

THE GROWTH OF BRAZILIAN
BAPTIST CHURCHES IN
METROPOLITAN SÃO PAULO: 1981-
1990

by

Donald Edward Price

submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of

Master of Theology

in the subject

MISSIOLOGY

at the

University of South Africa

SUPERVISOR: PROF W A SAAYMAN

JOINT SUPERVISOR: DR B H BURNS

NOVEMBER, 1998

University of South Africa

Abstract

THE GROWTH OF BRAZILIAN
BAPTIST CHURCHES IN
METROPOLITAN SÃO PAULO:
1981-1990

by Donald Edward Price

Chairperson of the Supervisory Committee: Professor Willam A. Saayman
Department of Missiology

This work endeavors to analyze the growth of Brazilian Baptists in metropolitan São Paulo between the last two official censuses. Protestants have been accused of not adapting to Brazilian culture, of organizing "mini-convents," rather than life and society-transforming communities, of having their roots so deeply embedded in their rural past that they are maladjusted to Brazilian urban life. Is this so? Has the result of over one hundred years of missionary effort been the production of a carbuncle within the Brazilian social fabric, a foreign body that must be rejected - as it rejects its host?

Chapter two traces the history of Brazil, and of the insertion of Missionary Protestantism into the Brazilian social fabric. Special emphasis is given to the growth and development of the Brazilian Baptist Convention, especially in the State of São Paulo.

Finally, the growth of the Brazilian Baptist churches in metropolitan São Paulo between the last two censuses, 1981-1990, is analyzed. Brazilian Baptists have grown at better than twice the rate of the general population, especially in the urban, residential, communities. It would appear that Brazilian Baptists are well adapted to their environment, inasmuch as they are growing within the Brazilian urban context.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The author wishes to thank both Professor Willem Saayman for his encouragement, and his own wife, Sarah, and Chris, Debbie, and Jessica, their daughters, for releasing him to do the work involved with writing this dissertation.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

| | |
|--|----|
| <i>INTRODUCTION</i> _____ | 1 |
| PROBLEM: _____ | 4 |
| RELEVANCE: _____ | 5 |
| PRESSUPOSITIONS: _____ | 5 |
| Concerning Statistics _____ | 5 |
| DELIMITATIONS: _____ | 6 |
| Time Period: 1981 – 1990 _____ | 6 |
| Geographic Region: Metropolitan São Paulo: _____ | 7 |
| Corresponding Baptist Associations _____ | 7 |
| Denomination: _____ | 8 |
| Language _____ | 8 |
| METHODOLOGY: _____ | 9 |
| <i>A HISTORY OF SÃO PAULO AND OF BAPTIST WORK IN THE STATE</i> _____ | 10 |
| BRAZILIAN HISTORY BEFORE THE EMPEROR MOVES TO BRAZIL _____ | 10 |
| THE UNITED KINGDOM OF BRAZIL, PORTUGAL, AND ALGARVES (1808-1889) _____ | 17 |
| THE HISTORICAL CONTEXT FOR THE INSERTION OF MISSIONARY CHRISTIANITY IN BRAZIL _____ | 23 |
| SOUTHERN BAPTISTS IN SÃO PAULO (1866-1879) _____ | 27 |
| FROM IMMIGRANT TO MISSIONARY PROTESTANTISM: THE SOUTHERN BAPTIST MISSION TO BRAZIL (1880-1889) _____ | 31 |
| THE TRANSITION YEARS: FROM SOUTHERN BAPTIST MISSION TO BRAZILIAN BAPTIST CONVENTION (1889-1907) _____ | 35 |
| BRAZILIAN BAPTIST EXPANSION (1907-1930) _____ | 40 |
| BRAZILIAN BAPTISTS FROM THE VARGAS TO THE MILITARY DICTATORSHIPS (1930-1964) _____ | 43 |
| BRAZILIAN BAPTISTS FROM THE MILITARY DICTATORSHIP TO THE PRESENT _____ | 43 |
| WHO ARE THE PEOPLE CALLED BAPTISTS IN SÃO PAULO? _____ | 45 |
| <i>BAPTIST WORK IN METROPOLITAN SÃO PAULO: 1981-1991</i> _____ | 47 |
| DESCRIPTION OF METROPOLITAN SÃO PAULO _____ | 48 |
| THE SOUTHWEST REGION _____ | 51 |
| THE WESTERN REGION _____ | 51 |

| | |
|--|-----------|
| THE NORTHWESTERN REGION | 52 |
| THE NORTHERN REGION | 52 |
| THE NORTHEASTERN REGION | 52 |
| THE EASTERN REGION | 53 |
| THE CENTRAL REGION | 54 |
| THE SOUTHEASTERN REGION | 56 |
| SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION | 56 |
| <i>APPENDIX A: CHURCH MEMBERSHIP IN METROPOLITAN SÃO PAULO: 1981-1991, CLASSIFIED BY REGIONAL ASSOCIATION</i> | 59 |
| <i>Appendix B: Residents of Metropolitan São Paulo by City and Type of Residence</i> | 78 |
| <i>BIBLIOGRAPHY</i> | 81 |

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

Brazil's vastness has long challenged its visitors. A.T. Hawthorne, a Confederate General and American settler in Brazil appealed in his report to the 1880 Southern Baptist Convention to send missionaries to Brazil:

The evangelization of this wonderful country is a work of great magnitude. The Brazilian Empire is as large as the United States and all of its territories, excluding Alaska, and has a population of ten million. As vast as the work appears, it is still possible to accomplish; and it offers so many opportunities and facilities that your Committee is fully persuaded that the work, although great, may be done, and is enchanted. In our opinion, there is no other country within reach of missionary work that is more inviting or offers greater and more ready results, with a similar expense of time and effort. The advantages this field offers are numerous and easily indicated, as well as the reasons that should stir our hearts and open our wallets to this service. **First**, the government is stable and just, wisely administered, offering ample security of life, liberty and property; a government which recognizes merit and promptly punishes criminals. Industrious immigrants from all countries are received with open arms, and especially those from the United States, offering them all the facilities and protection necessary to their progress and prosperity. **Second**, the people are courteous, liberal and hospitable. They show great good will to the American people and are in favorable condition to receive from our hand evangelical Christianity, which will contribute to the progress of their country. **Third**, the climate is mild, the land elevated and healthy, the soil fertile, producing several products from several climates. Studying the fields, it is evident to us that God, in His providence, has prepared that country and its generous people in a special way for the evangelistic armies of our denomination. Believing that everything is propitious and that the time has arrived for us to do something in this regard worthy of our financial capacity, your Committee makes the following recommendation: "That the Foreign Mission Board be authorized to appoint additional¹ missionaries for the work in Brazil." (*The Southern Baptist Convention Annual, 1880*, pp. 24-25 and José Reis Pereira, 1982: pp. 12-13.)

Hawthorne's words now seem prophetic. Both the climate and the people have proven themselves hospitable to foreign missionaries, certainly more so than Africa. There are no missionary graveyards here!

¹ Betty Antunes de Oliveira emphasizes the word "additional" in her quote of this document (1985: 184). The FMB had already appointed three members of the Santa Barbara church in São Paulo as missionaries. I will further discuss this in the next chapter.

Further, the Brazilian people have, indeed, proven receptive to evangelical Christianity. "There are about 18 million Protestants in the country, or 11% of the population" (Kraft, 1998). Brazilian Baptists now number between 800,000 and one million in some 8000 churches. They further support some 600 home missionaries, nearly 200 foreign missionaries, and 300 indigenous workers at the denominational level.²

Brazil has thus become the recipient of a great deal of missionary activity. For many years, it was the Southern Baptists' single largest field, with literally hundreds of missionaries. Further, Brazilian Baptists also receive missionaries from a number of other missionary agencies, notable the Baptist Missionary Society (London), the Baptist General Conference (US), CB International (US), the Fellowship of Evangelical Baptists (Canada), and the German Baptists.

I am a missionary with CB International, and have served with the Brazilian Baptists in the city of São Paulo for the last eleven years. In that time, I have both worked with Brazilian Baptist churches and church associations in metropolitan Sao Paulo, as well as teaching missions at their seminary in the city as my primary assignment. In fact, one of my part time assignments during my first term of service was as general secretary of the Pinheiros association. In the ten years I have known that association, it has had no significant numerical growth. I would like to know if the other regional associations are also stagnant and, if possible, the causes.

Further, the churches in the metropolitan area are going through a transition, from a culture that can best be described as reflecting the small, interior, cities to a metropolitan one. Their relative success in this transition, in addition to being an interesting missiological study on the adaptation of a form

² I speak of the denominational level both because Brazilian Baptists have two more levels of organization, the state and the region, and because, as good Baptists, autonomous local churches also support their own missionaries. Thus, it is extremely difficult to get an accurate tally of all the missionaries sent by Brazilian Baptists.

of Christianity to a particular context, will have a direct bearing on my ministry context.

Mendonça argues that the niche "Missionary Protestantism"³ found when it reached Brazil was the "mass of 'free and poor men', more or less alienated from both the economic and religious systems, whose autonomous religious practice was centered on ibero-catholic folklore" (Mendonça & Velásques Filho, 1990: 136). He further argues that the "escapist theology" of the Protestantism which arrived in the second half of the eighteenth century, with its concomitant rejection of the world led to a rejection of Brazilian culture in favor of transplanting the anglo-saxon culture of the missionaries (:137).

To this day, Mendonça avers, Missionary Protestantism is poorly adapted to Brazilian culture, and especially urban culture, for three reasons:

The missionary message, having as its background the theology of exhaustion . . . was preponderantly individualistic, antitheological, and socially alienating.

To the isolation of the Church because of its premillennial theology, was added an aversion to theology because of the form of pietism with which it clothed itself and, finally, a liturgical poverty, resulting as much from the earlier legal position of the Empire as from, primarily, the lack of a consistent ecclesiology (a lack of the collective sense) and the disequilibrium introduced in the concept of the Trinity because of an excessive cult to the Crucified in detriment to God the Father and God, the Spirit.

The rural medium, as well as the economic and religious abandonment in which the layer of Brazilian society lived which received Protestantism were propitious for the millenarian mentality of the missionaries. From this, it is possible to conclude that the nature of Brazilian Protestantism, expressing itself in political indifference, resides in its theology. The individualistically ascetic and world denying ethic transforms the Protestant into a secular monk, and Protestant communities into convents. It is a secularized monasticism or, in Weberian terms, a worldly monasticism (:138).

³ To be defined in the following chapter.

Finally, other denominations, such as the Universal Church of the Kingdom of God (*Igreja Universal do Reino de Deus*, or IURD), appear to be having great success in the urban context. The IURD, for instance, although only ten years old, already has over a million followers all over Brazil. In other words, they have reached the same number of Brazilians in the last ten years that the Baptists have in the last 119!

PROBLEM:

Who, then are the Brazilian Baptists, particularly those in the State and city of São Paulo? In what way(s) have they inserted themselves into the urban Brazilian context? Mendonça suggests that the traditional churches, including the Brazilian Baptists, owe their urban growth to the migration of their faithful to the cities following the Second World War, continuing the patterns of expansion which served them well in the rural communities from whence they came. "In this way, Protestant urban growth occurred in the same ways as its rural expansion: small family and neighborhood groups, under lay leadership and around the Bible" (Mendonça and Velásques Filho, 1990: 271). In other words, traditional Protestant churches represent a throwback, essentially rural communities attempting to adapt to the big city.

How successful are they in communicating their message to the dwellers of a modern mega-city, São Paulo, as measured by their growth against the backdrop of the growth of the city itself. Are the Brazilian Baptist churches growing? If so, among which groups and under what circumstances?

Finally, during most of the period under study, Baptist churches associated with the São Paulo Convention were encouraged to participate in a "Densification" program. Through this program, the state denomination hoped to grow from 254 churches in greater São Paulo in 1983 to a total of

1000 churches in 1992. It will be worthwhile to evaluate to what extent these goals were reached⁴.

RELEVANCE:

Historically and sociologically, it will be interesting to see if one form of traditional Protestantism, which Weber has described as an urban religion, has managed to grow and prosper in the urban environment of the one of the world's mega-cities. This will be especially interesting, as it is widely understood that evangelical Protestantism continues to boom in this, the largest nominally Roman Catholic country in the world.

Further, this study will help demonstrate the relative success, or lack thereof, of the "Densification" program of church growth among the Baptist churches of metropolitan Sao Paulo. To what extent, if any, can a denomination influence the growth of the churches associated with it, particularly in an urban context? What strategies are successful, at least as measured by numerical growth? Which are not? And why?

PRESSUPPOSITIONS:

Concerning Statistics

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 1990. Both the IBGE and the EMPLASA figures between these dates represent projections based on the trends demonstrated by the 1980

⁴ I will later explain the reasons for selecting 1981-1990, rather than the dates of the Densification program. Primarily, hard census data is only available for the dates I have chosen, while the data available for the growth of the Baptist churches does not vary in quality.

