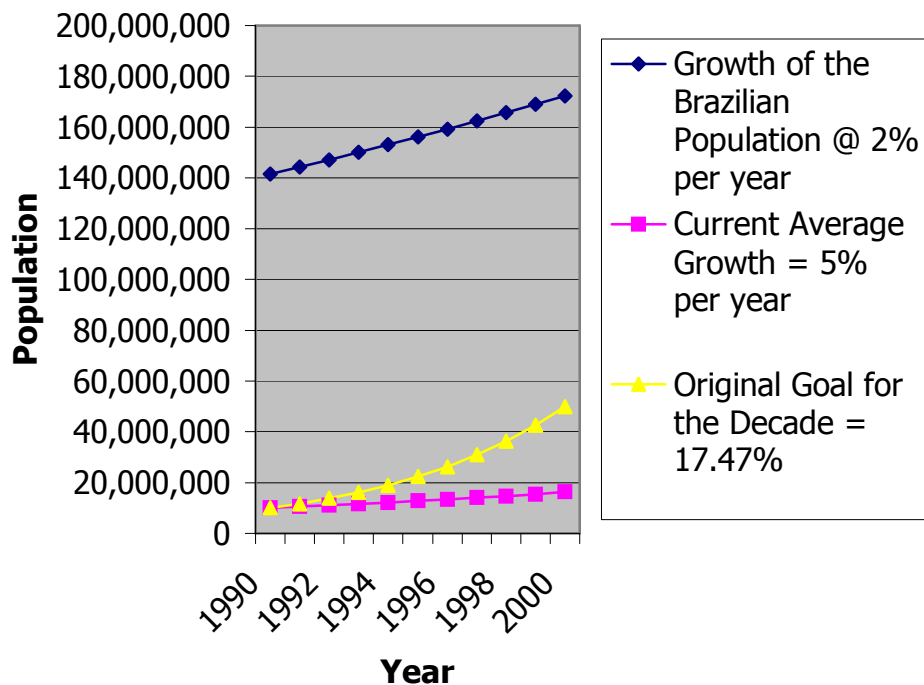
compiled by Valdir N. Bicego, November, 1992

November, 1992 Growth Goal until 2000 versus Current Growth Average

	Current Average Growth = 5% per year	Goal for the Decade of Harvest = 23.2% per year	100% Annual Growth
1993	11,600,000	11,600,000	11,600,000
1994	12,200,000	14,268,000	23,200,000
1995	12,800,000	17,549,640	46,400,000
1996	13,400,000	21,586,057	
1997	14,100,000	26,550,850	
1998	14,700,000	32,657,546	
1999	15,500,000	40,168,782	
2000	16,300,000	49,407,601	



Real and Proposed AD Growth vs. Growth of Brazilian Population: 1990-2000



Brief mention must be made of the difficulty involved in gathering statistics. First, Pastor Valdir died in a hold-up shortly before I began researching the AD. Second, his papers were apparently disposed of either by his family or by the CGADB hierarchy. In any case, they were not made available, and I was forbidden to contact his family by my informant. In fact, I was unable to get their unlisted phone number.

Third, as was mentioned in the first chapter, the CGADB's statistics for its own membership differ greatly from those of the Brazilian Census Bureau. Where Valdir Bicego estimates AD membership in Brazil to be ten million in 1990 and 11.7 million in 1991, the Census Bureau calculates total AD membership in Brazil to be 2.5 million in 1991 – less than a quarter the CGADB's estimate! After discussing the CGADB's understanding of its own size a bit more, I will propose a hypothesis that fits the more conservative estimates available.

It would appear that the CGADB's goal for the decade is to reach a total membership of fifty million people, roughly one-third of the Brazilian population. However, they have a problem. Their historic annual growth rate, since the 1960s, is 5%. If they are to reach their goal, they must triple their growth rate to over 17%. Two years into the program, they saw that they had been unable to increase their growth rate *at all*. So the AD leadership responded by increasing their target annual growth rate to 23%.

The key point here is that the AD leadership itself recognized that AD growth in Brazil had slowed to 5% per year against population growth of 2% per year – still respectable, but hardly the explosive growth the AD experienced in the 30s. In fact, Pastor Geremias Couto in his lecture at Criciúma, credited the following internal factors with the slowing of AD growth over the previous thirty years: First, the institutionalization of the church, where position within a larger structure becomes the object of people's ambitions. Second, the gap is widening between the "clergy" and the "laity."

Third, Couto attributes the AD's slower growth to "ecclesiastic professionalism," where ministry is seen as an alternate profession (i.e. means of making a good living) rather than a vocation or calling.

Instead of giving of themselves for the sake of advancing the ministry, leaders increasingly see ministry as a means of benefiting themselves. These “inverted values” create tensions within the ministry and subvert ministerial priorities, in his view.

Further, departmentalization is increasing, with the result that each department often works independently of the others. Last but not least, Couto refers to greater “theological conflicts,” and calls for “greater doctrinal uniformity.”

The overall picture Couto gives is of a church that is losing sight of the simple truths that enabled it to grow: humble, sacrificial, ministry; the sense that all are ministers, not just the clergy; and signs of the transformation from “sect” to “church” in the Troeltschian sense. In other words, the AD is becoming less dependent on individual charisma and more on organizational structure. As a result, one’s position within the structure has a direct bearing on one’s status and well-being. Thus, better positions are sought, with the result that ministry to people loses relative importance.

Further, the response to the problem is an institutional one: The leadership comes up with a plan to increase the growth rates of the churches. Pastor Valdir’s studies come complete with a general plan for worship services, how many additional baptisms different kinds of ministry need to see, how many new rented and permanent halls need to be acquired, even a plan for retaining new believers. In fact, he estimates a 95% attrition rate of those who make a public confession of faith by the fifth anniversary of that confession! Something must be done; and it is up to the hierarchy to plan the response.

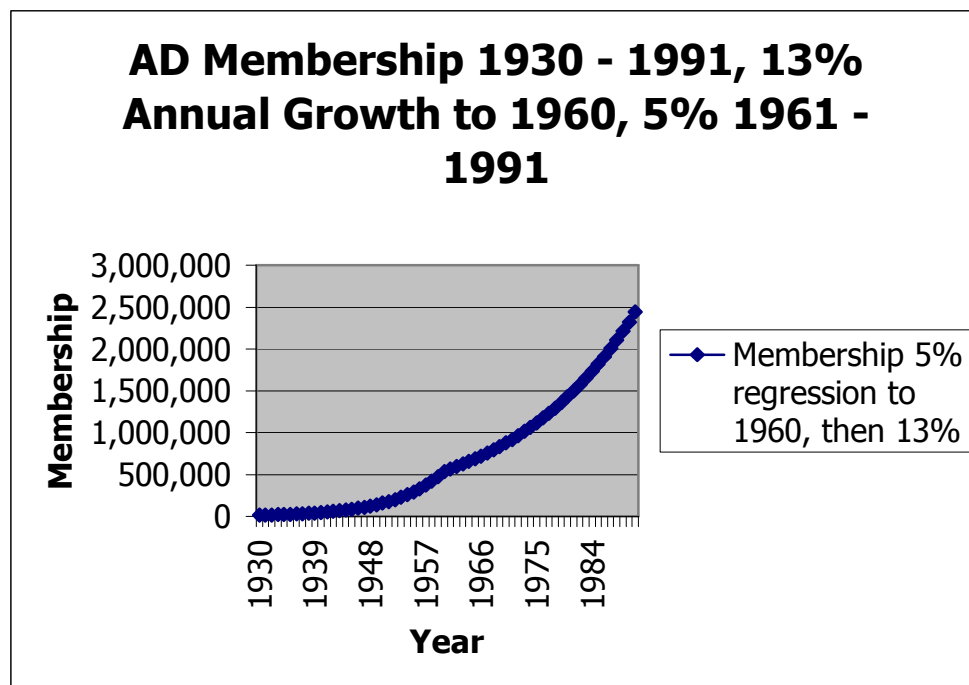
Pastor Valdir’s statistics have some value. It seems likely that his estimate of 5% annual growth is accurate. In fact, our studies

seem to support this conclusion. However, as has been mentioned, his numbers for the overall AD membership appear grossly inflated, inasmuch as they are based on previous CGADB figures, thus giving the AD in Brazil at least four times the membership the Brazilian Census Bureau does.

Since the IBGE's statistics follow those of the "traditional evangelical," i.e., non-Pentecostal denominations quite closely, the Census Bureau's seem preferable. Further, my studies demonstrated that the AD ministry of the CGADB's president, in São Paulo, keeps no records of *membership*. Rather, they record *baptisms* and *ministerial consecrations*. In short, records are kept of those going through the front door, but not out the back – even by death.

In addition, Read, Monterroso and Johnson's estimate of total AD membership in 1930 at 13,511 appears quite conservative. If one attempts to join these conservative estimates, viz. total membership in Brazil in 1930 at 13,511, total membership in 1991 at 2.5 million, and a total AD growth rate from 1960 to 1991 of 5% per year, one arrives at a growth rate *prior* to 1960 of *13% per year*, quite admirable, actually – but not quite the miraculous rates reported by Read, Monterroso, and Johnson ***on the basis of CGADB figures***.

If correct, AD growth since 1930 would look something like the following figure. The Brazilian Assemblies would have grown somewhat slowly from 1911 to 1930, reaching 13,000 members, when they became firmly established in the more fertile south. During this initial period, the pattern of lay oriented, nucleation driven, expansion



would have been established.

From 1930 to 1960, the Brazilian Assemblies would have experienced significant, if not extraordinary growth, at the rate of 13% per year – arriving at a membership of 537,625 in 1960. In addition to a spontaneous worship style, much more in keeping with the Brazilian national character, the miracle of simple people living out the priesthood of believers in its fullest sense will have attracted hundreds of thousands of new adepts.

However, by the 1960s expansion would have slowed. Externally, Kubitschek's modernization program of the 50s, and the military dictatorship, which began in 1964, may have changed the

lower class, urban, Brazilian world in a way that diminished the AD's appeal. Further, as the AD increased in size, its internal characteristics would have changed from a group more closely resembling a *sect* to one more closely resembling a *church*. The increasing organizational complexity, hierarchical emphasis, distance between the "clergy" and the laity, and professionalization of the clergy effectively slow AD growth to 5% per year. This is still quite respectable growth, inasmuch as the Brazilian population is only growing at 2% per year. It's just not the phenomenal growth experienced earlier.

Nonetheless, if the AD is to return to its earlier, stronger, level of growth then it must also return to a more lay-centered approach to church growth, again concentrating on fomenting the process of nucleation, the key to its earlier success. Further, it must do so within the Brazilian, postmodern, context, perhaps emulating, to some extent, its "neo-Pentecostal" competitors.

The Assembléia in São Paulo

Conde reports that the AD entered São Paulo "sixteen years after the Pentecostal message arrived in Brazil," or in 1927. Specifically, Daniel Berg and his wife arrived in São Paulo on November 15, 1927. Single-handedly, they would implant the Pentecostal message there (:263). By 1934, the church was well established and had the following pastors, in addition to Daniel Berg: Samuel Nystrom, Samuel Hedlund, and Gustav Bergstrom.

Conde further reports that the national Convention was held in São Paulo in 1937 as a direct result of the AD's expansion in that capital. However, following that Convention, in 1938, "circumstances imposed the existence of various independent Assemblies in the

capital, each with its own responsibilities and orientation” (:267). Thus, the São Paulo ministries began to separate from the “mission ministry” during the same decade in São Paulo that Paulo Macalão’s Madureira ministry did so in Rio de Janeiro⁶⁹.

Might the AD have experienced a mission / church split, as many other missionary churches did? Neither Conde nor Almeida is very helpful in clarifying the reasons for the new ministry’s beginning. Almeida restricts himself to the rather dry comment: “The struggles were many, but the work of God continued victorious under the orientation of Pastor Bruno (Skolimowski), who inaugurated a majestic temple in the Belém neighborhood . . .” (:247). This after the inauguration of the Ipiranga temple. One wonders, since Almeida also lists Skolimowski among the “missionaries,” if those more closely allied with the mission faction found themselves obligated to find a new home.

In any case, São Paulo now has three major AD ministries: Belém, Ipiranga, and Madureira. Belém and Ipiranga stem from the earliest missionary work in São Paulo, while Madureira is an import from Rio de Janeiro. Although all three are affiliated with the CGADB, each is administered by its own “pastor-presidente,” and operates independently of the others.

The largest and most open of the three is the Belém ministry, whose “pastor-presidente” José Wellington Bezerra da Costa, the CGADB’s current president. By their own estimation, the Belém ministry accounts for just over half of all AD membership in São Paulo.

⁶⁹ Although the Madureira ministry was legally organized in 1941, it was functioning as a separate entity for some time before then.

A word about AD organizational structure is in order: Each AD ministry follows an essentially Episcopal polity, with a “pastor-president” at the head of a large council of ministers, called “pastors” and “evangelists,” who function formally as his advisers. “Pastors,” for the most part, head up the larger churches immediately subordinate to the “seat”⁷⁰. “Evangelists,” in turn, open smaller congregations immediately subordinate to the churches. These often meet in rented halls, parishioners’ homes, in short, in less than permanent settings.

Ministries are not bound geographically. The Madureira ministry, for example, has had outlets (“filiais”) in São Paulo for decades. And the Belém ministry has outlets in the United States!

Thus, the organizational principle is largely personal. The pastors in a given ministry subordinate themselves to the “pastor-president,” who functions very much like an archbishop. No wonder the Universal Church just calls its leaders “bishops!”

When a given pastor gains a large enough following, he often begins his own “ministry.” Frequently, of course, attempts are made to co-opt these leaders before they split the ministry and begin their own fiefdom. Thus, a minister can become a “pastor-presidente” either by being promoted within a ministry upon the retirement of its previous leader, or by beginning his own.

Yet, even those who begin their own ministries still fellowship with one another, within certain “doctrinal” boundaries. As long as their leaders hold to generally accepted AD “doctrine,” ministries are still accepted within the CGADB.

⁷⁰ Portuguese “sede.”

These “doctrinal” boundaries may include theological positions, such as particular understandings of the Person and work of the Holy Spirit. Or they may include positions on divorce and remarriage, or the appropriate length of a woman’s hemline! Currently, there are AD ministries disenfranchised from the CGADB for both these reasons. Their “liberal doctrine” has made them unacceptable to their CGADB brethren.

Thus, the CGADB structure mimics that of the Roman Church in several key points. Administratively, each ministry functions as a diocese, with its own bishop, central church, and subordinate clergy, churches, and chapels. The AD figure corresponding to a bishop, or even archbishop, is the pastor-presidente, who rules from a “sede,” or seat, the equivalent of the bishop’s seat, or cathedral. His subordinate clergy minister in geographically delimited churches, roughly equivalent to parishes. And the evangelists subordinate to them minister in chapels.

The key difference between a Roman Catholic diocese and an AD ministry lies in their organizational principles. Although AD ministries *begin* within a given geographic area, they are not limited geographically, but socially, in terms of the leadership to whom they owe allegiance.

Further, although ministries are organized hierarchically within themselves, there is no overarching hierarchy over any given ministry. Rather, the ministries relate to each other collegially, within the framework of the Convention.

AD structure also mimics the Roman Catholic structure functionally, in the manner it manages centripetal and centrifugal tensions. Instead of beginning whole new denominations, organizationally divorced from the root, charismatic leaders have the

option of starting something they can call their own, *within the overall denominational framework*. Although they leave, they also stay. Thus, significant differences in theology and practice remain under the same umbrella. In fact, it is not at all uncommon for an AD believer to say proudly: “I am a believer from the AD, ministry x.” Significantly, this pattern seems to have been fully established by 1941, when the Madureira ministry was legally chartered.

Some, of course, have not been able to remain within the CGADB, despite the relatively large amount of autonomy given each ministry. From these spin-offs have come most of the other Pentecostal and neo-Pentecostal denominations in Brazil, most notably the Foursquare Gospel Church, Brasil para Cristo (Manoel de Melo), and the IURD, the Universal Church of the Kingdom of God. This will be discussed more fully when an attempt is made at a taxonomy of Brazilian Pentecostalism.

Links with the Assemblies of God

While it is known that the Brazilian Assemblies of God participate in the worldwide Convention of the Assemblies of God, both AD and American Assemblies historians are fairly quiet about how the link was established. It would appear that links were established fairly early in AD history, certainly by the time the AD was established in Rio de Janeiro in 1924. Both Conde and Almeida refer to a merger between the AD and the already established Church of God in Rio at that time.

Thus, the most likely date for the AD to formalize a link with the American Assemblies of God appears to be 1921, when the first levy of missionaries arrived from Sweden and the U.S. Among these

arrivals were some who would have considerable impact on AD development, including Samuel Nystrom.

Links with Swedish Evangelicals – Baptists and Other Pentecostals

As for links with Sweden, even a cursory look at the surnames of the missionaries the AD received indicates their Nordic background. Names like Hedlund, Berg (not just Daniel), and Nystrom abound. If the Brazilian Assemblies received Pentecostal missionaries from the U.S., they were not typical white Americans. Rather, they were Swedish and Norwegian immigrants like the AD's founders, Berg and Vingren. They may have come geographically from the United States; but culturally they were still Swedish. In fact, Read, Monterroso and Johnson even note that, at the time of their writing:

Many missionaries cooperate with the Assembléias of Brazil, including those sent by the Assemblies of God in the United States, the Svenska Fria Mission (The Swedish Free Mission), the Independent Assemblies of God, and the Norske Pinsevevners Itremisjon (Norwegian Pentecostal Mission). The ratio of missionaries to communicant members is approximately one to 27,000" (Read, Monterroso, & Johnson: 69).

Again, Read and company bring up two items worthy of note. First, not only does the AD receive missionaries from the United States, but also from Swedish and Norwegian Pentecostal groups. The Swedish and Norwegian link is still strong sixty years after the AD was founded!

Second, "the ratio of missionaries to communicant members is approximately one to 27,000." The AD receives very few missionaries relative to its overall membership. Further, these missionaries have,

for the most part, subordinated themselves to Brazilian AD leaders. The notable exceptions to this rule are some of the early missionaries, especially Vingren, Berg, and Nystrom. Yet even they allowed Brazilian leaders the space to declare their independence from the “mission ministry,” while remaining within the fellowship of the CGADB. In fact, it appears that in São Paulo at least, those affiliated with the “mission ministry” left the already constructed Ipiranga temple in the hands of Brazilian leadership in order to recommence their own ministry (Belém) from scratch.

It appears that, in order for local leadership to develop, these leaders must at some moment throw off the yoke of missionary leadership and assert their own primacy over their church’s affairs. In Brazil, the Presbyterians split over the issue of Freemasonry. Since many of the missionaries were Freemasons, Brazilian church leaders seized on this issue, alleging Freemasonry and Christian discipleship were incompatible and insisting the missionaries either abandon Freemasonry or their missionary status. This resulted in a split between the IPI (independent) and IPB (Brazilian) Presbyterian denominations. Those who remained loyal to the missionaries stayed with the IPB. Those who did not left with the IPI. Not too surprisingly, the IPI soon surpassed the IPB numerically.

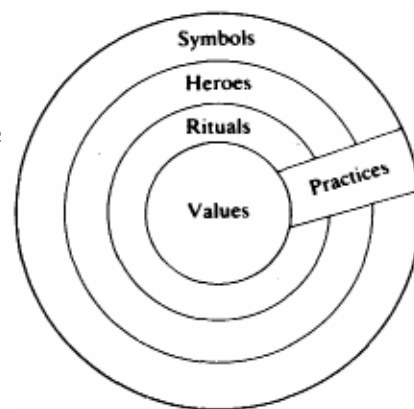
The Baptists had similar problems between their Brazilian and missionary leadership over the issue of the allocation of mission resources. In short, the missionaries were spending too much time and money building institutions, primarily educational ones, instead of concentrating on evangelism and church planting. Although they were able to finally reconcile the groups, a split did occur, in which the group opposing the missionaries left.

One is tempted to ask why this critical moment in AD history appears to have caused far fewer problems for the fledgling denomination than corresponding moments caused either the Baptists or the Presbyterians. Further, perhaps even more startling, why did the *missionary* party leave in the São Paulo split, rather than that of the Brazilian leaders? Was there something in the AD's ethos, or perhaps the missionaries' culture, which could account for the peaceful resolution of this crisis?

Geert Hofstede theorizes, first, that culture has various layers. With values at the core, cultures have rituals, heroes, and symbols on succeeding superficial levels. Each culture's practices traverse the spectrum of values, rituals, heroes, and symbols, thus providing the observer insights into each layer of culture (1991:9).

Hofstede further distinguishes between national, regional and / or ethnic and / or religious affiliation, gender, generational, social class, and corporate *levels* of culture. Although Hofstede believes that *nations* have distinct cultures, most *national* cultures can be subdivided in the other categories.

During the 1970's Hofstede had the opportunity do comparative research on *national* cultures within the corporate culture of IBM. Through this research, he deduced the existence of four *dimensions* of culture, to which he has since added a fifth. Each dimension is a continuum, with national cultures lying between the extremes. The dimensions Hofstede deduced are as follows:



- 1) Social inequality, including the relationship with authority,
- 2) The relationship between the individual and the group,
- 3) Concepts of masculinity and femininity; the social implications of having been born as a boy or a girl,
- 4) Ways of dealing with uncertainty, relating to the control of aggression and the expression of emotions.
- 5) Long-term orientation vs. short-term orientation. (13 – 14, *passim*)

On the basis of his research, Hofstede constructs what he calls an *empirical typology* for each national culture, meaning that people from that nation, *in the aggregate*, demonstrate these characteristics, while individuals from that nation may vary somewhat from the national norms. Though fascinating, Hofstede's research does not interest us, except as it deals with *Swedish* national culture, specifically in its attitude towards social inequality.

One observation might be of more than passing interest to us, however:

Religious affiliation by itself is less culturally relevant than is often assumed. If we trace the religious history of countries, then the religion a population has embraced along with the version of that religion seem to have been a *result* of previously existing cultural value patterns as much as a *cause* of cultural differences. The great religions of the world, at some point in their history, have all undergone profound schisms: between Roman Catholics, eastern Orthodox, and various Protestant groups in Christianity; between Sunnie and Shi in Islam; between liberals and various fundamentalist groups in Jewry; between Hinayana and Mahayana in Buddhism. Cultural differences among groups of believers have always played a major role in such schisms. For example, the Reformation movement within the Roman Catholic Church in the sixteenth century initially affected all of Europe. However, in the countries

which more than a thousand years earlier had belonged to the Roman Empire, a Counter-Reformation reinstated the authority of the Roman church. In the end, the Reformation only succeeded in the countries without a Roman tradition. Although today most of Northern Europe is Protestant and most of Southern Europe Roman Catholic, it is not this religious split which is at the origin of the cultural differences between North and South but the inheritance of the Roman Empire (:16).

Hofstede thus postulates that national cultures tend to be relatively stable over time, manifesting little real change with regard to their core values, of which these dimensions are the outgrowth. Religious and other practices are more the *manifestations* of these cultural differences than they are their effective *causes*.

Therefore, his study of Swedish values in the mid-70s should still be valid for the early to mid-1900s. In fact, Hofstede cites Swedish culture as one that has remained stable in this continuum over the last centuries!

In their last revolution, the Swedes deposed King Gustav IV and invited a French general (one of Napoleon's) to ascend to the throne. He was so embarrassed by the Swede's laughter as he addressed their Parliament in broken Swedish that he never spoke Swedish again! Apparently, the French would never have dreamed of laughing at so august a figure as their king, while the Swedes thought nothing of it.

