

CHAPTER 2: FROM A MISSION FIELD TO A MISSION SENDING BASE

2.1 Introduction

The purpose of the present chapter is to locate historically the work of Brazilian evangelical missionaries in the Arab-Muslim world by exploring the narrative of how Brazil went from being a mission field—a country that has historically received missionaries—to a nation that also sends missionaries to the rest of the world. This will be accomplished primarily through consulting key historical literature from Brazilian, Latin American, and North American and European scholars. Following a very brief survey of the Portuguese conquest and subsequent Roman Catholic missions in the sixteenth century, I will narrate the rise of evangelical missions to the country beginning in the mid-nineteenth century, a movement led primarily by mainline denominations from North America. The history of this first wave of evangelical work will be followed by a discussion of the emergence of Pentecostal missions beginning in the early twentieth century. Assessing the history, methods, strategies, and values of the pioneer evangelical missionaries in Brazil will have a number of helpful outcomes. First, it will become evident that this movement was largely a consequence of the evangelical awakenings, particularly those in North America and most likely the Second Great Awakening. Second, it will help to clarify Brazil's evangelical identity—one that is much more inclusive than its North American or European counterparts. This, in turn will help to explain the character of the evangelical missions movement from Brazil—a history that will be briefly related in the closing section of the chapter.

2.2 Roman Catholic Missions and Protestant Immigrants

Following Pedro Cabral's voyage to Brazil in 1500, the Portuguese established settlements along the coastline and the city of São Paulo was established around

1553.⁷¹ Brazil's indigenous population, referred to by the sixteenth-century Portuguese as simply "Indians," was already quite diverse well before the arrival of the European power.⁷² The discovery of sugar cane in the South American colony in the late sixteenth century moved the Portuguese to begin importing a significant slave labor force from Africa in order to exploit the product.⁷³ This African presence, even after the liberation of millions of slaves in 1888, contributed to the country's increasingly diverse ethnic landscape. This also resulted in the development of a *mulatto* race—a mixture of Portuguese and African peoples—which now comprises around 25% of the Brazilian population.⁷⁴ In addition, between 1820 and 1915, the Brazilian government opened its doors to millions of immigrants—many of whom were agricultural workers—from Germany, Italy, Portugal, Spain, France, England, Switzerland, Belgium, Austria, Russia, Poland, Turkey, and the Arab countries.⁷⁵ Thus, Stephen Neill is correct in describing Brazil as a "melting pot of nations," and today around 291 ethnic groups can be counted within Brazil's territory that covers roughly one-half of the South American continent.⁷⁶

Following Pope Alexander's decree in 1494 that the land that is now present South America be divided between the Spanish and Portuguese for discovery and

⁷¹ See Stephen Neill, *A History of Christian Missions* (London: Penguin, 1964, 1990), 144; also Mario A. Rodríguez León, trans. Paul Burns, "Invasion and Evangelization in the Sixteenth Century," in Enrique Dussel, ed., *The Church in Latin America: 1492-1992* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 1992), 51-52.

⁷² See Edouardo Hoornaert, trans. Francis McDonagh, "The Church in Brazil," in Dussel, 186-87.

⁷³ See Zwinglio Dias, "Editorial," *International Review of Mission* 85:338 (July 1996), 350; Jorge Atililio Silva Iulianelli, "Brazilian Peoples, Brazilian History: Reading Between the Lines," *International Review of Mission* 85:338 (July 1996), 354-56; and Robert M. Levine and John J. Crocitti, eds., *The Brazil Reader: History, Culture, and Politics* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1999), 121.

⁷⁴ See Iulianelli, 357-59; also Kenneth S. Latourette, *A History of the Expansion of Christianity, Vol. 5* (New York: Harper Brothers, 1937-1945), 86; and J. Herbert Kane, *A Concise History of the Christian World Mission: A Panoramic View of Missions from Pentecost to the Present* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker, 1982), 145.

⁷⁵ See Latourette, 5.89; and Antonio Gouveia Mendonça, "A History of Christianity in Brazil: An Interpretive Essay," *International Review of Mission* 85:338 (July 1996), 382.

⁷⁶ See Neill, 463; also *Joshua Project* (website) <http://www.joshuaproject.net/countries.php> (accessed February 3, 2009); and William R. Read, and Frank A. Ineson, *Brazil 1980: The Protestant Handbook* (Monrovia, CA: MARC, 1973), 5-6.

evangelization, Franciscan monks accompanied Cabral on his journey to Brazil in 1500. Jesuit missionaries soon followed in 1549 and Brazil's first bishop was appointed in Salvador da Bahia in 1551.⁷⁷ Despite being the official and overwhelmingly majority religion of the Brazilians for the last 500 years, Roman Catholicism does not appear to have penetrated past a superficial level for most Brazilians.⁷⁸ According to Latourette, it has been a "passive" faith that has had a continual colonial feel to it.⁷⁹ This seems in part due to the liberal ideas of Brazil's leaders, including some leaders in the Brazilian Catholic Church who sought to distance themselves from the Vatican.⁸⁰ Consequently, the Brazilian Constitution of 1824 offered increased religious freedom, while the inauguration of the Brazilian republic in 1889 also spawned general openness to new ideas, liberal thought, and even other expressions of Christianity.⁸¹

For most of the first 350 years of Brazil's existence after the arrival of the Portuguese, there was no deliberate evangelical Protestant missionary effort. While this may seem surprising, it is actually typical, for there was no observable Protestant missionary movement anywhere in the world until the latter half of the eighteenth century. Nevertheless, Protestant settlers and immigrants were present in Brazil from the mid-sixteenth century onward.

Around 1555, John Calvin sent fourteen ministers and a group of French Huguenots to establish a colony in Rio de Janeiro. While attempting to export a

⁷⁷ See Neill, 121, 144; Kane, 64; Mendonça, "A History of Christianity in Brazil: An Interpretive Essay," 368-77; León, "Invasion and Evangelization in the Sixteenth Century," in Dussel, 51-52; and Erasmo Braga and Kenneth G. Grubb, *The Republic of Brazil: A Survey of the Religious Situation* (London: World Dominion Press, 1932), 17.

⁷⁸ See Norberto Saracco, "Mission and Missiology from Latin America," in Taylor, *Global Missiology*, 358.

⁷⁹ See Latourette, 5.69; also Braga and Grubb, 36.

⁸⁰ See Latourette, 5.86.

⁸¹ See Latourette, 5.86, 120; also Braga and Grubb, 20-21; Jean-Pierre Bastian, trans. John Cumming, "Protestantism in Latin America," in Dussel, 325-28; and Lee M. Penyak and Walter J. Petry, eds., *Religion in Latin America: A Documentary History* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 2006), 190.

Genevan style theocracy to their Brazilian settlement, the group's main evangelical concerns were correcting the errors of Roman Catholic theology. Given that, they failed to evangelize the indigenous peoples and the colony ended up being destroyed by Portuguese settlers and Jesuit missionaries.⁸² Similarly, in 1624, the Dutch invaded Salvador da Bahia and the accompanying Dutch Reformed clergy attempted to establish their own Genevan style society. Like the Huguenots before them, the Dutch colony was destroyed and the Reformed Christians were expelled in 1654.⁸³

As Brazil received millions of European, Middle Eastern, Asian, and even North American immigrants during much of the nineteenth and early twentieth century, and at the same time provided religious freedom, the establishment of immigrant Protestant churches was a natural outcome.⁸⁴ In 1819, the first Anglican congregation was established in Rio de Janeiro. German immigrants also planted Lutheran churches that remained largely separate from the Brazilian population through most of the twentieth century.⁸⁵ Around 1866, a rather unlikely group of immigrants—North Americans—began to enter Brazil. These Southern confederates, whose cause had been lost in the Civil War, settled near São Paulo where they could continue to be slave holders. Among this group were significant numbers of Baptists, Methodists, and Presbyterians, and soon pastors from these North American denominations were dispatched to Brazil to lead English-speaking, expatriate congregations. Though the North Americans did not move to Brazil with missional motives, their presence indirectly made North American Protestants aware of Brazil's spiritual needs. According to Anderson, some of the immigrants developed an

⁸² See Braga and Grubb, 18; also Kane, 76; Mendonça, "A History of Christianity in Brazil: An Interpretive Essay," 377-78; and Justo Gonzalez, *Christianity in Latin America: A History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 186.

⁸³ See Braga and Grubb, 18; Mendonça, "A History of Christianity in Brazil: An Interpretive Essay," 378-79; and Gonzalez, 188.

⁸⁴ See Latourette, 5.106-107; also Braga and Grubb, 48-52; and Gonzalez, 190.

⁸⁵ See Gonzalez, 191, 196-97.

evangelical heart for the local population, and the Baptists in particular appealed to their denomination to send missionaries.⁸⁶

2.3 History of Evangelical Missions

The history of evangelical missions to Brazil can be traced to initial Bible Society efforts around 1816. In contrast to the rather lukewarm Christianity of the immigrant churches and their members' general disinterest in the Brazilian population, Guillermo Cook refers to this development as the beginning of "traditional missions" in Brazil and Latin America.⁸⁷ In this section, a brief history of evangelical mission work in Brazil, especially at its pioneering stages, will be given. Beginning with the Bible Societies in the early part of the nineteenth century, this survey will highlight the mission work of the mainline denominations (Methodists, Presbyterians, and Baptists), some smaller denominations, and early twentieth-century Pentecostal missions, as well as the contribution of some parachurch organizations.

2.3.1 Bible Societies

A practical outgrowth of the Second Great Awakening, which emphasized a renewed zeal for Scripture, the American Bible Society was formed in 1816.⁸⁸ Almost immediately, the organization began sending Portuguese Scriptures to Brazil, and the first missionary personnel on the ground were "colporteurs"—society representatives who labored to distribute the Scriptures.⁸⁹ By 1850, increasing numbers of colporteurs were operating throughout the country, including one who was killed in the Amazon region in 1857, and the quantity of Scripture distributed only increased.⁹⁰ Hugh

⁸⁶ See Justice Anderson, *An Evangelical Saga: Baptists and their Precursors in Latin America* (Longwood, FL: Xulon, 2005), 20-21; also Gonzalez, 199-200.

⁸⁷ See Guillermo Cook, "Protestant Mission and Evangelization," in Cook, 44.

⁸⁸ See Paul R. Spickard and Kevin M. Cragg, *A Global History of Christians: How Everyday Believers Experienced their World* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 1994), 276.

⁸⁹ See Mendonça, "A History of Christianity in Brazil: An Interpretive Essay," 382; also Braga and Grubb, 48, 73-74; Latourette, 5.121; and John H. Sinclair, "Research on Protestantism in Latin America: A Bibliographic Essay," *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* (July 2002), 111.

⁹⁰ See Latourette, 5.121.