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. 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.

DELIMITATIONS:

Time Period: 1981 – 1990

Chronologically, this study reflects the period between the last two 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 1990 censuses are projections, based on the trends verified by the 1980 census.

Although the "Densification" project 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 do not vary in quality from year to year, the study is limited to the years for which the best background statistics are available.

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 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, & Itapeçerica 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 |

Denomination:

Denominationally, 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.

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 refer to the Brazilian Baptist Convention, not the “Convenção Batista Brasileira.”

METHODOLOGY:

This study will be primarily historical in nature. A brief history of Brazil will describe the historical context for the insertion of the Baptist denomination into Brazilian life and culture, with special emphasis on the state of São Paulo. Brazilian Baptist history will be traced from the arrival of the first Southern Baptist immigrants in rural São Paulo to the present day, in the light of major historical events in the life of the nation. Preliminary observations will be made regarding Brazilian Baptists' "fit" into their context, as well as their growth. Again, São Paulo will be emphasized.

The third chapter will examine Brazilian Baptist growth in the São Paulo metropolitan area from 1981-1990. Inferences concerning the growth of the Brazilian Baptist churches in metropolitan São Paulo will be drawn by comparing the statistical growth of their associations with the population growth of the corresponding region of the city.

*Chapter 2***A HISTORY OF SÃO PAULO AND OF BAPTIST WORK IN
THE STATE*****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 which was to have its roots in Asia, Africa and Europe

In the eleventh century, two knights left the court of Bourgogne to offer their swords to Alphonse VI, the king of Lyons, to assist him in the reconquest of 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).

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.

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.⁵ 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 assigned all lands east of a particular meridian to Portugal, and those west to Spain. 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 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.

⁵ By the way, Columbus used Portuguese charts to reach the Antilles (Ferreira, 1967a: 20).

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, 1532⁶. 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 Aspícueta 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 and 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 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

⁶ 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.

(Ferreira, 1967a: 171). The monarch, in this case, receives his power from those he governs!

| LUSITANIAN EMPIRE | | | | | | |
|---|-----|---|-----|--|-----|--|
| PORTUGUESE 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 Damou 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 Cabo 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. | | | | | | |

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.

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 Nóbrega, crosses the mountains to 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, 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.⁷

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.

In a postscript to the earlier encounter of Catholic Christianity with João Ramalho's family, father Manoel da Nóbrega visits Santo André on August 29, 1553. He then baptizes Bartira, Ramalho's common-law wife, his sons, his

⁷ 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

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 Nóbrega and Anchieta celebrate the mass founding the Royal College of São Paulo in Saint Benedict's square, still part of 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 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 Nóbrega 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*). Rio de Janeiro is born.

In many ways, the history of the Royal College of São Paulo and of the "Bandeirantes" (literally, the flag or standard bearers⁸). 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

influx of immigrants.

⁸ This popular name is based on a play on words in Portuguese. A "band" of people is called a "banda," 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.

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 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.⁹ 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 afield 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

⁹ 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).

overseas. The first mint in Portuguese America was founded in São Paulo in 1644 (Ferreira, 1967a: 324-324). 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 Paulist 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).

THE UNITED KINGDOM OF BRAZIL, PORTUGAL, AND ALGARVES (1808-1889)

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. "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). 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).¹⁰ Although final legal ratification of this change takes several years, he rules the Portuguese Empire from Rio de Janeiro until 1822.

Unfortunately, Dom João was not a very popular ruler. He abdicated in favor of his son, Dom Pedro I, in 1822. 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. 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).

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.

Nonetheless, it was with the treaty of 1810 that the way was paved both for foreign immigration and for the toleration (initially) of divergent religious practices in Brazil. Crabtree affirms that

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).

Thus, Evangelicals¹¹ had already entered Brazil in 1810, although the first wave of (German Lutheran) immigrants came in 1816. As the following chart shows, 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. They were followed by the German Lutherans. 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).

It should also be noted that, 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

¹⁰ Some suggest he arrived on a British man o' war.

¹¹ 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 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.

resemble residential homes (Reilly, 1993: 40-41). To this day, most Brazilian evangelicals object very strongly to the use of visible religious symbols.¹²

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

¹² 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.

| THE INTRODUCTION OF VARIOUS FORMS OF CHRISTIANITY IN BRAZIL ¹³ | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|--|------|--|------|--|------|--|------|--|------|
| | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1500 | | 1600 | | 1700 | | 1800 | | 1900 | | 1980 |
| ROMAN CATHOLICISM | | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | | |
| IMMIGRANT PROTESTANTISM | | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | | |
| FOREIGN MISSIONS | | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | | |
| PENTECOSTALS | | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | | |

Noé Stanley Gonçalves. "Quadro Panorâmico: A Igreja Brasileira" in Valdir Steuermagel, ed. 1985. *A Evangelização do Brasil: Uma Tarefa Inacabada*. São Paulo: ABU Editora. p. 66.

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." He was

¹³ 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).

followed by Fountain Pitts, who organized a church in 1836 and by Daniel Kidder 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.

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 emigrate¹⁴ following the American Civil War. Land was cheap. The Imperial government had instituted a number of policies to attract immigrants. Finally, Brazil was the

¹⁴ One suspects that the what motivated these Americans, almost entirely from the Confederate States, was the desire to *get away from* the United States, rather than *go to* another country. This migration was extremely short-lived. Further, many of those who were buried in Brazil were buried under the Confederate flag!

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, 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 1866¹⁵ 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.¹⁶

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.

Edward Lane and G. Nash Morton were appointed in 1868, at their own request, by the Southern Presbyterian Church as missionaries to Brazil. 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.

THE HISTORICAL CONTEXT FOR THE INSERTION OF MISSIONARY CHRISTIANITY IN BRAZIL

¹⁵ Just a reminder. The "War Between the States," or the American Civil War, ended with the northern conquest of the South in 1865.

¹⁶ 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!

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 *apud* 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, paraecclesiastical, 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)¹⁷.

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 United 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 and 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, by the mid-1800's, Methodists were 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.

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?

¹⁷ I am, in fact, following Reilly's analysis throughout this section.

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 was 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.

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 Gainesborough 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, 1845.¹⁸

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 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).

¹⁸ 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.

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:¹⁹

From the beginning of 1866, the emigrants²⁰ 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 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.

¹⁹ I will here follow Antunes and Reilly, rather than Crabtree and Pereira, due to their more extensive use of original documents.

²⁰ See my earlier discussion on the use of this term.

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 our 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, Antonio Teixeira da 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 fulness, 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.²¹ 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).

²¹ The heckler had a point. The public baptism was in flagrant disregard of the law, which allowed only *private* Protestant religious worship.

***THE TRANSITION YEARS: FROM SOUTHERN
BAPTIST MISSION TO BRAZILIAN BAPTIST
CONVENTION (1889-1907)***

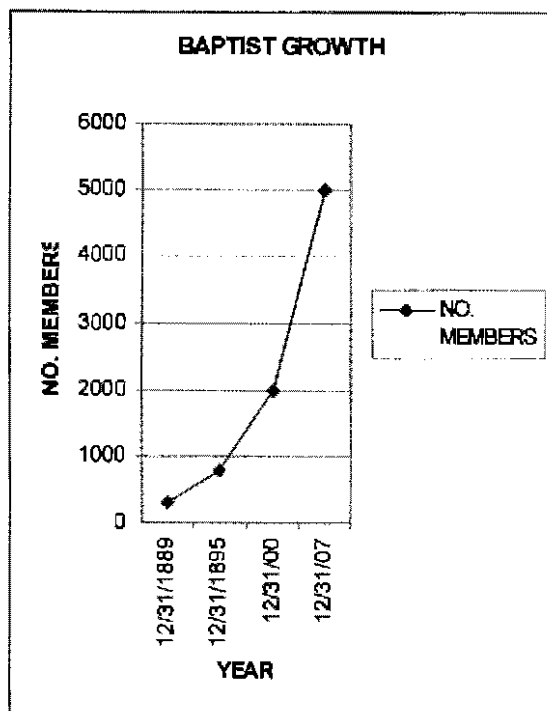
New fields were opened, by Teixeira in Maceió, Daniel in Recife, and the Bagbys in Rio de Janeiro. Still, there were only 312 church members at the close of the empire in 1889, 784 in 1895, 2000 in 1900, and 5000 in 1907, when the Convention was organized (Crabtree, 1953: 61). Crabtree goes on to cite 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 YEARS²²

| | | | | |
|--------------|------|---------|---------|---------|
| 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 |

²² 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).²³

²³ 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.

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 Rocinho²⁴. Fifty-five Russian immigrants 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 capital²⁵ had grown to 300,000, and there were numerous towns and cities that had not been reached but, as usual, Baptists

²⁴ With the exception of the Santos church, the other churches organized were in the smaller towns around Campinas.

²⁵ The city of São Paulo, as state capital, is often just called "the capital."

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 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).

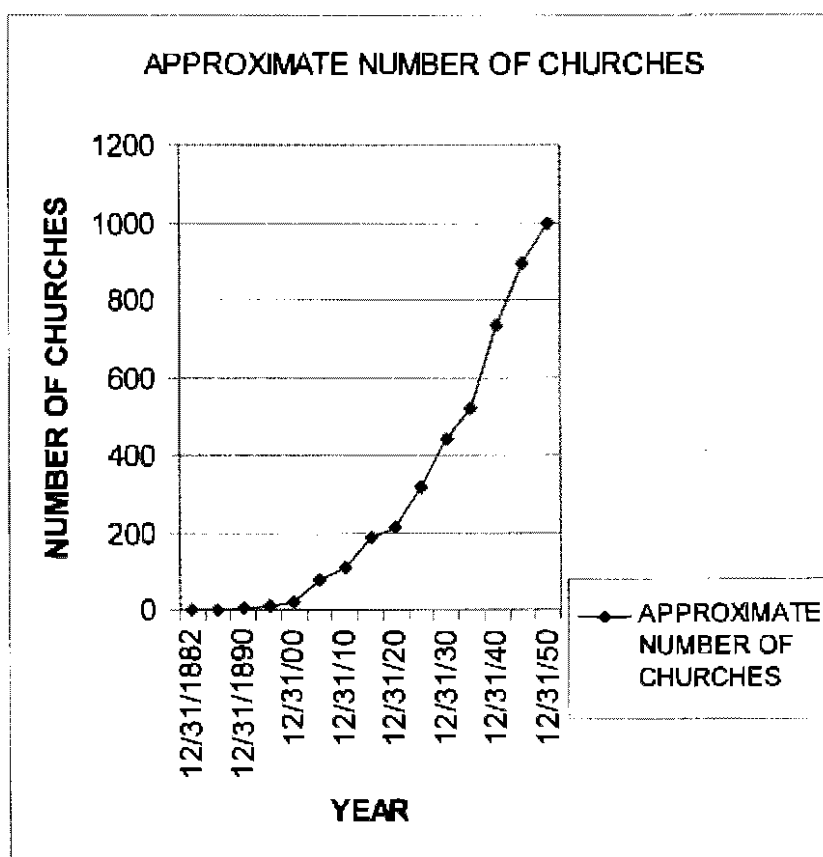
The issue of the gifts is to return in the 1960's, this time as a "doctrinal issue" (Pereira, 1985: 193). The issue of the doctrine of the Holy Spirit came up in the 1962 Convention and, in good Baptist fashion, a committee was formed to discuss the issue of the Baptist understanding of the Holy Spirit.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

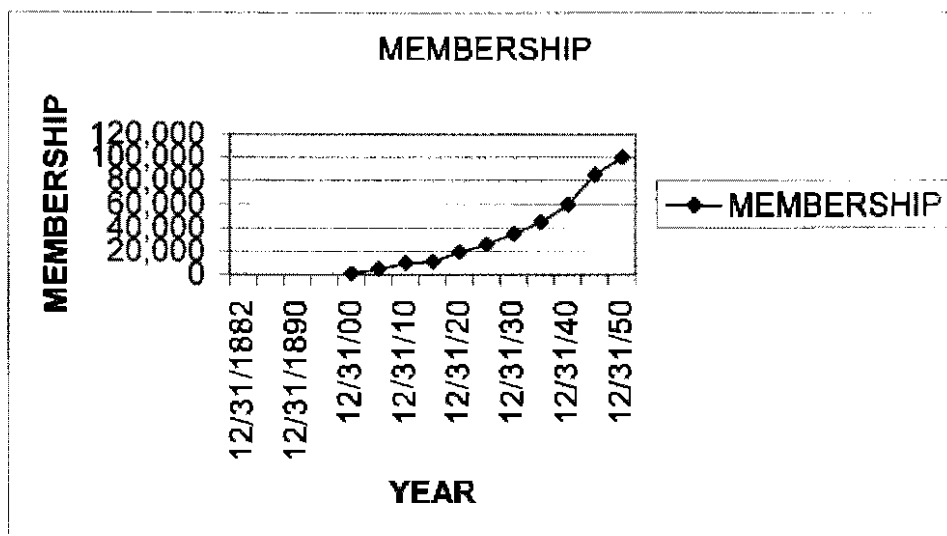
This report was finally presented to the Convention in 1964, and finally approved in 1965. As a result, the churches involved in the "renewal movement" withdrew, forming their own Convention, which is now called the "National Baptist Convention." In 1985, this Convention had some 400 churches (Pereira, 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.²⁶

²⁶ 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

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 Southern missions.²⁷ 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).