Hofstede attributes this to differences in the ways both societies handle inequality, or *power distance*.

PDI (Power distance index) scores inform us about the *dependence* relationships in a country. In small power distance countries there is a limited dependence of subordinates on bosses, and a preference for consultation, that is, *interdependence* between boss and subordinate.

The emotional distance between them is relatively small: subordinates will quite readily approach and contradict their bosses. In large power distance countries there is considerable dependence of subordinates on bosses. Subordinates respond by either *preferring* such dependence (in the form of autocratic or paternalistic boss), or rejecting it entirely, which in psychology is known as *counterdependence*: that is dependence, but with a negative sign. Large power distance countries thus show a pattern of polarization between dependence and counterdependence. In these cases, the emotional distance between subordinates and their bosses is huge: subordinates are unlikely to approach and contradict their bosses directly.

Power distance can therefore be defined as *the extent to which the less powerful members of institutions and organizations within a country expect and accept that power is distributed unequally*. 'Institutions' are the basic elements of society like the family, school, and the community; 'organizations' are the places where people work (:27 – 28).

What happens when people from lower power distance countries evangelize those from a greater power distance (or more hierarchical) country? While Hofstede lists both the United States and Sweden in the lower half of the countries studied with regard to power distance, Sweden comes out considerably lower than the U.S., 48/53 and 38/53, respectively. On the other hand, Brazil is one of the greater power distance countries, ranking fifteenth of the fifty-three countries studied.

If Hofstede is correct, then a Brazilian church could be expected to be organized hierarchically, even autocratically, with most members acceding to the leader's wishes as the holder of greater power, showing their *dependence* on that leader's power. Some, however, instead of submitting, would rebel, organizing another

institution along similar lines of authority, thus manifesting their *counter dependence*. This is precisely the AD pattern.

Further, those from a lower power distance country would have greater difficulty in imposing themselves on other members of the church, precisely because they see those members in a more “democratic” fashion. Might this be why the Brazilian leadership, accustomed to exercising power in a hierarchical manner, was able to expel the “missionary” party (the Belém ministry) in the case of the Ipiranga church? It would appear so.

Ultimately, this dynamic would affect the transfer of power between the entire missionary generation and that of the Brazilian leadership. While the Brazilians would tend to vie for power and authority, the Swedish missionaries would not see these things as worth maintaining. Thus, historically, Brazilian pastors were ordained within three years of the Gunnar and Berg’s arrival; and few missionaries exercised positions of direct authority within the AD. Even those, when challenged, either allowed the Brazilian leadership to establish its own, separate, power base (Madureira) or abandoned the power base to the Brazilian leaders (Ipiranga).

In contrast, those from a higher power distance country, like the U.S., would find themselves somewhat better equipped to handle the Brazilians’ challenge to their authority, and better able to hold on to the reins of power. If Hofstede is correct, this would prove to be the case with regard to those denominations founded by missionaries from the United States, specifically the Brazilian Baptist Convention, within the scope of this study.

On the Social and Religious Character of Brazilian Pentecostalism: A Taxonomy

Brazilian Pentecostals are a varied lot. While they demonstrate certain common emphases, due to their common historical origins, Brazilian Pentecostalism has evolved considerably over the last century. No single denomination is representative of the whole.

Most students of Brazilian Pentecostalism, however, accept the “three wave” analysis expounded by Paul Freston. The first wave begins in 1910 and 1911, characterized by the AD and the *Congregação Cristã*. While the AD established itself in the sources of Brazil’s internal migration, the *Congregação* established itself in São Paulo among the immigrant Italian community.

Together, these churches had the Pentecostal segment of Brazilian religious life to themselves for the next forty years. While the AD grew to the point of establishing itself as Brazil’s premier Protestant denomination, the *Congregação* remained more limited. Both churches teach the Baptism of the Holy Spirit as a post salvation experience, marked by speaking in tongues, whereby God enables believers to serve Him more fully. Further, the church that practices Spirit baptism can expect to see God heal various illnesses.

The second great wave comes in the 1950s and 1960s with the establishment of the Foursquare Gospel Church (1951), *Brasil para Cristo* (1955), and *Deus é Amor* (1962). This wave has its origin in *São Paulo* and is characterized by a greater use of the media, brought by the Foursquare Church. While the arrival of the Foursquare Church gives birth to this wave, the other two arise as autochthonous Brazilian entities. Freston also argues that this wave responds to Brazil’s increasing urbanization. In addition to the Baptism of the Spirit and tongues, these churches tend to place a greater emphasis on

exorcism, to the point of conversing with the demons that are being expelled. This is especially true of the wholly Brazilian variants.

Finally, at the end of the 70s and the early 80s, the IURD (1977) and the *Igreja Internacional da Graça de Deus* (1980) spring up. This third wave begins following the exhaustion of the Brazilian economic “miracle” under the military regime, when two-thirds of the population is already urban. Further, it begins in *Rio de Janeiro* (Freston in Antoniazzi, 1994: 67 – 72, *passim*). Theologically, this wave adds an emphasis on prosperity theology to the already accepted emphases on Spirit Baptism, tongues, healing, and exorcism.

Why bother with a taxonomy of Brazilian Pentecostalism?

Freston argues that each church carries the marks of the age in which it was born. He cites Bryan Wilson:

Sects tend to be more influenced than they perceive . . . by the secular facilities prevalent in the period of their birth . . . [This because] the capacity to unite their old teachings and modern techniques is part of the success formula of modern sects (*Religious Sects: A Sociological Study*. London: World University Library, 1970.).

Therefore, the AD arrived in Brazil as part of the birth of the worldwide Pentecostal movement, and will thus demonstrate more characteristics of its origins in a more “traditional” society than will the IURD, with its far greater emphasis on marketing and the greater liberties granted its believers. Although both have similar theological roots, each will exhibit characteristics of the time of its birth.

For the purposes of this study, the AD is the closest Pentecostal cognate of the Brazilian Baptists, both due to its origins within the Brazilian Baptist Convention and the temporal proximity of both groups’ birth.

Conclusions

The Assemblies of God in Brazil are the fruit of the birth of the worldwide Pentecostal movement. They actually came into Brazil by way of Sweden and the Swedish immigrant community in the United States. Both Berg and Vingren come from the Swedish Baptist tradition. While Daniel Berg learned of the Baptism of the Spirit in Sweden, and received this experience on his way back to the United States, Gunnar Vingren both learned of and received this experience in a Swedish Baptist church in the U.S.

Pentecostalism itself has its roots in the American and British evangelical traditions, springing from both the American Wesleyan Holiness movement and the Reformed “Keswick” deeper life movement. Historically, the Welsh revival added the concrete expectation that God would revive those who diligently sought Him, and the Restorationist movement the expectation that, since we are living in the last days, God should restore the Church to its full New Testament vigor.

Responding to a prophecy, Gunnar and Berg sought passage on a ship headed for “Pará,” which led them to the city of Belém at the mouth of the Amazon in 1911. There they sought the local Baptist church for both fellowship and the provision of their immediate material needs, including shelter. In fact, Berg worked in a foundry for a time to support the pair, while Vingren studied Portuguese.

The pair soon began teaching Pentecostal doctrine in the First Baptist Church of Belém, which resulted in a split, with the *majority* Pentecostal party leaving, at least according to their own reports. This began a string of church plants radiating from Belém, until the AD found itself established in the São Paulo – Rio de Janeiro axis in the mid 1920s. It was also at some point during this period that the AD

affiliated itself with the Assemblies of God worldwide and received their first levy of Swedish missionaries.

The mid 20s to 1940 are a period in which growing tensions between the “missionary” party and various national leaders lead to the formation of separate ministries within the CGADB, or the General Convention of the Assemblies of God. While the arising of tensions between missionaries and autochthonous leadership, the unique manner in which these tensions were resolved shows something of both the character and genius of this largely Swedish missionary force.

Both the Madureira and Ipiranga cases exemplify the treatment of these tensions. In the Madureira case, Paulo Macalão is permitted to organize a separate “ministry” from that of the missionary party in Rio de Janeiro. While maintaining fellowship with the rest of the AD, Macalão demonstrates his *counter dependence* by organizing his own hierarchical institution, after the Brazilian fashion.

The Ipiranga case is even more extreme. Here, the missionary party, rather than get in the way of the autochthonous leadership, simply leaves to start over. Further complicating the denominational picture in São Paulo, the Madureira ministry begins work in the *Paulista* capital, as well.

These years were years of phenomenal growth for the AD, no matter how one does the counting. By conservative estimates, the AD grew at a rate of 13% per year from 1930 to 1960 through *nucleation*, lay led church planting, arriving at a total membership of 537,625 in 1960. Thereupon growth slowed to the still respectable rate of 5% per year (against population growth of 2% per year), perhaps due in part to the arrival of the “second wave” Pentecostals, more in tune with urban Brazil.

Thus, the AD in 1980 represents the first wave of Pentecostalism to reach Brazil, and the largest single Pentecostal denomination. Nationally, it has close to a million and a half members, of which perhaps one fifth are from São Paulo state. Half of these would be from the city of São Paulo, making total AD membership there about 150,000 in 1980.

Institutionally, it is organized in three ministries: Belém, Ipiranga, and Madureira. Belém is the largest and most open, accounting for roughly half of all AD membership in the city. Each ministry functions separately, in an Episcopal fashion, where the Pastor-president serves as bishop, and the other pastors as parish clergy. Yet each also fellowships with the others through the CGADB. Thus, strong centralized leadership characterizes each ministry, while the denomination as a whole is much more decentralized.

Chapter 5

An Overview of São Paulo's Structure and Growth: 1980 – 1991

Historical Background

The city of São Paulo was officially founded on the 25th of January of 1554 by “Manuel da Nóbrega, his Jesuit companions, João Ramalho, his wife, Bartira, their children; Martim Afonso Tibiriçá and his people, Caiubi and his tribe, as well as the Portuguese from Santo André da Borda do Campo.” (Tito Ferreira, 1967a: 42) Tibiriçá is an Indian chieftain, Bartira's father, and Ramalho's father-in-law. Santo André had been founded the year before.

Thus, São Paulo is just over four hundred and fifty years old, making it one of the oldest cities in the Americas. It is also the second largest, at last count, losing only to Mexico City, and then by only a couple of hundred thousand people. During the period under study, São Paulo was actually larger than Mexico City! (Gilbert, 1994: 36)

Further, in many respects, São Paulo is a typical Latin American city. According to Fernando Henrique Cardoso

The city that dotted the Iberian empire in the Americas, Lusitanian as well as Hispanic, was more a city of officials than a city of burghers. Neither the market nor local councils had the power to oppose the King's courts, colonial regulations, and the interests of the Crown, or to resist the colonial exploitation that cast Iberian royalty and bourgeoisie into the rigid mold of mercantile capitalism. At the opposite pole was the owner of land, Indians, or slaves. The official and the lord were the social types that gave life to the cities (in Gilbert: 36-37).

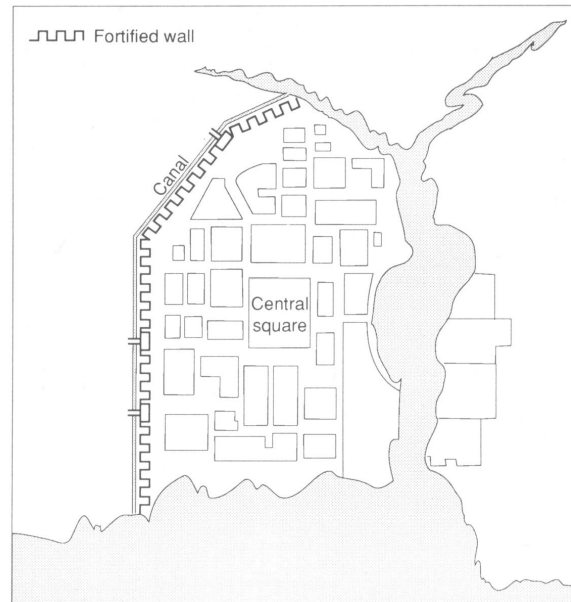
From the beginning, Latin America's cities were organized around the political elite, officials and lords, who lived downtown, in the city center, while lesser mortals lived on the outskirts. This diagram of Santo Domingo portrays the standard Iberian layout. The city is organized around a central square. The

church and main government buildings are on the square. Political officials and those with an office at court reside within the city walls. Landowners, slaveholders and the like *may* have a residence within the walls, depending on their relationship to court, although their primary residence would be outside the city walls.

This illustrates what is still the primary organizational concept in a Latin American city like São Paulo: The very wealthy and the influential reside and have their places of business close to the downtown business district, usually centered on the square facing the cathedral, while those with less power and influence live further from the seat of power, downtown. The poorest people live the furthest from downtown. In fact, one could almost draw concentric circles

THE GROWTH OF THE CITY 25

Figure 2.1
Plan of Santo Domingo



Source: Recreated from *Montanus Arnoldus, De Nieuwe en Onbekende Weerld* (Amsterdam 1691)

Santo Domingo, a typical plan (Gilbert, 1998: 25)

around the city square. An individual's or a business' importance would be inversely proportional to their distance from the city square.

Naturally, this ideal model is distorted by other factors in larger cities.

Latin American cities grew substantially during the period of our study, according to Gilbert. Brazil, a rural society in 1940 (only 31% urban), grew from a predominantly urban society to an overwhelmingly urban one during the 80s (:26). In short, all of Brazil's urban centers, including São Paulo, were growing at this time, due to migration.

Table 2.1
Urban population in Latin America, 1940-95

COUNTRY	1940	1960	1980	1995
ARGENTINA	na	74	83	88
BOLIVIA	na	39	45	61
BRAZIL	31	45	66	78
CHILE	52	68	81	84
COLOMBIA	29	48	64	73
CUBA	46	55	68	76
ECUADOR	na	34	47	58
MEXICO	35	51	66	75
PERU	35	46	65	72
VENEZUELA	31	67	83	93
LATIN AMERICA	33	50	65	74

Urban settlement defined according to national criteria

Source: Wilkie (1994:141) and UN (1995:82-5)

% Urban Population (Gilbert, 1998: 26)

Finally, with regard to structure and the city's place within the country as a whole,

Latin America tends to contain more primate cities than most other parts of the world. Among the twenty Latin American republics only Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia,

Ecuador, and Honduras do not have a primate city whose population exceeds that of the second city of the country by at least three times. Even among the exceptions, Brazil, Ecuador, and Honduras hardly count since they contain two cities both of which greatly exceed the population of the third city in the country. (:34)

Primate cities, in short, are so large they dominate a country. No other city in the country even comes close to their size. Although Brazil is a formal exception to the rule, inasmuch as Rio (the old imperial capital) is over half the size of São Paulo, both cities are far larger than their nearest rival. In fact, the city of São Paulo has been nicknamed by its residents as “the capital,” because it contains half the population and half the economic activity of São Paulo states, which is responsible for half of Brazil’s GNP. In short, the city of São is arguably responsible for 25% of Brazil’s economic activity.

São Paulo had over 16 million inhabitants in 1995, making it the largest Latin American city at that time (:36):

Table 2.4
Latin America’s giant cities,
1995

CITY	Population (millions)
SAO PAULO	16.42
MEXICO CITY	15.64
BUENOS AIRES	10.99
RIO DE JANEIRO	9.89
LIMA	7.45
BOGOTA	5.61
SANTIAGO (CHILE)	5.07
BELO HORIZONTE	3.90
PORTOALEGRE	3.35
RECIFE	3.17
GUADALAJARA	3.16
CARACAS	2.96
SALVADOR	2.82

MONTERREY	2.81
FORTALEZA	2.66
SANTO DOMINGO	2.58
CURITIBA	2.27
HAVANA	2.24

Source: United Nations. Department of International Economic and Social Affairs,
(1995: 132-39)

Latin American Giants (Gilbert, 1998: 36)

Thus, São Paulo is Brazil's primate city. Its nearest rival, Rio de Janeiro, the old capital, is just over half its size, while Rio's nearest rival, Belo Horizonte, is one quarter the size of São Paulo. Further, as a typical Ibero-American city, it is generally organized around a central square (Praça da Sé, or the square of the bishop's seat) where the rich and powerful traditionally concentrate, leaving the periphery to those outside the economic and political mainstream.

At least, this is São Paulo's shape as an archetypical Latin American city, in general terms. Naturally, both geographic and historical factors distort this ideal picture.

São Paulo's Specific "Shape"

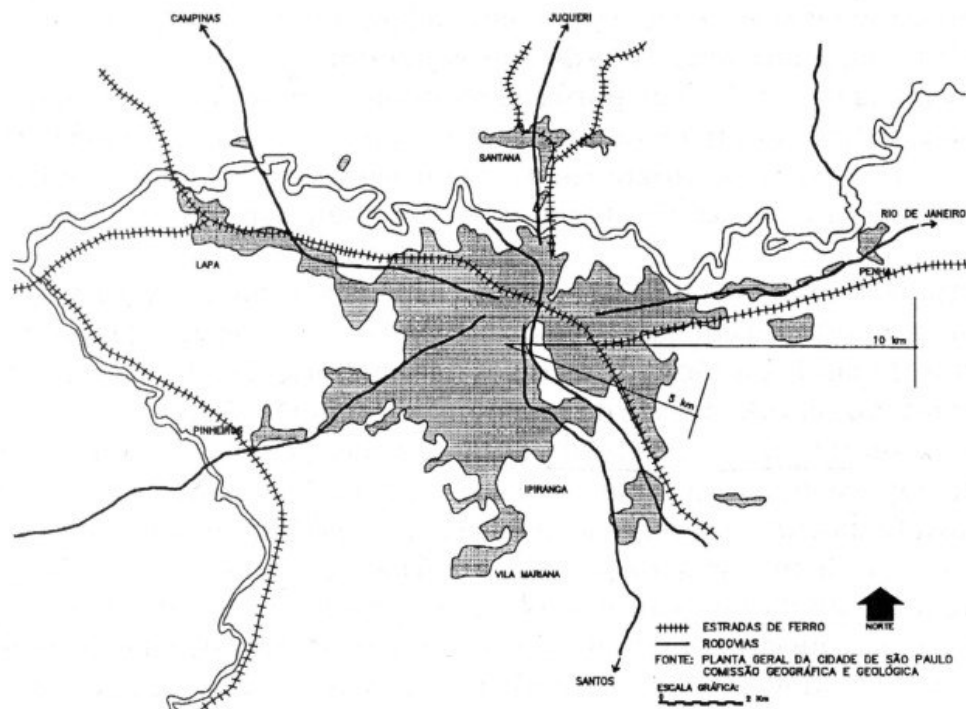
While Brazilian cities are structured primarily as a series of concentric circles, their structure is not quite as simple as that. Villaça affirms that "in fact, our metropolises have an internal organization that is a mixture of concentric circles and the sectors of the circle . . ." (:113), a blend, in short. In fact, the sector concept, at times, appears to overwhelm the circle. While the upper class tends to settle almost exclusively "near" (with easy access to) the city center,

within one particular sector, the middle and other classes tend to spread out more along the sectors.

Villaça classifies São Paulo as an “interior city,” one that has the potential to grow in all three hundred sixty degrees. Brazilian interior cities have the following points in common:

1. The metropolis is interior: This means it has area to expand in all directions: 360 degrees.
2. At the beginning of its expansion, the urban space runs into a barrier that divides it in two: a valley through which a small river runs, the Arrudas or the Tamanduateí - , whose overflow frequently inundates the adjoining land, and a railroad built along the river. Evidently, the center of the city is on one of these two sides. The joint river valley – railroad thus defines “that” side from “this” side (the side where the center is located). The barrier defines the urban space in two parts that have differing costs and travel times. At an early stage of urban expansion – the first decades of the twentieth century – , given two points equidistant from the center, with one located on the other side of the barrier and the other on “this” side, the first presents a greater amount of travel time and cost than the second. Thus, one side of the urban space becomes more advantageous than the other, from the point of view of this fundamental factor, which is access to the center.
3. By virtue of this advantage, the side on which the center is located tends to, at least initially, host the greater portion of urban growth than the “other side”
... ..
4. The highest income segments tend to concentrate on the more advantageous side, although the reverse is not true. In other words, there are also low income segments on the side of the center. The opposite side from the center, however, becomes “out of the way” and the higher income neighborhoods tend to not succeed there, as in the Pampulha region of Belo Horizonte.
5. On the opposite side of the city center, in a strategic point where the transport system of the “other side”

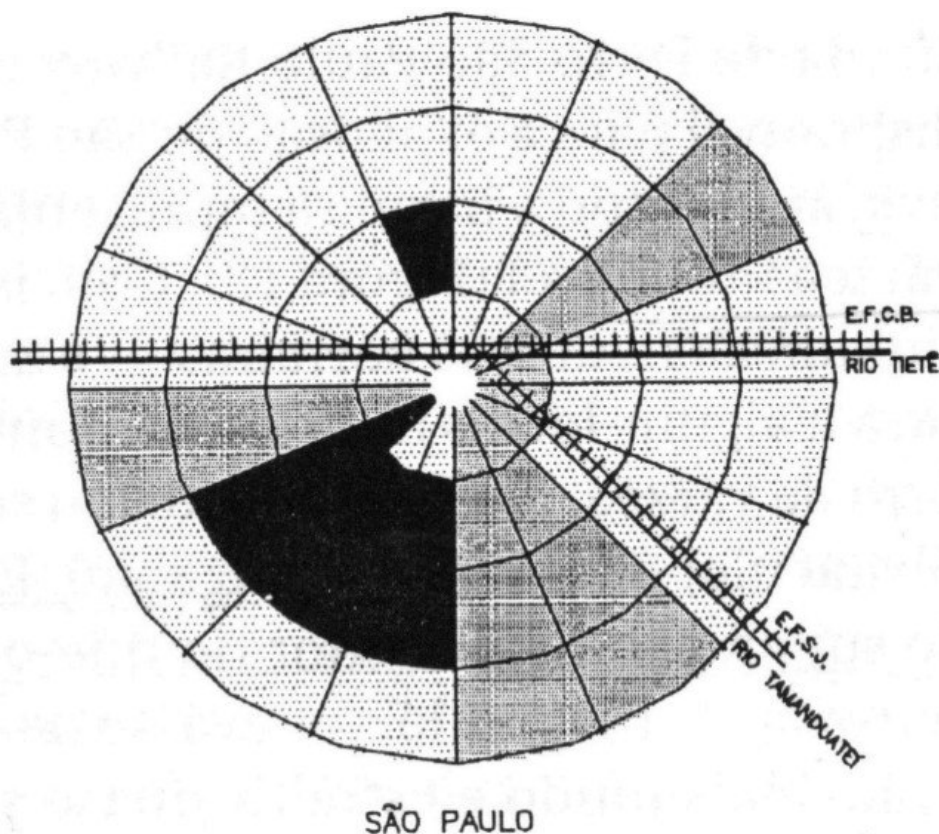
converges, there arises the first great commercial and service subcenter. This subcenter is popular, because it caters to the lower income population located beyond the barrier, that does not have economic access to the major center, since this belongs to the middle and upper classes. *In the case of São Paulo, this subcenter was Brás*, and in Belo Horizonte, Lagoinha. (:114 – 116, emphasis added)



São Paulo 1914 (Villaça, 1998: 86)

Geographically, then, São Paulo looked like the above figure in 1914. A major rail line cut it from southeast to northwest, following the course of the Tamanduateí River as it passed through the city center. Another rail line leads east northeast towards Rio de Janeiro, pretty much from the city center. And the city as a whole is largely circumscribed on the north and west by the Tietê and Pinheiros rivers, respectively. In 1914, it had only grown as far south as Vila Mariana, though it had incorporated Santana to the north. Its western and eastern expansion follow the major roads and rail lines, as they represent easy access. The crossed lines in the figure represent railroads, the solid black lines roads, and the shaded areas, inhabited portions of the city (:86)

As a result, an ideal drawing of São Paulo at the beginning of the twentieth century, when the city was taking its modern form, would look like the following drawing. In this drawing, the dotted lines are the railways, and the solid lines, the riverbeds. The dark shaded areas represent upper class housing, the lightly shaded areas, the other classes, and the moderately shaded areas, industrial areas. The white circle at the center is the center! Note that the city is ideally configured in a pie shape, with concentric circles radiating out from that center (:115).