Tucker, a Bible Society representative in Brazil from 1886-1900, provides helpful insights into a colporteur's experience in his work *The Bible in Brazil*:

My custom was to go, early in the morning, into the streets with as many Bibles, Testaments, and Gospels as I could carry. I usually sold out by nine or ten o'clock: then returned for breakfast, a rest and some reading. In the afternoon I would go again loaded down with Scriptures, which I generally disposed of by five o'clock.⁹¹

Relating his work to the goal of church planting, he adds: "Both the Methodist and Episcopal missionaries and their helpers are following up the colporteurs, establishing regular services in many places and gathering in the fruits."⁹²

In addition to the American Bible Society, the British and Foreign Bible Society began work in Brazil around 1820. Between 1821 and 1824, thousands of Bibles in Portuguese were distributed, and by 1889, forty-one distribution centers had been established around the country.⁹³ The National Bible Society of Scotland also began its work in Brazil beginning in 1871. Bible distribution continued well into the twentieth century and around 1930, Erasmo Braga, a Brazilian Presbyterian leader, reported on the Sunday School Union of Brazil's "Million Testaments Campaign"—an effort to saturate the country with Bibles and Scripture portions.⁹⁴

2.3.2 Methodists

In 1834, Northern Methodists in the United States made an appeal for missionaries for Brazil. Fountain Pitts and R.J. Spaulding were the first to respond and began preaching in the Rio de Janeiro area in 1835, while attempting to establish a Sunday school ministry the following year. In 1837, Daniel Kidder arrived in the country and, aside from distributing Scripture, his ministry involved making frequent contact with political leaders. It was during Kidder's ministry that the first anti-Protestant literature

⁹¹ Cited in Penyak and Petry, 196.

⁹² Penyak and Petry, 196.

⁹³ See Latourette, 5.109-110.

⁹⁴ See Braga and Grubb, 88.

was published by Roman Catholic leaders.⁹⁵ Kidder is most remembered for collaborating with the English Presbyterian James Fletcher on their work *Brazil and the Brazilians*—a chronicle of their travels throughout the country that also made Brazil’s spiritual needs known to evangelicals in North America and Europe.⁹⁶ In the 1870s, William Taylor, a well-known Methodist evangelist who had previously served in South Africa, Australia, Britain, India, and California, placed some missionaries in Brazil; however, the mission was short-lived.⁹⁷

In 1867, Southern Methodists from the United States arrived in Southern Brazil primarily to minister to the North American immigrants. However, in 1876, J.J. Ransom went beyond his role as an expatriate pastor and began preaching in Portuguese. In 1880, another Methodist minister, J.E. Newman, befriended a certain Prudente de Moraes Barros, a prominent attorney who would eventually be elected president of the Republic. This contact surely resulted in greater favor for Protestant work within the country.⁹⁸

In 1930, a national Brazilian Methodist Church was founded. In order to encourage indigenous leadership, the Northern Methodist Church—after nearly 100 years of ministry in the country—voted to dissolve as an official entity.⁹⁹ Despite this positive move toward national leadership, Brazilian Methodists have not experienced a great deal of growth in the twentieth century and currently have around 120,000 members.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁵ See Latourette, 5.121; also Braga and Grubb, 53-54; and Mendonça, “A History of Christianity in Brazil: An Interpretive Essay,” 382.

⁹⁶ See James C. Fletcher and Daniel P. Kidder, *Brazil and the Brazilians: Portrayed in Historical and Descriptive Sketches* (Boston, MA: Little, Brown, and Co., 1866).

⁹⁷ See Latourette, 5.118.

⁹⁸ See Latourette, 5.122; also Braga and Grubb, 62.

⁹⁹ See Latourette, 7.182; also Braga and Grubb, 63.

¹⁰⁰ See Patrick Johnstone and Jason Mandryk, *Operation World: 21st Century Edition* (Waynesboro, GA: Authentic, 2005), 120.

2.3.3 Robert Reid Kalley

A survey of Brazil's early mission history would be incomplete without mentioning Robert Reid Kalley. A Scottish Presbyterian missionary, Kalley's work is recorded independently because of its interdenominational and free church qualities. After stints on the island of Madeira (off the Atlantic coast of Portugal), Malta, Ireland, and Palestine, and after learning of Emperor Pedro II's concessions toward Protestants, Kalley and his wife settled near Rio de Janeiro in 1855. He is remembered for being the first foreign missionary to evangelize Brazilians in Portuguese and his strategies included door-to-door witnessing and Bible distribution—efforts that were opposed by the Roman Catholic Church.¹⁰¹

In 1858, Kalley planted the Igreja Evangélica Fluminense, generally regarded as the first Protestant church in Brazil. Though Presbyterian and a Calvinist, his church plant was based more on a free church, congregational model that was presented in the local context as a “house of prayer.” A second church was planted in Recife in 1873 and Kalley's efforts eventually resulted in the founding of the “Help for Brazil” mission in 1893.¹⁰²

How was Kalley innovative in mission? Apart from his commitment to ministering in the local language from the outset, Kalley also recruited Portuguese-speaking believers from Madeira to serve in the Brazilian work. Opposed to establishing a foreign denomination in the country, Kalley's commitment to planting indigenous churches was evident when Brazilian pastor João Manuel Goncalves dos Santos was set apart to succeed him at Recife in 1877. These values were also apparent in Kalley's worship ministry as he wrote hymns in Portuguese and

¹⁰¹ See Anderson, 62; Gonzalez, 226; Mendonça, “A History of Christianity in Brazil: An Interpretive Essay,” 383; and Joyce E. Winifred Every-Clayton, “The Legacy of Robert Reid Kalley,” *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* (July 2002), 123, 125.

¹⁰² See Anderson, 62-63; Gonzalez, 227; Latourette, 5.111; Neill, 329; and Kane, 149.

encouraged worship in the heart language of the people. Finally, Kalley's ministry did not ignore social issues and he was also a vocal opponent of Brazil's slave trade.¹⁰³

2.3.4 Presbyterians

Though Kalley was certainly influential, he was not the first Presbyterian missionary to enter Brazil as James Fletcher, already mentioned for his travels with Methodist Daniel Kidder, arrived in country in 1851.¹⁰⁴ Fletcher was followed by Ashbel Simonton, the first American Presbyterian missionary, who came to Brazil in 1859.¹⁰⁵ Simonton was diligent to master Portuguese and then did a demographic study of Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo before determining that there was an openness and need for mission work there.¹⁰⁶ In 1862, the first Presbyterian congregation in the country was planted in Rio de Janeiro and a presbytery was established in 1865. In 1864, Presbyterians published the first Brazilian evangelical publication while the first theological institution was founded in 1867.¹⁰⁷

With the inauguration of the presbytery in 1865, the first Brazilian Presbyterian pastor, José Manuel da Conceição was ordained. An ex-Catholic priest from São Paulo, Conceição had been a member of the Rio de Janeiro church prior to his ordination. As his ministry primarily consisted of travelling to his former Catholic parishes proclaiming his new faith, Conceição appeared less interested in establishing Protestant churches. Among Catholics, he became known as the "crazy" or

¹⁰³ See Anderson, 62-63; and Every-Clayton, 125.

¹⁰⁴ See Neill, 329; also Sherron K. George, "Presbyterian Seeds Bear Fruit in Brazil as Doors to Partnership Open and Close," *Missiology: An International Review* 34:2 (2006), 136-39.

¹⁰⁵ For more on the history of American Presbyterian work, see *American Presbyterians in Brazil* (web site) <http://www.apib.org/> (accessed February 9, 2009).

¹⁰⁶ See Mendonça, "A History of Christianity in Brazil: An Interpretive Essay," 383; also Braga and Grubb, 58.

¹⁰⁷ See Mendonça, "A History of Christianity in Brazil: An Interpretive Essay," 383; also Latourette, 5.122.

“Protestant” father and, eventually, the American Presbyterians would distance themselves from this rather eccentric pastor.¹⁰⁸

In addition to planting churches, Presbyterians were also eager to minister to social needs, especially in the area of improving education. In 1870, Mackenzie Institute was founded in São Paulo, which became one of the more influential universities in the country. While some have criticized this approach as a mere byproduct of America’s Manifest Destiny—importing a “superior” culture to Brazil more than bringing the Gospel itself—others have countered that educational efforts were sincere humanitarian ministries intended to aid the work of evangelism and church planting.¹⁰⁹

In 1888, the Presbyterian Church of Brazil was founded, and in 1903, following more schism and conflict, the Brazilian entity became completely self-supporting, separate, and independent from the Presbyterian Church in North America. Despite more division and splintering in the twentieth century, Brazilian Presbyterians numbered around one million in 2006.¹¹⁰

2.3.5 Southern Baptists

The beginning of Southern Baptist work in Brazil can actually be traced to Luther Rice, who after spending two months in Salvador da Bahia in 1813, raised the need of evangelizing Brazil and South America during a subsequent speaking tour of Baptist congregations in the United States.¹¹¹ Though the Southern Baptist Convention

¹⁰⁸ See Mendonça, “A History of Christianity in Brazil: An Interpretive Essay,” 380-81; also Gonzalez, 226-27; George, 136; and Braga and Grubb, 58-59.

¹⁰⁹ See Frank L. Arnold, “A Peek in the Baggage of Brazil’s Pioneer Missionaries,” *Missiology: An International Review* 34:2 (2006), 126-29; also Stephen B. Bevans, and Roger P. Schroeder, *Constants in Context: A Theology of Mission for Today* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 2004), 207-208.

¹¹⁰ See Latourette, 5.122; also George, 138-46.

¹¹¹ See Anderson, 8-10.

contemplated South American missions from its outset in 1846,¹¹² it was not until 1881 that William and Ann Bagby entered the country as the denomination's first missionaries.¹¹³ Initially connected to an expatriate church, the Bagbys were soon joined by Mr. and Mrs. Z.C. Taylor and a national believer named Antonio Teixeira de Albuquerque. After surveying the country, they began preaching and distributing literature in Salvador da Bahia and successfully planted a church there in 1882. Out of this initial effort, churches were planted in Recife, Maceió, and Rio de Janeiro before 1889.

Between 1893 and 1897, Eric and Ida Nelson lived on a houseboat and evangelized villages along the Amazon basin. The Nelsons, in partnership with Solomon Ginsburg, planted a church in Belem in 1897, and then another in Manaus in 1900. Serving a total of forty-eight years in Brazil, Nelson planted churches along the Amazon between Belem and Manaus until his death in 1939.¹¹⁴ Ginsburg, a gifted evangelist, apologist, musician, and writer, was also innovative in developing Christian literature and aided in church planting in Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo, Campos, Espírito Santo, and Minas Gerais. In 1901, a Baptist magazine and publishing house were founded.¹¹⁵

By 1907, Southern Baptists had planted eighty-three churches—twenty-six of which were led by national pastors—made up of 5000 members. Despite these encouraging signs, the work was still largely directed by North American missionaries. A positive step toward establishing indigenous leadership came in 1907

¹¹² It should be noted that in 1859, Thomas Bowen, who had previously served in Nigeria served for a brief time among Brazil's Yoruba speakers. Also, in 1871, an expatriate congregation was formed for North American immigrants. See Anderson, 64-65.