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.

²⁷ Due to Brazil's size, the Southern Baptists, at this time, divided their missionaries into two administrative units, called missions.

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,

Of all the historic churches, only the Baptists managed to maintain their old evangelistic emphasis, without going through a major crisis.²⁸ 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).

²⁸ 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.

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.

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 3

BAPTIST WORK IN METROPOLITAN SÃO PAULO: 1981-1991

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.²⁹

Finally, it will be assumed that population growth throughout the metropolitan São Paulo area mirrored that of the city itself. Although this is unlikely, precise figures, broken down by region, are currently unavailable.

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, meaning the city grew 13.58% over this period.

Metropolitan São Paulo is understood to include the following municipalities, divided by the State Planning Commission into the following eight regions (EMPLASA, 1985):

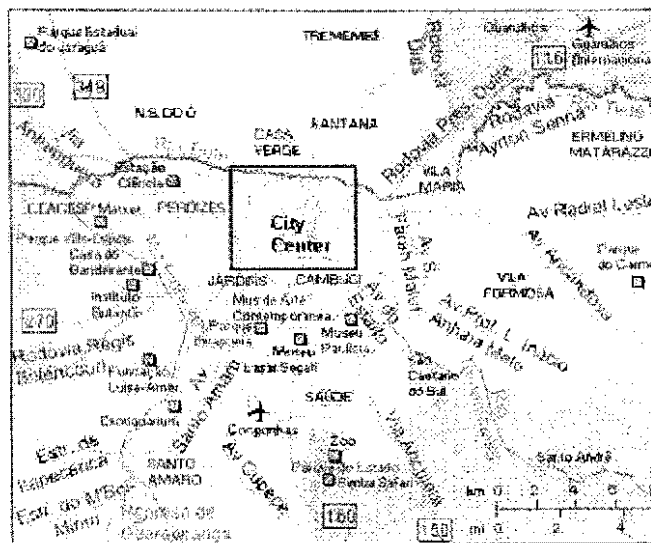
| REGION | MUNICIPALITIES INCLUDED |
|-----------|--|
| Center | São Paulo, Osasco |
| Northwest | Carapicuíba, Barueri, Cajamar, Santana de Parnaíba, Pirapora do Bom Jesus |
| West | Cotia, Vargem Grande Paulista, Itapevi, Jandira |
| Southwest | Taboão da Serra, Itapeçerica da Serra, Embu, Embu-Guaçu, 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 |

Going counterclockwise from 6 o'clock on the following map: the southwest region includes Embu-Guaçu, Taboão da Serra, Itapeçerica da Serra, Embu, and Juquitiba. The Western region includes Cotia, Vargem Grande

²⁹ Most such interviews are irenic. Still, it is usually a tense moment for the candidate

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, 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.

Sao Paulo: Vicinity



[Back to Referring Page](#)

Note: Click on black square to zoom map

| | |
|---------|----------|
| City | □ |
| Limits | Landmark |
| Park | Tower |
| Road | Airport |
| Highway | Tourist |
| | Info |

<http://expedia.msn.com/wg/places/Maps/SAOP2C.htm>

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 A).

and sometimes requires deft handling by the pastor or leader directing the meeting.

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.³⁰

| 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 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 |

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.

³⁰ See Appendix A 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 associations's growth rate could be calculated. The conclusive data from

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 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.³¹

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%.

THE WESTERN REGION

| WESTERN REGIONAL ASSOCIATIONS (Pinheiros & Vicinity) | | | | | | | | | | | |
|--|-------|-------|--------|--------|-------|-------|--------|--------|-------|-------|-------|
| | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Pinheiros & Vicinity | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 1981 | 1982 | 1983 | 1984 | 1985 | 1986 | 1987 | 1988 | 1989 | 1990 | 1991 |
| TOTAL | 1,502 | 1,560 | 1,485 | 1,439 | 1,556 | 1,561 | 1,744 | 1,971 | 1,975 | 1,986 | 1,986 |
| PERCENT GROWTH | | 3.86% | -4.81% | -3.10% | 8.13% | 0.32% | 11.72% | 13.02% | 0.20% | 0.56% | 0.00% |
| DECADAL GROWTH | 32% | | | | | | | | | | |

each table will be included in this chapter, while the basic data remains in the Appendix.

³¹ So called because its principal cities are Santo André, São Bernardo, and São Caetano.

The Eastern Regional Associations had similarly unequal results. (N.B. Geographically, from west to east, one first finds the Central Brazilian, then the Guarulhos, then the Mogi / East Metropolitan and, finally, the ABC Association.) The Eastern Capital Association began the decade with 3211 members in 22 churches, and finished it with 5620 members in 35 churches, for a growth rate of 75%. The Mogi Association, on the other hand, had lackluster results. Compared to a population growth of 13%, it grew only 9% in its five year history, from 2295 members in 19 churches, to 2443 members in the same 19 churches. Nonetheless, the region posted a 10 year growth rate of 153%, largely due to the Eastern Capital Association's overwhelming size. It is worth noting that the Mogi Association is likely the most rural of all the metropolitan associations.

THE CENTRAL REGION

| CENTRAL REGIONAL BAPTIST ASSOCIATIONS (Abancisp, Central, East Central, Northeast Capital, Northwest Capital, Southern Capital, Western Capital) | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|-------|---------|--------|--------|--------|---------|---------|--------|--------|--------|------|
| | 1981 | 1982 | 1983 | 1984 | 1985 | 1986 | 1987 | 1988 | 1989 | 1990 | 1991 |
| CENTRAL REGION SUMMARY ABANCISP | | | | | | | | | | | |
| TOTAL | 2,220 | 2,435 | 2,646 | 2,533 | 2,526 | 2,723 | 2,803 | 3,082 | 3,331 | 3,148 | |
| PERCENT GROWTH | | 9.68% | 8.67% | -4.27% | -0.28% | 7.80% | 2.94% | 9.95% | 8.08% | -5.49% | |
| DECADAL GROWTH | 42% | | | | | | | | | | |
| CENTRAL (DOWNTOWN) | | | | | | | | | | | |
| TOTAL | 5,958 | 6,609 | 6,794 | 6,798 | 6,670 | 6,641 | 6,332 | 6,757 | 6,601 | 6,569 | |
| PERCENT GROWTH | | 10.93% | 2.80% | 0.06% | -1.88% | -0.43% | -4.65% | 6.71% | -2.31% | -0.48% | |
| DECADAL GROWTH | 10% | | | | | | | | | | |
| VILA PRUDENTE / EAST CENTRAL | | | | | | | | | | | |
| TOTAL | 1,825 | 1,625 | 1,990 | 1,975 | 1,905 | 1,704 | 1,627 | 1,627 | 1,595 | 1,608 | |
| PERCENT GROWTH | | -10.96% | 22.46% | -0.75% | -3.54% | -10.55% | -4.52% | 0.00% | -1.97% | 0.82% | |
| DECADAL GROWTH | -12% | | | | | | | | | | |
| NORTHEAST CAPITAL | | | | | | | | | | | |
| TOTAL | 1,472 | 1,750 | 1,781 | 1,746 | 1,803 | 2,434 | 1,933 | 1,899 | 2,044 | 2,044 | |
| PERCENT GROWTH | | 18.89% | 1.77% | -1.97% | 3.26% | 35.00% | -20.58% | -1.76% | 7.64% | 0.00% | |

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|------------------------------------|--------|---------|---------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|---------|--------|
| DECADAL GROWTH | 39% | | | | | | | | | |
| FREGUESIA DO Ó / NORTHWEST CAPITAL | | | | | | | | | | |
| TOTAL | 1,628 | 1,440 | 1,637 | 1,616 | 1,632 | 1,610 | 1,720 | 1,832 | 1,833 | 1,740 |
| PERCENT GROWTH | | -11.56% | 13.68% | -1.28% | 0.99% | -1.35% | 6.83% | 6.51% | 0.05% | -5.07% |
| DECADAL GROWTH | 7% | | | | | | | | | |
| SOUTHERN CAPITAL | | | | | | | | | | |
| TOTAL | 0 | 411 | 467 | 516 | 516 | 673 | 869 | 1,021 | 905 | 904 |
| PERCENT GROWTH | | | 13.63% | 10.49% | 0.00% | 30.43% | 29.12% | 17.49% | -11.36% | -0.11% |
| DECADAL GROWTH | 120% | | | | | | | | | |
| WESTERN CAPITAL | | | | | | | | | | |
| TOTAL | 2,352 | 2,511 | 2,249 | 2,289 | 2,305 | 2,305 | 2,757 | 3,013 | 3,122 | 3,076 |
| PERCENT GROWTH | | 6.76% | -10.43% | 1.78% | 0.70% | 0.00% | 19.61% | 9.29% | 3.62% | -1.47% |
| DECADAL GROWTH | 31% | | | | | | | | | |
| CENTRAL REGION SUMMARY | | | | | | | | | | |
| TOTAL | 15,455 | 16,781 | 17,564 | 17,473 | 17,357 | 18,090 | 18,041 | 19,231 | 19,431 | 19,089 |
| PERCENT GROWTH | | 8.58% | 4.67% | -0.52% | -0.66% | 4.22% | -0.27% | 6.60% | 1.04% | -1.76% |
| DECADAL GROWTH | 24% | | | | | | | | | |

The Central Region covers the downtown and surrounding area. It experienced good growth, as compared to a population growth of 13%, 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 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.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

| 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 | 4,647 | 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 | 1,966 |
| NORTHWEST | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Osasco & Vicinity | 3384 | 3554 | 3575 | 3707 | 3874 | 4713 | 4395 | 4717 | 4989 | 5056 | 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 more than double 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 (see Appendix B), 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. It would be interesting to know if the Central Brazilian area's population has grown in the decade.

Although a couple of associations fared poorly, in no *region* did the Brazilian Baptists fail to grow at double the rate of population growth. If they can sustain growth at 31% per decade (and one is reminded of Crabtree's lament that their growth had diminished to 58% per decade in the 40's), they can reach 78,600 by the year 2000 and nearly 103,000 by the year 2010 - in metropolitan São Paulo.

So, it would seem that Brazilian Baptists are well adapted to the urban environment, as indicated by their growth in metropolitan São Paulo, at over double the rate of population growth. A comparative study with other groups that may be growing more quickly would help demonstrate whether Brazilian Baptist growth is optimal.