The upper classes live to the southwest of the center, with one small upper class pocket to the north of the river, in what was originally another city, Freguesia do Ó – which explains the anomaly!

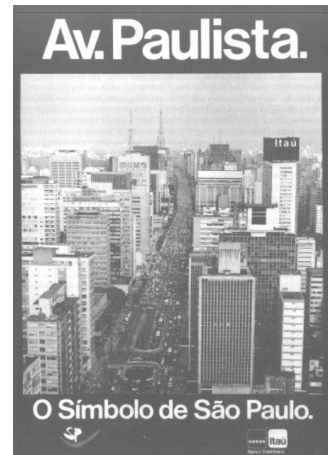
To the south of the Tietê River, and the east of the Tamanduateí river valley, and its railroad, lie the working class neighborhoods of Brás and Belém, home to the Congregação Cristã do Brasil, and the Assemblies of God in São Paulo, respectively. Brás, becomes, of course, São Paulo's first "subcenter," serving the working class people on the "wrong side of the tracks!"

As the Villaça is careful to remind us, while the upper classes tend to concentrate in one quadrant, the working classes cannot be contained within only one quadrant of the city. Still, the general trend of São Paulo's modern growth is established in the first two decades of the twentieth century. Upper class neighborhoods tend to proliferate to the southwest of the city center, at first attracted by ease of access to the center, then by the commerce and services attracted by access to select clientele. Middle class neighborhoods tend to proliferate to the west of the city center, while working class neighborhoods tend to grow to the east. Later, these upper and middle class neighborhoods will make up the "expanded center" of the city. Only much more recently does the city grow to the south and the north. Finally, "the sector model maintains its validity to the present day." (:118)

Still, four more recent factors have to be taken into account in understanding the overall shape of the city: 1) the advent of the "expanded center" along Avenida Paulista in the 60s and 70s, 2) the concurrent arrival of the shopping center in Brazilian life, 3) São Paulo's growth to the south as home to the poorer classes, and 4) the building of the "Alphaville" neighborhoods, closed condominiums that imitate North American suburban living on the northwestern outskirts of the city in Barueri. The popularity of living in apartments as opposed to houses does not significantly affect the overall organization of São Paulo's urban space as the class of apartment

building tends to vary according to the sector of the city in which it is located.

“The 1960s marked a new transformation in the nature and structure of the center of São Paulo. The current center of the city was abandoned by the higher income groups and the abandoned positions were occupied by commerce and services dedicated to lower income groups . . . In the 1960s, the Paulista and Augusta avenue region is presented as the ‘new center of São Paulo.’ (:265) Since the new center is adjacent to the old, the entire area becomes known as the “expanded center.” The Paulista region caters to upper income clients while the older, decadent, center caters to the popular classes.



**Paulista Avenue
(Villaça: 347)**

The shopping center is the successor to the department store, which succeeds the general store. All have in common the fact that they offer a diversified selection of goods and services under one roof. In order, a city is organized around its center, its subcenters and, finally, its shopping centers. Each offers successively fewer goods and services, thus structuring a smaller area. (:303) In São Paulo, “the first Brazilian shopping center – the Iguatemi, arose as a pioneer in 1966.” (:302)

In opposition to the city center are the distant suburbs of a given city. While the upper classes tend to congregate around the center, the poorest of the poor are pushed out to the distant periphery. At the same time, they struggle to maintain access to both the rich and the industrial areas of the city, in order to get a job and make a living.

The winners in this dispute live, first, near the industrial sections of the city, where they can be close to formal jobs and, second, near the residential and business areas occupied by the wealthy, in order to have access through various means to their money. The losers are underemployed in the third sector; and end up on the outskirts of the city.

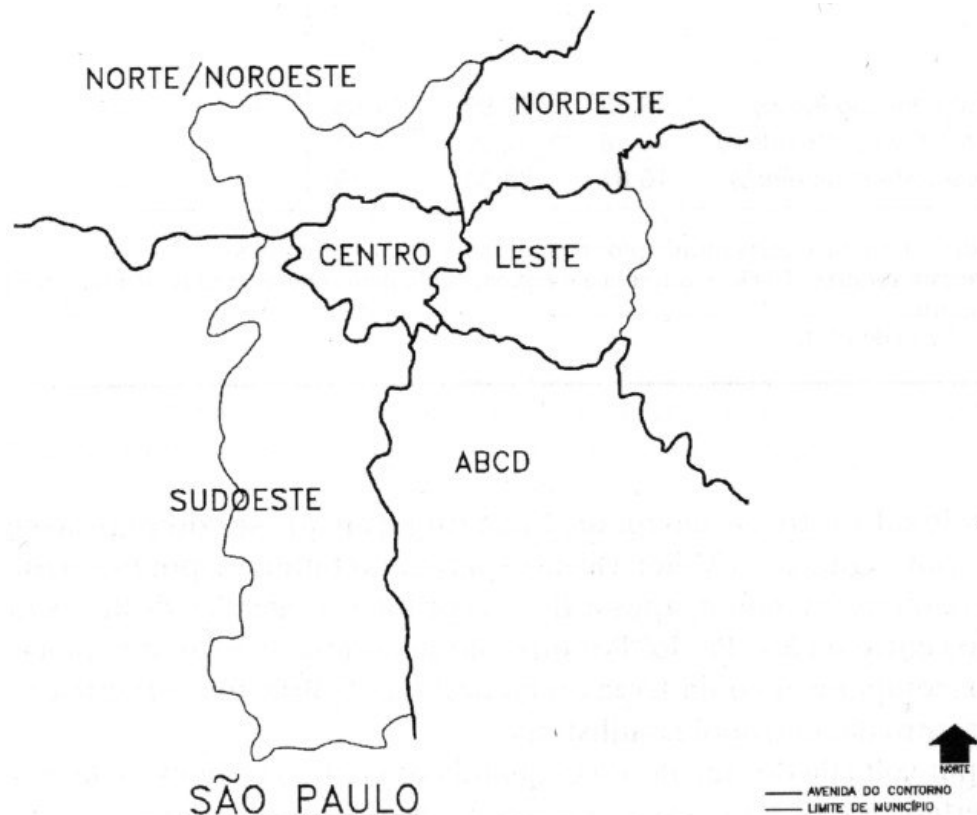
São Paulo's growth to the south follows this pattern. As the rich tend to move to the southwest, the poorer classes tend to stay as close to them as possible; and occupy the available land to the south of the city center. Further, during the 60s and 70s, the ABCD region to the southeast of the center becomes a major industrial center in its own right, and attracts working class people to the available jobs in the formal sector. "The southern zone, thus becomes the new region with a concentration of shanty towns in the city of São Paulo, because it is the closest to the southwestern quadrant, where the higher income segments tend to concentrate." (:230 – 235, *passim*).

Finally, during the 1970s, concurrent with the multiplication of shopping malls as "subcenters" of city life, another real estate investment was taking place. São Paulo was being increasingly perceived as a dangerous place to live, particularly by those in the higher income brackets. "Fortified enclaves" began to spring up. These enclaves are broken down into two categories, newer apartment complexes that restrict access to those who live within them, and residential, "closed condominiums." "This 'new concept of housing' articulates five basic elements: security, seclusion, social homogeneity, amenities, and services." (Caldeira, 2000: 264)

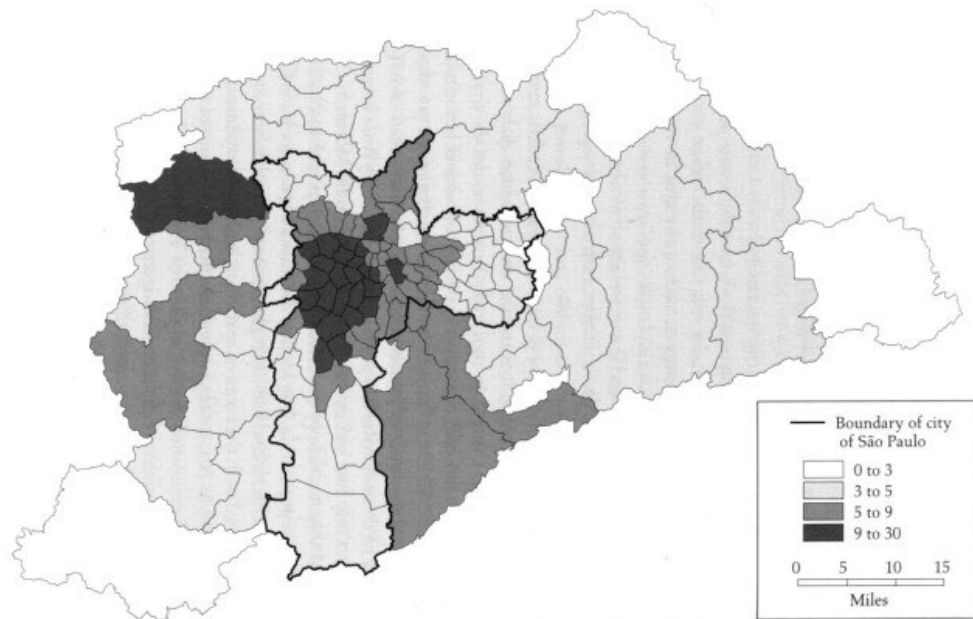
One of the most well known of these closed condominiums is Alphaville, built in Santana do Parnaíba, to the northwest of the city. For the purpose of our study it is simply worth noting that significant

numbers of higher income families moved out to Alphaville during the 1970s and 80s. When we look at the map below and note a significant concentration of higher income families to the north and west of the city center, that concentration corresponds to Alphaville.

In general, then, São Paulo during the 1980s looks something like the following drawings. In the first, we see the general layout of the city, with the expanded center and the east side, which form its core. Then, the major portion of the city's growth in the second half of the twentieth century takes place to the south, with the higher income groups moving to the southwest, the lower income groups moving due south, and the working class groups (those with formal employment in industry, largely the automobile industry), moving to the southeast of the city, in the ABCD region. In the second map, that of greater São Paulo, the darkest regions are those with the highest income families,



those who earn between nine and thirty times the normal minimum wage. The lightest regions are the poorest, where families earn between zero and three minimum wages. The in between shades represent areas where household income is between three and five, and five and nine minimum wages, respectively.



Income by Region in 1991 (Caldeira, 2000:242)

A closer analysis of this figure, together with the table in Appendix A covering the metropolitan area reveals the following: First, the highest income areas of the city are concentrated in the expanded center, and near southwest, with three exceptions, the neighborhoods of Moóca (the east side's high rent district), Santana (the north side), and the city of Santana do Parnaíba, where Alphaville is located.

São Paulo proper has only two very low rent districts, on the outskirts of the city. The remainder of the very poor is literally banished to the four corners of the metropolitan São Paulo area!

Moderately low rent districts dominate the northern and eastern sides of the city, with bands of low rent districts radiating out from the center to the south and due west. To the near east side and the southeast live the working middle class, with some middle class neighborhoods surrounding the higher rent neighborhoods to the center and center-west.

São Paulo's basic pattern is that of concentric circles. The expanded center and near southwest areas of the city are clearly high income districts, while the poorest of the poor are largely relegated to those municipalities farthest from the city center. The moderate income sector to the southeast represents the ABCD region of the city, an industrial corridor, as does the region due west of the city center. And the lower income households are located to the south and southwest, as well as farther out on the east and north sides of the city.

São Paulo's Growth During the 1980s

How did São Paulo grow during the 80s? The Brazilian Census Bureau did not follow Villaça's model in gathering its statistics. It gathers its statistics by city, then breaks them down into regions within the metropolitan area. As a result, the statistics for the metropolitan area are broken down by city, with the entire city São Paulo treated as one unit. The remaining cities in the metro area are analyzed by region, as well as individually. Finally, the neighborhoods within the city of São Paulo are analyzed by sector (or region) of the city. As a result, contiguous neighborhoods, one within São Paulo city

limits, and the other within a neighboring city, are the objects of different analyses. Still, since proximity to the center of São Paulo is a significant factor in all analyses, it is possible to analyze the city by sectors, then the metropolitan region. As a rule, the neighborhoods closer to the center of São Paulo will have higher incomes than those further away.

In the following tables, then, the Brazilian Census Bureau's statistics are compiled, first, according to region *within* the city of São Paulo, then according to cities within the metropolitan region, in the second table. Note that "Center" in the second table does **not** refer to the center of the city of São Paulo. Rather, it refers to the cities of São Paulo and Osasco (to the west of São Paulo), as a whole. São Paulo is described as the "center" of the metropolitan region. This difference between the tables also accounts for the difference in the decadal growth rates.

Thus, while the population of the city of São Paulo grew over 13% during the decade, the population of the city center, of the wealthiest people in São Paulo, *shrank* by 7.5%, while that of the eastern and southwestern regions of the city grew by 20 and 30 percent, respectively. In short, while the upper and upper middle classes moved out of the city, the ranks of the lower middle class swelled. Further, while the East side's rate of growth was smaller, it grew more, in absolute numbers.

THE CITY OF SÃO
PAULO

RESIDENT POPULATION BY REGIONS 1980 - 1991

REGION

RESIDENT POPULATION

	POP. 1980	POP. 1991	GROWTH%
CENTER			
TOTAL	1,589,298	1,470,586	-7.47%
EAST			
TOTAL	3,089,783	3,735,016	20.88%
NORTH			
TOTAL	1,629,733	1,760,706	8.04%
SOUTHEAST			
TOTAL	397,644	423,168	6.42%
SOUTHWEST			
TOTAL	1,545,860	2,009,440	29.99%
WEST			
TOTAL	240,908	247,269	2.64%
SÃO PAULO	8,493,226	9,646,185	13.58%

Compiled by Donald Price, 2004.

Now, with regard to the São Paulo region, while the entire west side of the city grew the most in proportion to 1980, the east side grew far more in absolute terms. The southeast side, which corresponds to the industrial cities of the “ABCD” region (Santo André, São Bernardo, São Caetano, and Diadema) grew 25%, or by nearly five hundred thousand people. The entire west and northwest side, although they grew by 75%, “only” added three hundred thousand people! The east side, though it also added “only” three hundred thousand people, grew by 60%, while the metro São Paulo area grew by 22% during the decade, somewhat more slowly than the previous decade’s rate of growth, at nearly 55%! (See Appendix I)

Finally, it is clear that there is very little room for the city itself to grow. Although the east and the southwest sides of São Paulo proper show strong growth at 20% and 30% for the decade, the adjacent cities in the metropolitan region grow at nearly 60% and 75% over the same period! São Paulo's growth is shifting to the outskirts of the city, where income levels tend to be lower.

**GREATER SÃO
PAULO
GROWTH
BETWEEN 1980
AND 1991**

REGION	GROWTH BY DECADE OR PERIOD%		
	Pop. 1980	Pop. 1991	1991/1980
CENTER	8,967,769	10,214,410	13.90%
NORTHWEST	297,978	493,914	65.76%
WEST	152,436	293,996	92.87%
NORTHWEST AND WEST COMPOSITE	450,414	787,910	74.93%
SOUTHWEST	287,466	465,466	61.92%
SOUTHEAST	1,652,781	2,048,674	23.95%
EAST	519,037	816,592	57.33%

NORTHEAST	579,227	863,463	49.07%
NORTH	132,031	248,426	88.16%
GREATER SÃO PAULO	12,588,725	15,444,941	22.69%

Fonte: IBGE;
 Sinopse
 Preliminar do
 Censo
 Demográfico de
 1960, Censos
 Demográficos de
 1970, 1980, 1991
 e Contagem da
 População 1996.
 (Synopsis of the
 Preliminary
 Demographic
 Census of 1960,
 the Demographic
 Censes of 1970,
 1980, 1991, and
 the Population
 Count of 1996.)
 Compiled by Emplasa, 1997.
 Summary by Donald Price,
 2004.

Conclusion

Metropolitan São Paulo, with its nearly seventeen million inhabitants, still follows the pattern established by its Portuguese colonizers some four hundred and fifty years ago, when it was settled as a trading station with the Indians. The upper and upper middle classes, with few exceptions, live in the very center of the metropolitan

area, while the poorest of the poor are banished to the four corners of the metropolis. Between them live the middle and working classes, struggling to maintain a niche within modern society.

As the city grew and took on the kernel of its current shape in the late 1800s and early 1900s, it was divided by the rail lines that were built along the banks of its (then) two main rivers, the Tamanduateí and the Tietê. The city center remained to the south and west sides of the intersection of these rivers and rail lines, while the working classes moved, for the most part, to the east side of their crossing. Although the city center has shifted somewhat further west, to Avenida Paulista from the Sé and República neighborhoods, the wealthy, on the whole, remain in the “expanded center” to the west and southwest of the “old center.”

Industrial corridors fan out to the west, the northeast, and southeast from the city center, offering regular employment to those fortunate or skilled enough to find jobs. Around these corridors the middle class settles. The remaining spaces are filled in by the lower middle class, who do not have access to these regular sources of employment. Finally, in the four corners of the metropolitan area, those with the most difficult access to the city’s sources of wealth, the poorest of the poor settle.

During the 1980s, despite the fact the metropolitan area grew over 20% and the city of São Paulo grew over 13%, the city center actually shrank. Together with the explosive growth experienced by Santana de Parnaíba, to the northwest, this suggests that significant numbers of the São Paulo’s wealthy fled the perceived risk of the city to the closed condominiums of Alphaville, São Paulo’s answer to suburban living!

In addition, virtually the entire region experienced explosive growth, while São Paulo proper “merely” grew 13%. The poor and working classes continue to settle in a ring around, but at some distance from, the city center. Metro São Paulo, a city of nearly seventeen million, remains an archetypical Iberian city.

Chapter 6

Brazilian Baptist Growth in São Paulo: 1980 - 1991

This chapter will examine Brazilian Baptist growth in metropolitan São Paulo during the period between the last two major censuses, in 1980 and 1991 (IBGE, 1997: *passim*). A comparison will be made between the growth of the city of São Paulo as a whole and Brazilian Baptist growth in each of the major regions of the metropolitan area.

The study will assume the accuracy of the Brazilian Census Bureau's (IBGE) statistics and the relative accuracy of the statistics published by the Baptist Convention of the State of São Paulo in its annual *Livro do Mensageiro* (literally, "messenger's book," the guide to Convention activities given to each official representative of each local church to the State Convention). *Relative accuracy* is meant to communicate that, although the State Convention's statistical gathering and record keeping system is flawed from a scientific viewpoint, it is *consistently flawed*. Similar errors occur from year to year, making it possible to chart the Brazilian Baptist growth rate in metropolitan São Paulo with relative confidence, if not the actual number of Baptists in the State.

One further caveat is in order. *Every member* of a local Baptist church is, by definition, a *communicant member*. Brazilian Baptists are not in the habit of counting the *church community*, only those who have identified themselves publicly with the local church.

Due to the Baptist understanding of the local church as the community of the redeemed, only those who have given credible evidence of conversion and been baptized are permitted to join a local

church as members. As a matter of fact, most Brazilian Baptist churches not only require baptismal candidates to give a credible profession of faith, but they also expect said candidate to answer questions put to him or her by both the church leadership and the members at large in a public congregational meeting.⁷¹

Description of Metropolitan São Paulo

According to the Brazilian Census Bureau (IBGE), the São Paulo region had a total of 15,075,389 inhabitants in 1990, of which 9,297,456 live in the city of São Paulo itself (November 29, 1998). In 1980, the city proper had 8,493,226 inhabitants, while the metropolitan region had 12,588,725, meaning the city grew 13.58% over this period, while the region grew by 22.69%.

Metropolitan São Paulo is understood to include the following municipalities, divided by the State Planning Commission into the following eight regions (EMPLASA, 1985):

REGION	MUNICIPALITIES INCLUDED
Center	São Paulo, Osasco
Northwest	Carapicuíba, Barueri, Cajamar, Santana de Parnaíba, Pirapora do Bom Jesus
West	Cotia, Vargem Grande Paulista, Itapevi, Jandira
Southwest	Taboão da Serra, Itapeverica da Serra, Embu, Embu-Guaçu, Juquitiba
Southeast	Santo André, São Bernardo, do Campo, São Caetano do Sul, Mauá, Diadema, Ribeirão Pires, Rio Grande da Serra
East	Mogi das Cruzes, Suzano, Poá, Itaquaquecetuba, Ferraz de Vasconcelos, Guararema, Salesópolis, Biritiba-Mirim
Northeast	Guarulhos, Arujá, Santa Isabel
North	Franco da Rocha, Mairiporã, Caieiras, Francisco Morato

⁷¹ Most such interviews are irenic. Still, it is usually a tense moment for the candidate and sometimes requires deft handling by the pastor or leader directing the meeting.

Going counterclockwise from 6 o'clock on the map: the southwest region includes Embu-Guaçu, Taboão da Serra, Itapecerica da Serra, Embu, and Juquitiba. The Western region includes Cotia, Vargem Grande Paulista, Itapevi, and Jandira. The Northwestern region includes Carapicuíba, Barueri, Cajamar, Santana de Parnaíba, and Pirapora do Bom Jesus. The Central Region includes São Paulo and Osasco, while the northern region covers Franco da Rocha, Mairiporã, Caieiras, and Francisco Morato. The northeast covers Guarulhos, Arujá, and Santa Isabel, while the east covers Mogi das Cruzes, Suzano, Poá, Itaquaquecetuba, Ferraz de Vasconcelos, Guararema, Salesópolis, and Biritiba-Mirim. Finally, the southeast covers the cities of Santo André, São Bernardo, do Campo, São Caetano do Sul, Mauá, Diadema, Ribeirão Pires, and Rio Grande da Serra.



Brazilian Baptists began their work in this city of (then) 250,000 in May of 1899. As the city has grown from 250,000 to sixteen million, so have Brazilian Baptists grown, from 38 to over 60,000 (see Appendix J).

When and where have Brazilian Baptists grown in this giant metropolis? It is the intention of this chapter to identify not only whether Brazilian Baptists in the city of São Paulo have grown, but where they have and have not done so.

How, then, are Baptists in this metropolis organized? To what extent do their regional associations correspond to the city's regions as determined by the state government?

It will be assumed that the following regional associations of Brazilian Baptist churches correspond roughly to the following regions of the city.⁷²

CITY REGION	CORRESPONDING ASSOCIATIONS
Center:	Abancisp, Central, East Central, Northeast Capital, Northwest Capital, Southern Capital, Western Capital
Northwest	Osasco and Vicinity (Barueri, Carapicuíba, Cotia, Ibiúna, Itapevi, Jandira, Osasco)
West	Pinheiros and vicinity (some SP, mostly Taboão da Serra, Embu, & Itapeçerica da Serra)
Southwest	Southwest Capital
Southeast	ABC (Santo <u>A</u> ndré, São <u>B</u> ernardo, São <u>C</u> aetano do Sul)
East	Mogi das Cruzes and vicinity (Mogi, Suzano, Poá, Itaquaquecetuba) & Eastern Capital
Northeast	Central Brazilian, Guarulhos and vicinity (Arujá, Guarulhos, Santa Isabel)
North	Northern Capital

The central region has the largest number of associations, including Abancisp, Central, East Central, Northeast Capital, Northwest Capital, Southern Capital, and Western Capital, while the southwest region has only one association: the Southwest Capital Association.