¹¹³ See Anderson, 136-39.

¹¹⁴ See Anderson, 142-45.

¹¹⁵ See Anderson, 144-47.

when the Brazilian Baptist Convention was formed at Salvador da Bahia.¹¹⁶ This new infrastructure seemed to enable some new ministries and initiatives including a Brazilian Women's Missionary Union in 1908, which contributed to Brazil's missionary awareness; the founding of a Bible school and seminary in Rio de Janeiro the same year;¹¹⁷ new churches being planted in Paraná, Paranaguá, Goiás, Maranhão, and among tribal peoples around 1910; a women's training center which began in 1917; and the establishment of schools around the country.¹¹⁸

By 1922, the Brazilian Baptist Convention had experienced rapid growth; however, the problem of paternalism on the part of North American missionaries was still apparent. In the same year, W.C. Carver, a foreign missionary who was committed to the value of national leadership, was influential in helping the Brazilian Convention come entirely under Brazilian leadership. Though conflict was not absent between the Southern Baptist Foreign Mission Board and the Brazilian Convention during the rest of the twentieth century, there was generally a better spirit of cooperation after 1959.¹¹⁹

Despite these challenges, Brazilian Baptist work was invigorated by the efforts of some gifted national pastors and missionaries. Under the ministry of L.M. Reno in the province of Vitoria, church membership grew from 488 members in 1910 to 7136 in 1936. Around 1926, Zacarías and Noemi Compelo were sent out as missionaries to Brazil's indigenous peoples ministering between Goiás and Maranhão.¹²⁰

In 1981, Southern Baptists celebrated 100 years of work in Brazil and reaffirmed their evangelical distinction from the Roman Catholic Church. In 2000, there were over 1.4 million members in some 4800 Brazilian Baptist Convention

¹¹⁶ See Anderson, 148-49.

¹¹⁷ A seminary had already been established in the north in Pernambuco in 1902. See Anderson, 151.

¹¹⁸ See Anderson, 150-56.

¹¹⁹ See Anderson, 157-58, 162-64, 168.

¹²⁰ See Anderson, 159.

congregations. Including other smaller Baptist denominations, there are nearly 6000 congregations with close to two million members in Brazil, making it the fourth largest Baptist country in the world, behind the United States, Nigeria, and India.¹²¹

2.3.6 Other Denominations and Missions

Aside from the Bible Societies, Methodists, Presbyterians and Baptists, there were other denominations and missions that became involved in Brazilian evangelical mission work in the latter half of the nineteenth and early twentieth century. After showing initial interest in the country as far back as 1853, American Episcopalians began work in Southern Brazil in 1889 and later set apart Lucien Kinsolving as bishop of an independent Brazilian Episcopal Church. The American Episcopalians seemed to value training and consecrating national clergy and found some success in doing so.¹²²

Between 1851 and 1861, the American and Foreign Christian Union sent missionaries to Brazil, while Anglicans and Lutherans sent workers toward the end of the century.¹²³ In 1896, a YMCA movement for Brazil was organized and in 1922, the Salvation Army began a ministry of preaching and caring for the poor.¹²⁴

2.3.7 Pentecostals

It would be impossible to discuss Protestant evangelical Christianity in Brazil or Latin America without mentioning the rise of Pentecostalism, which comprises 70% of Brazil's evangelicals today.¹²⁵ While significant scholarly work, particularly by

¹²¹ See Anderson, 129, 170-73; also David B. Barrett; George T. Kurian; and Todd M. Johnson, *World Christian Encyclopedia: An Analysis of Six Thousands Contemporary Religious Movements* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 135, 138.

¹²² See Latourette, 5.123.

¹²³ The Anglican work was focused on the Japanese immigrant population; see Latourette 5.108, 122; and Kane, 149.

¹²⁴ See Braga and Grubb, 69.

¹²⁵ See Escobar, *Changing Tides*, 89; and Paul Freston, "Brazil: Church Growth, Parachurch Agencies, and Politics," in Cook, 226.

sociologists, has been published on Brazilian Pentecostalism,¹²⁶ the goal of this section is to narrate briefly the movement's emergence in Brazil as well as to describe some of its characteristics.

In what Gonzalez refers to as a “third great awakening,” global Pentecostalism generally traces its roots to the Asuza Street revival that took place in Los Angeles in 1906 under the ministry of William Seymour, an African Methodist Episcopal pastor. Initially impacting the Methodist, Wesleyan, and Holiness churches, the movement also spread to Baptist churches in North America and quickly moved to Latin America and Brazil.¹²⁷

In 1907, Luigi Francescón, an Italian immigrant living in Chicago, reported experiencing the baptism of the Holy Spirit in an Asuza Street affiliated church. Around 1909, he arrived in São Paulo where he ministered initially to Italian immigrants. Originally attached to the Presbyterian Church where he was involved in preaching, Francescón was later expelled for his Pentecostal views before founding the Congregação Cristã no Brasil (Christian Congregation in Brazil). Primarily located in urban settings, the denomination, with its 12,000 “houses of prayer” in 4000 towns and cities and two million members, is presently the second largest Pentecostal church in the country.¹²⁸

The Pentecostal story continued in 1910 when Gunnar Vingren and Daniel Berg, two Swedish Baptist immigrants also residing in the Chicago area, were led to Brazil.¹²⁹ Gonzalez records that they were led to the country by an amazing vision:

¹²⁶ See Emilio Willems, *Followers of the New Faith: Culture Change and the Rise of Protestantism in Brazil and Chile* (Nashville, TN: Vanderbilt University Press, 1967); David Martin, *Tongues of Fire: The Explosion of Protestantism in Latin America* (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 1993); David Stoll, *Is Latin America Turning Protestant? The Politics of Evangelical Growth* (Berkeley: University of California, 1991); and Andrew R. Chestnut, *Born Again in Brazil: The Pentecostal Boom and the Pathogens of Poverty* (Rutgers: Rutgers University Press, 1997).

¹²⁷ See Gonzalez, 270-71; and Martin, 28-30.

¹²⁸ See Gonzalez, 280-81; Anderson, 605; Kane, 148; and Chestnut, 29-30.

¹²⁹ See Escobar, *Changing Tides*, 77; and Chestnut, 26-29.

In the summer of 1910, in his kitchen in South Bend, one of the members of Vingren's church who has the gift of prophecy declares that God was calling Vingren to a great mission elsewhere. A few days later, the prophet told Berg essentially the same. The prophet did not know where their mission was, but he knew that the place was called Pará, and that the two were to sail from New York on November 5. Since no one knew where Pará was, Vingren and Berg went to the library and there discovered that there was a state by that name in northern Brazil. They then traveled to New York, where they learned that there was a ship, the *Clement*, leaving New York for Pará on November 5! Without further arrangements, they bought two passages in steerage and arrived in Belem do Pará two weeks later, with ninety dollars between the two of them and without knowing one word of Portuguese.¹³⁰

Vingren, who had previously served as a pastor, focused on evangelism while Berg supported the two of them as a metal worker.¹³¹ At first, they were connected to the Baptist church in Belem do Pará but, as their Portuguese developed and their Pentecostal doctrine became apparent, they left the church along with many Baptist friends to begin the *Missão da Fé Apostólica* (Mission of the Apostolic Faith).¹³² In 1918, the *Missão da Fé Apostólica* affiliated with the recently constituted Assemblies of God Church in North America, which resulted in the formation of a Brazilian Assemblies of God denomination. After slow beginnings, they had established churches in every state in the North and Northeast of Brazil by 1920 and in every state in the country by 1944. Since 1950, the Brazilian denomination has grown from 100,000 members to 14.4 million, making it the largest Assemblies of God communion in the world.¹³³

Around 1940, another Pentecostal church, *Brasil para Cristo* (Brazil for Christ), began as an offshoot of the *Igreja do Evangelho Quadrangular* (Foursquare Church) through the ministry of Brazilian evangelist Manoel de Melo who was

¹³⁰ See Gonzalez, 282.

¹³¹ See Escobar, *Changing Tides*, 79; and Gonzalez, 281-82.

¹³² See Anderson, 606.

¹³³ See Gonzalez, 282-83; and Stoll, 107-108.

preaching in Pernambuco and São Paulo.¹³⁴ By 2000, the denomination—known for its attractive buildings, lavish headquarters, and savvy use of media—had a membership of 1.2 million in 4500 congregations.¹³⁵

It should be noted that the phenomenal growth of Brazilian Pentecostalism in the twentieth century has also been accompanied by the rise of neo-Pentecostal movements or what Paul Freston calls “autonomous” and “local sects.”¹³⁶ The most famous group is the Igreja Universal do Reino de Deus (Universal Church of the Kingdom of God), founded by Bishop Edir Macedo in the 1990s.¹³⁷ With a current membership of over two million, the movement has emphasized financial prosperity and deliverance from evil spirits. At the same time, it has also been accused of financial mismanagement and blending Pentecostalism with traditional animistic beliefs such as Umbanda.¹³⁸ Though Freston has referred to the Igreja Universal as “an innovative updating of Pentecostalism’s theological and liturgical possibilities,” Latin American historian Carmelo Alvarez has called the group a “heretical Pentecostal movement.” In 2001, the Latin American Evangelical Pentecostal Commission (CEPLA) determined it to be a dangerous neo-Pentecostal sect.¹³⁹ In short, Brazilian Pentecostals have endeavored to maintain doctrinal purity within their

¹³⁴ See Larry W. Kraft and Stephanie K. Kraft, “Evangelical Revival vs. Social Reformation: An Analysis of the Growth of the Evangelical Church in Brazil from 1905 to the Present,” (unpublished paper August 20, 1995), 7. It should be noted that the *Igreja Quadrangular* continues to be an active Pentecostal denomination in Brazil today.

¹³⁵ See Anderson, 606-607; also Read and Ineson, 33.

¹³⁶ See Paul Freston, “Contours in Latin American Pentecostalism,” in Donald M. Lewis, ed., *Christianity Reborn: the Global Expansion of Evangelicalism in the Twentieth Century* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2004), 236-37.

¹³⁷ For more on this movement from the perspective of the church itself see: *Igreja Universal do Reino de Deus* (website) <http://www.igrejauniversal.org.br/> (accessed May 23, 2008).

¹³⁸ See Barrett, Kuran, and Johnson, 137; and Anderson, 607.