APPENDIX A: CHURCH MEMBERSHIP IN METROPOLITAN SÃO PAULO: 1981-1991, CLASSIFIED BY REGIONAL ASSOCIATION

(Compiled from Convenção Batista do Estado de São Paulo, 1982 -
1992)

| SOUTHWEST REGIONAL ASSOCIATIONS (Southwest Capital) | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| | 1981 | 1982 | 1983 | 1984 | 1985 | 1986 | 1987 | 1988 | 1989 | 1990 | 1991 |
| Southwest Capital | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1st BC Jabaquara | 82 | | | | | | | | | | |
| Boas Novas - Grajaú | | | | | 72 | 72 | 103 | 103 | 106 | 115 | 115 |
| Brooklin | 362 | 371 | 371 | 386 | 376 | 392 | 395 | 397 | 426 | 454 | 454 |
| Calvary Baptist Church | | | | | | | | 30 | 30 | 30 | 30 |
| Campo Grande | | | | | 61 | 61 | 61 | 67 | 60 | 60 | 60 |
| Capão Redondo - 1st BC | 50 | 100 | 47 | 161 | 161 | 147 | 147 | 157 | 187 | 185 | 185 |
| Capão Redondo - 2nd BC | | | | 30 | 30 | 30 | 30 | 60 | 49 | 46 | 46 |
| Centenário de Piraporinha | | | | | | | 85 | 85 | 109 | 100 | 100 |
| Chinesa | 75 | 80 | 80 | 80 | 80 | 80 | 85 | 86 | 72 | 72 | 72 |
| Cidade Júlia | 64 | | | | | | | | | | |
| Doze de Maio | 109 | 160 | 182 | 160 | 160 | 160 | 225 | 255 | 309 | 309 | 309 |
| Ebenézer | | | | | | | 55 | 65 | 21 | 44 | 44 |
| Filadélfia | | | | | | | | | | | 45 |
| Fonte São Bento | 23 | | | | | | | | | | |
| Interlagos | 230 | 276 | 216 | 276 | 276 | 276 | 180 | 177 | 260 | 260 | 260 |
| Jardim das Imbuías - 1st BC | | | 46 | 46 | 46 | 46 | 46 | 81 | 101 | 101 | 101 |
| Jardim das Oliveiras | 72 | 152 | 152 | 152 | 152 | 152 | 152 | 152 | 149 | 165 | 165 |
| Jardim das Rosas | | | | | | | 40 | 65 | 90 | 80 | 80 |
| Jardim Eliana | | | 40 | 25 | 25 | 25 | 35 | 43 | 57 | 57 | 57 |
| Jardim Fraternidade | | | | | | | | | | | 29 |
| Jardim Ingá | | | | | | | 60 | 73 | 89 | 89 | 89 |
| Jardim Orion | | | | | | | 60 | 68 | 64 | 69 | 69 |
| Jardim Pedreira | 99 | | | | | | | | | | |
| Jardim Primavera | | | 50 | 78 | 78 | 78 | 119 | 121 | 124 | 100 | 100 |
| Jardim São Luiz | | | | | | | | | 0 | 80 | 0 |
| Jardim Satélite | 57 | 87 | 75 | 87 | 171 | 158 | 158 | 88 | 77 | 94 | 94 |
| Maranata | | | 45 | 28 | 28 | 28 | 24 | 64 | 174 | 174 | 174 |
| Memorial de Capão Redondo | | | 39 | 52 | 53 | 53 | 67 | 67 | 87 | 64 | 64 |
| Monte Horebe | 180 | | | | | | | | | | |
| Morumbi | 106 | 145 | 288 | 367 | 442 | 693 | 693 | 719 | 739 | 739 | 739 |
| Novo Horizonte | | | | | | | | | | | 38 |
| Parelheiros | | | | | | | 30 | 48 | 60 | 60 | 60 |

| NORTHERN REGIONAL ASSOCIATIONS (Northern Capital) | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| | 1981 | 1982 | 1983 | 1984 | 1985 | 1986 * | 1987 | 1988 | 1989 | 1990 | 1991 |
| Northern Capital | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1st BC - Jardim Peri | | | | | | | | | 43 | 43 | 43 |
| 1st BC Atibaia | | 70 | 93 | 93 | 97 | 97 | 155 | 163 | 220 | 220 | 220 |
| Água Fria | | | | | 101 | 101 | 82 | 82 | 82 | 80 | 80 |
| Betel | 536 | 559 | 577 | 632 | 595 | 595 | 595 | 584 | 666 | 666 | 740 |
| Bortolândia | | | 30 | 40 | 67 | 67 | 60 | 60 | 69 | 66 | 66 |
| Carandiru | 232 | 197 | 229 | 197 | 197 | 197 | 250 | 250 | 200 | 200 | 200 |
| Casa Verde | 120 | 130 | 136 | 80 | 80 | 80 | 80 | 80 | 80 | 80 | 80 |
| Casa Verde - Central | 76 | 80 | 99 | 99 | 99 | 99 | 75 | 79 | 79 | 79 | 79 |
| Fé | 70 | 90 | 105 | 90 | 90 | 90 | 100 | 106 | 90 | 90 | 180 |
| Horto Florestal | | | 32 | 38 | 38 | 38 | 71 | 71 | 71 | 71 | 71 |
| Imirim | 90 | 95 | 99 | 95 | 129 | 129 | 163 | 163 | 163 | 163 | 163 |
| Jaçanã | 82 | 82 | 90 | 82 | 82 | 82 | 82 | 82 | 0 | 45 | 0 |
| Jardim Cristina | 71 | 77 | 82 | 75 | 74 | 74 | 75 | 75 | 50 | 49 | 49 |
| Jardim Tremembé - Central | 200 | 220 | 131 | 220 | 140 | 140 | 162 | 160 | 165 | 140 | 140 |
| Lauzane Paulista | 60 | 103 | 103 | 103 | 103 | 103 | 120 | 120 | 121 | 121 | 121 |
| Macedônia | 98 | 98 | 102 | 98 | 106 | 106 | 116 | 116 | 114 | 110 | 110 |
| Mairiporã | | 40 | 73 | 40 | 40 | 40 | 43 | 45 | 50 | 50 | 50 |
| Memorial - Vila Albertina | 32 | 45 | 51 | 45 | 45 | 45 | 46 | 46 | 70 | 61 | 64 |
| Parque Peruche | 71 | 76 | 88 | 76 | 76 | 76 | 76 | 76 | 76 | 48 | 30 |
| Redenção | 165 | 177 | 177 | 161 | 161 | 161 | 192 | 192 | 185 | 185 | 185 |
| Vila Ester | 144 | 136 | 136 | 136 | 136 | 136 | 136 | 136 | 136 | 136 | 177 |
| Vila Nova Cachoeirinha | 178 | 192 | 205 | 192 | 192 | 192 | 236 | 236 | 176 | 176 | 176 |
| TOTAL | 2225 | 2467 | 2638 | 2592 | 2648 | 2648 | 2915 | 2922 | 2906 | 2879 | 3024 |
| PERCENT GROWTH | | 10.88% | 6.93% | -1.74% | 2.16% | 0.00% | 10.08% | 0.24% | -0.55% | -0.93% | 5.04% |
| DECADAL GROWTH | 29% | | | | | | | | | | |
| *Data missing for this year, copied from year prior | | | | | | | | | | | |

| | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---------------------------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|----|
| Jardim Três Marias | 136 | 136 | 136 | 136 | 136 | | | | | | | |
| Monte Belo | | | | | | | | | 65 | 65 | 65 | |
| Monte São | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Nova Curuçá | 52 | 53 | 53 | 53 | 53 | | | | | | | |
| Parque Guarani | | | 67 | 81 | 81 | 81 | 81 | 81 | 81 | 81 | 81 | |
| Parque Paulistano | 157 | 160 | 160 | 160 | 160 | 160 | 160 | 160 | 160 | 160 | 160 | |
| Parada XV Novembro | 87 | 194 | 194 | 194 | 198 | 198 | 168 | 198 | 198 | 198 | 198 | |
| Poá | 73 | 80 | 80 | 80 | 80 | | | | | | | |
| Sobania | 16 | 16 | 11 | 16 | 16 | | | | | | | |
| São Miguel Paulista | 352 | 262 | 276 | 300 | 300 | 300 | 365 | 355 | 355 | 360 | 360 | |
| Suzano - Tabernáculo Batista | 98 | 98 | 98 | 98 | 98 | | | | | | | |
| Vila Carmozina | 79 | 82 | 82 | 82 | 82 | | | | | | | |
| Vila Cruzeiro | | | | | | | | | 35 | 35 | 35 | 35 |
| Vila Jacuí | | | | | | | | | 86 | 86 | 99 | 99 |
| Vila Maria Maggi | | | | 50 | 50 | | | | | | | |
| Vila Nova Curuçá | | | | 53 | 60 | 60 | 60 | 53 | 53 | 88 | 88 | |
| Vila Progresso | 125 | 88 | 88 | 88 | 88 | 88 | 88 | 127 | 127 | 127 | 127 | |
| Vila Romanópolis | 70 | 75 | 75 | 75 | 75 | | | | | | | |
| Vila Verde | 74 | 76 | 76 | 76 | 76 | 76 | 76 | 76 | 72 | 67 | 74 | |
| TOTAL | 4686 | 5555 | 5632 | 5752 | 5763 | 3780 | 4089 | 4495 | 4643 | 5029 | 5043 | |
| PERCENT GROWTH | | 18.54% | 1.39% | 2.13% | 0.19% | -34.41% | 8.17% | 9.93% | 3.29% | 8.31% | 0.28% | |
| DECADAL GROWTH | 7% | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Guarulhos & Vicinity | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 1981 | 1982 | 1983 | 1984 | 1985 | 1986* | 1987 | 1988 | 1989 | 1990 | 1991 | |
| 1st BC Bairro dos Pimentas | | | | | | | 40 | 40 | 60 | 50 | 50 | |
| 1st BC Bom Sucesso | | | | | | | 70 | 78 | 42 | 50 | 50 | |
| 1st BC Cumbica | | | | | | | | 70 | 107 | 114 | 114 | |
| 1st BC em Arujá | 31 | 36 | 37 | 29 | 40 | 40 | 40 | 40 | 56 | 67 | 67 | |
| 1st BC Guarulhos | 154 | 165 | 167 | 165 | 165 | 165 | 165 | 175 | 175 | 175 | 175 | |
| 1st BC Jardim Jovaiá Velho | | | | | | | | | | 60 | 20 | |
| 1st BC Taboão | 30 | 40 | 50 | 40 | 40 | 40 | 40 | 100 | 108 | 110 | 110 | |
| Central BC de Guarulhos | 140 | 237 | 237 | 237 | 237 | 237 | 237 | 237 | 237 | 150 | 150 | |
| Cidade Brasil | 34 | 34 | 41 | 34 | 30 | 30 | 30 | 30 | 47 | 49 | 62 | |
| Cidade Seródio | | 63 | 63 | 81 | 81 | 81 | 87 | 96 | 96 | 96 | 96 | |
| Jardim Célia-Cocaia | | | | | | | 40 | 60 | 31 | 34 | 34 | |
| Jardim Cumbica | | | | | | | | | | | 20 | |
| Jardim Ipanema | | | | | 52 | 52 | 52 | 52 | 52 | 52 | 71 | |
| Jardim Paulista | | 52 | 92 | 52 | 20 | 20 | 52 | 52 | 107 | 107 | 107 | |
| Jardim Vila Galvão | 133 | 160 | 31 | 165 | 160 | 160 | 20 | 20 | 30 | 30 | 30 | |
| Luz | 103 | 110 | 97 | 48 | 48 | 48 | 48 | 48 | 12 | 20 | 53 | |
| Parque Cecap | | | | | | | 50 | 55 | 64 | 64 | 64 | |

| EASTERN REGIONAL ASSOCIATIONS (Eastern Capital, Metropolitan East / Mogi das Cruzes) | | | | | | | | | | | |
|--|-------|--------|-------|-------|-------|--------|--------|--------|--------|-------|--------|
| | 1981 | 1982 | 1983 | 1984 | 1985 | 1986 | 1987 | 1988 | 1989 | 1990 | 1991 |
| EASTERN CAPITAL | | | | | | | | | | | |
| C.H. Itaquera I - 1st BC | | | 94 | | 124 | 175 | 175 | 200 | 161 | 158 | 139 |
| Cidade Patriarca - 1st BC | 86 | 79 | 63 | 63 | 79 | 79 | 79 | 82 | 82 | 82 | 82 |
| Penha - 1st BC | 901 | 913 | 973 | 1,042 | 1,189 | 1,300 | 1,189 | 1,189 | 1,217 | 1,217 | 1,237 |
| Ponte Rasa - 1st BC | 139 | 149 | 153 | 149 | 138 | 140 | 162 | 140 | 140 | 103 | 103 |
| José Bonifácio - 1st BC | | | | | | | | | 80 | 88 | 88 |
| Canaã | 185 | 185 | 172 | 179 | 179 | 200 | 179 | 186 | 186 | 186 | 186 |
| Cangaíba | 66 | 94 | 94 | 94 | 94 | 100 | 94 | 100 | 100 | 96 | 96 |
| Vila Progresso - Centenária | | | | 60 | 60 | 60 | 60 | 60 | 108 | 128 | 128 |
| IV Centenário | | 190 | 198 | 190 | 190 | 250 | 190 | 200 | 200 | 200 | 200 |
| Engenheiro Goulart | 40 | 45 | 87 | 45 | 45 | 53 | 45 | 50 | 50 | 50 | 30 |
| Ermelino Matarazzo | 219 | 234 | 242 | 234 | 234 | 234 | 234 | 249 | 249 | 249 | 249 |
| Jardim Assunção | 21 | 30 | 30 | 30 | 30 | 37 | 30 | 43 | 93 | 98 | 98 |
| Jardim Ipanema | | | 45 | 59 | 59 | 60 | 59 | 81 | 81 | 81 | 83 |
| Jardim Matarazzo | | | | | | | | | | | 20 |
| Jardim Penha | 90 | 160 | 160 | 140 | 140 | 137 | 140 | 201 | 141 | 168 | 168 |
| Jardim Popular | 61 | 69 | 39 | 69 | 69 | 60 | 69 | 77 | 77 | 77 | 77 |
| Jardim Santana | 85 | 87 | 89 | 106 | 90 | 80 | 90 | 102 | 70 | 70 | 70 |
| Jardim Santa Terezinha | | | | | 41 | 67 | 67 | 74 | 103 | 103 | 103 |
| Jardim Três Marias | | | | | | 148 | 148 | 148 | 148 | 110 | 110 |
| Límoeiro | 50 | 92 | 109 | 122 | 129 | 90 | 122 | 130 | 130 | 60 | 60 |
| Jardim Matarazzo - Memorial | | | | | | | | | | 50 | 60 |
| Vila Rosária - Memorial | | | | | | | | 351 | 314 | 326 | 326 |
| Monte Calvário | 107 | 115 | 117 | 115 | 115 | 150 | 175 | 123 | 135 | 135 | 135 |
| Monte Hermom | | | | 70 | 70 | 60 | 70 | 60 | 54 | 54 | 34 |
| Monte São | 159 | 208 | 224 | 208 | 208 | 120 | 208 | 208 | 208 | 208 | 208 |
| Nova Jerusalém | 225 | 230 | 230 | 230 | 230 | 188 | 230 | 235 | 230 | 230 | 230 |
| Vila Carmozina | | | | | | | | 120 | 148 | 148 | 148 |
| Vila Dália | 138 | 138 | 130 | 138 | 183 | 183 | 138 | 149 | 149 | 149 | 149 |
| Vila Esperança | 120 | 120 | 126 | 120 | 30 | 121 | 126 | 133 | 133 | 133 | 133 |
| Vila Libanesa | 47 | 53 | 55 | 53 | 53 | 120 | 107 | 178 | 215 | 227 | 227 |
| Vila Matilde | 60 | 59 | 60 | 45 | 45 | 45 | 45 | 53 | 53 | 53 | 53 |
| Vila Nova Manchester | 77 | 89 | 81 | 89 | 89 | 89 | 89 | 113 | 113 | 113 | 113 |
| Vila Robertina | 110 | 87 | 95 | 126 | 135 | 143 | 151 | 150 | 135 | 132 | 132 |
| Vila Saete | 225 | 353 | 274 | 249 | 261 | 261 | 261 | 261 | 0 | 220 | 220 |
| Vila Sílvia | | | 25 | 38 | 38 | 69 | 84 | 89 | 126 | 126 | 126 |
| TOTAL | 3,211 | 3,779 | 3,965 | 4,063 | 4,347 | 4,839 | 4,816 | 5,535 | 5,427 | 5,628 | 5,620 |
| PERCENT GROWTH | | 17.69% | 4.92% | 2.47% | 6.99% | 11.32% | -0.48% | 14.93% | -1.95% | 3.70% | -0.14% |