The western region also has only one association: Pinheiros and Vicinity. So also the southwest and northwest regions: the Southwest regional association and the Osasco and Vicinity

⁷² See Appendix J for the tables covering compilation of the statistics regarding the growth of *every church* reported in these regional associations during the decade under study. This chapter is based on those compiled statistics. The *Livro do Mensageiro* for each year lists each church's membership statistics for that year, organized by association. After these statistics were compiled, each association's growth rate could be calculated. The conclusive data from each table will be included in this chapter, while the basic data remains in the Appendix.

association, respectively. The Northern Capital association represents the north, while both the Central Brazilian and the Guarulhos and Vicinity associations are in the northeast. Finally, the southeastern region is represented by the church growth star of the decade, the ABC association.⁷³

The Southwest Region

SOUTHWEST REGIONAL ASSOCIATIONS (Southwest Capital)											
Southwest Capital											
	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991
TOTAL	2,925	2,669	3,040	3,181	3,407	3,624	4,183	4,495	4,704	4,847	4,900
PERCENT GROWTH		-8.75%	13.90%	4.64%	7.10%	6.37%	15.42%	7.46%	4.65%	3.04%	1.09%
DECADAL GROWTH	66%										

The Southwestern regional association began the decade with 2925 members in 14 churches. By the end of 1991, it had reached a total of 4900 members in 28 churches, thus doubling its number of churches, while increasing its membership by 66%.

METROPOLITAN SÃO PAULO RESIDENT POPULATION BY REGIONS 1980 - 1991

REGION	RESIDENT POPULATION		
	POP. 1980	POP. 1991	GROWTH%
CENTER			
TOTAL	1,589,298	1,470,586	-7.47%
EAST			
TOTAL	3,608,820	4,551,608	26.12%
NORTH			
TOTAL	1,761,764	2,009,132	14.04%

⁷³ So called because its principal cities are Santo André, São Bernardo, and São Caetano.

The Pinheiros Association, the only one in its region, began the decade with 1502 members in 9 churches. At the end of the decade, it had 1986 members in 14 churches, for a growth in membership of 32%.

The Northwestern Region

NORTHWESTERN REGIONAL ASSOCIATIONS (Osasco & Vicinity)											
Osasco & Vicinity											
	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991
TOTAL	3384	3554	3575	3707	3874	4713	4395	4717	4989	5058	5160
PERCENT GROWTH		5.02%	0.59%	3.69%	4.50%	21.66%	-6.75%	7.33%	5.77%	1.38%	2.02%
DECADAL GROWTH	49%										5220

The Osasco Association, in the Northwest, began the decade with 3384 members in 22 churches, and ended the decade with 5160 members in 35 churches. Its membership growth rate was 49% for the period. The region of the metropolitan area covered by these two associations, Osasco and Pinheiros, grew 35%, from just under 1.2 million people to just over 1.6 million people. Together, these associations grew from roughly to forty four hundred people to seventy two hundred, or 63% for the decade.

Again, the Baptist groups in this region, though relatively small, grew at roughly twice the region's rate of growth. This region claims members of the lower middle, middle, and upper middle to upper classes as residents. It should be noted that virtually all of the Baptist growth took place among churches that tend to the lower middle and working middle classes. Virtually no Baptist growth occurred among the upper middle and classes, *despite the fact that these grew explosively during the decade in this region.*

The Central Region covers the downtown and surrounding area, including the near east side of the city. It experienced good growth, *as compared to a population growth of -7.5%*, although not as spectacular as northeastern, eastern, and southeastern regions. The Abancisp Association, just north of downtown, began the decade with 2220 members in 14 churches, ending it with 3520 members in 20 churches, for a growth rate of 42% over the ten year span. The Downtown Association began the period with 5958 members in 12 churches, ending it with 6569 members in 17 churches, for 10% growth.

The East Central Association goes on record as the only Association of churches to lose membership over the decade. Beginning the period with 1825 members in 9 churches, it manages to add a church while shrinking to 1608 members, although it bounces back in 1991.

The Northeast Capital Association begins the period with 1472 members in 10 churches, ending with 2044 members in 13, for a growth rate of 39%. The Northwest Capital Association, on the other hand, manages the stunning growth rate of 7%, beginning with 1628 members in 12 churches, and ending with 1740 in 15 churches.

Finally, the Southern Capital churches manage to grow by 120% in their nine year lifetime, beginning with 411 members in 4 churches, and ending with a membership of 904 in 9 churches. The Western Capital churches grow 31%, from 2352 members in 18 churches, to 3076 members in 24 churches.

Overall, the Central Association grew 24%, from 15,455 members in 67 churches to 19,089 members in 108 churches.

The associations in the center of the metropolitan area grew by 50% over the decade, from just under forty thousand members to just

over sixty thousand. In a region whose overall population growth was in the negative numbers, this result is nothing short of spectacular! Finally, São Paulo's upper middle and upper classes are concentrated in this area. It would appear that the Baptists do very well among São Paulo's elite!!

The Southeastern Region

SOUTHEASTERN REGIONAL BAPTIST ASSOCIATIONS (ABC)											
ABC											
	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991
TOTAL	4,934	5,739	5,825	6,447	6,626	7,101	8,107	8,969	9,839	10,013	10,016
PERCENT GROWTH		16.32%	1.50%	10.68%	2.78%	7.17%	14.17%	10.63%	9.70%	1.77%	0.03%
DECADAL GROWTH	103%										

Finally, the ABC churches grew 103%, from 4934 members in 24 churches to 10,013 members in 51 churches. At the same time, the corresponding metropolitan region grew some 20%, from just over two million to just under two and a half million people. Though relatively small in absolute terms, Baptists did very well in this almost exclusively middle class area of the metropolis.

Summary Based on Growth

BAPTIST ASSOCIATIONS IN METROPOLITAN SAO PAULO, BY REGION, 1981-1990											
	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991
SOUTHWEST											
Southwest Capital	2,925	2,669	3,040	3,181	3,407	3,624	4,183	4,495	4,704	4,847	4,900
WEST											
Pinheiros & Vicinity	1,502	1,560	1,485	1,439	1,556	1,561	1,744	1,971	1,975	1,986	1,986
NORTHWEST											
Osasco & Vicinity	3384	3554	3575	3707	3874	4713	4395	4717	4989	5058	5160
NORTH											
Northern Capital	2225	2467	2638	2592	2648	2648	2915	2922	2906	2879	3024

NORTHEAST											
Central Brazilian	4686	5555	5632	5752	5763	3780	4089	4495	4643	5029	5043
Guarulhos & Vicinity	1039	1346	1316	1410	1418	1418	1374	1756	1900	2049	2072
EAST											
Eastern Capital	3,211	3,779	3,965	4,063	4,347	4,839	4,816	5,535	5,427	5,628	5,620
Mogi das Cruzes / East Metropolitan	0	0	0	0	0	2,295	2,295	2,451	2,461	2,493	2,443
SOUTHEAST											
Abc	4,934	5,739	5,825	6,447	6,626	7,101	8,107	8,969	9,839	10,013	10,016
CENTER											
Abancisp	2,220	2,435	2,646	2,533	2,526	2,723	2,803	3,082	3,331	3,148	3,250
Central (Downtown)	5,958	6,609	6,794	6,798	6,670	6,641	6,332	6,757	6,601	6,569	6,569
Vila Prudente / East Central	1,825	1,625	1,990	1,975	1,905	1,704	1,627	1,627	1,595	1,608	2,131
Northeast Capital	1,472	1,750	1,781	1,746	1,803	2,434	1,933	1,899	2,044	2,044	2,018
Freguesia do Ó / Northwest Capital	1,628	1,440	1,637	1,616	1,632	1,610	1,720	1,832	1,833	1,740	1,803
Southern Capital	0	411	467	516	516	673	869	1,021	905	904	904
Western Capital	2,352	2,511	2,249	2,289	2,305	2,305	2,757	3,013	3,122	3,076	3,173
TOTAL	39,361	43,450	45,040	46,064	46,996	50,069	51,959	56,542	58,275	59,071	60,112
YEARLY GROWTH		10.39%	3.66%	2.27%	2.02%	6.54%	3.77%	8.82%	3.06%	1.37%	1.76%
DECADAL GROWTH	31%										

Overall, Brazilian Baptists in metropolitan São Paulo grew 31%, from 39,361 communicant church members in 239 churches in 1981, to 60,112 members in 381 churches in 1991. When compared to the growth of the city itself, one discovers that Brazilian Baptists in São Paulo grew at 50% more than the rate of population growth. At first blush, this appears to indicate that Brazilian Baptists are prospering in the city.

A more careful analysis reveals that Brazilian Baptists are having their greatest success in the north, northeast, and southeast, areas that are entirely urban, and known for their high residential concentrations. In comparison, they are growing the least downtown, where their individual churches are the largest, and in an area known for its smokestack industry; *and where São Paulo's population actually shrank during the decade.*

For the most part, Brazilian Baptists did very well among the middle classes, primarily among the upper middle and middle class, although they also grew in the lower middle class areas of São Paulo. Where they did *not* grow was among the lower class, the poorest of the poor.

Although a couple of associations fared poorly, in no *region* did the Brazilian Baptists fail to grow present good rates of growth in comparison to the rate of population growth.

Comparison Based on Membership Statistics

How does this compare to Brazilian Baptists' relative strength, as calculated by their overall membership? In other words, did the Brazilian Baptists grow	BRAZILIAN BAPTIST MEMBERSHIP RELATIVE TO METRO POPULATION			
equally well	Metro São Paulo Regions & Districts	Region's Proportion of Metro Population	Baptist Membership	Regional membership in proportion to Baptist pop.
throughout the	SOUTHWEST	3.01%	6,886	11.09%
region, or did	WEST	1.90%	1,986	3.20%
some regions fare	NORTHWEST	3.20%	5,160	8.31%
better than	NORTH	1.61%	3,024	4.87%
others?	NORTHEAST	5.59%	7,111	11.45%
	EAST	5.29%	8,063	12.99%
	SOUTHEAST	13.26%	10,016	16.13%
	CENTER	66.13%	19,848	31.96%

According to the following table, extracted from Appendix R, in terms of membership, Brazilian Baptists do remarkably well in a ring that extends from the southwest to the east side of the city, skirting the city center. They do reasonably well on the southeast side, *and disastrously poorly in the city center*. This in terms of membership.

When overall church membership is compared to church growth, it would appear that the Brazilian Baptists did remarkably well in the southeast, ABCD, region of the metropolis during the 80s. They saw more growth there than their membership would suggest. Interestingly enough, Brazilian Baptists appear to be a suburban phenomenon in São Paulo.

How do Brazilian Baptists fare in comparison to Baptists as a whole? This table, extracted from Appendix T, suggests two glaring discrepancies between Baptists as a group, and the Brazilian Baptists, in particular.⁷⁴ First, the Brazilian Baptists appear

REGION	BAPTISTS	CITY POPULATION	CITY POP PROP TO GREATER SP	BAPTIST MEMBERSHIP PROP TO METRO TOTAL
SOUTHWEST	3,520	465,477	2.89%	2.51%
WEST	1,358	294,005	1.83%	0.97%
NORTHWEST	4,127	493,919	3.07%	2.94%
NORTH	861	248,425	1.54%	0.61%
NORTHEAST	6,810	863,473	5.36%	4.86%
EAST	7,383	816,595	5.07%	5.27%
SOUTHEAST	19,967	2,048,683	12.72%	14.25%
CENTER				
Osasco - SP	10,782	1,232,814	7.65%	7.69%
São Paulo - SP	85,351	9,646,182	59.88%	60.90%
Subtotal	96,133	10,878,996	67.53%	68.59%
Total per category	140,159	16,109,573	100.00%	100.00%
METRO SP	146,272	16,567,330		

Source: IBGE, 14/09/99
Compiled by Donald Price, 2004.

to do very poorly in the city centers, while Baptists as a whole do slightly better than average in the city centers. Second, Brazilian Baptists are having greater success on both the southeast side of the metropolitan area, the ABCD region, and the west side than are

⁷⁴ Although Brazilian Baptists are the largest Baptist group, there are, of course, others. A number of fundamentalist Baptist groups, stemming from the U.S. Regular and Bible Baptist movements have works here, as well as the National Baptist Convention, a charismatic offshoot of the Brazilian Baptists.

Baptists as a group. It would appear that Brazilian Baptists compensate for their relatively poor showing in the city center by doing exceptionally well on the outskirts of São Paulo.

Conclusion

So, it would seem that Brazilian Baptists are well adapted to the urban environment, as indicated by their growth in metropolitan São Paulo, for the most part at over double the rate of population growth. They appear to do much better than average among the middle and lower middle classes; and not at well among the lower class.

At the same time, Brazilian Baptists appear to do relatively poorly in the city center, among the upper classes, in particular. They are severely underrepresented among this group. It would appear that the early missionaries institutional strategy did not result in significant numbers of conversions or churches planted among São Paulo's elite. Evidently, other Baptist groups, that did not make this institutional investment, actually fare better among the city's elite than do the Brazilian Baptists!

Brazilian Baptists grew quite well on the southeast side of town, in the ABCD region, among the working middle class that established itself there as that region grew during the 1980s.

It will be interesting to compare Brazilian Baptist growth with that of the Assemblies of God, precisely to determine whether 1) Brazilian Baptist growth is optimal, and 2) to what extent Brazilian Baptists are better equipped to succeed among the middle and upper middle classes, as opposed to the lower middle and lower class. It would certainly appear that they have their greatest success among the upper middle and middle classes.

Chapter 7

Assembléia de Deus Growth in São Paulo: 1980 - 1991

This chapter will examine the growth of the Belém ministry of the Assemblies of God in Metropolitan São Paulo between the last two published IBGE censuses, in 1980 and 1991 (IBGE, 1997, *passim*). A comparison will be made between the growth of the metropolitan area and the growth of the Belém ministry in each of its major regions.

This study will assume the accuracy of the Brazilian Census Bureau's (IBGE) statistics and those provided the author by the headquarters of the Belém ministry. The author was not permitted direct access to the ministry's membership rolls. In fact, the AD does not have membership rolls! Instead, they record baptisms and ministerial consecrations. Much like the Roman Catholic Church, no one ever ceases to be considered a member of the Assemblies of God in Brazil.

Relative accuracy is meant to communicate that, although the AD's statistics may be flawed, they are *consistently flawed*. That is, the same mistakes are likely to be repeated from year to year, thus allowing comparisons *between* the statistics provided. The quality of the AD's record keeping is, in fact, one of this study's major flaws. AD estimates of their membership are consistently higher than those of the Brazilian Census Bureau, the IBGE, *precisely because the Brazilian Assemblies of God do not record membership data*, per se. Nonetheless, one expects to be able to make internal comparisons between the statistics the AD does record.

Thus, estimates of AD *growth* will be extrapolated from the numbers of baptisms recorded in each of the ministries subordinated

to the Belém ministry in greater São Paulo. The representative nature of the Belém ministry is also presumed, inasmuch as the AD's "denominational" structure does not allow for centralized record keeping. Each AD ministry is, in fact, autonomous and not subordinate to any other body. The CGADB (*Convenção Geral das Assembléias de Deus no Brasil*) is, in fact, more of a network of related ministries than a denominational body. In this regard, Brazilian Baptists show a stronger degree of denominational cohesiveness than do the Assemblies of God.

A word about baptisms in the Assemblies of God in Brazil. One is baptized as soon as one makes a profession of faith, in the same service, if at all possible. Since there are no records kept of people who stay with, or quit, the Assemblies, there is no necessary correlation between baptisms and membership. It will be assumed, for the purposes of this study, that it takes roughly the same number of people to lead someone else to a profession of faith from year to year. In other words, it will be assumed that an increase or decrease in baptisms correlates roughly to an increase or decrease in church membership.

Another datum that will be crosschecked involves ministerial ordinations. The Belém ministry has two levels of ministry, lay and clergy. Pastors and evangelists are considered clergy, while deacons, presbyters, and other lay ministers may also be ordained. One can expect ordinations to follow the growth curve somewhat, and that will be shown to be the case in the Belém ministry. Overall growth in baptisms throughout the decade is slightly less than ordinations of lay ministers, and significantly less than clerical ordinations (pastors and presbyters). This suggests a slowing growth curve.

Further, both baptisms and ordinations are *church or parish* based statistics, not residence based. While most people who frequent a church live somewhere near it, many do not. The Census Bureau's statistics, on the other hand, are based on *residence*. While there should be significant overlap between the two types of statistic, there will be some differences.

Finally, while the Belém ministry recorded overall baptisms for the 1980s, it did not do so by sector until the 1990s. Baptisms for the first years of the 90s were recorded by sector, then calculated as to their proportion to overall baptisms to determine where the ministry's greatest strength lay. This entire process would be greatly simplified if the Brazilian Census Bureau recorded its religious statistics according to district. However, those statistics are, at best, tabulated by municipality and by Meso-region.

The number of people baptized in the Belém ministry does not appear to very good indicator of the ministry's overall growth, as the numbers do not grow with any consistency until the second half of the decade. Still, they suggest overall growth on the order of 30% during the 1980s.

Ordinations show a similar pattern of growth over the decade. Lay ordinations grew by some 37%, while clerical ordinations grew by over 200%. IBGE statistics for the period suggest that overall AD membership doubled in the metro São Paulo area from one hundred thirteen thousand to over two hundred thirty thousand.

Yearly Baptisms 1980-1990

Year	Total
1980	3,268
1981	2,104
1982	4,642
1983	2,561
1984	3,257
1985	2,168
1986	2,521
1987	3,317
1988	3,695
1989	3,780
1990	4,105
Total	35,418
Average	3,220
Median	3695

The Belém ministry's baptismal statistics suggest it began to see significant growth in the second half of the decade, growth that continued into the 1990s. It innovated early and began to consecrate lay deacons and presbyters early in the 1980s. Since its ministerial ordinations far outstrip its increase in baptisms, as well as the lay consecrations, it may be best to understand that the Belém ministry's growth paralleled the number of baptisms it performed (likely). As a result, other AD ministries probably grew more, if the Assemblies of God overall grew more than 100% in the metropolitan area. Alternately, the Belém ministry's growth paralleled that of the Ads overall.

In any case, it would appear that the Belém ministry's growth was somewhere around 30%, overall, for the decade; and that the number of baptisms performed in the early 90s by its sectors reflects their relative strength within the overall ministry. (Note – Since the Brazilian Assemblies of God effectively use an Episcopal form of government *within* each ministry, the sectors are its geographical subdivisions, *roughly* equivalent to Catholic parishes, and covering similar geographic areas to the Baptist associations.)

If this is correct, then the Belém ministry's growth during the decade was considerably less than other segments of the Assemblies of God, and quite similar to that of the Brazilian Baptists. In some ways, this would make sense, inasmuch as the Belém ministry is likely the most institutionalized of the Assemblies' ministries in São Paulo.

The Belém ministry *did* begin to record baptisms by sector in the early 1990s. This should allow us to deduce that ministry's relative strength in each sector, based on the number of baptisms performed (see Appendix P). This also means that we will ultimately be comparing the Brazilian Baptists' *growth* with the Belém ministry's

relative *strength* in different areas of the city. Still, this should give us some idea of where, and with what kind of people, each group is most successful.

Finally, the IBGE *was* able to provide *some* data on the relative placement of *all* varieties of Baptist and Assemblies of God in the metropolitan area through a special query of their database I contracted. However, the Brazilian Census Bureau did not break down its 1991 statistics by districts within the city of São Paulo, merely by municipality. Nonetheless, this should enable us to verify to what extent the Belém AD's distribution is consistent with that of the Assemblies of God in general in greater São Paulo, inasmuch as this is a membership statistic, and not merely one relating to baptisms, or ordinations.

AD Growth in Metropolitan São Paulo

To what extent did the Belém AD ministry grow in the metro São Paulo area during the 80s? Based on the number of baptisms performed, it would appear they grew by roughly a third, or just over 33%. It would also appear they grew between 30% and 40%, based on the number of ordinations to the "lower" orders of ministry.

Where did they grow? Unfortunately, that is not a question that can be answered directly. However, one can adduce their relative strength, based on the baptisms performed in the early 90s, including districts within the city of São Paulo.

And one can adduce the distribution of Assemblies of God members throughout greater São Paulo, based on the census bureau's estimates of all AD membership in the municipalities in the region, but not their distribution *within* the city of São Paulo proper. Since this one city claims roughly 60% of the region's population, not

providing a breakdown by city districts, many of which are larger than some nearby municipalities, allows for a significant gap in the our ability to analyze the AD on the basis of the IBGE findings. Still, if the IBGE membership figures show roughly the same proportions to all AD membership in the region as the Belém ministry's baptismal figures show to all of their baptisms, then one can assume with a fair degree of certainty that the Belém ministry's distribution is similar to that of all of the Assemblies of God in the metro region. The following chart, extracted from Appendix R, will help us picture the distribution of the Belém ministry's baptisms.

Metro São Paulo Regions & Districts	AD Belém Baptisms	Proportion of total Baptisms	Region's Proportion of Metro Population
SOUTHWEST	260	4.54%	3.01%
WEST	123	2.15%	1.90%
NORTHWEST	383	6.68%	3.20%
NORTH	255	4.45%	1.61%
NORTHEAST	504	8.80%	5.59%
EAST	511	8.92%	5.29%
SOUTHEAST	350	6.11%	13.26%
CENTER	3,344	58.36%	66.13%
TOTAL	5,730	100%	100%

Compiled by Donald Price, 2004.

Based on the above table, the Belém ministry performed 5730 baptisms in between November of 1991 and August of 1992 (See Appendix U). They appear to have improved considerably on their 1980s average, inasmuch as baptisms are recorded quarterly.

The Belém ministry appears to have performed proportionately as many baptisms on the West and Southwest sides of the city as their population is to that of the whole metro area. In the center, the Belém

ministry appears to be slightly underrepresented, while it is greatly underrepresented on the Southeast side of the city, that which corresponds to the ABCD region. It does quite well in the rest of the city, although its best relative results stretch in a band from the northwest to the north, to the northeast and east.