¹³⁹ See Freston, “Contours in Latin American Pentecostalism,” in Lewis, 264; Alvarez in Gonzalez, 295-96; Penyak and Petry, 366, and Chestnut, 45-48.

tradition and confront such excessive and heretical movements, one of the key reasons for the formation of the Brazilian Evangelical Association (AEVB) in 1991.¹⁴⁰

Though Pentecostals presently comprise 70% of Brazilian evangelicals, the movement was still considered to be a sect by other Protestant denominations until the mid-twentieth century.¹⁴¹ Evangelical acceptance of Pentecostals in Brazil seems to have followed the movement's affirmation at the World Conference on Evangelism in Berlin in 1966, a precursor to the Lausanne Movement.¹⁴² Hence, Freston's assertion that Pentecostals are indeed Protestants—distinct in their emphasis on speaking in tongues and Spirit baptism—seems consistent with the general Brazilian evangelical regard for Pentecostals.¹⁴³

Historically, a relative late comer to the Brazilian evangelical landscape, Pentecostalism has experienced phenomenal growth in the twentieth century down to the present day. What has been its specific appeal in the Brazilian context? First, while Methodists, Presbyterians and Baptists have been successful at reaching the middle classes, Pentecostal churches have focused more on the poor.¹⁴⁴ As Chestnut asserts, "Brazilian Pentecostalism is a faith of the poor and disenfranchised."¹⁴⁵ With its founders coming from the working and lower classes, the movement has multiplied rapidly among the urban poor and those in the margins of society.¹⁴⁶ According to

¹⁴⁰ See Freston, "Brazil: Church Growth, Parachurch Agencies, and Politics," in Cook, 240; see also Valdir Steuernagel, "Learning from Escobar . . . and Beyond," in Taylor, *Global Missiology*, 129.

¹⁴¹ See Escobar, *Changing Tides*, 89; and Freston, "Brazil: Church Growth, Parachurch Agencies, and Politics," in Cook, 226.

¹⁴² See Escobar, *Changing Tides*, 77-78; Willems, 118-22.

¹⁴³ See Freston, "Contours in Latin American Pentecostalism," in Lewis, 225-26.

¹⁴⁴ See Willems, 206; and José Míguez Bonino, *Faces of Latin American Protestantism* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1995), 54.

¹⁴⁵ Chestnut, 3.

¹⁴⁶ See Freston, "Contours in Latin American Pentecostalism," in Lewis, 241; Escobar, *Changing Tides*, 55; and Cook, "Protestant Mission and Evangelization," in Cook, 48.

Anderson, Pentecostalism has addressed the plight of the poor and in some senses, offered a new identity and a way of escape.¹⁴⁷

Second, Escobar highlights the “participatory nature” of Pentecostal worship assemblies.¹⁴⁸ Characterized by an intense spiritual atmosphere that may include healing, a typical service includes public testimonies and celebratory worship facilitated by guitars and tambourines, allowing the poor and illiterate the opportunity to participate actively.¹⁴⁹ This invitation to participate fosters a sense of community and seems to result in churches that are characterized by warmth and care.¹⁵⁰

Third, also in contrast to some historic mainline denomination practices, Pentecostal churches place less emphasis on a pastor or church member’s educational level.¹⁵¹ Indeed, the preacher is more of a story teller who connects with an audience of predominantly oral learners. Finally, because any believer can potentially be set apart by the Holy Spirit to serve as a spiritual leader, Pentecostals remain largely free of an ecclesiastical hierarchy.¹⁵²

Finally, Pentecostalism seems appealing because of its emphasis on personal and moral transformation. Following a salvation experience and the baptism of the Holy Spirit, many Pentecostal Christians have testified to being delivered from drug and alcohol addiction, or to renewed family bonds after rejecting sexual immorality, and are pursuing a better economic situation.¹⁵³ Perhaps Pentecostalism’s moral appeal was best summarized by Presbyterian missionary and theologian John Mackay:

¹⁴⁷ See Anderson, 613-14.

¹⁴⁸ See Escobar, *Changing Tides*, 55;

¹⁴⁹ See Juan Sepúlveda, “The Pentecostal Movement in Latin America,” in Cook, 73; Cecilia Mariz, “Religion and Poverty in Brazil,” in Cook, 79-80; Chestnut, 51-56; Escobar, *Changing Tides*, 56, 81; Martin, 175-77; and Penyak and Petry, 366-67.

¹⁵⁰ See Mariz, “Religion and Poverty in Brazil,” in Cook, 79-80; and Escobar, *Changing Tides*, 56.

¹⁵¹ See Escobar, *Changing Tides*, 55; Penyak and Petry, 369; and Martin, 66.

¹⁵² See Escobar, *Changing Tides*, 55, 81; and Anderson, 619.

¹⁵³ See Chestnut, 56-65, 93-97; Escobar, *Changing Tides*, 56; and Harvey Cox, *Fire from Heaven* (New York: Addison-Wesley, 1995), 81.

The Pentecostals had something to offer, something that brought a thrill to people benumbed by the drabness of their existence. Millions responded to the Gospel. Their lives became transformed, and their horizons were widened; life took on dynamic significance . . . People became persons with something to live for.¹⁵⁴

2.3.8 Parachurch Movements

Concluding the historical narrative of evangelical work in Brazil, it is important to note the presence of a number of parachurch organizations that began work in the country in the 1950s and 1960s. They included Open Doors, Word of Life, Campus Crusade for Christ, Youth for Christ, OC Ministries, World Vision, and the International Federation of Evangelical Students (IFES).¹⁵⁵

Finally, though created to serve the Latin American church in general, the Latin American Theological Fraternity (FTL), founded in 1970, is an indigenous parachurch movement that has certainly encouraged missiological reflection in Brazil. Committed to a high view of Scripture and the historic doctrines of the faith, this evangelical movement has also shown concern for the poor and social issues. In some respects an evangelical response to Liberation Theology, these Latin American thinkers have influenced the Lausanne Movement to also address social problems and the needs of the poor.¹⁵⁶

2.3.9 Summary

The rise of evangelicalism in Brazil is an amazing phenomenon as the narrative has shown. Writing in 2000, Osvaldo Prado summarizes the growth of Brazilian evangelicalism over the past 150 years:

In 1890 we numbered 143,000. In 1950: 1.7 million. In 1960: 2.8 million. In 1970: 4.8 million. In 1980: 7.9 million. And finally, at the beginning of our present decade, we numbered in excess of 17 million.

¹⁵⁴ Cited in Anderson, 599-600.

¹⁵⁵ See Freston, "Brazil: Church Growth, Parachurch Agencies, and Politics," in Cook, 227-28. IFES is affiliated with IntersVarsity Christian Fellowship in North America.

¹⁵⁶ See Freston, "Brazil: Church Growth, Parachurch Agencies, and Politics," in Cook, 237; Stoll, 131-32; Bonino, 50-51; and Bevans and Schroeder, 261.

If we continue to grow at this present rate, by the year 2014 we evangelicals will constitute 50% of the entire population of Brazil.¹⁵⁷

Elsewhere, Prado indicated that in 2003, Brazilian evangelicals numbered around thirty million, making it the third largest evangelical country in the world behind the United States and China.¹⁵⁸ We now turn our attention to examining the impetus for evangelical missions toward Brazil, which will shed some light on the identity of Brazilian evangelicalism—a movement that is increasingly concerned with global mission.

2.4 Evangelical Revivals and Evangelical Missions to Brazil¹⁵⁹

As we begin to analyze the historical narrative presented, it seems that the driving forces behind evangelical missions to Brazil—particularly during the pioneering stages—were evangelical revivals, especially those in North America in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Echoing thoughts from Latourette and other scholars, Escobar asserts generally that evangelical work in Brazil and Latin America “sprang out of the Pietistic revival and was shaped by it.”¹⁶⁰

Bevans and Schroeder refer in particular to three periods of Pietistic revivals that had missional implications.¹⁶¹ The first was the Great Awakening, which occurred in Europe and North America in the early eighteenth century.¹⁶² Though a deliberate foreign missions movement did not directly result from this awakening,

¹⁵⁷ See Prado, “The Brazil Model.”

¹⁵⁸ Prado, “A New Way of Sending Missionaries,” 54; see also Luis Bush, “Brazil, A Sleeping Giant Awakens,” *Mission Frontiers* (January-February 1994) <http://www.missionfrontiers.org/pdf/1994/0102/jf9413.htm> (accessed March 31, 2009).

¹⁵⁹ A modified version of this section (pp. 53-74) has been published as, Edward L. Smither, “The Impact of Evangelical Revivals on Global Mission: The Case of North American Evangelicals in Brazil in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries,” *Verbum et Ecclesia* 31:1 (October 2010) http://www.ve.org.za/index.php/VE/article/view/340/pdf_19 (accessed October 27, 2010).

¹⁶⁰ See Escobar, *Changing Tides*, 41; see also Latourette, 6.442-48; Mark Noll, “Evangelical Identity, Power, and Culture in the ‘Great’ Nineteenth Century,” in Lewis, 32; and Escobar, *The New Global Mission*, 50-53, 126-27.

¹⁶¹ Mention has been made of Gonzalez (Gonzalez, 270-71) referring to the rise of Pentecostalism as the “third great awakening,” this section will focus largely on the influence of eighteenth and nineteenth century revivals on evangelical work in Brazil.

¹⁶² See Bevans and Schroeder, 209-210.

Ahlstrom argues that it birthed a missionary spirit, which was most visibly observed in evangelical work among Native Americans.¹⁶³ Besides being a key preacher during the Great Awakening, Jonathan Edwards was instrumental in facilitating prayer for global mission while casting a general vision for it through the publication of his famous *Life of David Brainerd*.¹⁶⁴ In the second period—the Methodist revival—Bevans and Schroeder add that Wesley and his followers integrated evangelical preaching with social action, successfully blurring the lines between domestic and global mission.¹⁶⁵

It was not until the third period of revival—the Second Great Awakening that occurred in North America in the first third of the nineteenth century—that a connection to foreign mission work becomes apparent. Chaney asserts that by 1817, missions had become a conviction for evangelicals in North America.¹⁶⁶ Most scholars agree that evangelical missions to Brazil emerged largely as a result of the Second Great Awakening in North America. While acknowledging that “the origins of traditional evangelism hark back to the eighteenth-century evangelical awakening in Britain and parts of the continent,” Guillermo Cook asserts that “the Great Awakening in the nineteenth century propelled U.S. missionaries to Latin America.”¹⁶⁷ Willems adds that after 1850, an evangelical missions movement

¹⁶³ See David Bosch, *Transforming Mission* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 1991), 278; Sidney E. Ahlstrom, *A Religious History of the American People* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1972, 2004), 289; Thomas Kidd, “Prayer for a Saving Issue: Evangelical Development in New England Before the Great Awakening,” in Michael Haykin and Kenneth J. Stewart, eds., *The Advent of Evangelicalism: Exploring Historical Continuities* (Nashville, TN: B & H Academic, 2008), 139; and Timothy D. Hall, “The Protestant Atlantic Awakenings and the Origins of an Evangelical Missionary Sensibility,” unpublished paper delivered at the Conference on Awakenings and Revivals in American History, Liberty University, Lynchburg, VA, April 16, 2009.