| SOUTHEASTERN REGIONAL BAPTIST ASSOCIATIONS (ABC) | | | | | | | | | | | |
|--|------|------|------|------|------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| ABC | 1981 | 1982 | 1983 | 1984 | 1985 | 1986 | 1987 | 1988 | 1989 | 1990 | 1991 |
| 1st BC Baeta Neves | 194 | 254 | 254 | 254 | 251 | 250 | 250 | 250 | 257 | 300 | 300 |
| 1st BC Diadema | 86 | 94 | 78 | 62 | 62 | 60 | 60 | 60 | 80 | 92 | 92 |
| 1st BC Ipiranga | 263 | 270 | 258 | 376 | 173 | 156 | 411 | 429 | 512 | 512 | 512 |
| 1st BC Mauá | 375 | 409 | 302 | 350 | 350 | 433 | 400 | 406 | 424 | 443 | 443 |
| 1st BC Parque São Rafael | | | | | | | | 174 | 150 | 130 | 130 |
| 1st BC Paulicéia | | | | | | | 42 | 38 | 42 | 46 | 46 |
| 1st BC Ribeirão Pires | 110 | 158 | 155 | 167 | 167 | 120 | 160 | 254 | 290 | 300 | 300 |
| 1st BC Rio Grande da Serra | | | | | | | 42 | 35 | 38 | 70 | 90 |
| 1st BC Rudge Ramos | 279 | 279 | 285 | 299 | 299 | 175 | 183 | 213 | 241 | 241 | 243 |
| 1st BC Santo André | 718 | 718 | 738 | 804 | 961 | 1,399 | 1,584 | 1,674 | 1,743 | 1,743 | 1,743 |
| 1st BC São Bernardo do Campo | 72 | 87 | 78 | 94 | 94 | 95 | 95 | 110 | 124 | 130 | 130 |
| 1st BC São Caetano do Sul | 227 | 180 | 180 | 160 | 160 | 118 | 118 | 120 | 110 | 104 | 104 |
| 1st BC São João Clímaco | 47 | 32 | 40 | 39 | 50 | 48 | 62 | 60 | 54 | 54 | 54 |
| 1st BC Vila Conceição | 130 | 140 | 140 | 138 | 138 | 62 | 76 | 85 | 68 | 57 | 57 |
| 2nd BC de Mauá | 110 | 111 | 115 | 121 | 121 | 115 | 85 | 112 | 114 | 114 | 114 |
| Barcelona | 125 | 155 | 158 | 158 | 91 | 91 | 91 | 150 | 155 | 155 | 155 |
| Betel | | | 38 | 73 | 91 | 87 | 106 | 108 | 110 | 110 | 110 |
| Borda do Campo | | | | | | | 278 | 299 | 350 | 350 | 230 |
| Centenário de Diadema | | | 25 | 24 | 24 | 68 | 43 | 63 | 38 | 36 | 48 |
| Central de Jardim Estádio | | | | | | 151 | 156 | 181 | 181 | 181 | 181 |
| Central de Utinga | | | 142 | 145 | 145 | 150 | 128 | 152 | 180 | 180 | 180 |
| Central SB do Campo | 200 | 231 | 208 | 240 | 153 | 274 | 246 | 350 | 300 | 350 | 350 |
| Ebenézer | 86 | 87 | 97 | 97 | 93 | 100 | 108 | 103 | 90 | 90 | 46 |
| Ipiranga | 263 | 358 | 244 | 173 | 375 | 388 | 411 | 429 | 512 | 512 | 307 |
| Jardim Arco Iris | | | | | | | | | | | 107 |
| Jd. Anchieta | | | 50 | 57 | 57 | 85 | 88 | 70 | 75 | 87 | 87 |
| Jd. Elba | | | | | | | | | | | 67 |
| Jd. Guarituba | | | | | | | | | 108 | 130 | 130 |
| Jd. Inamar | | | | | | | 54 | 69 | 67 | 67 | 67 |
| Jd. Mauá | | | | | | | 107 | 137 | 180 | 189 | 185 |
| Jd. Panorama | | | | | | | | 49 | 65 | 65 | 65 |
| Jd. Rodolfo Pirani | | | | | | | | | 45 | 45 | 45 |
| Jd. Utinga | 76 | 82 | 82 | 180 | 180 | 150 | 152 | 139 | 169 | 169 | 169 |
| Jd. Zaira | | | | | | 79 | 94 | 103 | 122 | 122 | 123 |
| Memorial SC do Sul | | | | | | | | 120 | 143 | 143 | 143 |
| Monte das Oliveiras | 170 | 170 | 161 | 157 | 155 | 159 | 123 | 148 | 132 | 132 | 134 |
| Novas da Paz | | | | | 157 | 100 | 130 | 143 | 123 | 123 | 128 |
| Pq. Capuava | | | | | | | | 89 | 111 | 115 | 115 |

| CENTRAL REGIONAL BAPTIST ASSOCIATIONS (Abancisp, Central, East Central, Northeast Capital, Northwest Capital, Southern Capital, Western Capital) | | | | | | | | | | | |
|--|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| | 1981 | 1982 | 1983 | 1984 | 1985 | 1986 | 1987 | 1988 | 1989 | 1990 | 1991 |
| Abancisp | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1st BC São Mateus | 344 | 310 | 301 | 310 | 310 | 344 | 344 | 344 | 416 | 416 | 494 |
| Belém | | | | | | | | 32 | 38 | 38 | 38 |
| Bereana | 40 | 40 | 40 | 40 | 40 | 40 | 40 | 40 | 248 | 76 | 76 |
| Esperança | 95 | 192 | 195 | 48 | 48 | 48 | 48 | 48 | 54 | 43 | 43 |
| Getsenani | 200 | 222 | 230 | 174 | 231 | 231 | 231 | 231 | 144 | 140 | 140 |
| Jardim Angela | | | | | | | | 40 | 75 | 75 | 75 |
| Jardim Colonial | 65 | 76 | 82 | 76 | 76 | 76 | 76 | 76 | 175 | 175 | 175 |
| Jardim Iguatemi | 50 | 51 | 56 | 55 | 55 | 55 | 55 | 85 | 57 | 57 | 49 |
| Jardim Iva | 40 | 66 | 66 | 66 | | 60 | 60 | 60 | 96 | 98 | 98 |
| Jardim Paraguçu | | | | | | | 94 | 147 | 142 | 142 | 142 |
| Jardim Santo André | | | | | | 40 | 40 | 40 | 40 | 30 | 30 |
| Jardim Tietê | | | | | | | | 55 | 76 | 96 | 96 |
| Jardim Vila Carrão | | | | | | 60 | 40 | 45 | 43 | 43 | 43 |
| Moriá | 117 | 149 | 158 | 129 | 129 | 129 | 129 | 153 | 138 | 138 | 138 |
| Parque Boa Esperança | 40 | 48 | 52 | 192 | 192 | 192 | 192 | 192 | 192 | 159 | 159 |
| Vila Antonieta | 188 | 258 | 265 | 258 | 258 | 258 | 250 | 315 | 361 | 361 | 360 |
| Vila Diva | 400 | 400 | 420 | 400 | 400 | 400 | 400 | 361 | 421 | 400 | 400 |
| Vila Formosa | 359 | 407 | 415 | 407 | 407 | 407 | 407 | 407 | 250 | 252 | 252 |
| Vila Guarani | 100 | 16 | 156 | 178 | 180 | 183 | 197 | 218 | 205 | 239 | 271 |
| Vila Primavera | 182 | 200 | 210 | 200 | 200 | 200 | 200 | 193 | 160 | 160 | 160 |
| TOTAL | 2,220 | 2,435 | 2,646 | 2,533 | 2,526 | 2,723 | 2,803 | 3,082 | 3,331 | 3,148 | 3,250 |
| PERCENT GROWTH | | 9.68% | 8.67% | -4.27% | -0.28% | 7.80% | 2.94% | 9.95% | 8.08% | -5.49% | 3.24% |
| DECADAL GROWTH | 42% | | | | | | | | | | |
| Central (Downtown) | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 1981 | 1982 | 1983 | 1984 | 1985 | 1986 | 1987 | 1988 | 1989 | 1990 | 1991 |
| 1st BC Brás | 537 | 597 | 551 | 595 | 548 | 548 | 548 | 548 | 548 | 548 | 548 |
| 1st BC Coreana | | | | | | | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| 1st BC São Paulo | 1,646 | 1,766 | 1,842 | 1,766 | 1,657 | 1,657 | 1,657 | 1,657 | 1,657 | 1,657 | 1,657 |
| Bandeirante | 80 | 151 | 151 | 151 | 151 | 151 | 160 | 151 | 151 | 151 | 151 |
| Barra Funda | | | | | | | | | 60 | 60 | 60 |
| Bom Retiro | 107 | 107 | 145 | 107 | 85 | 85 | 85 | 64 | 64 | 64 | 64 |
| Cambuci | 373 | 304 | 271 | 304 | 304 | 304 | 304 | 304 | 165 | 165 | 165 |
| Estoniana | | | | | | | 15 | 15 | 15 | 15 | 15 |
| Praça da Sé | | | | | | | | | | | 0 |
| Leta | 147 | 148 | 136 | 148 | 148 | 148 | 225 | 157 | 150 | 150 | 150 |
| Liberdade | 580 | 617 | 643 | 617 | 617 | 617 | 417 | 1,031 | 981 | 981 | 981 |
| Luz | 110 | 124 | 129 | 126 | 127 | 127 | 127 | 127 | 130 | 130 | 130 |