How does this compare with the Census Bureau's estimate of the membership of the Assemblies of God as a whole in metropolitan

REGION	ASSEMBLÉIA DE DEUS	CITY POPULATION	<i>CITY POP PROP TO GREATER SP</i>	AD MEMBERSHIP PROP TO METRO TOTAL
SOUTHWEST	9,921	465,477	2.89%	3.76%
WEST	9,729	294,005	1.83%	3.68%
NORTHWEST	12,163	493,919	3.07%	4.61%
NORTH	6,920	248,425	1.54%	2.62%
NORTHEAST	17,541	863,473	5.36%	6.64%
EAST	16,961	816,595	5.07%	6.42%
SOUTHEAST	33,446	2,048,683	12.72%	12.67%
CENTER				
Osasco - SP	30,368	1,232,814	7.65%	11.50%
São Paulo - SP	126,974	9,646,182	59.88%	48.09%
Subtotal	157,342	10,878,996	67.53%	59.59%
Total per category	264,023	16,109,573	100.00%	100.00%
METRO SP	258,437	16,567,330		

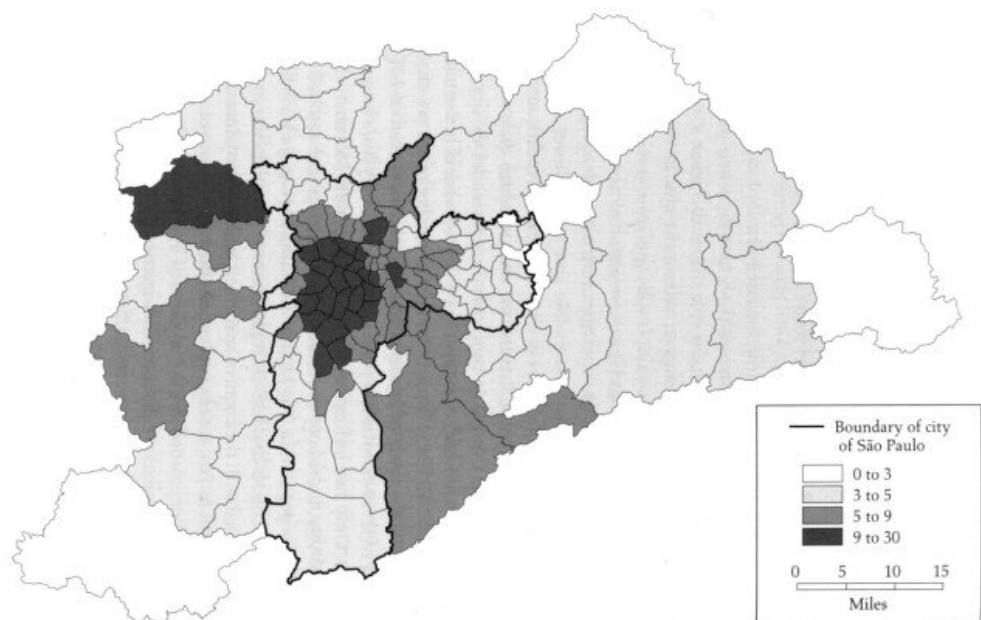
Source: IBGE, 14/09/99
Compiled by Donald Price,
2004.

São Paulo?

The Assemblies of God, as a whole, are relatively underrepresented on the Southwest and West sides of São Paulo, as well as in the centers of the cities of São Paulo and Osasco. Where the

Belém ministry does not fare very well, on the Southeast side of the city, the Assemblies, as a whole, seem to be as well represented as they should. Where the Belém ministry does quite well, on the northwest, north, and northeast, other Assemblies ministries also appear to do well, although the Belém ministry does relatively better on the east and northeast sides of the city than do its sister ministries. Since the Belém ministry was founded on the east side and its “pastor presidente’s” church, home to the entire ministry, is on the east side, this might explain its relative success. After all, the east side is its home turf!

Among what kind of people are the Assemblies most effective? Historically, the east side of São Paulo is where the city’s working class settled. So the Assemblies began among São Paulo’s working class and continue to do well among them.



Metro São Paulo by Income: The darker, the greater the income

Further, the northwest through the northeast sides of São Paulo are where the lower middle and the lower classes live. So also

the southwest side, where the Assemblies are overrepresented. The center of São Paulo, where the Assemblies are underrepresented, is where the wealthiest citizens live. Although the Assemblies as a whole appear to do adequately well on the southeast side, the Belém ministry fares relatively poorly there. All of this evidence is consistent with the thesis that the Assemblies of God in Brazil are more of a popular movement than a middle or upper middle class one.

Chapter 8

Conclusion

Although the Assemblies of God work in Brazil sprang from a Brazilian Baptist church, the AD and CBB works have, in reality, very different roots. The Brazilian Assembléias de Deus have their genesis in the very beginnings of the first wave of the worldwide Pentecostal movement, one begun among the working classes of Los Angeles and poor farmers in Kansas. Vingren and Berg disembarked in Recife as penniless Baptist missionaries not ten years after the movement began. Not only that, but they arrived in Brazil well after the proclamation of the Republic, when the formal battle for religious freedom had already been won, and Brazil was fully a secular state.

The Brazilian Baptists, on the other hand, have their roots in a group of Confederate immigrants / refugees from Texas who came to Brazil shortly after the south's defeat in the American Civil War. Brazil, at the time of their arrival, still allowed slavery. After settling in the interior of São Paulo, farming and minding their own business for some time, they decided to ask for help from the Southern Baptist Convention, whence they came, so they could evangelize the Brazilians nearby. At first, they wanted to become a mission station. Then they requested missionaries.

However, shortly after the Baptist missionaries arrived, they moved to Salvador, where they started what was to be considered the first Brazilian Baptist church, the First Baptist Church of Salvador. From then on, they implemented what was to be the standard Baptist strategy of working from the urban centers to the interior, despite having their beginning in the interior!

Further, the Southern Baptists sent, and supported, ever increasing numbers of American missionary families to assist the burgeoning work in Brazil. The first generation had significant numbers of workers raised on the American frontier. But succeeding generations saw more and more middle class missionaries arrive in Brazil. These missionaries were more comfortable in Brazil's cities; and preferred to start and operate institutions, primarily Christian schools and denominational seminaries. They believed that, through the schools, they could reach the upper classes; and that the seminaries were necessary to train Brazilian leaders.

The 1920s were a period of growing nationalism. As the Brazilian Baptist leadership saw more and more resources, both financial and personnel, dedicated to institution building, not evangelism and church planting, many rebelled. They demanded Brazilian control of the finances coming in from overseas so that those monies could be dedicated to evangelism and church planting in the hinterland, not to institution building in the cities.

At this time, the Baptists were seeing very respectable annual rates of growth, on the order of 100% per decade during the decade prior to the "radical question." During the decade following the resolution of the "radical question," the CBB's growth rate fell to 5% per year, still respectable, but not quite as good as it had been.

And how was this problem resolved? At first, a large number of pastors and churches left the convention. Then the leadership of the Foreign Mission Board of the Southern Baptist Convention was called to arbitrate the difficulty. As a result, boards made up of "Brazilian Baptists, independent of their country of birth" were constituted to tune the denomination's institutions. However, in practice, the day to day operations and support of these institutions remained in the

hands of American missionaries. It is this thesis' contention that the missionaries lost a golden opportunity to nationalize their institutions, hand over leadership to the Brazilians, and see their fledgling denomination retain its excellent growth rate. Instead, they effectively retained control of the denomination, its priorities and growth, for the next several decades, resulting in an effective loss of contextualization and especially relevance to Brazilian society, as a whole. The Baptists came to be more closely identified with the Brazilian middle classes, though they were really trying to reach the upper class.

Vingren and Berg behaved quite differently from the Southern Baptist missionaries who came to Brazil. First, very shortly after establishing the first AD church in Belém, they went into the interior to evangelize. Although the ADs spread from city to city, shortly becoming a national movement, the cities were used as jumping off points to head into the countryside. The Brazilian people, at this time, were in the countryside, and not in the cities!

One must also remember that the founders of the AD were Swedes, and not North Americans. They came to Brazil from Sweden, by way of the United States. Coincidentally or not, they found their way to a Brazilian Baptist church pastored by a Swedish missionary. And, when they did ask for foreign help, they received that help from Sweden, not from the United States. As a result, they received less of everything, particularly money and personnel. Thus, they found themselves obligated to do most everything as simply as possible. Since they didn't have enough money for both to go to language school, one worked while the other studied. Since they were unable to import missionary leadership, they were forced to prepare local leadership quickly and simply. As a result, according to Luis Wesley

de Souza, they developed a church 1) where laypeople are important, 2) that uses indigenous language and methods, 3) that is culturally, spiritually, and emotionally relevant, 4) that is connected to Brazilian culture, and 5) that is a place for the poor to feel (2003:296 – 301, *passim*)

The AD developed these characteristics very early on. As a result, when they faced their own “radical question” in the 1920s, they made very different choices, choices that influenced not only their own future, but that of the entire Pentecostal movement in this country. Rather than reigning in the dissidents, as the Baptists did, the Assembléia leadership, including the missionaries, allowed them to begin their own ministries. In one significant case, they even handed over the ministry they had begun, together with a splendid church building, to the dissidents, and began a new ministry! Thus was the Convenção Geral das Assembléias de Deus born. And this pattern continues to this day. Dissident leaders are free to start new ministries, with themselves as effective bishops, without breaking fellowship with the denomination.

This Swedish lack of social distance allowed the Assemblies to identify with the popular classes much more readily. In short, they became a popular (as in identified with the people) church, likely the most Brazilian of any of the Protestant denominations.. Further, the AD church became the largest Protestant denomination in Brazil, and gave birth to the rest of the Pentecostal movement here.

Still, this thesis asked, and attempts to answer another question: To what extent do strategic choices made in the “early days” of Protestant missionary activity in Brazil, or at least of these churches existence, still affect their ministry after sixty or more years, at least

insofar as can be demonstrated by each denomination's work in metropolitan São Paulo during the 1980s?

Several significant observations come to mind. First, the Brazilian Baptist Convention in São Paulo seems to be more restricted by those early choices than do the Assemblies of God, either in the guise of the Belém ministry, or as a whole. Brazilian Baptists still do very well among the middle and lower middle class. In fact, they managed to grow much faster than the surrounding population in these areas. However, the picture is not nearly so rosy on either extreme of the economic spectrum. In the center of São Paulo, Brazilian Baptists, although they grew well, were grossly underrepresented, suggesting their relative weakness in reaching the upper middle and upper classes that dominate the city center. Further, they also do quite poorly among the lower class, those with the most precarious living conditions.

Such is not the case, however, either with the Belém ministry, the Assemblies as a whole, or even with Baptists as a whole. The Assemblies, in particular, appear to do well in both the center of São Paulo and in its extremes – although the Brazilian Baptists seem to give them a run for their money in solidly middle class enclaves, like the ABCD region.

At the same time, the Assemblies appear to do better among the lower middle and lower class, in general, than among the upper middle and upper classes. Having begun on the east side of São Paulo as a working class movement, they continue to do quite well among the working class. Here there is very little difference between the Belém ministry and the Assemblies as a whole, with the possible exception of the southeast, where the Assemblies as a whole do better than the Belém ministry.

With regard to overall growth, the Brazilian Baptists grew at over 30% during the decade, roughly 50% better than the population, respectable by any standards, but still far less than they had been growing before the “radical question.” Curiously enough, the Belém ministry does not appear to have grown any more than the Brazilian Baptists during the 80s, while the Assemblies of God, as a whole, more than doubled in the metropolitan area during the same time. One could attribute this to greater institutionalization, or to some sort of internal difficulties that were later worked out. The latter appears to be the case, inasmuch as baptisms grew by 50% in 1991 and 1992 over their 1990 total.

Further, not only did the Southern Baptist missionaries decision to invest in institution building, notably the Christian schools they founded, not result in their reaching the upper classes as they had originally intended, it hindered them in their general church work. In short, the way to reaching the Brazilian masses lay not in creating institutions, it lay in working with the people at a popular level, as the Assemblies effectively demonstrate.

In fact, this is an area where less is more. Despite the fact that the Brazilian Baptists received literally hundreds of missionaries and at least tens of millions of dollars, in today's dollars, in ministerial subsidies over the last century, they were not able to develop as dynamic a church as did the Assemblies missionaries, many of them Swedish Baptists, likely because the foreign subsidies were linked to foreign control of the denominational apparatus. To a very large extent, a church that learns to depend on its own resources, however meager they may appear to the foreign eye, will likely minister more effectively among its people than a church that learns to depend on

outside resources, particularly if those resources are tied to outside control of church affairs.

This should be highly encouraging to missionary strategists. No matter how many resources we can muster, they are always limited. The Assemblies experience, where local leadership was developed from the start; and where foreign missionaries, in addition to starting and, yes, pastoring a few churches, limited themselves to relatively few public leadership roles, and contented themselves with support roles, suggests that relatively few missionaries are needed for the new church to prosper, *if those missionaries are willing to train local leaders and then get out of the way*. The result, at least as shown by the experience of the Assemblies of God in Brazil, specifically in São Paulo, is that the local churches will develop their own reproducible patterns of leadership development, and stay close to the people, while also introducing the life changing message of the gospel.

Do the local church's beginnings become their destiny? To a large extent, the Assembléia and Brazilian Baptist experience would suggest that certain key decisions, taken in the early days of ministry, will have an enduring impact on the church's growth and development. Perhaps *the key decision* involves how soon and how completely real leadership is placed in local hands. The Assemblies decision to ordain ministers very early on in their work, to train ministers through the local churches and, above all, to cede real overall control of church affairs fairly early in their history allowed them to become a popular movement, in the fullest sense of the word. The Baptist strategy of reaching out to the upper middle and upper classes was simply not as successful, not even ultimately among these classes.

Appendices

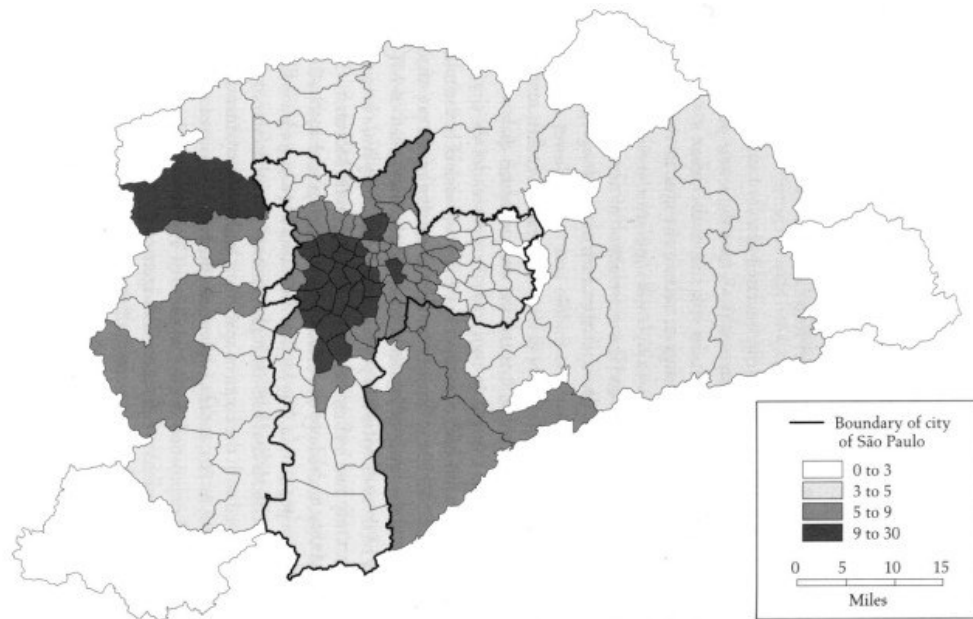
Appendix A: Greater São Paulo by Income

GREATER SÃO PAULO BY INCOME

DISTRICT / MUNICIPALITY	INCOME LEVEL (MULTIPLES OF MINIMUM WAGE)	SECTOR	DISTRICT / MUNICIPALITY	INCOME LEVEL (MULTIPLES OF MINIMUM WAGE)	SECTOR
Ferraz de Vasconcelos	0 to 3	East	Se	5 to 9	Center
Itaquaquecetuba	0 to 3	East	Belém	5 to 9	East
Jardim Helena	0 to 3	East	Bras	5 to 9	East
Lajeado	0 to 3	East	Carrão	5 to 9	East
Mogi das Cruzes	0 to 3	East	Penha	5 to 9	East
Poá	0 to 3	East	São Lucas	5 to 9	East
Salesópolis	0 to 3	East	Tatuapé	5 to 9	East
Suzano	0 to 3	East	Tremembé	5 to 9	East
Francisco Morato	0 to 3	North	Tucuruvi	5 to 9	East
Santa Isabel	0 to 3	Northeast	Vila Formosa	5 to 9	East
Carapicuiuba	0 to 3	Northwest	Vila Guilherme	5 to 9	East
Pirapora do Bom Jesus	0 to 3	Northwest	Vila Matilde	5 to 9	East
Rio Grande da Serra	0 to 3	Southeast	Vila Prudente	5 to 9	East
Juquitiba	0 to 3	Southwest	Casa Verde	5 to 9	North
São Lourenço da Serra	0 to 3	Southwest	Freguesia do Ó	5 to 9	North
Taboão da Serra	0 to 3	Southwest	Limão	5 to 9	North
Água Rasa	3 to 5	East	Mandaqui	5 to 9	North
Anhanguera	3 to 5	East	Pan	5 to 9	North
Aricanduva	3 to 5	East	Pirituba	5 to 9	North
Artur Alvim	3 to 5	East	São Domingos	5 to 9	North
Britiba Mirim	3 to 5	East	Barueri	5 to 9	Northwest

Cangaíba	3 to 5	East	Cidade Ademar	5 to 9	South
Cidade Líder	3 to 5	East	Cidade Dutra	5 to 9	South
Cidade Tiradentes	3 to 5	East	Jabaquara	5 to 9	South
Ernelino Matarazzo	3 to 5	East	Cursino	5 to 9	Southeast
Guaianazes	3 to 5	East	Diadema	5 to 9	Southeast
Guararema	3 to 5	East	Ipiranga	5 to 9	Southeast
Iguatemi	3 to 5	East	Sacomã	5 to 9	Southeast
Itaim Paulista	3 to 5	East	Santo André	5 to 9	Southeast
José Bonifácio	3 to 5	East	São Bernardo do Campo	5 to 9	Southeast
Parque do Carmo	3 to 5	East	São Caetano do Sul	5 to 9	Southeast
Ponte Rasa	3 to 5	East	Campo Limpo	5 to 9	West
Raposo Tavares	3 to 5	East	Cotia	5 to 9	West
São Rafael	3 to 5	East	Jaguara	5 to 9	West
Sapopemba	3 to 5	East	Jaguare	5 to 9	West
Vila Curuçá	3 to 5	East	Rio Pequeno	5 to 9	West
Vila Jacui	3 to 5	East	Alto de Pinheiros	9 to 30	Center
Brasilândia	3 to 5	North	Barra Funda	9 to 30	Center
Cachoeirinha	3 to 5	North	Bela Vista	9 to 30	Center
Caieiras	3 to 5	North	Butantã	9 to 30	Center
Franco da Rocha	3 to 5	North	Cambuci	9 to 30	Center
Jacanã	3 to 5	North	Campo Belo	9 to 30	Center
Jaraguá	3 to 5	North	Campo Grande	9 to 30	Center
Mairiporã	3 to 5	North	Consolacao	9 to 30	Center
Perus	3 to 5	North	Itaim Bibi	9 to 30	Center
São Miguel	3 to 5	North	Jardim Paulista	9 to 30	Center
Vila Medeiros	3 to 5	North	Liberdade	9 to 30	Center
Arujá	3 to 5	Northeast	Perdizes	9 to 30	Center
Guarulhos	3 to 5	Northeast	Pinheiros	9 to 30	Center
Grajaú	3 to 5	South	Santa Cecilia	9 to 30	Center
Jardim Angela	3 to 5	South	Saúde	9 to 30	Center
Jardim São Luis	3 to 5	South	Socorro	9 to 30	Center
Marsilac	3 to 5	South	Vila Leopoldina	9 to 30	Center
Parelheiros	3 to 5	South	Vila Maria	9 to 30	Center
Mauá	3 to 5	Southeast	Vila Mariana	9 to 30	Center
Ribeirão Pires	3 to 5	Southeast	Itaquera	9 to 30	East
Embu	3 to 5	Southwest	Mooca	9 to 30	East

Embu-Guaçu	3 to 5	Southwest	São Mateus	9 to 30	East
Itapeceira da Serra	3 to 5	Southwest	Santana	9 to 30	North
Capão Redondo	3 to 5	West	Santana de Parnaíba	9 to 30	Northwest
Itapevi	3 to 5	West	Pedreira	9 to 30	South
Jandira	3 to 5	West	Santo Amaro	9 to 30	South
Osasco	3 to 5	West	Moema	9 to 30	Southwest
Vargem Grande Paulista	3 to 5	West	Morumbi	9 to 30	Southwest
Cajamar	3 to 5	Northwest	Vila Andrade	9 to 30	Southwest
Bom Retiro	5 to 9	Center	Vila Sonia	9 to 30	Southwest
República	5 to 9	Center	Lapa	9 to 30	West



Metro São Paulo by Income: The darker, the greater the income level

Appendix B: São Paulo Districts



MAP 3. Districts of the municipality of São Paulo.