¹⁶⁴ See Timothy George, “Evangelical Revival and Missionary Awakening” in Klauber and Manetsch, 48; also Hall, 21-24.

¹⁶⁵ See Bevans and Schroeder, 209-210.

¹⁶⁶ See Charles Chaney, *The Birth of Missions in America* (Pasadena, CA: William Carey Library, 1976), 174; also Bosch, *Transforming Mission*, 279.

¹⁶⁷ See Cook, “Protestant Mission and Evangelization,” in Cook, 44.

characterized by the values of North American revivalism could be observed emerging in the Brazilian context.¹⁶⁸ Finally, Bonino offers this helpful summary:

The initiators [of Latin American evangelicalism] were missionaries—largely North American or British . . . who arrived in Latin America from the 1840 decade onward. It is remarkable to note that, despite their confessional diversity (mostly Methodists, Presbyterians, and Baptists) and origin (North American and British), all shared the same theological horizon, which can be characterized as *evangelical*.¹⁶⁹

In light of Bonino’s comments, it would be worthwhile to answer briefly: what were the values and characteristics of British and North American evangelicalism that were championed during these revivals, and that spread to Brazil and Latin America? Though articulated in a British context, David Bebbington’s famous quadrilateral seems to offer the best description of evangelicals—regardless of nationality or denomination—in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. They include: biblicism, that is, the commitment to the authority of Scripture; crucicentrism, an emphasis on Christ’s atoning work at the cross; conversionism, the conviction that one must be converted through saving faith because of Christ’s atoning work; and activism, the resulting commitment to evangelism, missions, and Christian service. While Bebbington’s categories were developed in his classic work *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*, there has been recent fresh interaction with them in Haykin and Stewart’s *The Advent of Evangelicalism*, and they continue to offer a helpful reference point for defining evangelicalism.¹⁷⁰

2.4.1 Evangelical Missions and Roman Catholicism

Perhaps the most significant impact of the nineteenth century evangelical awakenings on missions in general was that they sparked a seismic paradigm shift in missional

¹⁶⁸ See Willems, 4-6.

¹⁶⁹ See Bonino, 27.

¹⁷⁰ See David Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*; Haykin and Stewart, eds., *The Advent of Evangelicalism*; and Noll, “Evangelical Identity, Power, and Culture in the ‘Great’ Nineteenth Century,” in Lewis, 36.

thinking. That is, Roman Catholic countries, including Brazil and Latin America, were now being considered legitimate evangelical Protestant mission fields.¹⁷¹ Indeed, the relatively late start of evangelical missions in Latin America can best be explained by the fact that the majority of mainline Protestant denominations worldwide—especially Anglicans—did not regard Roman Catholics as unbelievers.¹⁷² Even the planners of the 1910 Edinburgh global consultation on world evangelization held this view, as they did not invite Protestant missions groups working in Latin America to attend the conference.¹⁷³

This change in thought came on the heels of the Second Great Awakening that, among other things, insisted on the need for personal conversion—a value that will be discussed in more detail shortly. This evangelical value, especially when applied to the spiritual state of Latin America, was nurtured and advanced within the Student Volunteer Movement. In some respects, this movement had strong parallels with the famous Haystack prayer meeting at Williams College in 1806—a revival that led to the formation of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (1810) and the American Bible Society (1816).¹⁷⁴ While the American Board was primarily focused on Asia during its early stages, there was still great interest in South America. As noted, the American Bible Society began work in Brazil in the first years of its existence.

The Student Volunteer Movement was birthed in 1886 in Mt. Herman, Massachusetts following a four-week YMCA collegiate camp led by Dwight L.

¹⁷¹ Hall helpfully notes (Hall, 8) that the incipient missionary zeal of the First Great Awakening also had an anti-Catholic sentiment to it.

¹⁷² See Gonzalez, 208; Kane, 147; and Saracco, “Mission and Missiology from Latin America,” in Taylor, *Global Missiology*, 359.

¹⁷³ See Escobar, *Changing Tides*, 24; also Carlos Scott, “Latin American Sending,” in Winter and Hawthorne (4th ed.), 375.

¹⁷⁴ See Ahlstrom, 422-24; and George, “Brazil: An ‘Evangelized’ Giant Calling for Liberating Evangelism,” *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* (July 2002), 104.

Moody. Though Moody's focus was on North American missions and the camp did not have a deliberate global focus, the revivalist atmosphere nevertheless sparked a vision for global missions for which 100 students immediately volunteered. Officially constituted in 1888, the Student Volunteer Movement's watchword was "evangelization of the world in this generation," and according to Michael Parker, between 1886 and 1920, over 8700 individuals followed through on the call and went into overseas missionary service.¹⁷⁵

From its very first year, the movement's leadership was concerned with evangelizing Roman Catholic Latin America. In 1886, A.T. Pierson, referring to Catholic countries in general, declared that the "priest ridden masses are weary of their thralldom."¹⁷⁶ By far, the most influential voice from the Student Volunteer Movement on the Latin America situation was Robert Speer, who later authored *South American Problems*.¹⁷⁷ Despite the Roman Catholic presence in Brazil and Latin America, Speer cited the "problems of alcoholism, sanitation, disease . . . high mortality rate . . . [and] illiteracy."¹⁷⁸ He added:

No land can be conceded to have a satisfactory religion where there moral conditions are as they have been shown to be in South America. If it can be proved that the conditions of any European or North American land are as they are in South America, then it will be proved also that that land needs a religious reformation.¹⁷⁹

While discouraging direct polemical attacks on the Catholic Church, Speer initially viewed evangelical efforts in South America as a means to purify the Roman

¹⁷⁵ See Michael Parker, *The Kingdom of Character: The Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions, 1886-1926* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1998), 2-21; also Dana L. Robert, "The Origin of the Student Volunteer Watchword: 'The Evangelization of the World in this Generation,'" *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 10:4 (October 1986), 146.

¹⁷⁶ Cited in Parker, 69.

¹⁷⁷ See Robert Speer, *South American Problems* (New York: Student Volunteer Movement for Volunteer Missions, 1912).

¹⁷⁸ Cited in Parker, 116.

¹⁷⁹ Cited in Escobar, *Changing Tides*, 25; see also Cook, "Protestant Mission and Evangelization," in Cook, 44.

Church.¹⁸⁰ However, he later concluded that “the only hope of reformation would seem to be separation from Rome and the formation of national churches.”¹⁸¹

Speer and Pierson’s thoughts resulted in concrete action as a consultation met in New York in 1913—just three years after the Edinburgh meeting—to consider evangelical mission work in Latin America. In 1916, a conference was held in Panama to discuss further strategies for Latin America, while subsequent conferences with similar goals were held in Montevideo in 1925 and Havana in 1929. Speer and others helped to form the Committee of Cooperation for Latin America, while a similar group was started to focus specifically on Brazil. Finally, in 1930, a federation of evangelical churches for Latin America was founded.¹⁸²

In the early twentieth century, other evangelical leaders affirmed Speer’s view on the need to evangelize South America. At the 1916 congress in Panama, Bishop William Cabell Brown communicated compassion for Roman Catholics as well as a conviction for biblical truth:

Suppose I were talking to a Roman Catholic. You know how kindly and considerate I would be. I would not desire to offend him or drive him away. I should rather try to speak the truth in love, and if possible, lead him to the full knowledge of the truth.¹⁸³

Responding to the criticisms of those who opposed evangelizing Catholic countries, John McKay defended the work of evangelical missionaries in the region:

Sometimes those who are interested in Christian service in South America are apt to be regarded as religious buccaneers devoting their lives to ecclesiastical piracy, but that is far from being the case. The great majority of men to whom we go will have nothing to do with religion. They took up this attitude because religion and morality had

¹⁸⁰ See Escobar, *Changing Tides*, 60.

¹⁸¹ See Robert E. Speer; Samuel G. Inman; and Frank K. Sanders, eds., *Christian Work in South America: Official Report of the Congress on Christian Work in South America at Montevideo, Uruguay, April 1925* (New York: Revell, 1925), 2.398.

¹⁸² See Latourette, 7.172-73.

¹⁸³ Cited in Speer, Inman, and Sanders, 2.398.

been divorced throughout the whole history of religious life in South America.¹⁸⁴

In 1916, Brazilian Presbyterian pastor Erasmo Braga predicted that evangelical revival would actually mark the end of “paganism” in the Latin American Catholic context.¹⁸⁵ This concern for evangelizing Catholics, which seems to have roots in the North American awakenings, has continued to be valued by Brazilian and Latin American evangelicals. More recently, Báez-Camargo remarked that the “self designated ‘Christian world’ was also a mission field itself” because “the kingdom of God cannot be defined in terms of mere territorial accretion, but that the whole of life everywhere must be brought under the Lordship of Jesus Christ.”¹⁸⁶

2.5 Brazil’s Evangelical Identity

While a number of scholars confidently assert that evangelical mission work to Latin America and Brazil emerged as an outcome of the Second Great Awakening in North America in the mid-nineteenth century, the correlation is at best a subtle one. That is, revivalist church leaders did not deliberately announce that global mission was the logical next step in the awakenings. Also, missionaries to Brazil in the early to mid-nineteenth century were not claiming that awakenings in their home country had driven them to the mission field. Though international students at the Mt. Hermon Conference in 1886 stood up and gave a Macedonian call of sorts, this was certainly not Moody’s intention when organizing the summer retreat. Bosch, offering a theological interpretation of the increased missions emphasis, asserts that in this atmosphere of revival, it was the constraining love of Christ that began to grip North American believers: “There was among the Christians touched by the Awakening, a tremendous sense of gratitude for what they had received and an urgent desire to share

¹⁸⁴ Cited in Escobar, *Changing Tides*, 26.

¹⁸⁵ See Escobar, *Changing Tides*, 27; also Latourette, 5.109.

¹⁸⁶ Cited in Escobar, *Changing Tides*, 26

with others, both at home and abroad, the blessings so freely shed upon them.”¹⁸⁷ To be sure, it does not seem to be a coincidence that the three mainline denominations most affected by the Second Great Awakening—Methodists, Presbyterians, and Baptists—were also the first to initiate mission work in Brazil.