| | | | | | | | | | | | |
|--|-------|---------|--------|--------|-------|--------|---------|--------|-------|--------|--------|
| TOTAL | 1,472 | 1,750 | 1,781 | 1,746 | 1,803 | 2,434 | 1,933 | 1,899 | 2,044 | 2,044 | 2,018 |
| PERCENT GROWTH | | 18.89% | 1.77% | -1.97% | 3.26% | 35.00% | -20.58% | -1.76% | 7.64% | 0.00% | -1.27% |
| DECADAL GROWTH | 39% | | | | | | | | | | |
| Freguesia do Ó / Northwest Capital | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 1981 | 1982 | 1983 | 1984 | 1985 | 1986 | 1987 | 1988 | 1989 | 1990 | 1991 |
| Bairro do Limão | 106 | 61 | 85 | 61 | 61 | 96 | 97 | 97 | 97 | 89 | 89 |
| Da Amizade | | | | | | | | 90 | 90 | | |
| Freguesia do Ó | 99 | 110 | 115 | 110 | 110 | 110 | 85 | 85 | 85 | 52 | 52 |
| Itaberaba | 127 | 144 | 141 | 144 | 144 | 144 | 175 | 175 | 175 | 175 | 175 |
| Jardim Brasília | | | | | | | 59 | 63 | 63 | 63 | 63 |
| Jardim Cachoeira | 50 | 50 | 50 | 50 | 56 | 56 | 39 | 39 | 39 | 39 | 39 |
| Jardim Carumbé | | | 30 | 31 | 31 | 31 | 18 | 18 | 18 | 18 | 18 |
| Jardim das Laranjeiras | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Jardim Vista Alegre | | | 12 | 39 | 39 | 39 | 45 | 45 | 45 | 90 | 90 |
| Morro Grande | 92 | 97 | 100 | 97 | 97 | 97 | 70 | 70 | 70 | 70 | 70 |
| Nova Canaã | 161 | | 163 | 163 | 163 | 163 | 150 | 150 | 140 | 140 | 140 |
| Nova Gileade | | | | | | | 45 | 50 | 50 | 50 | 50 |
| Vila Brasíliaândia | 588 | 631 | 557 | 574 | 584 | 582 | 634 | 647 | 643 | 643 | 643 |
| Vila Carolina | 103 | 102 | 105 | 102 | 102 | 102 | 102 | 102 | 117 | 110 | 110 |
| Vila Iório | 95 | 95 | 102 | 95 | 95 | 95 | 106 | 106 | 106 | 106 | 106 |
| Vila Monte alegre | 58 | | | | | | | | | | |
| Vila Penteado | 95 | 105 | 112 | 105 | 105 | 50 | 50 | 50 | 50 | 50 | 50 |
| Vila Santa Maria | 60 | | | | | | | | | | |
| Vila Souza | | 45 | 65 | 45 | 45 | 45 | 45 | 45 | 45 | 45 | 108 |
| TOTAL | 1,628 | 1,440 | 1,637 | 1,616 | 1,632 | 1,610 | 1,720 | 1,832 | 1,833 | 1,740 | 1,803 |
| PERCENT GROWTH | | -11.55% | 13.68% | -1.28% | 0.99% | -1.35% | 6.83% | 6.51% | 0.05% | -5.07% | 3.62% |
| DECADAL GROWTH | 7% | | | | | | | | | | |
| Southern Capital | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 1981 | 1982 | 1983 | 1984 | 1985 | 1986 | 1987 | 1988 | 1989 | 1990 | 1991 |
| 1st BC Jabaquara | | 82 | 95 | 82 | 82 | 82 | 82 | 95 | 95 | 95 | 95 |
| Americanópolis - Central BC / Fonte S. Bento | | | | | | | | | | 60 | 60 |
| Cidade Júlia | | 86 | 132 | 86 | 86 | 103 | 99 | 125 | 132 | 105 | 105 |
| Fonte São Bento | | 53 | 42 | 53 | 53 | 53 | 53 | 60 | 60 | | |
| Jardim Pedreira | | | | | | | 120 | 132 | 92 | 92 | 92 |
| Monte Morebe | | 190 | 198 | 190 | 190 | 190 | 190 | 189 | 183 | 210 | 210 |
| Planalto Paulista | | | | | | 80 | 80 | 92 | 92 | 92 | 92 |
| Parque Dorotéia | | | | | | | 80 | 140 | 82 | 82 | 82 |
| Vila Missionária | | | | | | 60 | 60 | 72 | 42 | 50 | 50 |
| Vila Moraes | | | | 105 | 105 | 105 | 105 | 116 | 127 | 118 | 118 |
| TOTAL | 0 | 411 | 467 | 516 | 516 | 673 | 869 | 1,021 | 905 | 904 | 906 |

| PERCENT GROWTH | | | 13.63% | 10.49% | 0.00% | 30.43% | 29.12% | 17.49% | -11.36% | -0.11% | 0.00% |
|--|-------|-------|---------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|---------|--------|-------|
| DECADAL GROWTH | 120% | | | | | | | | | | |
| Western Capital | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 1981 | 1982 | 1983 | 1984 | 1985 | 1986* | 1987 | 1988 | 1989 | 1990 | 1991 |
| 1st BC Cajamar | 40 | 50 | 52 | 50 | 50 | 50 | 52 | 62 | 62 | 62 | 62 |
| 1st BC Francisco Morato | 50 | 50 | 53 | 100 | 31 | 31 | 142 | 168 | 168 | 168 | 168 |
| 1st BC Húngara | 148 | 184 | 184 | 184 | 85 | 85 | 214 | 240 | 240 | 240 | 240 |
| 1st BC Lapa | 400 | 400 | 80 | 75 | 86 | 86 | 142 | 131 | 191 | 150 | 150 |
| 1st BC Perus | | | | | | | 53 | 59 | 59 | 59 | 59 |
| Água Branca | 228 | 282 | 282 | 367 | 373 | 373 | 432 | 448 | 448 | 450 | 450 |
| Alto da Lapa | 140 | 145 | 145 | 145 | 145 | 145 | 142 | 147 | 147 | 110 | 110 |
| Cidade Brasil | | | | | | | | | | 47 | |
| Franco da Rocha | 80 | 85 | 90 | 85 | 142 | 142 | 90 | 105 | 105 | 105 | 105 |
| Jardim das Laranjeiras | | | | | | | | | | | 64 |
| Jardim Maggi | 49 | 53 | 58 | 53 | 184 | 184 | 103 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 |
| Jardim Rincão | 84 | 86 | 92 | 86 | 53 | 53 | 140 | 152 | 152 | 150 | 150 |
| Jardim Santa Fé | | | | | | | | | | 30 | 30 |
| Monte Alegre | | | | | | | | | 45 | 45 | 45 |
| Pirituba | 117 | 117 | 133 | 117 | 117 | 117 | 117 | 147 | 147 | 127 | 127 |
| Parque Anhangüera | | | | | | | | | | 38 | 38 |
| Parque Panamericano | 60 | 63 | 75 | 63 | 80 | 80 | 93 | 106 | 106 | 138 | 138 |
| Parque São Domingos | 80 | 80 | 75 | 80 | 75 | 75 | 80 | 88 | 88 | 53 | 53 |
| Sião | | | | | | | | | | | 80 |
| Sumarezinho | 102 | 100 | 120 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 135 | 157 | 157 | 157 | 157 |
| Vila Bonilha | 95 | 110 | 104 | 78 | 78 | 78 | 78 | 116 | 120 | 140 | 140 |
| Vila Mangalot | 44 | 47 | 47 | 47 | 47 | 47 | 40 | 46 | 46 | 46 | 46 |
| Vila Mirante | 40 | 45 | 45 | 45 | 45 | 45 | 133 | 138 | 138 | 80 | 80 |
| Vila Pompela | 195 | 197 | 197 | 197 | 197 | 197 | 154 | 162 | 162 | 140 | 140 |
| Vila Zac | 400 | 417 | 417 | 417 | 417 | 417 | 417 | 434 | 434 | 434 | 434 |
| TOTAL | 2,352 | 2,511 | 2,249 | 2,289 | 2,305 | 2,305 | 2,757 | 3,013 | 3,122 | 3,076 | 3,173 |
| PERCENT GROWTH | | 6.76% | -10.43% | 1.78% | 0.70% | 0.00% | 19.61% | 9.29% | 3.62% | -1.47% | 3.15% |
| DECADAL GROWTH | 31% | | | | | | | | | | |
| * Data missing - copied from year prior. | | | | | | | | | | | |
| CENTRAL REGION SUMMARY | | | | | | | | | | | |
| ABANCISP | | | | | | | | | | | |
| TOTAL | 2,270 | 2,435 | 2,646 | 2,533 | 2,526 | 2,723 | 2,803 | 3,082 | 3,331 | 3,148 | 3,250 |
| PERCENT GROWTH | | 9.68% | 8.67% | -4.27% | -0.28% | 7.80% | 2.94% | 9.95% | 8.08% | -5.49% | 3.24% |

Appendix B: Residents of Metropolitan São Paulo by City and Type of Residence

(IBGE: 1991 Demographic Census)

| Pessoas moradoras (Habitação) | | | | |
|------------------------------------|----------|-----------|------------------------|-----------------------|
| Ano = 1991 | | | | |
| Município | Situação | Espécie | | |
| (Região Metropolitana = São Paulo) | | Coletivos | Particular improvisado | Particular permanente |
| Arujá - SP | Rural | 0 | 22 | 3,267 |
| | Urbana | 105 | 203 | 34,025 |
| Barueri - SP | Rural | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| | Urbana | 912 | 305 | 129,582 |
| Biritiba-Mirim - SP | Rural | 47 | 4 | 3,023 |
| | Urbana | 0 | 20 | 14,739 |
| Caieiras - SP | Rural | 7 | 0 | 1,286 |
| | Urbana | 12 | 35 | 37,729 |
| Cajamar - SP | Rural | 0 | 26 | 1,705 |
| | Urbana | 21 | 320 | 31,664 |
| Carapicuíba - SP | Rural | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| | Urbana | 696 | 214 | 282,751 |
| Cotia - SP | Rural | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| | Urbana | 699 | 428 | 106,326 |
| Diadema - SP | Rural | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| | Urbana | 525 | 349 | 304,413 |
| Embu - SP | Rural | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| | Urbana | 148 | 271 | 155,571 |
| Embu-Guaçu - SP | Rural | 0 | 0 | 863 |
| | Urbana | 219 | 72 | 35,123 |

| | | | | |
|----------------------------|--------|-------|-------|---------|
| Ferraz de Vasconcelos - SP | Rural | 0 | 0 | 1,196 |
| | Urbana | 623 | 384 | 93,963 |
| Francisco Morato - SP | Rural | 0 | 0 | 248 |
| | Urbana | 71 | 321 | 83,245 |
| Franco da Rocha - SP | Rural | 4,530 | 6 | 1,507 |
| | Urbana | 252 | 219 | 79,021 |
| Guararema - SP | Rural | 0 | 0 | 3,775 |
| | Urbana | 171 | 60 | 13,955 |
| Guarulhos - SP | Rural | 82 | 5 | 9,858 |
| | Urbana | 4,451 | 1,771 | 771,699 |
| Itapeçerica da Serra - SP | Rural | 0 | 26 | 2,014 |
| | Urbana | 339 | 118 | 90,649 |
| Itapevi - SP | Rural | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| | Urbana | 206 | 122 | 107,648 |
| Itaquaquecetuba - SP | Rural | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| | Urbana | 1,026 | 336 | 163,595 |
| Jandira - SP | Rural | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| | Urbana | 71 | 71 | 62,555 |
| Juquitiba - SP | Rural | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| | Urbana | 101 | 35 | 19,833 |
| Mairiporã - SP | Rural | 43 | 47 | 5,912 |
| | Urbana | 56 | 30 | 33,849 |
| Mauá - SP | Rural | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| | Urbana | 597 | 562 | 293,839 |

| | | | | |
|----------------------------|--------|-------|-------|---------|
| Mogi das Cruzes - SP | Rural | 35 | 46 | 26,249 |
| | Urbana | 1,061 | 1,011 | 244,773 |
| Osasco - SP | Rural | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| | Urbana | 2,187 | 1,348 | 564,690 |
| Pirapora do Bom Jesus - SP | Rural | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| | Urbana | 27 | 8 | 7,921 |
| Poá - SP | Rural | 0 | 0 | 730 |
| | Urbana | 186 | 139 | 75,247 |
| Ribeirão Pires - SP | Rural | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| | Urbana | 292 | 193 | 84,600 |
| Rio Grande da Serra - SP | Rural | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| | Urbana | 13 | 14 | 29,874 |
| Salesópolis - SP | Rural | 0 | 17 | 4,607 |
| | Urbana | 7 | 12 | 6,716 |
| Santa Isabel - SP | Rural | 47 | 62 | 9,631 |
| | Urbana | 147 | 40 | 28,048 |
| Santana de Parnaíba - SP | Rural | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| | Urbana | 56 | 309 | 37,397 |
| Santo André - SP | Rural | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| | Urbana | 2,533 | 1,615 | 612,843 |
| São Bernardo do Campo - SP | Rural | 321 | 28 | 11,049 |

| | | | | |
|-----------------------------|--------|---------|--------|------------|
| | Urbana | 4 | 1,052 | 550,795 |
| São Caetano do Sul - SP | Rural | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| | Urbana | 1,514 | 443 | 147,562 |
| São Paulo - SP | Rural | 2,364 | 957 | 22,970 |
| | Urbana | 95,552 | 19,886 | 9,297,456 |
| Suzano - SP | Rural | 50 | 38 | 6,748 |
| | Urbana | 1,683 | 168 | 150,152 |
| Taboão da Serra - SP | Rural | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| | Urbana | 554 | 280 | 159,250 |
| Vargem Grande Paulista - SP | Rural | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| | Urbana | 187 | 30 | 15,653 |
| TOTALS | | 124,830 | 34,078 | 15,075,389 |

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Books

Aguiar, Neuma. *The Structure of Brazilian Development*. New Jersey: Transactions.