São Paulo Districts (Caldeira, 2000:378)

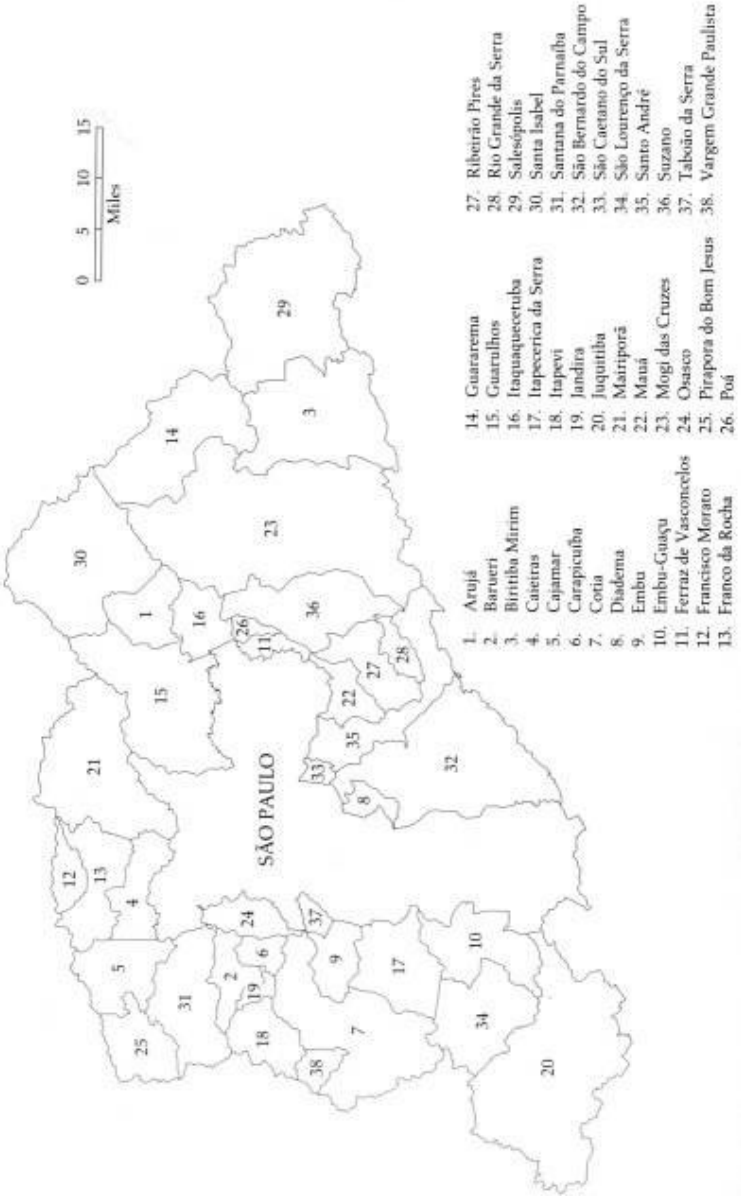
1	Água Rasa	49	Liberdade
2	Alto de Pinheiros	50	Limão
3	Anhanguera	51	Mandaqui
4	Aricanduva	52	Marsilac

5	Artur Alvim	53	Moema
6	Barra Funda	54	Mooca
7	Bela Vista	55	Morumbi
8	Belém	56	Parelheiros
9	Born Retiro	57	Pan Parque do
10	Brás	58	Carmo
11	Brasilândia	59	Pedreira
12	Butantã	60	Penha
13	Cachoeirinha	61	Perdizes
14	Cambuci	62	Perus
15	Campo Belo	63	Pinheiros
16	Campo Grande	64	Pirituba
17	Campo Limpo	65	Ponte Rasa
18	Cangaíba	66	Raposo Tavares
19	Capão Redondo	67	República
20	Carrão	68	Rio Pequeno
21	Casa Verde	69	Sacomã
22	Cidade Adernar	70	Santa Cecília
23	Cidade Dutra	71	Santana
24	Cidade Líder Cidade	72	Santo Amaro
25	Tiradentes	73	São Domingos
26	Consolação	74	São Lucas
27	Cursino Ermelino	75	São Mateus
28	Matarazzo	76	São Miguel
29	Freguesia do Ó	77	São Rafael
30	Grajaú	78	Sapopemba
31	Guaianazes	79	Saúde
32	Iguatemi	80	Se
33	Ipiranga	81	Socorro
34	Itaim Bibi	82	Tatuapé
35	Itaim Paulista	83	Tremembé
36	Itaquera	84	Tucuruvi
37	Jabaquara	85	Vila Andrade
38	Jacanã	86	Vila Curuçá
39	Jaguara	87	Vila Formosa
40	Jaguare	88	Vila Guilherme
41	Jaraguá	89	Vila Jacui
42	Jardim Angela	90	Vila Leopoldina
43	Jardim Helena	91	Vila Maria

- | | | | |
|----|-----------------|----|---------------|
| 44 | Jardim Paulista | 92 | Vila Mariana |
| 45 | Jardim São Luis | 93 | Vila Matilde |
| 46 | José Bonifácio | 94 | Vila Medeiros |
| 47 | Lajeado | 95 | Vila Prudente |
| 48 | Lapa | 96 | Vila Sonia |

São Paulo Districts (Caldeira, 2000:379)

Appendix C: Greater São Paulo Municipalities



SP Municipalities (Caldeira, 2000: 380)

Appendix D: São Paulo – Evolution of Resident Population by Districts

Tabela V.11 Grande São Paulo

Evolução da População Residente, segundo os Municípios e Sub-Regiões: 1960 - 1970 - 1980 - 1991 - 1996

Municípios e Sub-Regiões	1960		1970		1980		1991		1996	
	Nos Abs.	%	Nos Abs.	%	Nos Abs.	%	Nos Abs.	%	Nos Abs.	%
Centro	3,824,102	79.8	6,207,688	76.3	8,967,769	71.2	10,214,410	66.1	10,462,348	63.1
São Paulo	3,709,274	77.4	5,924,615	72.8	8,493,226	67.5	9,646,185	62.5	9,839,436	59.3
Osasco	114,828	2.4	283,073	3.5	474,543	3.8	568,225	3.7	622,912	3.8
Noroeste	48,433	1.0	112,135	1.4	297,978	2.4	493,914	3.2	615,400	3.7
Carapicuíba	17,590	0.4	54,873	0.7	185,816	1.5	283,661	1.8	327,882	2.0
Barueri	16,671	0.3	37,808	0.5	75,336	0.6	130,799	0.8	177,256	1.1
Cajamar	6,438	0.1	10,355	0.1	21,941	0.2	33,736	0.2	42,464	0.3
Santana de Parnaíba	5,244	0.1	5,390	0.1	10,081	0.1	37,762	0.2	57,299	0.3
Pirapora do Bom Jesus	2,490	0.1	3,709	0.0	4,804	0.0	7,956	0.1	10,499	0.1

Oeste	26,638	0.6	70,992	0.9	152,436	1.2	293,996	1.9	362,520	2.2
Cotia	13,031	0.3	25,842	0.3	53,175	0.4	107,453	0.7	126,956	0.8
Vargem Grande Paulista	1,378	0.0	5,082	0.1	9,777	0.1	15,870	0.1	26,689	0.2
Itapevi	10,182	0.2	27,569	0.3	53,441	0.4	107,976	0.7	133,523	0.8
Jandira	2,047	0.0	12,499	0.2	36,043	0.3	62,697	0.4	75,352	0.5
Sudoeste	37,103	0.8	101,954	1.3	287,466	2.3	465,466	3.0	562,580	3.4
Taboão da Serra	7,173	0.1	40,945	0.5	97,655	0.8	160,084	1.0	182,506	1.1
Itapeccerica da Serra	11,772	0.2	21,148	0.3	53,837	0.4	85,550	0.6	110,196	0.7
São Lourenço da Serra	2,481	0.1	4,166	0.1	6,639	0.1	7,596	0.0	10,139	0.1
Embu	5,041	0.1	18,148	0.2	95,800	0.8	155,990	1.0	195,628	1.2
Embu-Guaçu	4,773	0.1	10,280	0.1	21,043	0.2	36,277	0.2	42,261	0.3
Juquitiba	5,863	0.1	7,267	0.1	12,492	0.1	19,969	0.1	21,850	0.1
Sudeste	504,416	10.5	988,677	12.1	1,652,781	13.1	2,048,674	13.3	2,224,096	13.4
Santo André	245,147	5.1	418,826	5.1	553,072	4.4	616,991	4.0	625,564	3.8
São Bernardo do Campo	82,411	1.7	201,662	2.5	425,602	3.4	566,893	3.7	660,396	4.0
São Caetano do Sul	114,421	2.4	150,130	1.8	163,082	1.3	149,519	1.0	139,825	0.8
Mauá	28,924	0.6	101,700	1.2	205,740	1.6	294,998	1.9	342,909	2.1

Diadema	12,308	0.3	78,914	1.0	228,660	1.8	305,287	2.0	323,116	1.9
Ribeirão Pires	17,250	0.4	29,048	0.4	56,532	0.4	85,085	0.6	97,550	0.6
Rio Grande da Serra	3,955	0.1	8,397	0.1	20,093	0.2	29,901	0.2	34,736	0.2
Leste	181,558	3.8	312,060	3.8	519,037	4.1	816,592	5.3	979,870	5.9
Mogi das Cruzes	94,482	2.0	138,751	1.7	197,946	1.6	273,175	1.8	312,685	1.9
Suzano	27,094	0.6	55,460	0.7	101,056	0.8	158,839	1.0	180,740	1.1
Poá	15,829	0.3	32,373	0.4	52,783	0.4	76,302	0.5	84,777	0.5
Itaquaquecetuba	11,456	0.2	29,114	0.4	73,064	0.6	164,957	1.1	228,344	1.4
Ferraz de Vasconcelos	10,167	0.2	25,134	0.3	55,055	0.4	96,166	0.6	121,970	0.7
Guararema	7,688	0.2	12,638	0.2	15,103	0.1	17,961	0.1	17,995	0.1
Salesópolis	9,130	0.2	9,557	0.1	10,653	0.1	11,359	0.1	13,276	0.1
Biritiba Mirim	5,712	0.1	9,033	0.1	13,377	0.1	17,833	0.1	20,083	0.1
Nordeste	118,818	2.5	263,543	3.2	579,227	4.6	863,463	5.6	1,064,490	6.4
Guarulhos	101,273	2.1	236,811	2.9	532,726	4.2	787,866	5.1	972,384	5.9
Arujá	5,758	0.1	9,571	0.1	17,484	0.1	37,622	0.2	50,739	0.3
Santa Isabel	11,787	0.2	17,161	0.2	29,017	0.2	37,975	0.2	41,367	0.2

Norte	50,177	1.0	82,681	1.0	132,031	1.0	248,426	1.6	311,930	1.9
Franco da Rocha	25,376	0.5	36,303	0.4	50,801	0.4	85,535	0.6	98,310	0.6
Mairiporã	12,842	0.3	19,584	0.2	27,541	0.2	39,937	0.3	49,893	0.3
Caieiras	9,405	0.2	15,563	0.2	25,152	0.2	39,069	0.3	57,512	0.3
Francisco Morato	2,554	0.1	11,231	0.1	28,537	0.2	83,885	0.5	106,215	0.6
Grande São Paulo	4,791,245	100.0	8,139,730	100.0	12,588,725	100.0	15,444,941	100.0	16,583,234	100.0

Fonte: IBGE; Sinopse Preliminar do Censo Demográfico de 1960, Censos Demográficos de 1970, 1980, 1991 e Contagem da População 1996.

Elaboração: Emplasa, 1997.

Appendix E: Greater São Paulo – Evolution of Resident Population by Municipalities and Sub-Districts

Tabela V.11 Grande São Paulo

Evolução da
População Residente,
segundo os
Municípios e Sub-
Regiões: 1960 - 1970 -
1980 - 1991 - 1996

Municípios e Sub-Regiões	TGCA %			
	1970/1960	1980/1970	1991/1980	1996/1991
Centro	4.96	3.75	1.19	0.49
São Paulo	4.79	3.67	1.16	0.40
Osasco	9.44	5.30	1.65	1.89
Noroeste	8.76	10.27	4.70	4.57
Carapicuíba	12.05	12.97	3.92	2.99
Barueri	8.53	7.14	5.14	6.38
Cajamar	4.87	7.80	3.99	4.79
Santana de Parnaíba	0.27	6.46	12.76	8.85
Pirapora do Bom Jesus	4.07	2.62	4.69	5.80
Oeste	10.30	7.94	6.15	4.35
Cotia	7.09	7.48	6.60	3.45
Vargem Grande Paulista	13.94	6.76	4.50	11.15
Itapevi	10.47	6.84	6.60	4.41
Jandira	19.83	11.17	5.16	3.81
Sudoeste	10.64	10.92	4.48	3.93
Taboão da Serra	19.03	9.08	4.60	2.70
Itapeverica da Serra	6.03	9.79	4.30	5.28
São Lourenço da Serra	5.32	4.77	1.23	6.05
Embu	13.67	18.10	4.53	4.71
Embu-Guaçu	7.97	7.43	5.08	3.15
Juquitiba	2.17	5.57	4.36	1.85

Sudeste	6.96	5.27	1.97	1.69
Santo André	5.50	2.82	1.00	0.28
São Bernardo do Campo	9.36	7.76	2.64	3.15
São Caetano do Sul	2.75	0.83	-0,79	-1.35
Mauá	13.40	7.30	3.33	3.11
Diadema	20.42	11.23	2.66	1.16
Ribeirão Pires	5.35	6.89	3.79	2.82
Rio Grande da Serra	7.82	9.12	3.68	3.10
Leste	5.57	5.22	4.21	3.78
Mogi das Cruzes	3.92	3.62	2.97	2.79
Suzano	7.43	6.18	4.20	2.66
Poá	7.42	5.01	3.41	2.17
Itaquaquecetuba	9.78	9.64	7.68	6.84
Ferraz de Vasconcelos	9.47	8.16	5.20	4.95
Guararema	5.10	1.80	1.59	0.04
Salesópolis	0.46	1.09	0.59	3.22
Biritiba Mirim	4.69	4.00	2.65	2.45
Nordeste	8.29	8.19	3.70	4.35
Guarulhos	8.87	8.45	3.62	4.37
Arujá	5.21	6.21	7.21	6.27
Santa Isabel	3.83	5.39	2.48	1.76
Norte	5.12	4.79	5.91	4.74
Franco da Rocha	3.65	3.42	4.85	2.87
Mairiporã	4.31	3.47	3.44	4.63
Caieiras	5.17	4.92	4.08	8.18
Francisco Morato	15.96	9.77	10.30	4.92
Grande São Paulo	5.44	4.46	1.88	1.46

Fonte: IBGE; Sinopse
Preliminar do Censo
Demográfico de 1960,
Censos Demográficos
de 1970, 1980, 1991 e
Contagem da
População 1996.
Elaboração: Emplasa, 1997.

Appendix F: City of São Paulo, Resident Population by Districts

Tabela V.17 Município de São Paulo

População Residente, segundo os Distritos: 1980 - 1991 - 1996

Distritos	Taxa Geométrica de Crescimento Anual (%)		Distritos	Taxa Geométrica de Crescimento Anual (%)	
	1991/1980	1996/1991		1991/1980	1996/1991
Água Rasa	-1.51	-1.87	Liberdade	-0.70	-3.39
Alto de Pinheiros	-0.14	-2.56	Limão	0.16	-1.49
Anhangüera	7.96	18.46	Mandaqui	1.52	-0.41
Aricanduva	0.32	-1.09	Marsilac	2.77	4.43
Artur Alvim	0.93	-1.42	Moema	0.64	-0.85
Barra Funda	-1.02	-2.18	Mooca	-1.45	-2.42
Bela Vista	-1.55	-2.04	Morumbi	2.34	-0.76
Belém	-1.44	-3.09	Parelheiros	5.25	8.37
Bom Retiro	-2.46	-5.20	Pari	-2.11	-6.34
Brás	-1.27	-4.56	Parque do Carmo	4.13	0.52
Brasilândia	1.77	3.20	Pedreira	2.87	5.00
Butantã	0.18	-1.63	Penha	-0.47	-0.94
Cachoeirinha	1.61	2.32	Perdizes	-0.68	-0.97
Cambuci	-1.71	-2.89	Perus	2.27	4.54
Campo Belo	0.28	-3.16	Pinheiros	-1.66	-2.48
Campo Grande	1.40	0.68	Pirituba	1.27	-0.10
Campo Limpo	3.40	0.33	Ponte Rasa	0.55	-0.85
Cangaíba	1.50	1.94	Raposo Tavares	4.83	1.04
Capão Redondo	3.82	0.71	República	-0.48	-3.04
Carrão	-1.14	-1.91	Rio Pequeno	1.77	-0.67
Casa Verde	-0.70	1.63	Sacomã	2.34	0.54
Cidade Ademar	0.46	0.25	Santa Cecília	-0.87	-2.49
Cidade Dutra	2.93	0.88	Santana	-0.08	-0.85
Cidade Líder	2.99	0.20	Santo Amaro	-1.89	-3.63
Cidade Tiradentes	24.56	11.25	São Domingos	0.13	0.72
Consolação	-1.34	-2.57	São Lucas	-0.25	-1.00

Cursino	-0.47	-1.20	São Mateus	2.20	1.23
Ermelino Matarazzo	1.58	1.96	São Miguel	0.15	0.14
Freguesia do Ó	0.13	-1.42	São Rafael	2.25	2.51
Grajaú	4.68	7.20	Sapopemba	3.21	-0.21
Guaianazes	4.46	1.84	Saúde	-0.66	-1.46
Iguatemi	5.52	8.62	Sé	-1.73	-4.88
Ipiranga	-1.32	-1.56	Socorro	0.54	-2.38
Itaim Bibi	-1.60	-3.86	Tatuapé	-0.79	-1.10
Itaim Paulista	3.90	2.09	Tremembé	2.36	2.80
Itaquera	2.92	1.04	Tucuruvi	-0.29	-1.87
Jabaquara	0.81	-0.18	Vila Andrade	5.94	5.01
Jaçanã	0.75	0.65	Vila Curuçá	2.44	2.27
Jaguara	-0.85	-2.94	Vila Formosa	-0.72	-1.39
Jaguaré	0.98	-4.10	Vila Guilherme	-0.94	-2.82
Jaraguá	6.34	4.26	Vila Jacuí	3.46	1.77
Jardim Ângela	4.71	4.50	Vila Leopoldina	-0.44	-0.26
Jardim Helena	2.42	3.11	Vila Maria	-0.66	-1.62
Jardim Paulista	-1.14	-2.90	Vila Mariana	-0.67	-1.36
Jardim São Luís	2.05	1.82	Vila Matilde	-0.67	-1.86
José Bonifácio	14.22	0.04	Vila Medeiros	-0.33	-1.43
Lajeado	4.52	2.88	Vila Prudente	-0.79	-2.60
Lapa	-1.56	-2.22	Vila Sônia	2.57	-0.92

Município de São Paulo

1.16

0.40

Fonte: IBGE; Quadro de Comparabilidade 1980/1991, Censo Demográfico de 1991 e Contagem da População, 1996.

Elaboração: Emplasa, 1997.

Appendix G: City of São Paulo, Resident Population by Regions and Districts

THE CITY OF SÃO PAULO
RESIDENT POPULATION BY DISTRICTS 1980 - 1991

DISTRICT	REGION	RESIDENT POPULATION			DISTRICT	REGION	RESIDENT POPULATION		
		POP. 1980	POP. 1991	GROWTH%			POP. 1980	POP. 1991	GROWTH%
CENTER					NORTH				
Alto de Pinheiros	Center	51,128	50,351	-1.52%	Brasilândia	North	166,281	201,591	21.24%
Barra Funda	Center	17,877	15,977	-10.63%	Cachoeirinha	North	105,624	125,852	19.15%
Bela Vista	Center	85,333	71,825	-15.83%	Casa Verde	North	104,096	96,396	-7.40%
Bom Retiro	Center	47,542	36,136	-23.99%	Freguesia do Ó	North	150,432	152,672	1.49%
Butantã	Center	56,879	58,019	2.00%	Jaçanã	North	80,002	86,830	8.53%
Cambuci	Center	44,807	37,069	-17.27%	Jaraguá	North	47,371	93,185	96.71%
Campo Belo	Center	75,558	77,952	3.17%	Limão	North	88,826	90,422	1.80%
Campo Grande	Center	70,417	82,052	16.52%	Mandaqui	North	88,118	104,022	18.05%
Consolação	Center	77,264	66,590	-13.81%	Pari	North	26,942	21,299	-20.94%
Itaim Bibi	Center	114,844	107,497	-6.40%	Perus	North	36,161	46,301	28.04%
Jardim Paulista	Center	117,042	103,138	-11.88%	Pirituba	North	132,551	152,305	14.90%
Liberdade	Center	82,392	76,245	-7.46%	Santana São	North	138,892	137,679	-0.87%
Perdizes	Center	117,279	108,840	-7.20%	Domingos	North	69,390	70,386	1.44%
Pinheiros	Center	94,589	78,644	-16.86%	São Miguel	North	101,239	102,964	1.70%
República Santa Cecília	Center	60,940	57,797	-5.16%	Vila Maria	North	131,953	122,662	-7.04%
Saúde	Center	136,089	126,596	-6.98%	Vila Medeiros	North	161,855	156,140	-3.53%
Sé	Center	32,933	27,186	-17.45%	TOTAL		1,629,733	1,760,706	8.04%
Socorro	Center	40,699	43,194	6.13%	SOUTHEAST				
Vila Leopoldina	Center	28,150	26,827	-4.70%	Cursino	Southeast	116,361	110,435	-5.09%
Vila Mariana	Center	143,085	132,822	-7.17%	Ipiranga	Southeast	117,474	101,533	-13.57%
TOTAL		1,589,298	1,470,586	-7.47%	Sacomã	Southeast	163,809	211,200	28.93%
EAST					TOTAL		397,644	423,168	6.42%

Água Rasa	East	112,393	95,099	-15.39%	SOUTHWEST				
Anhangüera	East	5,345	12,408	132.14%	Campo Limpo	Southwest	110,449	159,471	44.38%
Aricanduva	East	93,164	96,512	3.59%	Capão Redondo	Southwest	128,070	193,497	51.09%
Artur Alvim	East	107,027	118,531	10.75%	Cidade	Southwest	219,437	230,794	5.18%
Belém	East	58,300	49,697	-14.76%	Ademar	Southwest	122,871	168,821	37.40%
Brás	East	38,592	33,536	-13.10%	Cidade Dutra	Southwest	117,188	193,754	65.34%
Cangaíba	East	97,698	115,070	17.78%	Grajaú	Southwest	196,120	214,350	9.30%
Carrão	East	99,122	87,336	-11.89%	Jabaquara	Southwest	107,477	178,373	65.96%
Cidade	East	70,440	97,370	38.23%	Jardim Ângela	Southwest	163,476	204,284	24.96%
Lider	East	8,595	96,281	1020.20%	Jardim São Luis	Southwest	4,435	5,992	35.11%
Tiradentes	East	80,435	95,609	18.86%	Marsilac	Southwest	72,092	77,340	7.28%
Ermelino	East	50,368	81,373	61.56%	Moema	Southwest	31,047	40,031	28.94%
Matarazzo	East	33,125	59,820	80.59%	Morumbi	Southwest	31,681	55,594	75.48%
Guaianazes	East	107,156	163,269	52.37%	Parelheiros	Southwest	62,998	86,001	36.51%
Iguatemi	East	127,734	175,366	37.29%	Pedreira	Southwest	93,165	75,556	-18.90%
Itaim	East	90,991	118,381	30.10%	Santo Amaro	Southwest	22,562	42,576	88.71%
Paulista	East	24,026	103,712	331.67%	Vila Andrade	Southwest	62,792	83,006	32.19%
Itaquera	East	69,351	112,807	62.66%	Vila Sônia	Southwest	1,545,860	2,009,440	29.99%
Jardim	East	84,501	71,999	-14.80%	TOTAL				
Helena	East	35,065	54,743	56.12%					
José	East	140,078	133,006	-5.05%	WEST				
Bonifácio	East	96,701	102,702	6.21%	Jaguara	West	32,739	29,798	-8.98%
Lajeado	East	49,322	82,890	68.06%	Jaguaré	West	39,829	44,361	11.38%
Mooça	East	156,279	152,036	-2.72%	Lapa	West	83,624	70,319	-15.91%
Parque do Carmo	East	118,684	150,764	27.03%	Rio Pequeno	West	84,716	102,791	21.34%
Penha	East	70,375	89,862	27.69%	TOTAL		240,908	247,269	2.64%
Ponte Rasa	East	182,022	257,617	41.53%					
Raposo	East	89,303	81,840	-8.36%					
Tavares	East	96,722	125,075	29.31%					
São Lucas	East	115,475	111,884	-3.11%					
São Mateus	East	95,359	124,300	30.35%					
São Rafael	East	106,005	97,940	-7.61%					
Sapopemba	East	68,344	61,625	-9.83%					
Tatuapé	East	69,614	101,236	45.42%					
Tremembé	East	117,416	109,023	-7.15%					
Tucuruvi	East	124,656	114,297	-8.31%					
Vila Curuçá	East								
Vila Formosa	East								
Vila Guilherme	East								
Vila Jacuí	East								
Vila Matilde	East								
Vila Prudente	East								
TOTAL		3,089,783	3,735,016	20.88%					

Based on statistics gathered by IBGE, "Quadro de Comparabilidade 1980/1991 and adjusted by Emplasa, 1997
Compiled by Donald Price, 2004

Appendix H: Metropolitan São Paulo, Resident Population by Regions and Municipalities

Table V.11 Greater São Paulo

Evolution of the Resident Population, according to the Municipalities and Subregions: 1960 - 1970 - 1980 - 1991 - 1996