In a rather critical fashion, Rubem Alves has asserted that the “Pietism and revivalism brought to Brazil by the early missionaries . . . has now been taken over and made an integral part of modern Brazilian Protestantism.”¹⁸⁸ In light of this claim and the historical narrative already presented, including the lack of clear causality between the Second Great Awakening and the advent of evangelical missions to Brazil, perhaps the best way to show the influence of North American revivals on evangelical missions in Brazil is to examine the identity of Brazilian evangelicalism and observe the common values between the two movements. Six areas are particularly apparent and will now be explored: a high view of Scripture, a call to genuine conversion, a visible faith, a missionary zeal, the priesthood of the believer, and a free church tendency.

2.5.1 A High View of Scripture

The first evangelical and revivalist value observed in Brazilian evangelicalism is the primacy of Scripture in the believer’s life and in the community of faith. Again, Alves refers critically to this “type of Protestantism, which has given a central place to the reading and study of the Bible.”¹⁸⁹ Similarly, Mendonça cites the “literalist Biblicism” of Brazilian evangelicals that he argues came from North American missionaries.¹⁹⁰

It seems that this regard for Scripture—a core value of the Protestant Reformation as well as the Pietistic revivals—is what motivated the evangelical

¹⁸⁷ See Bosch, *Transforming Mission*, 286.

¹⁸⁸ Cited in Penyak and Petry, 230; see also Martin, 273-74.

¹⁸⁹ Cited in Penyak and Petry, 230.

¹⁹⁰ See Mendonça, “A History of Christianity in Brazil: An Interpretive Essay,” 385.

pioneers in Brazil to translate and distribute the Bible. Escobar writes, “This was a pillar of Protestant missiology, which considered Bible translation and distribution as the beginning of missionary activity that would allow for the communication of the faith and the development of indigenous churches.”¹⁹¹ As noted, evangelical missions work in Brazil was launched before 1820 through the work of Bible Society “colporteurs,” while other evangelists like Robert Reid Kalley incorporated distribution into their overall mission strategy.¹⁹² Bible distribution continued to be a valued strategy throughout the twentieth century and is regarded as important even in the present day.¹⁹³ Commenting on its impact in the early twentieth century, Braga wrote: “There are many cases illustrating the effect of reading the Bible on individual lives as well as on the community life. This has led to definite conversions, and has been instrumental in raising up many notable workers.”¹⁹⁴ Bonino adds that as evangelical mission work engaged the Latin American context, a polemic against Roman Catholicism developed which also encouraged an emphasis on Scripture. He writes, “It was necessary to furnish new converts with knowledge and arguments for this conflict. That need led to a great emphasis on study of the Bible and of the basic doctrines of Protestantism.”¹⁹⁵

While Brazilian Pentecostalism has experienced unprecedented growth in the twentieth century, Stoll and others have criticized these evangelicals for possessing only a superficial understanding of biblical Christianity.¹⁹⁶ However, Mariz counters that while many Brazilians have been initially attracted to the Pentecostal church

¹⁹¹ See Escobar, *Changing Tides*, 69; also Robert, “Shifting Southward,” 56.

¹⁹² See Every-Clayton, “The Legacy of Robert Reid Kalley,” 325; Escobar, “The Church in Latin America after Five Hundred Years: An Evangelical Missiological Perspective,” in Cook, 35; and Cook, “Protestant Mission and Evangelization,” in Cook, 45.

¹⁹³ See “Brazil National Strategy Group Report,” in J.D. Douglas, *Let the Earth Hear His Voice: International Congress on World Evangelization Lausanne, Switzerland* (Minneapolis, MN: World Wide Publications, 1974), 1344.

¹⁹⁴ See Braga and Grubb, 72; see also Speer, Inman, and Sanders, 2.215-38.

¹⁹⁵ See Bonino, 31.

¹⁹⁶ See Stoll, 173; also Cook, “The Many Faces of the Latin American Church,” in Cook, 276.

because of an intense spiritual experience, it has been the knowledge gained from a literal reading of Scripture that has kept them in the church.¹⁹⁷ These Christians seem to resemble those described by Philip Jenkins in his recent work *The New Faces of Christianity*, which is subtitled, *Believing the Bible in the Global South*.

Brazilian evangelicalism has certainly embraced the Pietistic value of a high view of Scripture; however, evangelical missionaries, especially in the pioneering stages largely reached out to the literate population and failed to engage with the large number of Brazilians that do not read very well or at all. In 1890, Tucker estimated that only 15% of the population could read, while in 1930 Braga acknowledged that only 25% were literate.¹⁹⁸ At the 1925 Montevideo Congress, W.A. Waddell criticized evangelical missions in Latin America in general for a disproportionate focus on the educated classes.¹⁹⁹ On the other hand, Bible and literature distribution has become more relevant through the course of the twentieth century as literacy has currently risen to 88% among Brazilians aged fifteen and above.²⁰⁰

2.5.2 A Call to Genuine Conversion

A second observable revivalist influence on Brazilian evangelicalism is the necessity of conversion. Rene Padilla asserts:

In this respect, the evangelical churches in Latin America prove to be, in general, heirs of the great evangelical revivals of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, with their emphasis on the doctrine and experience of salvation by the grace of God, through faith in Jesus Christ.²⁰¹

¹⁹⁷ See Mariz, "Religion and Poverty in Brazil," in Cook, 77-78.

¹⁹⁸ See Hugh Tucker, *The Bible in Brazil: Colporteur Experiences* (New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1902), 72; and Braga and Grubb, 72.

¹⁹⁹ See Speer, Inman, and Sanders, 1.138.

²⁰⁰ See "Brazil" in *Central Intelligence Agency World Factbook* (website) <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/br.html> (accessed March 27, 2009); see also Read and Ineson, 1.

²⁰¹ See Rene Padilla, "New Actors on the Political Scene," in Cook, 90; also Willems, 6; Bonino, 28; Bevans and Schroeder, 230; and Escobar, *The New Global Mission*, 103-104.

The emphasis on conversion can certainly be traced back to the pre-Great Awakening ministry of Samuel Torrey, who insisted that spiritual reformation began with saving faith.²⁰² We are also reminded that Jonathan Edwards was dismissed from his pastorate at Northampton, Massachusetts, for refusing to admit the unconverted to the Lord's Table. Ironically, Edwards spent his final years as a missionary to Native Americans.²⁰³ Finally, the preaching of Timothy Dwight, James McGready, and Dwight L. Moody among others was also under girded by this evangelical value.²⁰⁴

As evangelical missionaries to Latin America were committed to the doctrine of conversion, Cook points out that they were also motivated by a sincere concern to rescue souls from a literal hell.²⁰⁵ Convinced that “the primary task of every Christian was to witness to others and seek their conversion,” public preaching and personal witness—as noted in the historical narrative—were the key forms of evangelism.²⁰⁶ It is interesting to note that some Pentecostal evangelistic meetings even bore resemblance to the Methodist, Wesleyan, and Holiness camp meetings of nineteenth-century North America, which included “godly hysteria, holy dancing, and laughter.”²⁰⁷

Finally, the evangelical emphasis on conversion in the Brazilian context in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries implied a personal and individual conversion.²⁰⁸

This Reformation and Pietistic value was, of course, quite distinct from the previous

²⁰² See Thomas Kidd, “Prayer for a Saving Issue: Evangelical Development in New England Before the Great Awakening,” in Haykin and Stewart, 131-32.

²⁰³ See Mark Noll, *A History of Christianity in the United States and Canada* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1992), 104.

²⁰⁴ See Barry Hankins, *The Second Great Awakening and the Transcendentalists* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2004), 6-9.

²⁰⁵ See Cook, “Protestant Mission and Evangelization,” in Cook, 45.

²⁰⁶ See Gonzalez, 203-204; also Arnold, “A Peek in the Baggage of Brazil’s Pioneer Missionaries,” 125.

²⁰⁷ See Martin, 28, 163-64; also Bonino, 32-33; and Hankins, 7.

²⁰⁸ See Escobar, *Changing Tides*, 41; Mendonça, “A History of Christianity in Brazil: An Interpretive Essay,” 383-85; Willems, 9; Mariz, “Religion and Poverty in Brazil,” in Cook, 76-77; and Norman Horner, *Cross and Crucifix in Mission* (Nashville, TN: Abingdon Press, 1965), 26.

Roman Catholic model of spreading Christendom in Brazil. Jenkins points out that the anti-evangelical publication *Os Demônios Descem Do Norte* (“The Demons Come Down from the North”), only one such publication by the Brazilian Catholic Church, indicates that the Roman Church viewed evangelicalism as merely a North American invasion.²⁰⁹

Brazilian and Latin American Protestants have also expressed concern about and criticism of individual conversion. Cook argues that North Americans, influenced by the Enlightenment values of individualism, subconsciously imposed that on a Brazilian culture that was more communal in nature.²¹⁰ Mendonça has particularly accused American Presbyterians of being too “heavenly minded” and not caring enough for the social needs of Brazilians.²¹¹ Finally, Escobar, a leading evangelical theologian, has expressed concern that a focus on individual conversion has stifled a proper ecclesiology in which the community of faith serves as an agent of transformation in society.²¹²

2.5.3 A Visible Faith

A third revivalist value also evident in Brazilian evangelicalism is the emphasis on a visible practice of faith.²¹³ According to Hoornaert, it seems that a devotional and pietistic form of Christianity, introduced by Jesuit missionaries, had existed among some Brazilian Catholics prior to the arrival of evangelical missionaries. Hence, evangelical missions from North America seemed to stoke this spirit among this Catholic segment, the members of which were also anti-clerical and anti-hierarchical.²¹⁴ Alves adds that many observers of Brazilian evangelicalism are

²⁰⁹ See Jenkins, *The Next Christendom*, 179.

²¹⁰ See Cook, “Protestant Mission and Evangelization,” in Cook, 45.

²¹¹ Mendonça is cited in Arnold, “A Peek in the Baggage of Brazil’s Pioneer Missionaries,” 129-30.

²¹² See Escobar, *Changing Tides*, 43; also Escobar, “The Church in Latin America after Five Hundred Years,” in Cook, 28.

²¹³ See Escobar, *Changing Tides*, 102.

²¹⁴ See Hoornaert, “The Church in Brazil,” in Dussel, 193-94.