Ahlstrom, Sydney E. 1972. *A Religious History of the American People*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Allen, Elizabeth. 1985. *Poverty and social welfare in Brazil : a challenge for civilian government*. Glasgow: University of Glasgow, Institute of Latin American Studies.

Alves de Oliveira, Antônia. 1982. *Os Nordestinos em São Paulo: Depoimentos*. São Paulo: Edições Paulinas.

Alves, Rubem. 1979. *Protestantismo e Repressão*. São Paulo: Editora Ática.

Antunes de Oliveira, Betty. 1985. *Centelha em Restolho Seco: Uma Contribuição para a História dos Primórdios do Trabalho Batista no Brasil*. Rio de Janeiro: author.

- Arensberg, Conrad. 1965. *Culture and Community*. New York: Harcourt, Brace and World.
- Banton, Michael, ed. 1966. *Anthropological Approaches to the Study of Religion*. London: Tavistock.
- _____. 1966. *The Social Anthropology of Complex Societies*. ASA monographs #4, London: Tavistock.
- Bastian, Jean-Pierre. 1986. *Breve Historia del Protestantismo en América Latina*. Mexico City: CUPSA.
- _____. 1988. *Los Dissidentes: Sociedades Protestantes y Revolución en México 1872-1911*. Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica and El Colegio de México.
- _____. *Protestantismo y Sociedad en México*. Mexico City: CUPSA, 1983.
- Bastide, Roger. 1971. *As Religiões Africanas do Brasil*. São Paulo: Livraria Pioneira, Editora da USP,
- Bastide, Roger. 1978. *The African Religions of Brazil*. transl. of *As Religiões Africanas do Brasil*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press,
- _____ and Fernandes, Florestan. 1959. *Branços e Negros em São Paulo*. São Paulo: Companhia Editora Nacional,
- Bennett, Olivia. 1984. *Brazilian family*. London : Black,
- Berlinck, Manoel Tosta. 1975. *Marginalidade Social e Relações de Classes em São Paulo*. Petrópolis, Rio de Janeiro: Vozes.
- Berlinck, Manoel Tosta and Hogan, Daniel J. 1974. *O Desenvolvimento Econômico do Brasil e as Migrações Internas para São Paulo: Uma Análise Histórica*. Campinas, São Paulo: Universidade de Campinas.
- Berquó, Elsa S. 1977. *A Fecundidade em São Paulo: Características Demográficas Biológicas e Socio-econômicas*. São Paulo: CEBRAP.
- Blay, Eva Alterman. 1985. *Eu Não Tenho Onde Morar: Vilas Operárias na Cidade de São Paulo*. São Paulo: Nobel.
- _____. 1975. *Urbanização em Região Subdesenvolvida: O Caso de Eldorado Paulista*. São Paulo: University of São Paulo, CERV.
- Blay, Eva Alterman, et. al. 1978. *A Luta pelo Espaço: Textos de Sociologia Urbana*. Petrópolis, Rio de Janeiro: Vozes.
- Both, Elizabeth. 1975. *Família e Rede Social*. Rio de Janeiro: Livraria Francisco Alves Editora.

- Braga, Erasmo & Grubb, Kenneth G. 1932. *The Republic of Brazil: A Survey of the Religious Situation*. London: World Dominion Press.
- Burdick, John. 1993. *Looking for God in Brazil: The Progressive Catholic Church in Urban Brazil's Religious Arena*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Butterworth, Douglas and Chance, John K. 1981. *Latin American Urbanization*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Caldeira, Teresa Pires do Rio. 1984. *A Política dos Outros: O Cotidiano dos Moradores de Periferia e o que Pensam do Poder e dos Poderosos*. São Paulo: Editora Brasiliense.
- Camargo, Cândido Procópio Ferreira. 1973. *Católicos, Protestantes, Espíritas*. Petrópolis, Rio de Janeiro: Vozes.
- Camargo, Cândido Procópio Ferreira, et. al. 1976. *São Paulo 1975 - Crescimento e Pobreza*. São Paulo: Loyola.
- Cardoso, Fernando Henrique. 1976. *Cultura e Participação na Cidade de São Paulo*. São Paulo: CEBRAP.
- Cardoso de Oliveira, Marina Marigo. 1978. *A Religião nos Presídios*. São Paulo: Cortez e Moraes.
- Carpenter, Joel A. and Shenk, Wilbert R., eds. 1990. *Earthen Vessels: American Evangelicals and Foreign Missions: 1880-1980*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.
- Carvalho, Otamar de, et. al. 1977. *Migrações e Urbanização: Concepção de Políticas e Instrumentos para a Ordenação da Migração Interna do Brasil*. Brasília: MINTER.
- Castells, Manuel, compiler. 1974. *Estructura de Clases y Política Urbana en América Latina*. Buenos Aires: Ediciones SIAP.
- _____. 1972. *Problemas de Investigación en Sociología Urbana*. Buenos Aires: Siglo XXI.
- Cerqueira Cesar, Roberto de, et. al. 1977. *Área da Luz Renovação Urbana em São Paulo*. São Paulo: Perspectiva.
- Chaney, Charles L. 1976. *The Birth of Missions in America*. Pasadena: William Carey Library.
- Collet Bruna, Gilda. 1978. *Brasil: Planejamento Urbano e Regional*. São Paulo: Universidade de São Paulo.
- Convenção Batista do Estado de São Paulo. 1981. *Livro do Mensageiro*. São Paulo, Convenção Batista do Estado de São Paulo.

- Convenção Batista do Estado de São Paulo. 1982. *Livro do Mensageiro*. São Paulo, Convenção Batista do Estado de São Paulo.
- Convenção Batista do Estado de São Paulo. 1983. *Livro do Mensageiro*. São Paulo, Convenção Batista do Estado de São Paulo.
- Convenção Batista do Estado de São Paulo. 1984. *Livro do Mensageiro*. São Paulo, Convenção Batista do Estado de São Paulo.
- Convenção Batista do Estado de São Paulo. 1985. *Livro do Mensageiro*. São Paulo, Convenção Batista do Estado de São Paulo.
- Convenção Batista do Estado de São Paulo. 1986. *Livro do Mensageiro*. São Paulo, Convenção Batista do Estado de São Paulo.
- Convenção Batista do Estado de São Paulo. 1987. *Livro do Mensageiro*. São Paulo, Convenção Batista do Estado de São Paulo.
- Convenção Batista do Estado de São Paulo. 1988. *Livro do Mensageiro*. São Paulo, Convenção Batista do Estado de São Paulo.
- Convenção Batista do Estado de São Paulo. 1989. *Livro do Mensageiro*. São Paulo, Convenção Batista do Estado de São Paulo.
- Convenção Batista do Estado de São Paulo. 1990. *Livro do Mensageiro*. São Paulo, Convenção Batista do Estado de São Paulo.
- Convenção Batista do Estado de São Paulo. 1991. *Livro do Mensageiro*. São Paulo, Convenção Batista do Estado de São Paulo.
- Convenção Batista do Estado de São Paulo. 1992. *Livro do Mensageiro*. São Paulo, Convenção Batista do Estado de São Paulo.
- Cook, Guillermo. 1985. *The Expectation of the Poor: Latin American Basic Ecclesial Communities in Protestant Perspective*. Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books.
- Cook, Guillermo, ed. 1994. *New Face of the Church in Latin America*. Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books.
- Crabtree, A.R. 1953. *Baptists in Brazil: A History of Southern Baptists' Greatest Mission Field*. Rio de Janeiro: The Baptist Publishing House.
- Da Matta, Roberto. 1985. *A Casa e a Rua: Espaço, Cidadania, Mulher e Norte no Brasil*. São Paulo: Editora Brasiliense.
- Davis, J. Merle, director. 1943. *How the Church Grows in Brazil: A Study of the Economic and Social Basis of the Evangelical Church in Brazil*. New York: Department of Social and Economic Research and Counsel, International Missionary Council.

- Delle Donne, M. 1983. *Teorias Sobre a Cidade*. Lisbon: Martins Fontes.
- Deter, Arthur B. 1946. *Forty Years in the Land of Tomorrow*. Nashville, Tennessee: Broadman Press.
- Dogan, Mattei and Kasarda, John D. 1989. *The Metropolis Era: A World of Giant Cities*, volume 1, Beverly Hills: Sage Books.
- _____. 1989. *The Metropolis Era: Mega-Cities*, vol. 2, Beverly Hills: Sage Books.
- Durham, Eunice Ribeiro. 1972. *A Caminho da Cidade*. São Paulo: Editora Perspectiva.
- Durkheim, Émile. 1971. *De la División del Trabajo Social*. Buenos Aires: Editorial Schapiro,
- _____. 1968. *Les Formes Élémentares de la Vie Religieuse*, Paris: PUF.
- Dussell Ambrosini Enrique D. 1980. *História da Igreja no Brasil*, tomo II/1. Petrópolis: Vozes.
- Dussell Ambrosini Enrique D. 1980. *História da Igreja no Brasil: Segunda Época - Século XIX*, tomo II/2. Petrópolis: Vozes.
- Dzidzienyo, Anani and Casal, Lourdes. 1979. *The position of Blacks in Brazilian and Cuban Society*. London: Minority Rights Group.
- Echeverria, José Mendina, et. al. *Subemprego, Problema Estrutural*. Petrópolis, Rio de Janeiro: Vozes.
- Eco, Humberto. 1970. *Apocalípticos e Integrados*. São Paulo: Editora Perspectiva.
- Ellul, Jacques. 1986. *The Meaning of the City*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.
- Empresa Metropolitana de Planejamento da Grande São Paulo, SA, 1985. Tabela 1.2 "Ano de Criação dos Municípios," *Sumário de Dados da Grande São Paulo*.
- Engen, Charles Van, and Tiersma, Jude, eds. 1994. *God So Loves the City: Seeking a Theology for Urban Mission*. Monrovia, CA: MARC.
- Evans-Pritchard. 1978. *Antropologia Social da Religião*. Rio de Janeiro: Editora Campus.
- _____. 1978. *Bruxaria, Oráculo e Magia entre os Azande*. Rio de Janeiro: Zahar.
- Fava, Vera Lúcia. 1984. *Urbanização: Custo de Vida e Pobreza no Brasil*. São Paulo: Instituto de Pesquisas Econômicas.
- Fernandes, Florestan, ed. 1975. *Comunidade e Sociedade no Brasil*. São Paulo: Companhia Editora Nacional.

_____. 1965. *A Integração do Negro na Sociedade de Classes*. São Paulo: University of São Paulo.

_____. *Las Clases Sociales en América Latina: Problemas de Conceptualización*. México: Siglo Veintiuno Editores, .

_____. 1972. *O Negro no Mundo dos Brancos*. São Paulo: Difusão Européia do Livro.

_____. 1974. *Mudanças Sociais no Brasil: Aspectos do Desenvolvimento da Sociedade Brasileira*. São Paulo: Difusão Européia do Livro.

_____. 1976. *A Revolução Burguesa no Brasil: Ensaio de Interpretação Sociológica*. Rio de Janeiro: Zahar Editores.

Ferreira, Rosa Maria Fischer. 1980. *Meninos da Rua*. São Paulo: Comissão Justiça e Paz.

Ferreira, Tito Lívio. 1967a. *História de São Paulo*. Vol. 1. São Paulo: Gráfica Biblos Editora.

Ferreira, Tito Lívio. 1967b. *História de São Paulo*. Vol. 2. São Paulo: Gráfica Biblos Editora.

Figueiredo Ferraz, J.C. de. 1976. *São Paulo e Seu Futuro Antes que Seja Tarde Demais*. Rio de Janeiro: Instituto Brasileiro de Administração Municipal.

Fonseca, Guido. 1982. *A História da Prostituição em São Paulo*. São Paulo: Editora Resenha Universitária.

Freston, Paul. 1992. *Fé Bíblica e Crise Brasileira: Posses e Política; Esoterismo e Ecumenismo*. São Paulo: ABU Editora.

Freyre, Gilberto. 1968. *Sobrados e Mocambos*. Rio de Janeiro: José Olimpia.

Freyre, Gilberto. 1968. *Casa Grande e Senzala*. Rio de Janeiro: José Olimpia.

Garrard-Burnett, Virginia and Stoll, David, eds. 1993. *Rethinking Protestantism in Latin America*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Geertz, C. 1973. *The Interpretation of Cultures*. New York: Basic Books.