A Summary Table

Municipalities and Sub-Regions GROWTH BY DECADE OR PERÍOD%

Sub-Regions	1970/1960	1980/1970	1991/1980	1996/1991	1996/1980
Center	62.33%	44.46%	13.90%	2.43%	16.67%
São Paulo	59.72%	43.35%	13.58%	2.00%	15.85%
Osasco	146.52%	67.64%	19.74%	9.62%	31.27%
Northwest	131.53%	165.73%	65.76%	24.60%	106.53%
Carapicuíba	211.96%	238.63%	52.66%	15.59%	76.46%
Barueri	126.79%	99.26%	73.62%	35.52%	135.29%
Cajamar	60.84%	111.89%	53.76%	25.87%	93.54%
Santana de Parnaíba	2.78%	87.03%	274.59%	51.74%	468.39%
Pirapora do Bom Jesus	48.96%	29.52%	65.61%	31.96%	118.55%
West	166.51%	114.72%	92.87%	23.31%	137.82%
Cotia	98.31%	105.77%	102.07%	18.15%	138.75%
Vargem Grande Paulista	268.80%	92.38%	62.32%	68.17%	172.98%
Itapevi	170.76%	93.84%	102.05%	23.66%	149.85%
Jandira	510.60%	188.37%	73.95%	20.18%	109.06%
Northwest & West Composite Growth	143.94%	145.96%	74.93%	40.79%	117.12%
Southwest	174.79%	181.96%	61.92%	20.86%	95.70%
Taboão da Serra	470.82%	138.50%	63.93%	14.01%	86.89%
Itapecerica da Serra	79.65%	154.57%	58.91%	28.81%	104.68%
São Lourenço da Serra	67.92%	59.36%	14.41%	33.48%	52.72%

Embu	260.01%	427.88%	62.83%	25.41%	104.20%
Embu-Guaçu	115.38%	104.70%	72.39%	16.50%	100.83%
Juquitiba	23.95%	71.90%	59.85%	9.42%	74.91%
Southeast	96.00%	67.17%	23.95%	8.56%	34.57%
Santo André	70.85%	32.05%	11.56%	1.39%	13.11%
São Bernardo do Campo	144.70%	111.05%	33.20%	16.49%	55.17%
São Caetano do Sul	31.21%	8.63%	-8.32%	-6.48%	-14.26%
Mauá	251.61%	102.30%	43.38%	16.24%	66.67%
Diadema	541.16%	189.76%	33.51%	5.84%	41.31%
Ribeirão Pires	68.39%	94.62%	50.51%	14.65%	72.56%
Rio Grande da Serra	112.31%	139.29%	48.81%	16.17%	72.88%
East	71.88%	66.33%	57.33%	20.00%	88.79%
Mogi das Cruzes	46.85%	42.66%	38.00%	14.46%	57.96%
Suzano	104.69%	82.21%	57.18%	13.79%	78.85%
Poá	104.52%	63.05%	44.56%	11.11%	60.61%
Itaquaquecetuba	154.14%	150.96%	125.77%	38.43%	212.53%
Ferraz de Vasconcelos	147.21%	119.05%	74.67%	26.83%	121.54%
Guararema	64.39%	19.50%	18.92%	0.19%	19.15%
Salesópolis	4.68%	11.47%	6.63%	16.88%	24.62%
Biritiba Mirim	58.14%	48.09%	33.31%	12.62%	50.13%
Northeast	121.80%	119.78%	49.07%	23.28%	83.78%
Guarulhos	133.83%	124.96%	47.89%	23.42%	82.53%
Arujá	66.22%	82.68%	115.18%	34.87%	190.20%
Santa Isabel	45.59%	69.09%	30.87%	8.93%	42.56%
North	64.78%	59.69%	88.16%	25.56%	136.26%
Franco da Rocha	43.06%	39.94%	68.37%	14.94%	93.52%
Mairiporã	52.50%	40.63%	45.01%	24.93%	81.16%
Caieiras	65.48%	61.61%	55.33%	47.21%	128.66%
Francisco Morato	339.74%	154.09%	193.95%	26.62%	272.20%
Greater São Paulo	69.89%	54.66%	22.69%	7.37%	31.73%

Source: IBGE; Sinopse Preliminar do Censo Demográfico de 1960, Censos Demográficos de 1970, 1980, 1991 e Contagem da População 1996. (Preliminary Synopsis of the 1960 Demographic Census, the Demographic Censuses of 1970, 1980, 1991 and the 1996 Population Count).

Compiled by: Emplasa, 1997,

Summary calculated by

Donald Price, 2004.

Appendix I: Metropolitan São Paulo, Resident Population Growth by Region

**GREATER SÃO
PAULO
EVOLUTION OF
THE RESIDENT
POPULATION,
BY REGION,
1960-1970-1980-
1991-1996, A
SUMMARY**

REGION	GROWTH BY DECADE OR PERIOD%				
	1970/1960	1980/1970	1991/1980	1996/1991	1996/1980
CENTER	62.33%	44.46%	13.90%	2.43%	16.67%
NORTHWEST	131.53%	165.73%	65.76%	24.60%	106.53%
WEST	166.51%	114.72%	92.87%	23.31%	137.82%
NORTHWEST AND WEST COMPOSITE	143.94%	145.96%	74.93%	40.79%	117.12%
SOUTHWEST	174.79%	181.96%	61.92%	20.86%	95.70%
SOUTHEAST	96.00%	67.17%	23.95%	8.56%	34.57%
EAST	71.88%	66.33%	57.33%	20.00%	88.79%
NORTHEAST	121.80%	119.78%	49.07%	23.28%	83.78%
NORTH	64.78%	59.69%	88.16%	25.56%	136.26%
GREATER SÃO PAULO	69.89%	54.66%	22.69%	7.37%	31.73%

**Fonte: IBGE; Sinopse Preliminar do Censo Demográfico de 1960, Censos Demográficos de 1970, 1980, 1991 e Contagem da População 1996.
(Synopsis of the Preliminary Demographic Census of 1960, the Demographic Censuses of 1970, 1980, 1991, and the Population Count of 1996.)
Compiled by Emplasa,
1997.
Summary by Donald Price, 2004.**

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[illegible]

Appendix K: Metropolitan São Paulo, Resident Population Growth – City and Regional Totals

METROPOLITAN SÃO PAULO
RESIDENT POPULATION BY REGIONS 1980 - 1991

REGION	RESIDENT POPULATION		
	POP. 1980	POP. 1991	GROWTH%
CENTER			
City	1,589,298	1,470,586	-7.47%
Region			
TOTAL	1,589,298	1,470,586	-7.47%
EAST			
City	3,089,783	3,735,016	20.88%
Region	519,037	816,592	57.33%
TOTAL	3,608,820	4,551,608	26.12%
NORTH			
City	1,629,733	1,760,706	8.04%
Region	132,031	248,426	88.16%
TOTAL	1,761,764	2,009,132	14.04%
NORTHEAST			
City			
Region	579,227	863,463	49.07%
TOTAL	579,227	863,463	49.07%
SOUTHEAST			
City	397,644	423,168	6.42%
Region	1,652,781	2,048,674	23.95%
TOTAL	2,050,425	2,471,842	20.55%
SOUTHWEST			
City	1,545,860	2,009,440	29.99%
Region	287,466	465,466	61.92%

TOTAL	1,833,326	2,474,906	35.00%
WEST			
City	240,908	247,269	2.64%
Region	450,414	787,910	74.93%
TOTAL	691,322	1,035,179	49.74%
SÃO PAULO	11,768,521	14,359,127	22.01%

Compiled by Donald Price, 2004.

Appendix L: Baptist Churches in Metropolitan São Paulo, by Region

BAPTIST ASSOCIATIONS IN METROPOLITAN SAO PAULO, BY REGION, 1981-1990

[illegible]

GROWTH OF BAPTIST ASSOCIATIONS IN METROPOLITAN SAO PAULO, BY REGION, 1981-1990

[illegible]

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Appendix M: Christians in Greater São Paulo 1980 & 1991, by Region

Municipality	Roman Catholic - 1980	Traditional Protestant - 1980	TOTAL Pop 1980	Roman Catholic - 1991	Other Traditional Christian - 1991	Traditional Evangelical - 1991	Pentecostal Evangelical - 1991	Reformed Christian - 1991	Neochristian - 1991	TOTAL Pop 1991
SOUTHWEST										
Embu - SP										
Embu-Guaçu - SP	81,682	2,590	95,800	121,581	35	2,604	11,508	877	1,231	155,989
Itapeverica da Serra - SP	17,159	435	21,038	29,641	6	452	2,572	187	337	36,276
Juquitiba - SP	51,952	2,276	60,473	74,035	221	1,865	5,531	1,846	409	93,145
Taboão da Serra - SP	10,181	410	12,497	15,646		453	2,158	20	185	19,969
Subtotal	84,877	42,713	137,853	129,994	910	4,551	6,985	1,434	2,090	160,082
	245,851	48,424	327,661	370,897	1,172	9,925	28,754	4,364	4,252	465,461
WEST										
Cotia - SP										
Itapevi - SP	53,662	2,445	62,948	86,378	171	2,432	7,920	902	842	107,453
Jandira - SP	43,215	1,601	53,442	71,600	980	1,415	13,091	194	1,627	107,976
Vargem Grande Paulista - SP	29,478	1,245	36,043	45,945	12	1,041	8,725		595	62,696
Subtotal	17,521	8,819	28,878	13,101		349	1,390	27	95	15,870
	143,876	14,110	181,311	217,024	1,163	5,237	31,126	1,123	3,159	293,995
NORTHWEST										
Barueri - SP										
Cajamar - SP	62,239	2,276	75,338	97,574	209	3,132	12,988	1,434	1,244	130,798
Carapicuíba - SP	18,652	609	21,942	27,770	24	295	2,857	45	419	33,736
Pirapora do Bom Jesus - SP	155,532	6,371	185,822	209,826	598	6,412	32,346	1,426	2,986	283,660
Santana de Parnaíba - SP	4,288	310	4,814	6,773		77	169	636	59	7,956
Subtotal	8,593	255	10,098	28,978	46	603	2,681	859	344	37,761
	249,304	9,821	298,014	370,921	877	10,519	51,041	4,400	5,052	493,911
NORTH										
Caieiras - SP										
Francisco Morato - SP	21,990	355	25,156	30,926	39	1,010	2,868	238	266	39,069
Franco da Rocha - SP	23,145	848	28,537	43,741	340	977	9,243	496	632	83,886
Mairiporã - SP	39,644	1,042	50,794	59,948	51	1,157	6,705	888	771	85,535
	23,594	563	27,540	31,501		601	3,691	270	622	39,938

Subtotal	108,373	2,808	132,027	166,116	430	3,745	22,507	1,892	2,291	248,428
NORTHEAST										
Arujá - SP	15,094	340	17,487	29,768		476	2,299	279	316	37,622
Guarulhos - SP	459,258	16,357	532,724	603,947	2,963	16,614	56,620	2,596	8,657	787,866
Santa Isabel - SP	26,433	208	29,013	31,378	97	603	2,766		243	37,975
Subtotal	500,785	16,905	579,224	665,093						
EAST										
Biritiba-Mirim - SP										
	11,821	451	13,374	15,683		152	846		173	17,833
Ferraz de Vasconcelos - SP										
	45,958	2,377	55,046	72,314	30	2,980	9,486	272	1,168	96,167
Guararema - SP	13,578	177	15,105	14,095	433	276	1,142	25	21	17,959
Itaquaquecetuba - SP										
	60,180	1,922	73,068	125,766	2,001	3,472	16,668	680	1,703	164,957
Mogi das Cruzes - SP										
	160,103	6,625	197,935	207,043	590	6,685	15,243	2,911	1,821	273,175
Poá - SP	42,362	2,120	52,787	56,472	13	1,973	6,410	1,428	973	76,301
Salesópolis - SP	10,016	16	10,657	10,416		87	217	44	15	11,359
Suzano - SP	80,354	40,769	139,036	116,597	264	3,686	15,566	1,233	918	158,838
Subtotal	424,372	54,457	557,008	618,386	3,331	19,311	65,578	6,593	6,792	816,589
SOUTHEAST										
Diadema - SP										
	197,876	5,138	228,663	240,423	3,200	5,670	21,675	3,328	2,659	305,288
Mauá - SP	176,260	4,598	205,736	237,451	646	6,855	26,037	1,284	5,382	294,997
Ribeirão Pires - SP										
	48,907	1,020	56,330	70,378	16	1,268	5,575	516	1,466	85,084
Rio Grande da Serra - SP										
	16,538	330	20,091	23,377	217	517	2,301	205	276	29,900
Santo André - SP	476,940	16,443	553,082	489,072	1,804	15,220	42,361	3,674	9,471	616,991
São Bernardo do Campo - SP										
	367,120	13,138	425,611	457,543	2,498	12,419	27,858	5,669	6,877	566,894
São Caetano do Sul - SP										
	143,284	5,172	163,086	120,614	437	4,219	4,399	2,120	1,450	149,519
Subtotal	1,426,925	45,839	1,652,599	1,638,858	8,818	46,168	130,206	16,796	27,581	2,048,673
Source: IBGE, September 14, 1999										
Compiled by Donald Price, 2004.										

Appendix N: AD Belém Ministry Ministerial Ordinations

Ordinations:
1980 - 1990

SP Metro
Area

		1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	Decadal Growth
Ministers: Pastors & Evangelists		2	2	6	13	18	15	9	12	8	47	125	
TOTAL	80	82	84	88	99	111	113	104	101	100	135	252	215.00%
Annual Growth		2.50%	2.44%	4.76%	12.50%	12.12%	1.80%	-7.96%	-2.88%	-0.99%	35.00%	86.67%	
Membership @ 1 min / 100 members?	8,000	8,200	8,400	8,800	9,900	11,100	11,300	10,400	10,100	10,000	13,500	25,200	215.00%
Total AOG membership - IBGE	55,825											126,974	127.45%
Memb AOG- MetSP	113,977											236,253	107.28%
Presbyters	1,200	30	38	38	59	114	114	117	122	159	209	239	
Deacons	1,600	40	44	50	76	87	92	197	277	287	283	311	
Total consecrated lay workers		70	82	88	135	201	206	314	399	446	492	550	
Total lay workers	2,800	2,870	2,952	2,970	3,023	3,136	3,207	3,320	3,513	3,645	3,738	3,842	37.21%
Annual Growth			2.86%	0.61%	1.78%	3.74%	2.26%	3.52%	5.81%	3.76%	2.55%	2.78%	
Base data is estimated													
*1983 - Evangelist position created													
Total workers	2,880	2,952	3,036	3,058	3,122	3,247	3,320	3,424	3,614	3,745	3,873	4,094	42.15%

Annual Growth		2.85%	0.72%	2.09%	4.00%	2.25%	3.13%	5.55%	3.62%	3.42%	5.71%	
Baptisms	3,268	2,104	4,642	2,561	3,257	2,168	2,521	3,317	3,695	3,780	4,105	25.61%
Annual Growth		-	120.63%	-	27.18%	-	16.28%	31.57%	11.40%	2.30%	8.60%	
		35.62%		44.83%		33.44%						

Compiled by Donald Price,
2004.

Appendix O: AD Belém Ministry Baptisms 1980 – 1991

**Yearly Baptisms
1980-1990**

Ano	Total
1980	3,268
1981	2,104
1982	4,642
1983	2,561
1984	3,257
1985	2,168
1986	2,521
1987	3,317
1988	3,695
1989	3,780
1990	4,105
Total	35,418
Average	3,220
Median	3695

Appendix P: AD Belém Ministry Proportion of Baptisms by Regions – Early 1990s

PROPORTIONAL AD MEMBERSHIP BY METRO REGION & CITY DISTRICT

Metro São Paulo Regions & Districts	ID	Belém Ministry Sectors	Baptisms per Region	Proportion of Baptisms to Total	Proportion of Metro Pop, by Region
SOUTHWEST		SOUTHWEST			
Embu - SP	40	Embu	34		
	47	Embu-Centro	50		
Embu-Guaçu - SP	46	Embu-Guaçu	69		
Itapecerica da Serra - SP	48	Itapecerica da Serra	34		
Juquitiba - SP					
Taboão da Serra - SP	45	Taboão da Serra	73		
Subtotal		Subtotal	260	4.54%	3.01%
		Annual Growth			
WEST		WEST			
Cotia - SP	12	Cotia	42		
Itapevi - SP	37	Itapevi	70		
Jandira - SP					
Vargem Grande Paulista - SP	21	Vargem Grande Paulista	11		1.90%
Subtotal		Subtotal	123	2.15%	
		Annual Growth			
NORTHWEST		NORTHWEST			
Barueri - SP	10	Barueri	243		
Cajamar - SP	35	Cajamar	25		
Carapicuíba - SP	26	Carapicuíba	115		
Pirapora do Bom Jesus - SP					
Santana de Parnaíba - SP					3.20%
	30	Campo Limpo Paulista			
		Subtotal	383	6.68%	5.10%
		Annual Growth			
NORTH		NORTH			
Caieiras - SP	25	Caieiras	37		
	24	Parque Santa Madalena	74		
Francisco Morato - SP	44	Francisco Morato	39		
Franco da Rocha - SP	43	Franco da Rocha	45		
Mairiporã - SP	38	Atibaia	60		

		Subtotal	255	4.45%	1.61%
		Annual Growth			
NORTHEAST		NORTHEAST			
Arujá - SP					
Guarulhos - SP	19	Guarulhos	221		
	49	Bairro das Pimentas	88		
	18	Vila Espanhola	140		
Santa Isabel - SP	20	Santa Isabel	55		5.59%
		Subtotal	504	8.80%	
		Annual Growth			
EAST		EAST			
Biritiba-Mirim - SP					
Ferraz de Vasconcelos - SP	27	Ferraz de Vasconcelos	73		
Guararema - SP					
Itaquaquecetuba - SP	22	Itaquaquecetuba	122		
	23	Vila Ré	45		
Mogi das Cruzes - SP	41	Mogi das Cruzes	31		
	39	Parada XV de Novembro	107		
Poá - SP	42	Poá	29		5.29%
Salesópolis - SP					
Suzano - SP	13	Suzano	104		
		Subtotal	511	8.92%	
		Annual Growth			
SOUTHEAST		SOUTHEAST			
Diadema - SP	28	Diadema	173		
	08	Cidade Ademar	128		
Mauá - SP					
Ribeirão Pires - SP					
Rio Grande da Serra - SP					13.26%
Santo André - SP					
São Bernardo do Campo - SP	29	São Bernardo do Campo	49		
São Caetano do Sul - SP					
		Subtotal	350	6.11%	
		Annual Growth			
CENTER		CENTER			
Osasco - SP	05	Osasco	300		
São Paulo - SP					
São Paulo - Água Rasa					
São Paulo - Alto de Pinheiros					
São Paulo - Anhangüera					
São Paulo - Aricanduva					

São Paulo - Artur Alvim	16	Artur Alvim	94
	15	Vila Nhocuné	16
São Paulo - Aclimação			
São Paulo - Alto da Moóca			
São Paulo - Barra Funda			
São Paulo - Bela Vista			
São Paulo - Belém	01	Belém	471
São Paulo - Bom Retiro			
São Paulo - Brás			
São Paulo - Brasilândia			
São Paulo - Butantã			
São Paulo - Cachoeirinha			
São Paulo - Cambuci			
São Paulo - Campo Belo			
São Paulo - Campo Grande			
São Paulo - Campo Limpo			
São Paulo - Cangaíba			
São Paulo - Capão Redondo			
São Paulo - Capela do Socorro			
São Paulo - Carrão	33	Jardim Itapema	43
São Paulo - Casa Verde			
São Paulo - Cidade Ademar			
São Paulo - Cidade Dutra			
São Paulo - Cidade Líder			
São Paulo - Cidade Tiradentes			
São Paulo - Cerqueira Cesar			
São Paulo - Consolação			
São Paulo - Cursino			
São Paulo - Ermelino Matarazzo	31	Ermelino Matarazzo	111
São Paulo - Freguesia do Ó			
São Paulo - Grajaú			
São Paulo - Guaianazes	07	Guaianazes	186
São Paulo - Ibirapuera			
São Paulo - Iguatemi			
São Paulo - Indianópolis	06	Indianópolis	222
São Paulo - Ipiranga			
São Paulo - Itaim Bibi			
São Paulo - Itaim Paulista			
São Paulo - Itaquera	09	Itaquera	245
São Paulo - Jabaquara			
São Paulo - Jaconã			
São Paulo - Jaguará			
São Paulo - Jaguaré			
São Paulo - Jaraguá			
São Paulo - Jardim Ângela	14	Jardim Ângela	252

São Paulo - Jardim América			
São Paulo - Jardim Helena			
São Paulo - Jardim Paulista			
São Paulo - São Luis			
São Paulo - José Bonifácio			
São Paulo - Lajeado			
São Paulo - Lapa			
São Paulo - Liberdade			
São Paulo - Limão	03	Lapa	450
São Paulo - Mandaqui			
São Paulo - Moóca			
São Paulo - Morumbi			
São Paulo - Nossa Sra. Do Ó			
São Paulo - Parelheiros			
São Paulo - Pari			
São Paulo - Parque do Carmo			
São Paulo - Pedreira			
São Paulo - Penha de Franca			
São Paulo - Perdizes			
São Paulo - Perus			
São Paulo - Pinheiros	34	Pinheiros	101
São Paulo - Pirituba			
São Paulo - Ponte Rasa	36	Ponte Rasa	15
São Paulo - Raposo Tavares			
São Paulo - República			
São Paulo - Rio Pequeno			
São Paulo - Sacomã			
São Paulo - Santa Cecília			
São Paulo - Santa Ifigênia			
São Paulo - Santana			
São Paulo - Santo Amaro			
São Paulo - São Domingos			
São Paulo - São Lucas			
São Paulo - São Mateus	11	São Mateus	123
São Paulo - São Miguel Paulista	02	São Miguel Paulista	467
São Paulo - São Rafael			
São Paulo - Sapopemba			
São Paulo - Saúde			
São Paulo - Sé			
São Paulo - Socorro			
São Paulo - Tatuapé			
São Paulo - Tremembé			
São Paulo - Tucuruvi	04	Tucuruvi	145
São Paulo - Vila Andrade			
São Paulo - Vila Curuçá			

São Paulo - Vila Formosa	32	Jardim Vila Formosa	17		
São Paulo - Vila Guilherme					
São Paulo - Vila Jacuí					
São Paulo - Vila Leopoldina					
São Paulo - Vila Madalena					
São Paulo - Vila Maria					
São Paulo - Vila Mariana					
São Paulo - Vila Matilde					
São Paulo - Vila Medeiros					
São Paulo - Vila Nova Cachoeirinha					
São Paulo - Vila Prudente	17	Parque São Lucas	86		
São Paulo - Vila Sônia					
		Subtotal	3,344	58.36%	66.13%
		TOTAL	5,730	100%	
		Annual Growth - Metro SP			

Compiled by Donald Price, 2004.