“impressed by the extraordinary vitality of the simple piety of the average Christian. Here are people for whom the experience of a personal relationship with Jesus Christ is the very center of life, people who read their Bibles and pray daily.”²¹⁵

This visible faith could be first be observed in what Brazilian evangelicals avoided—smoking, dancing, sexual immorality, and drinking alcohol among others.²¹⁶ In fact, a key strategy discussed at the Montevideo Congress in 1925 was the implementation of a temperance movement for Brazil and Latin America.²¹⁷ Gonzalez asserts that North American evangelical missionaries preached a Gospel that included temperance convictions consistent with those of the American Society for the Promotion of Temperance, which had been founded in 1826 during the Second Great Awakening.²¹⁸ The other noted areas of abstinence find parallels in nineteenth-century North American Baptist meetings that confronted drinking, sexual sin, and dishonest business dealings.²¹⁹ As the evangelical message advanced in Brazil, a conflict arose between the North American missionaries and the immigrant churches, which had no problem with many of these forbidden practices. Mendonça has thus distinguished between a “Protestantism of mission” and a “Protestantism of immigration” in the Brazilian context.²²⁰

In addition to what was avoided by Brazilian evangelicals, this visible faith could also be observed through a resulting moral transformation. Abstinence from sexual activity outside of marriage—a counter cultural tendency to be sure—has led to increased sexual purity for singles and marrieds alike, and has resulted in more

²¹⁵ Cited in Penyak and Petry, 230.

²¹⁶ See Gonzalez, 204; also Willems, 45-54; and Chestnut, 59-65.

²¹⁷ See Speer, Inman, and Sanders, 1.406; 2.10.

²¹⁸ See Gonzalez, 207; also Ahlstrom, 425-27.

²¹⁹ See Hankins, 15.

²²⁰ See Mendonça, “A History of Christianity in Brazil: An Interpretive Essay,” 381.

stable families, which in turn has served to strengthen evangelical congregations.²²¹

Finally, moral transformation can also be observed in the intellectual and economic improvement of Brazilian believers.²²²

Such a visible and transformative faith was undergirded by a Gospel that was holistic and integrative. That is, while nineteenth-century North American missionaries—influenced by evangelical revival—preached a verbal Gospel that invited converts to believe in the atoning work of Christ for the forgiveness of sin, they also gave much attention to real human needs. As noted, these values had already been observed in the ministry of John Wesley and the Methodist revivals. One of the outcomes of the eighteenth-century Great Awakening in New England was new initiatives in education and higher learning: Baptists founded Brown; Presbyterians started Princeton; the Dutch Reformed founded Rutgers; and the Congregationalists began Dartmouth.²²³ Ahlstrom adds that one fruit of the Second Great Awakening was increased work among the poor and handicapped.²²⁴

Describing the integrative approach of nineteenth century evangelicals to Brazil and Latin America, Bonino writes:

Religious awakening and social reformation (revival and reform) were seen as intimately related; the 1850 evangelists took upon themselves, along with the moral improvement of society, the cause of the abolition of slavery and the struggle against poverty.²²⁵

While many like Kalley were vocal in their opposition to slavery and others devoted their energy to the plight of the poor, one clear evangelical contribution was the development of schools—both theological and liberal arts institutions—and

²²¹ See Willems, 45-54, 169-73; Chestnut, 59-65; Robert, “Shifting Southward,” 56; and Cook, “Introduction: The Changing Face of the Church in Latin America,” in Cook, xi.

²²² See José Comblin, “Brazil: Base Communities in the Northeast,” in Cook, 219; and Mariz, “Religion and Poverty in Brazil,” in Cook, 78-79.

²²³ See Noll, *A History of Christianity*, 100-101; Spickard and Cragg, 265-66; and Ahlstrom, 289-90.

²²⁴ See Ahlstrom, 427-28.

²²⁵ See Bonino, 29.

hospitals.²²⁶ At the Montevideo Congress in 1925, a mission strategy for Brazil's indigenous peoples was proposed that addressed educational, medical, and economic needs.²²⁷ Though evangelicals have continued to be criticized by liberal Protestants for not caring enough about social needs,²²⁸ Rev. A.G. Tallon in 1925 seems to have expressed well the prevailing nineteenth- and twentieth-century evangelical missionary conviction in Brazil:

It is a mistake to contrast evangelism with social service. Any social work that is worthwhile grows out of spiritual convictions. A minister needs to be zealous in laying right foundations for his people . . . twenty-eight years experience in preaching the gospel emphasizing Jesus Christ, holiness of life and the embodiment of the Master's teachings and character has not gone for naught. It has developed a people ready to do their share in community service.²²⁹

This emphasis on an integrated Gospel has certainly become one of the most vital aspects of the Brazilian evangelical identity. Referring to the contemporary church in Brazil and Latin America, Rey asserts:

It is now normal to find next to a church, regardless of its size, a health center, a school, a soup kitchen, etc. The majority of the churches have understood that they have an integral mission and that evangelization goes hand in hand with social responsibility.²³⁰

While this value can be observed in the practice of churches in general, some of the most compelling missiology on the relationship of Scripture and proclamation and social engagement continues to come from men like Escobar, Padilla, Cook, and Steuernegal—all members of the Latin American Theological Fraternity (FTL)—and their emphasis on the “whole Gospel” (*evangelización* or *missão integral*). This aspect of Brazilian evangelicalism will be discussed in more detail in chapter five.

²²⁶ See Latourette, 5.123; Robert, “Shifting Southward,” 56; Arnold, “A Peek in the Baggage of Brazil's Pioneer Missionaries,” 130-33; George, “Presbyterian Seeds Bear Fruit in Brazil as Doors to Partnership Open and Close,” 139; and Braga and Grubb, 94.

²²⁷ See Speer, Inman, and Sanders, 1.190-92.

²²⁸ See Bonino, 144; also Mendonça in Arnold, “A Peek in the Baggage of Brazil's Pioneer Missionaries,” 129-30; and Prado, “A New Way of Sending Missionaries,” 51-52.

²²⁹ See Speer, Inman, and Sanders, 1.378.

²³⁰ Cited in Penyak and Petry, 360.

2.5.4 Missionary Zeal

A fourth area of continuity between North American evangelical awakenings and Brazilian evangelicalism is an emphasis on missions. Despite the cultural baggage of Manifest Destiny brought by many well meaning nineteenth-century missionaries, this hegemony did not impede the Brazilian church from cultivating its own missionary zeal. In 1923, an expatriate mission leader traveling through the country remarked that “great self-supporting churches are found in the cities, with large memberships, and doing real missionary work in their own districts.”²³¹ Braga adds that in the early twentieth century, evangelical churches from across denominational lines were collaborating in evangelistic outreaches, university student ministry, Scripture distribution, and women’s ministry. In the 1930s, Brazilians were working to reach out to the Japanese, Muslim, and Jewish immigrant populations in the country.²³² As will be discussed more later, this missionary conviction continued to manifest itself in increased transcultural efforts both inside Brazil and around the world in the latter part of the twentieth century.

This missional emphasis is perhaps best captured by those outside of Brazilian evangelical circles. Alves writes, “The church is constantly engaged in evangelistic and mission work.”²³³ José Comblin, a Belgian Catholic missionary in the Northeast of Brazil, made this remark about Pentecostals in the region: “This may be the most decisive factor; every believer is a missionary.”²³⁴ Finally, Bonino, summarizing Latin American evangelical theology in general, asserted that “mission” was the “material principle” of the entire movement.²³⁵

²³¹ See Braga and Grubb, 83.

²³² See Braga and Grubb, 88-89, 111-113.

²³³ Cited in Penyak and Petry, 231.

²³⁴ See Comblin, “Brazil: Base Communities in the Northeast,” in Cook, 219; also Stoll, 109.

²³⁵ See Bonino, ix-x; also Escobar, *Changing Tides*, 102, 134.

2.5.5 Priesthood of the Believer

Quite related to its missionary zeal, Brazilian evangelicals have also noticeably exhibited the Reformation, Pietistic, and revivalist value of the priesthood of the believer. This can be understood in at least three ways. First, regarding the Scriptures, Luther's notion of perspicuity—the idea that even the simplest person could understand the Scriptures and communicate them to others—has been at work in the rise of Brazilian evangelicalism.²³⁶ Bosch notes that this biblical conviction, especially among those with premillennial eschatological views, was an energizing factor in nineteenth century missions—including those who went to evangelize Brazil.²³⁷ This evangelical value was also certainly behind the American and British Bible Societies' decision to print and distribute Bibles without study notes or commentaries. This was distinct from the Catholic Church's strategy of using notes to teach literate parishioners about Catholic theology which seemed to diminish the role of the biblical text itself.²³⁸

A second way that the priesthood of the believer has been observed in Brazilian evangelicalism is through an emphasis on volunteerism. An ideal largely absent in Christian history from the time of Constantine until the Anabaptist Reform,²³⁹ the European and North American awakenings were not only led by volunteers, but the revivals also seemed to produce more laborers. While the First Great Awakening effectively empowered lay leaders and preachers, one outcome of the Second Great Awakening was the prolific formation of voluntary missionary

²³⁶ See Escobar, *Changing Tides*, 73-74; and Escobar, *The New Global Mission*, 131-32.

²³⁷ See Bosch, *Transforming Mission*, 316.

²³⁸ See Gonzalez, 218.

²³⁹ See Rodney Stark, "Efforts to Christianize Europe, 400-2000," *Journal of Contemporary Religion* 16:1 (2001), 107.

societies.²⁴⁰ Summarizing this tendency within the context of evangelical awakenings,

Bevans and Schroeder conclude:

Instead of waiting for a signal from an official church, individual Christians, often across denominational affiliations, joined societies to commit themselves to the task of world mission. Lay people as well as clergy were involved in these associations.²⁴¹

Comblin's observation that in Northeast Brazil, "every believer is a missionary" suggests a strong grassroots and volunteering tendency among Brazilian churches as well.²⁴² This value was certainly encouraged by Kenneth Strachan's Evangelism in Depth strategy beginning in 1959 which emphasized "total mobilization for total evangelization," and the 1969 Latin American Congress on Evangelization (CLADE I) that stressed mobilizing "the whole church for the evangelistic task."²⁴³ Remarking that this tendency is quite second nature for Brazilians, George writes: "Many Protestant churches in Brazil feel no need to have an evangelism committee because members of the congregation actively practice evangelism with relatives, neighbors, friends, and strangers."²⁴⁴ Summarizing the connection between volunteerism observed in the evangelical awakenings and that of Brazil and Latin America, Padilla asserts, "the lay ministry is one of the characteristics that show the Protestantism which has taken root in Latin America is related to the revivalists Protestantism of the eighteenth century."²⁴⁵

A final way that Brazilian evangelicalism has exhibited this evangelical conviction has been through setting apart indigenous leaders—both lay and full-time vocational ministers—at an early stage. Despite the difficult relationships at times

²⁴⁰ See Noll, *History of Christianity*, 112, 169; Ahlstrom, 422-24; and Bosch, *Transforming Mission*, 280, 332.

²⁴¹ See Bevans and Schroeder, 210.

²⁴² See Comblin, "Brazil: Base Communities in the Northeast," in Cook, 219; also Robert, "Shifting Southward," 56.

²⁴³ See Saracco, "Mission and Missiology from Latin America," in Taylor, *Global Missiology*, 361; also Penyak and Petry, 360; and Willems, 6.