_____. 1982. *A Interpretação das Culturas*. Rio de Janeiro: Zahar.

Glazier, Stephen D., ed. 1980. *Perspectives on Pentecostalism: Case Studies from the Caribbean and Latin America*. Washington, D.C. University Press of America.

Gilbert, Alan, Hardoy, Jorge E. and Ramirez, Ronaldo. 1982. *Urbanization in Contemporary Latin America*. Chichester: Wiley.

- Goodpasture, H. McKennie. 1989. *Cross and Sword: An Eyewitness History of Christianity in Latin America*. Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books.
- Greenway, Roger S., ed. 1979. *Discipling the City: Theological Reflections on Urban Mission*. Grand Rapids: Baker Book House.
- Harris, Marvin. 1979. *Cultural Materialism: The Struggle for a Science of Culture*. New York: Vintage Books.
- Hollenweger, Walter James. 1972. *The Pentecostals: The Charismatic Movement in the Churches*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House.
- _____. 1974. *Pentecost Between Black and White: Five Case Studies on Pentecost and Politics*. Belfast, Christian Journals.
- Hunter, James Davison. 1983. *American Evangelicalism: Conservative Religion and the Quandary of Modernity*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.
- _____. 1987. *Evangelicalism: The Coming Generation*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Hutchinson, William R. 1987. *Errand to the World: American Protestant Thought and Foreign Missions*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística (IBGE). 1997. *Anuário Estatístico do Brasil - 1996*.
- Ianni, Otávio. 1972. *Teorias de Estratificação Social*. São Paulo: Companhia Editora Nacional.
- Katzman, Martin Theodore. 1977. *Cities and frontiers in Brazil: regional dimensions of economic development*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
- Kowarick, Lucio. 1975. *Capitalismo e Marginalidade na América Latina*. Rio de Janeiro: Paz e Terra.
- _____. 1978. *Cidade: Usos e Abusos*. São Paulo: Editora Brasiliense.
- _____. 1977. *The Logic of disorder: Capitalist Expansion in the Metropolitan Area of Greater São Paulo*. Brighton, UK: Institute of Developmental Studies.
- _____. 1987. *The Subjugation of Labor: The Constitution of Capitalism in Brazil*. Amsterdam: CEDLA.
- LeFebvre, Henri. 1972. *O Direito à Cidade*. São Paulo: Editora Documentos.
- Léonard, Émile - G. 1952. *O Protestantismo Brasileiro: Estudo de Eclesiologia e de História Social*. Transl. Linneu de Camargo Schützer. São Paulo: Associação de Seminários Teológico Evangélicos.

- Lívio Ferreira, Tito. C. 1960. *História de São Paulo*, two volumes. São Paulo: Gráfica Biblos Ltda.
- McDonough, Peter and De Souza, Arnauty. 1981. *The politics of population in Brazil: elite ambivalence and public demand*. Austin, Texas: University of Texas Press.
- Magnani, José Guilherme Cantor. 1984. *Festa no Pedaco: Cultura Popular e Lazer na Cidade*. São Paulo: Editora Brasiliense.
- Marsden, George M. 1991. *Understanding Fundamentalism and Evangelicalism*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.
- Martin, David. 1990. *Tongues of Fire: The Explosion of Protestantism in Latin America*. Cambridge: Blackwell.
- Matthews, Donald G. 1977. *Religion in the Old South*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Mendonça, Antônio Gouvêa & Velásques Filho, Prócoro. 1990. *Introdução ao Protestantismo Brasileiro*. São Paulo: Edições Loyola.
- Miller, Daniel R. 1994. *Coming of Age: Protestantism in Contemporary Latin America*. Lanham, Maryland: University Press of America.
- Milone, Paulo Cesar. 1986. *População: Migração e Desenvolvimento Econômico*. São Paulo: Instituto de Pesquisas Econômicas.
- Moraes, Hiroito Joanides de. 1978. *Boca do Lixo*. São Paulo: Edições Populares.
- Niebuhr, H. Reinhold. 1951. *Christ and Culture*. New York: Harper and Row.
- Noll, Mark A. 1990. *Religion and American Politics from the Colonial Period to the 1980s*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Noroli, R. 1970. *A Handbook on Method in Cultural Anthropology*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Nunes, Guido. 1976. *Rio: Metrópole de 300 Favelas*. Petrópolis, Rio de Janeiro: Vozes.
- Oliveira, Betty Antunes de. 1985. *Centelha em Restolho Seco: Uma Contribuição para a História dos Primórdios do Trabalho Batista no Brasil*. Rio de Janeiro: Betty Antunes de Oliveira.
- Park, Robert E. 1952. *Human Communities: The City and Human Ecology*. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press.
- Parson, T., et. al. 1961. *Theories of Society*. New York: Free Press.
- Pereira, José Reis. 1982. *História dos Batistas no Brasil: 1882-1982*. Rio de Janeiro: JUERP.

- Pereira de Queiroz, Maria Isaura. 1965. *O Messianismo no Brasil e no Mundo*. São Paulo: Dominus EDUSP.
- Pierson, Donald. 1971. *Branços e Pretos na Bahia*. São Paulo: Companhia Editora Nacional.
- _____. 1948. *Estudos de Ecologia Humana*. São Paulo: Livraria Martins Fontes.
- Prada, Ceclia. 1981. *Menores no Brasil: A Loucura Nova*. São Paulo: Editora Alternativa.
- Quijano, Anibal. 1977. *Dependência, Urbanización y Cambio Social en Latinoamérica*. Lima: Mosca Azul.
- Raboteau, Albert J. 1978. *Slave Religion: The "Invisible Institution" in the Antebellum South*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Rambaud, P. 1969. *Société Rural et Urbanization*. Paris: Editions du Seuil.
- Read, William R. 1965. *New Patterns of Church Growth in Brazil*. Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company.
- Read, William R. and Ineson, Frank A. 1973. *Brazil 1980: The Protestant Handbook*. Monrovia, CA: MARC.
- Reilly, Duncan Alexander. 1993. *História Documental do Protestantismo no Brasil*. Second edition, revised by the author. São Paulo: ASTE.
- Reis Pereira, José. 1985. *História dos Batistas no Brasil: 1882-1982*. Rio de Janeiro: JUERP.
- Ribeiro, Boanerges. 1973. *Protestantismo no Brasil Monárquico (1822-1888): Aspectos Culturais da Aceitação do Protestantismo no Brasil*. São Paulo: Livraria Pioneira Editora.
- Ribeiro, Darcy. 1995. *O Povo Brasileiro: A Formação e o Sentido do Brasil*. São Paulo, Companhia das Letras.
- Ricouer, P., et. al. 1975. *Culturas e o Tempo*. transl. Gentil Tilton, Petrópolis, Rio de Janeiro: Vozes.
- Roberts, Bryan. 1978. *Cities of Peasants: The Political Economy of Urbanization in the Third World*. London: Edward Arnold.
- Rodrigues, Martins. 1978. *Operário, Operária: Estudo Exploratório sobre o Operariado Industrial da Grande São Paulo*. São Paulo: Símbolo.
- Safiotti, Heleith I.B. 1969. *Women in Class Society*, transl. of *A Mulher na Sociedade de Classes* (São Paulo: ARTES) by Michael Vale, New York: Monthly Review Press.

- Sampaio, Aidil and Vasconcelos Rocha, Risalva. 1989. *Tendências das Migrações do Nordeste 1940-1980*. Recife, Pernambuco: Superintendência do Desenvolvimento do Nordeste, Departamento de Planejamento Socio-Econômico.
- Santos, Milton. 1982. *Ensaíos sobre a Urbanização Latino-Americana*. São Paulo: Hucitec.
- Schaeffer, Kalman, assisted by Spandel, Cheyna R. 1976. *São Paulo: Urban Development and Employment*. Geneva: International Labour Office.
- Scherer, Ross P. 1980. *American Denominational Organization: A Sociological View*. Pasadena: William Carey Library.
- Schwartzman, Simon. 1982. *Bases do Autoritarismo Brasileiro*. Brasília: Editora Universidade de Brasília.
- _____. 1975. *São Paulo e o Estado Nacional*. São Paulo: Difusão Européia do Livro.
- Secretaria de Economia e Planejamento. 1976. *Problemas Emergentes do Estado de São Paulo*.
- Siepierski, Paulo. 1987. *A Evangelização no Brasil: Um Perfil do Protestantismo Brasileiro, O Caso Pernambuco*. São Paulo: SEPAL.
- Singer, Paul and Caldeira Brant, Vinicius. 1980. *São Paulo: O Povo em Movimento*. Petrópolis, Rio de Janeiro: Vozes.
- Souza, Itamar de. 1980. *Migrações Internas no Brasil*. Petrópolis, Rio de Janeiro: Vozes.
- Steuernagel, Valdir, ed. 1985. *A Evangelização do Brasil: Uma Tarefa Inacabada. As Principais Palestras e Seminário do Congresso Brasileiro de Evangelização*. São Paulo: ABU Editora.
- Stewart, Edward C. 1972. *American Cultural Patterns: A Cross-Cultural Perspective*. Yarmouth, Maine: Intercultural Press, Inc.
- Stoffels, Mario-Ghislaine. 1977. *Os Mendigos na Cidade de São Paulo*. Rio de Janeiro: Paz e Terra.
- Stoll, David. 1982. *Fishers of Men or Builders of Empire? The Wycliffe Bible Translators in Latin America*. Cambridge, Mass.: Cultural Survival.
- _____. 1990. *Is Latin America Turning Protestant? The Politics of Evangelical Growth*. Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Tonna, Benjamin. 1985. *The Gospel for the Cities*. Maryknoll: Orbis Books.
- Torres, João Camilo de Oliveira. 1968. *História das Idéias Religiosas no Brasil*. São Paulo: Editorial Grijaldo.

Vekemans, Roet, et. al. 1970. *Marginalidad, Promoción Popular e Integración Latinoamericana*. Buenos Aires: Desal Toquel.

Velho, Gilberto. 1981. *Individualismo e a Cultura: Nota para uma Antropologia da Sociedade Contemporânea*. Rio de Janeiro: Zahar.

Wilson, Bryan R. 1973. *Magic and the Millenium*. London: Heineman.

Wood, Charles H. and Magno de Carvalho, José Alberto. 1988. *The Demography of Inequality in Brazil*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Journal Articles

Blay, Eva Alterman. "O Estudo do Meio Urbano: A Sociologia Urbana entre outras Ciências e Disciplinas", *Cadernos*, Editora Centro de Estudos Rurais e Urbanos, no. 4, 1971.

_____. "Principais Tendências dos Estudos de Sociologia Urbana no Brasil", in Pereira de Queiroz, MI *Sociologia*, mimeographed by Instituto de Estudos Brasileiros, 1972.

Brown, Diana. "Umbanda e Classes Sociais" *Religião e Sociedade*, no. 1, Editora Hucitec, São Paulo, 1977.

Fundação SEADE, São Paulo em Perspectiva. vol. 1, no. 1

IBGE, November 29, 1998. Query - inhabitants of metropolitan São Paulo. *Censo Demográfico 1991*. <http://www.ibge.gov.br>

Kraft, Larry W. 1998. "How Many Protestant Christians are we in Brazil?" <http://www.infobrasil.org.br>

Unpublished works, dissertations and theses

Barros, Anita Marie. 1983. Não Tem Tempo: Domestic Organization and Migratory Patterns of Afro-brazilians in São Paulo and New York. University of California, Berkeley, unpublished Phd dissertation.

Blay, Eva Alterman. 1981. Vilas Operárias. unpublished Phd thesis, São Paulo: University of São Paulo.

Brusco, Elizabeth Ellen. 1986. "The Household Basis of Evangelical Religion and the Reformation of Machismo in Colombia." City University of New York. Unpublished Ph.D dissertation.

- Curry, Donald Edward. 1969. "Lusíada: An Anthropological Study of the Growth of Protestantism in Brazil." Columbia University. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation
- Ferreira, Rosa Maria Fischer. *A Favela como Solução de Vida*. São Paulo: University of São Paulo, unpublished doctor's thesis, .
- Griggs, William Clark. 1982. *Frank McMullan's Brazilian Colony*. Texas Tech University. Unpublished Phd dissertation.
- Hoffnagel, Judith Chambliss. 1978. "The Believers: Pentecostalism in a Brazilian City." Indiana University, unpublished Ph.D dissertation.
- Maria, Cecilia Loreto. 1989. "Religion and Coping with Poverty in Brazil." Boston University. Unpublished Ph.D dissertation.
- Vasconcelos de Camargo, Ivani and Rocha Fogaça, José. 1997. *Pesquisa Perfil Batista: Perfil dos pastores, membros e frequentadores das igrejas batistas*. São Paulo: Serviços de Pesquisa, Análises e Informações.