Appendix Q: Brazilian Baptist Membership by Region, 1991

PROPORTIONAL BAPTIST MEMBERSHIP BY METRO REGION AND CITY DISTRICT

Metro São Paulo Regions & Districts	Baptist Region	1991 Baptist Membership	Prop Baptist Membership	1991 Member Increase	Prop 1991 Growth	Proportion Metro Pop
SOUTHWEST						
Embu - SP	Southwest Capital	4,900		53		
	Pinheiros & Vicinity	1,986		0		
Embu-Guaçu - SP						
Itapecerica da Serra - SP						
Juquitiba - SP						
Taboão da Serra - SP						
Subtotal		6,886	11.46%	53	5.11%	3.01%
WEST						
	Northwest - Osasco & Vicinity	5,160		102		
Cotia - SP						
Itapevi - SP						
Jandira - SP						
Vargem Grande Paulista - SP						1.90%
Subtotal						
NORTHWEST						
Barueri - SP						
Cajamar - SP						
Carapicuíba - SP						
Pirapora do Bom Jesus - SP						
Santana de Parnaíba - SP						3.20%
Subtotal		5,160	8.58%	102	9.84%	5.10%
NORTH						
Caieiras - SP	Northern Capital	3,024		145		
Francisco Morato - SP						
Franco da Rocha - SP						
Mairiporã - SP						
Subtotal		3,024	5.03%	145	13.98%	1.61%

NORTHEAST

Arujá - SP

Guarulhos - SP

Central Brazilian

5,039

10

Guarulhos & Vicinity

2,072

23

Santa Isabel - SP

Subtotal**7,111****11.83%****33****3.18%****5.59%****EAST**

Biritiba-Mirim - SP

Eastern Capital

5,620

-8

Ferraz de Vasconcelos -
SP**Mogi / East Metropolitan**

2,443

-50

Guararema - SP

Itaquaquecetuba - SP

Mogi das Cruzes - SP

Poá - SP

Salesópolis - SP

Suzano - SP

Subtotal**8,063****13.41%****-58****-5.59%****5.29%****SOUTHEAST**

Diadema - SP

ABC

10,016

3

Mauá - SP

Ribeirão Pires - SP

Rio Grande da Serra - SP

Santo André - SP

São Bernardo do Campo - SP

São Caetano do Sul - SP

Subtotal**10,016****16.66%****3****0.29%****13.26%****CENTER****CENTER**

Osasco - SP

Abancisp

3,250

102

São Paulo - SP

Central (Downtown)

6,569

0

São Paulo - Água Rasa

**Vila Prudente / East
Central**

2,131

523

São Paulo - Alto de
Pinheiros**Northeast Capital**

2,018

-26

São Paulo - Anhangüera

**Freguesia do Ó / NWest
Cap**

1,803

63

São Paulo - Aricanduva

Southern Capital

904

0

São Paulo - Artur Alvim	Western Capital	3,173	97
São Paulo - Aclimação			
São Paulo - Alto da Moóca			
São Paulo - Barra Funda			
São Paulo - Bela Vista			
São Paulo - Belém			
São Paulo - Bom Retiro			
São Paulo - Brás			
São Paulo - Brasilândia			
São Paulo - Butantã			
São Paulo - Cachoeirinha			
São Paulo - Cambuci			
São Paulo - Campo Belo			
São Paulo - Campo Grande			
São Paulo - Campo Limpo			
São Paulo - Cangaíba			
São Paulo - Capão Redondo			
São Paulo - Capela do Socorro			
São Paulo - Carrão			
São Paulo - Casa Verde			
São Paulo - Cidade Ademar			
São Paulo - Cidade Dutra			
São Paulo - Cidade Líder			
São Paulo - Cidade Tiradentes			
São Paulo - Cerqueira Cesar			
São Paulo - Consolação			
São Paulo - Cursino			
São Paulo - Ermelino Matarazzo			
São Paulo - Freguesia do Ó			
São Paulo - Grajaú			
São Paulo - Guaianazes			
São Paulo - Ibirapuera			
São Paulo - Iguatemi			
São Paulo - Indianópolis			
São Paulo - Ipiranga			
São Paulo - Itaim Bibi			
São Paulo - Itaim Paulista			
São Paulo - Itaquera			
São Paulo - Jabaquara			
São Paulo - Jaçanã			
São Paulo - Jaguará			
São Paulo - Jaguaré			
São Paulo - Jaraguá			
São Paulo - Jardim Ângela			

São Paulo - Jardim América
São Paulo - Jardim Helena
São Paulo - Jardim Paulista
São Paulo - São Luis
São Paulo - José Bonifácio
São Paulo - Lajeado
São Paulo - Lapa
São Paulo - Liberdade
São Paulo - Limão
São Paulo - Mandaqui
São Paulo - Moóca
São Paulo - Morumbi
São Paulo - Nossa Sra. Do Ó
São Paulo - Parelheiros
São Paulo - Pari
São Paulo - Parque do Carmo
São Paulo - Pedreira
São Paulo - Penha de Franca
São Paulo - Perdizes
São Paulo - Perus
São Paulo - Pinheiros
São Paulo - Pirituba
São Paulo - Ponte Rasa
São Paulo - Raposo Tavares
São Paulo - República
São Paulo - Rio Pequeno
São Paulo - Sacomã
São Paulo - Santa
Cecília
São Paulo - Santa
Ifigênia
São Paulo - Santana
São Paulo - Santo Amaro
São Paulo - São Domingos
São Paulo - São Lucas
São Paulo - São Mateus
São Paulo - São Miguel Paulista
São Paulo - São Rafael
São Paulo - Sapopemba
São Paulo - Saúde
São Paulo - Sé
São Paulo - Socorro
São Paulo - Tatuapé
São Paulo - Tremembé
São Paulo - Tucuruvi
São Paulo - Vila Andrade
São Paulo - Vila Curuçá

São Paulo - Vila Formosa					
São Paulo - Vila Guilherme					
São Paulo - Vila Jacuí					
São Paulo - Vila Leopoldina					
São Paulo - Vila Madalena					
São Paulo - Vila Maria					
São Paulo - Vila Mariana					
São Paulo - Vila Matilde					
São Paulo - Vila Medeiros					
São Paulo - Vila Nova Cachoeirinha					
São Paulo - Vila Prudente					
São Paulo - Vila Sônia					
SUBTOTAL	19,848	33.02%	759	73.19%	66.13%
TOTAL	60,108		1,037	100%	

Compiled by Donald Price, 2004.

Appendix R: AD & Brazilian Baptist Relative Strength by Region, 1991

AD Belém and Brazilian Baptist strength relative to greater São Paulo Population

Metro São Paulo Regions & Districts	AD Belém Baptisms	Proportion of total Baptisms	Region's Proportion of Metro Population	Baptist Membership	Regional membership in proportion to Baptist pop.
SOUTHWEST	260	4.54%	3.01%	6,886	11.09%
WEST	123	2.15%	1.90%	1,986	3.20%
NORTHWEST	383	6.68%	3.20%	5,160	8.31%
NORTH	255	4.45%	1.61%	3,024	4.87%
NORTHEAST	504	8.80%	5.59%	7,111	11.45%
EAST	511	8.92%	5.29%	8,063	12.99%
SOUTHEAST	350	6.11%	13.26%	10,016	16.13%
CENTER	3,344	58.36%	66.13%	19,848	31.96%
TOTAL	5,730	100%	100%	62,094	100%

Compiled by Donald Price, 2004.

Appendix S: Brazilian Census Bureau Statistics on Baptists and Assemblies of God in Greater São Paulo, 1991

Brazilian Demographic Census- 1991

14/09/99

1 - General Populational Characteristics

**Table 14 -
Resident
Population by
color or race**
UF = SP

Meso = Metropolitan São Paulo

Resident Population

Religion		Color or Race					
		White	Black	Yellow	Colored	Indian	Undeclared
Total	16,567,330	11,230,103	625,536	296,195	4,231,474	8,595	175,427
Baptist	146,272	100,609	6,169	1,491	37,046	70	887
Assembléia de Deus	258,437	139,720	14,997	657	101,831	199	1,033
Total	UF=SP	Micro=	Osasco				
	1,232,814	768,008	50,315	7,047	384,400	1,109	21,935
Baptist	10,782	7,822	389	79	2,421	17	54
Assembléia de Deus	30,368	16,087	1,986	5	12,078	19	193
Total	UF=SP	Município=	Barueri				
	130,799	74,716	4,707	822	48,861	733	960
Baptist	1,185	817	60	60	248		
Assembléia de Deus	3,552	1,730	125		1,640	10	47
	UF=SP	Município=	Cajamar				

Total	33,739	21,048	1,792	108	10,512		279
Baptist	234	79			125		30
Assembléia de Deus	61	46	15				
	UF=SP	Município=	Carapicuíba				
Total	283,658	170,603	13,044	466	94,661	119	4,765
Baptist	2,580	1,832	87		661		
Assembléia de Deus	7,743	3,973	718		3,011		41
	UF=SP	Município=	Itapevi				
Total	107,974	50,684	4,199	288	42,469	65	10,269
Baptist	648	374			274		
Assembléia de Deus	4,396	2,189	190		2,000		17
	UF=SP	Município=	Jandira				
Total	62,698	33,410	3,835	87	25,157	20	189
Baptist	324	245		7	72		
Assembléia de Deus	3,213	1,628	267		1,308		10
	UF=SP	Município =	Osasco				
Total	568,224	386,227	21,176	5,189	150,264	170	5,198
Baptist	5,679	4,406	241	12	979	17	24
Assembléia de Deus	10,599	6,060	563	5	3,882	9	80
	UF = SP	Município =	Pirapora do Bom Jesus				
Total	7,958	5,013	250	10	2,685		
Baptist	40	35			5		

Assembléia de Deus

UF = SP Município = Santana de Parnaíba

Total	37,765	26,303	1,309	80	9,800		273
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Baptist	88	33			55		
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Assembléia de Deus	807	461	108		238		
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UF = SP Micro = Franco da Rocha

Total	248,421	156,009	11,195	965	78,778	245	1,229
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Baptist	861	475	25		361		
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Assembléia de Deus	6,919	3,755	444	15	2,683	22	
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UF=SP Município= Caieiras

Total	39,069	30,016	1,017	17	7,944		75
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Baptist	117	63			54		
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Assembléia de Deus	637	384	8		245		
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UF = SP Município = Francisco Morato

Total	83,882	42,367	5,726	148	35,291	73	277
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Baptist	262	102	13		147		
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Assembléia de Deus	2,904	1,696	204		1,004		
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UF = SP Município = Franco da Rocha

Total	85,531	55,533	3,273	186	25,600	160	779
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Baptist	331	186	12		133		
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Assembléia de Deus	2,154	1,101	104		927	22	
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UF=SP Município= Mairiporã

Total	39,943	28,099	1,183	615	9,938	11	97
Baptist	151	124			27		
Assembléia de Deus	1,225	575	128	15	507		
	UF = SP	Micro = Guarulhos					
Total	863,467	554,302	34,753	10,983	254,143	373	8,913
Baptist	6,809	4,492	280	7	1,987		43
Assembléia de Deus	17,540	9,245	1,190	46	7,032		27
	UF=SP	Município = Arujá					
Total	37,623	21,837	1,368	950	13,393		75
Baptist	258	224	4		30		
Assembléia de Deus	676	256	13		407		
	UF=SP	Município= Guarulhos					
Total	787,873	505,788	32,243	9,538	231,092	373	8,839
Baptist	6,336	4,110	277	7	1,899		43
Assembléia de Deus	16,095	8,462	1,131	46	6,429		27
	UF=SP	Município= Santa Isabel					
Total	37,977	26,676	1,146	496	9,659		
Baptist	216	158			58		
Assembléia de Deus	770	527	47		196		
	UF=SP	Micro= Itapecerica da Serra					
Total	588,782	357,690	30,874	7,367	187,177	434	5,240
Baptist	3,908	2,182	350		1,341	35	

Assembléia de Deus	12,044	6,375	878	13	4,746		32
	UF=SP	Município =	Cotia				
Total	107,460	72,230	5,166	1,759	27,251	7	1,047
Baptist Assembléia de Deus	230	106	77		47		
	1,838	1,194	151		493		
	UF=SP	Município =	Embu				
Total	155,992	80,888	10,070	1,199	63,000	112	723
Baptist Assembléia de Deus	977	525	76		341	35	
	3,783	1,631	427	13	1,693		19
	UF=SP	Município=	Embu-Guaçu				
Total	36,276	25,749	1,328	378	8,812	9	
Baptist Assembléia de Deus	140	140					
	468	324			144		
	UF=SP	Município =	Itapecerica da Serra				
Total	93,149	61,552	4,533	953	23,532	184	2,395
Baptist Assembléia de Deus	449	220	6		223		
	2,197	1,177	188		819		13
	UF=SP	Município=	Juquitiba				
Total	19,971	12,580	230	62	6,669		430
Baptist Assembléia de Deus	981	365	6		610		

	UF = SP	Município = Taboão Da Serra					
Total	160,089	94,103	9,269	2,476	53,541	123	577
Baptist	1,954	1,095	185		674		
Assembléia de Deus	2,492	1,508	89		895		
	UF = SP	Município =	Vargem Grande Paulista				
Total	15,873	10,600	285	538	4,375		75
Baptist	156	95	6		55		
Assembléia de Deus	282	175	16		91		
	UF=SP	Micro =	São Paulo				
Total	11,694,854	8,140,659	423,100	236,620	2,760,079	5,335	129,061
Baptist	105,320	73,564	4,244	1,302	25,498	18	694
Assembléia de Deus	160,417	88,907	8,507	522	61,627	153	701
	UF=SP	Município=	Diadema				
Total	305,297	168,836	11,105	2,712	120,508	84	2,052
Baptist	2,630	1,430	145		1,035		20
Assembléia de Deus	5,128	2,695	186		2,239		8
	UF=SP	Município =	Mauá				
Total	294,994	191,968	7,791	1,083	93,171	182	799
Baptist	3,881	2,299	61		1,501		20
Assembléia de Deus	7,606	4,286	509		2,811		
	UF=SP	Município =	Ribeirão Pires				
Total	85,086	60,047	2,285	1,370	21,122	37	225

Baptist	520	416	28		76		
Assembléia de Deus	1,742	1,305	88		335		14
	UF=SP	Município =	Rio Grande da Serra				
Total	29,901	16,910	932	174	11,666		219
Baptist	108	31			77		
Assembléia de Deus	695	203	111		381		
	UF=SP	Município =	Santo André				
Total	616,994	488,441	14,354	9,928	100,303	89	3,879
Baptist	5,396	4,353	167		876		
Assembléia de Deus	11,147	7,376	352	32	3,333	16	38
	UF=SP	Município =	São Bernardo do Campo				
Total	566,890	419,585	12,967	12,749	118,585	236	2,768
Baptist	5,080	3,649	180	69	1,170	7	5
Assembléia de Deus	6,360	4,075	263		2,022		
	UF=SP	Município =	São Caetano do Sul				
Total	149,521	128,910	2,627	1,908	13,663	16	2,397
Baptist	2,352	2,075	52		186		39
Assembléia de Deus	768	512	74	7	166		9
	UF=SP	Município=	São Paulo				
Total	9,646,182	6,665,957	371,040	206,702	2,281,069	4,689	116,725
Baptist	85,351	59,310	3,609	1,234	20,577	11	610

Assembléia de Deus	126,974	68,454	6,925	483	50,342	137	633
	UF=SP	Micro =	Mogi das Cruzes				
Total	816,591	512,714	36,236	27,194	234,737	464	5,246
Baptist Assembléia de Deus	7,382	4,640	375	103	2,240		24
	16,961	8,134	1,169	32	7,575		51
	UF=SP	Município =	Biritiba-Mirim				
Total	17,834	12,744	341	1,400	3,316	4	29
Baptist Assembléia de Deus	8				8		
	228	146	16		57		9
	UF=SP	Município =	Ferraz de Vasconcelos				
Total	96,162	53,868	6,097	642	34,253	265	1,037
Baptist Assembléia de Deus	1,397	843	46		500		8
	3,478	1,257	211	9	2,001		
	UF=SP	Município=	Guararema				
Total	17,960	12,309	910	329	4,259		153
Baptist Assembléia de Deus	10	10					
	375	148	85		142		
	UF = SP	Município -	Itaquaquetuba				
Total	164,955	81,044	7,164	1,239	74,880	11	617
Baptist Assembléia de Deus	1,287	733	59		495		
	5,606	2,391	409	13	2,781		12

	UF = SP	Município -	Mogi das Cruzes				
Total	273,173	184,457	11,469	14,834	59,830	89	2,494
Baptist	2,353	1,558	167	24	588		16
Assembléia de Deus	3,417	1,943	222	11	1,218		23
	UF=SP	Município =	Poá				
Total	76,307	52,415	3,928	572	19,158	68	166
Baptist	557	340	58		159		
Assembléia de Deus	1,270	741	70		452		7
	UF=SP	Município =	Salesópolis				
Total	11,361	10,440	78	119	724		
Baptist							
Assembléia de Deus	29	24			5		
	UF=SP	Município =	Suzano				
Total	158,843	105,438	6,252	8,058	38,317	28	750
Baptist	1,771	1,156	45	79	491		
Assembléia de Deus	2,558	1,484	156		918		

Source -
Fundação
Instituto
Brasileiro de
Geografia e
Estatística -
IBGE
Compiled by
Donald Price,
2004.

Appendix T: Relative Strength of All Baptists and Assemblies of God in Greater São Paulo in 1991, Based on Census Bureau Statistics

MUNICIPALITY	BAPTISTS	ASSEMBLÉIA DE DEUS	CITY POPULATION	CITY POP PROP TO GREATER SP	BAPTIST MEMBERSHIP PROP TO METRO TOTAL	AD MEMBERSHIP PROP TO METRO TOTAL
SOUTHWEST						
Embu - SP	977	3,783	155,992	0.97%	0.70%	1.43%
Embu-Guaçu - SP	140	468	36,276	0.23%	0.10%	0.18%
Itapecerica da Serra - SP	449	2,197	93,149	0.58%	0.32%	0.83%
Juquitiba - SP	0	981	19,971	0.12%	0.00%	0.37%
Taboão da Serra - SP	1,954	2,492	160,089	0.99%	1.39%	0.94%
Subtotal	3,520	9,921	465,477	2.89%	2.51%	3.76%
WEST						
Cotia - SP	230	1,838	107,460	0.67%	0.16%	0.70%
Itapevi - SP	648	4,396	107,974	0.67%	0.46%	1.67%
Jandira - SP	324	3,213	62,698	0.39%	0.23%	1.22%
Vargem Grande Paulista - SP	156	282	15,873	0.10%	0.11%	0.11%
Subtotal	1,358	9,729	294,005	1.83%	0.97%	3.68%
NORTHWEST						
Barueri - SP	1,185	3,552	130,799	0.81%	0.85%	1.35%
Cajamar - SP	234	61	33,739	0.21%	0.17%	0.02%
Carapicuíba - SP	2,580	7,743	283,658	1.76%	1.84%	2.93%
Pirapora do Bom Jesus - SP	40	0	7,958	0.05%	0.03%	0.00%
Santana de Parnaíba - SP	88	807	37,765	0.23%	0.06%	0.31%
Subtotal	4,127	12,163	493,919	3.07%	2.94%	4.61%
NORTH						
Caieiras - SP	117	637	39,069	0.24%	0.08%	0.24%
Francisco Morato - SP	262	2,904	83,882	0.52%	0.19%	1.10%
Franco da Rocha - SP	331	2,154	85,531	0.53%	0.24%	0.82%
Mairiporã - SP	151	1,225	39,943	0.25%	0.11%	0.46%
Subtotal	861	6,920	248,425	1.54%	0.61%	2.62%
NORTHEAST						
Arujá - SP	258	676	37,623	0.23%	0.18%	0.26%
Guarulhos - SP	6,336	16,095	787,873	4.89%	4.52%	6.10%
Santa Isabel - SP	216	770	37,977	0.24%	0.15%	0.29%
Subtotal	6,810	17,541	863,473	5.36%	4.86%	6.64%

EAST

Biritiba-Mirim - SP	8	228	17,834	0.11%	0.01%	0.09%
Ferraz de Vasconcelos - SP	1,397	3,478	96,162	0.60%	1.00%	1.32%
Guararema - SP	10	375	17,960	0.11%	0.01%	0.14%
Itaquaquecetuba - SP	1,287	5,606	164,955	1.02%	0.92%	2.12%
Mogi das Cruzes - SP	2,353	3,417	273,173	1.70%	1.68%	1.29%
Poá - SP	557	1,270	76,307	0.47%	0.40%	0.48%
Salesópolis - SP	0	29	11,361	0.07%	0.00%	0.01%
Suzano - SP	1,771	2,558	158,843	0.99%	1.26%	0.97%
Subtotal	7,383	16,961	816,595	5.07%	5.27%	6.42%

SOUTHEAST

Diadema - SP	2,630	5,128	305,297	1.90%	1.88%	1.94%
Mauá - SP	3,881	7,606	294,994	1.83%	2.77%	2.88%
Ribeirão Pires - SP	520	1,742	85,086	0.53%	0.37%	0.66%
Rio Grande da Serra - SP	108	695	29,901	0.19%	0.08%	0.26%
Santo André - SP	5,396	11,147	616,994	3.83%	3.85%	4.22%
São Bernardo do Campo - SP	5,080	6,360	566,890	3.52%	3.62%	2.41%
São Caetano do Sul - SP	2,352	768	149,521	0.93%	1.68%	0.29%
Subtotal	19,967	33,446	2,048,683	12.72%	14.25%	12.67%

CENTER

Osasco - SP	10,782	30,368	1,232,814	7.65%	7.69%	11.50%
São Paulo - SP	85,351	126,974	9,646,182	59.88%	60.90%	48.09%
Subtotal	96,133	157,342	10,878,996	67.53%	68.59%	59.59%

Total per category	140,159	264,023	16,109,573	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%
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METRO SP	146,272	258,437	16,567,330			
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Source: IBGE, 14/09/99

Compiled by Donald Price, 2004.

Appendix U: AD Belém Baptisms, by Sector

ID	Baptisms by Sector	24-Nov-91	23-Feb-92	31-May-92	30-Aug-92	Total / Setor
01	Belém	111	127	162	71	471
02	São Miguel Paulista	143	115	117	92	467
03	Lapa	122	89	122	117	450
04	Tucuruvi	43	38	35	29	145
05	Osasco	70	75	81	74	300
06	Indianópolis	43	75	45	59	222
07	Guaianazes	45	47	47	47	186
08	Cidade Ademar	36	26	39	27	128
09	Itaquera	52	47	61	85	245
10	Barueri	67	86	41	49	243
11	São Mateus	18	30	42	33	123
12	Cotia	5	13	11	13	42
13	Suzano	38	20	22	24	104
14	Jardim Ângela	62	62	64	64	252
15	Vila Nhocuné	1	7	3	5	16
16	Artur Alvim	18	24	17	35	94
17	Parque São Lucas	24	25	17	20	86
18	Vila Espanhola	41	28	36	35	140
19	Guarulhos	38	57	70	56	221
20	Santa Isabel	20	9	0	26	55
21	Vargem Grande Paulista	0	3	8	0	11
22	Itaquaquecetuba	34	36	29	23	122
23	Vila Ré	4	12	9	20	45
24	Parque Santa Madalena	13	19	20	22	74
25	Caieiras	8	17	5	7	37
26	Carapicuíba	32	39	23	21	115
27	Ferraz de Vasconcelos	16	20	9	28	73
28	Diadema	59	44	27	43	173
29	São Bernardo do Campo	22	9	8	10	49
30	Campo Limpo Paulista	0	0	0	0	0
31	Ermelino Matarazzo	30	23	24	34	111
32	Jardim Vila Formosa	2	0	9	6	17
33	Jardim Itapema	16	10	12	5	43
34	Pinheiros	23	26	22	30	101
35	Cajamar	6	6	3	10	25
36	Ponte Rasa	6	4	3	2	15
37	Itapevi	20	11	19	20	70
38	Atibaia	10	38	0	12	60
39	Parada XV de Novembro	26	18	29	34	107

40	Embu	5	4	12	13	34
41	Mogi das Cruzes	0	25	6	0	31
42	Poá	6	8	5	10	29
43	Franco da Rocha	8	12	8	17	45
44	Francisco Morato	11	10	10	8	39
45	Taboão da Serra	14	9	29	21	73
46	Embu-Guaçú	4	21	29	15	69
47	Embu-Centro	12	13	7	18	50
48	Itapecerica da Serra	13	12	3	6	34
49	Bairro das Pimentas	25	33	9	21	88
	Total	1,422	1,482	1,409	1,417	5,730

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