²⁴⁴ See George, "Brazil: An 'Evangelized' Giant Calling for Liberating Evangelism," 105.

²⁴⁵ See Padilla, "New Actors on the Political Scene," in Cook, 89; also Martin, 273.

between North American missionaries and Brazilian believers—and in some cases a certain paternalism by the former—the effort to place Brazilians in leadership has been evident.²⁴⁶ Braga affirms, “From the very beginning, nationals were carefully selected and made fully responsible for the work entrusted to them.”²⁴⁷

While such empowerment occurred on an individual level, the larger mainline denominations—Presbyterians, Methodists, and Baptists in particular—also came under Brazilian leadership at a fairly early stage. Latourette asserts that they “became ecclesiastically independent of foreign control” which “tended to reduce their foreign character.”²⁴⁸ In the case of the main Pentecostal denominations, they were largely Brazilian in identity from the outset. The Assemblies of God, Brazil’s largest evangelical denomination, was, of course, founded by missionaries from North America who later affiliated with the international denomination.²⁴⁹ In a study of Pentecostal churches in Rio de Janeiro in 1992, Freston found that thirty-seven of the fifty-two denominations were of Brazilian origin, while nearly every church was led by a national pastor.²⁵⁰

Indeed, the Pentecostal churches—official denominations and independent churches alike—have been at the forefront of setting apart spiritual leaders, especially lay leaders, including those from poor backgrounds and with little formal education. As noted, this tendency reflects Pentecostalism’s general affinity with the poor while at the same time, it reveals an ecclesiology that places more emphasis on the Holy Spirit’s anointing of spiritual leaders than on a minister’s formal training. Kane

²⁴⁶ See George, “Presbyterian Seeds Bear Fruit in Brazil as Doors to Partnership Open and Close,” 136; also Speer, Inman, and Sanders, 2.257-59.

²⁴⁷ See Braga and Grubb, 117.

²⁴⁸ See Latourette, 5.123; also Stoll, 109.

²⁴⁹ See Gonzalez, 281; Cook, “Protestant Mission and Evangelization,” in Cook, 46; and Sepúlveda, “The Pentecostal Movement in Latin America,” in Cook, 68.

²⁵⁰ See Freston, “Contours in Latin American Pentecostalism,” in Lewis, 232; also Bush, “Brazil, A Sleeping Giant Awakens.”

reports in 1980 that while the Assemblies of God had twenty official missionaries in Brazil, they also had 29,000 licensed ministers and another 27,000 lay workers serving in the church.²⁵¹ Also, in its early years, the Congregação Cristã no Brasil had no ordained or full-time vocational ministers. Hence, these two larger Pentecostal denominations have relied greatly upon bi-vocational and lay ministers.²⁵² Finally, among the exploding independent Pentecostal communities in Northeast Brazil, Comblin observes that “pastors are numerous and multiply amazingly.”²⁵³

2.5.6 Free Church

A final area of continuity between the nineteenth-century North American evangelical revivals and the church in Brazil was the proliferation of a free church model—a contrast to the “Constantinian” state church which had been prevalent since the fourth-century until the Anabaptist Reform. A number of scholars have argued that a free church mentality was encouraged by the First Great Awakening, and that the separation of church and state paradigm was a certain outcome.²⁵⁴ Noll remarks that Baptist churches in particular flourished in the Southern colonies at this time because there was an alternative to the official Anglican Church.²⁵⁵

Arguably, each of the evangelical qualities discussed—a high view of Scripture, conversion, visible faith, missionary zeal, and priesthood of the believer—fueled the notion of a free, believer’s church in Europe, North America, and in Brazil. As noted, the immigrant churches in Brazil that were established prior to the first wave of evangelical missions were either official state churches (Lutheran, Anglican) or they were mainline denominations with little missionary emphasis. Not

²⁵¹ See Kane, 149; also Chestnut, 30-31, 135.

²⁵² See Gonzalez, 281; also Mike Berg and Paul Pretiz, “Five Waves of Protestant Evangelization,” in Cook, 62; and Willems, 145.

²⁵³ See Comblin, “Brazil: Base Communities in the Northeast,” in Cook, 219-20.

²⁵⁴ See Spickard and Cragg, 269-70; also Hankins, 4; and Ahlstrom, 290-94.

²⁵⁵ See Noll, *History of Christianity*, 99-103.

surprisingly, there was conflict between the immigrant churches and the evangelical missionaries.²⁵⁶ North American missionaries, entering a Brazilian context that was politically and culturally fatigued with a state church model, planted free churches. Some missionaries from official church backgrounds in Europe—such as the Scottish Presbyterian Robert Reid Kalley or Anglican workers—established churches in Brazil that were much more free church in their essence. This enduring free church value is implicit in a recent article on global missiology by Steurnegal, a Brazilian missiologist from the Lutheran tradition, who advocates “a season of ‘local initiative’” where “local initiatives . . . replace centralized activities” in global mission efforts.²⁵⁷

2.5.7 Summarizing Brazil’s Evangelical Identity

Apart from the documented paradigm shift in thinking on missions in Roman Catholic countries and Latin America that emerged within the Student Volunteer Movement, the literature related to eighteenth- and nineteenth- century evangelical awakenings does not offer a deliberate connection to mission work in Brazil. However, a careful assessment of the identity of Brazilian evangelicalism reveals some Pietistic influences that were at work during the Second Great Awakening in the decades preceding the first evangelical mission efforts to Brazil in the mid-nineteenth century. Hence, it has been argued that Brazilian evangelicalism is characterized by a high view of Scripture, a call to genuine conversion, a visible faith, a missionary zeal, the priesthood of the believer, and a free church tendency.

Freston generally places Brazilian evangelicalism within Bebbington’s quadrilateral; however, he rightly concludes that the movement is slightly “larger” than its European and North American counterparts. First, Brazilian and Latin

²⁵⁶ See Gonzalez, 204-205.

²⁵⁷ See Steurnegal, “Learning from Escobar . . . and Beyond,” in Taylor, *Global Missiology*, 131.

American evangelicals, led largely by the Latin American Theological Fraternity (FTL), have been committed to the “whole” Gospel and ministering to social needs. While not embracing Liberation Theology on a full scale, they have taken seriously these issues raised by liberal Protestants and Catholics, and incorporated them into their missiology.²⁵⁸

Secondly, Brazilian evangelicals are generally more ecumenical in their regard for other evangelicals in contrast to North American and European evangelicals who have historically found more reason to be less inclusive.²⁵⁹ Within Brazil and the Latin American context, “evangelical” and “Protestant” are understood to be the same thing. Also, with 70% of Brazilian evangelicals belonging to Pentecostal churches, the remaining minority of Methodists, Presbyterians, Baptists and other non-Pentecostal denominations made a clear choice in the second half of the twentieth century to accept Pentecostals as evangelicals. While this does not mean that there has been an absence of theological reflection (as the evangelical response to the Igreja Universal do Reino de Deus has demonstrated), Brazilian evangelicals seem to be generally inclusive of other like-minded Christians: “theologically conservative, pietistic in spirituality, and very zealous about evangelization.”²⁶⁰

Understanding how Brazil was evangelized and how the Brazilian church obtained its own evangelical identity is essential for appreciating its role as a mission sending church. It is this latter focus that we now turn our attention.

²⁵⁸ See Freston, “Brazil: Church Growth, Parachurch Agencies, and Politics,” in Cook, 233-38; also Ekström, “Brazilian Sending,” in Winter and Hawthorne (4th ed.), 372.

²⁵⁹ See Freston, “Contours of Latin American Pentecostalism,” in Lewis, 221.

²⁶⁰ Though Escobar’s definition is focused upon Latin America in general, it is quite appropriate for Brazil. See Escobar, *Changing Tides*, 10.

2.6 Brazil: A Missions Sending Nation

In summarizing his work *Christianity in Latin America*, Justo Gonzalez fails to acknowledge that Latin America now sends its own missionaries to the world.²⁶¹ This omission is rather odd because Gonzalez, a Cuban-American, has asserted elsewhere that “the history of the church is the history of mission.”²⁶² In a recent article, Daniel Salinas angrily notes that while the stories of North American missionaries to Latin America have been effectively related, there has been a general failure to document the work of Latin missionaries.²⁶³ Escobar adds that for every Latin American evangelical who has gone to the mission field as an “official” missionary—remembered by the church in its documented history—there have probably been ten others who have migrated abroad in search of work. The latter have also been involved in evangelism and church planting, yet their missionary contribution has gone unnoticed.²⁶⁴ Despite the general failure to document the ministries of missionaries from Latin America, the goal of the present section is to begin to tell the stories of Brazilian evangelical transcultural workers, who make up at least half the Latin American missionary force, while also highlighting the role of missionary movements from Brazil and Latin America.

2.6.1 A Brief Narrative of Twentieth-Century Brazilian Missions

The noted missionary zeal of Brazilian evangelicals resulted in concrete mission work among Brazil’s indigenous peoples in the early twentieth century. As these efforts were discussed at length at the Montevideo Congress in 1925, it is apparent that evangelicals had already been concerned with the needs of these tribal peoples. In

²⁶¹ See Gonzalez, 302-310.

²⁶² Cited in Escobar, *Changing Tides*, 4.

²⁶³ See Salinas, “The Great Commission in Latin America,” in Klauber and Manetsch, 134-39.

²⁶⁴ Cited in Salinas, “The Great Commission in Latin America,” in Klauber and Manetsch, 137.

Ekström adds that there are probably hundreds of Brazilian tentmakers who have not been counted in the official statistics of Brazilian transcultural workers. See Ekström, “Missões a Partir do Brasil,” in Kevin D. Bradford, Ralph D. Winter, and Steven C. Hawthorne, eds., *Perspectivas No Movimento Cristao Mundial* (São Paulo: Vida Nova, 2009), 369.

1923, Presbyterians, Baptists, and Episcopalians had already set apart national missionaries to work among them. This emphasis has continued to the present day as currently, there are at least seven missions agencies in Brazil dedicated to reaching indigenous peoples,²⁶⁵ and there is an increasing amount of Brazilian missiological reflection on tribal work.²⁶⁶ One of the key resolutions of the Brazilian AD 2000 committee was to “assume a commitment to thoroughly reach the indigenous tribes of Brazil, principally through translation of the Bible into all dialects.”²⁶⁷ In a recent study, Ted Limpic has documented the growth and success of Brazilian missions toward tribal peoples: at present, 166 of 258 tribal peoples have some type of missionary presence; five people groups have a complete Bible translation while thirty-six others have a complete New Testament; and twenty groups have a church with a local pastor.²⁶⁸

In the early twentieth century, a relatively short period after foreign missionaries reached Brazil, Brazilian evangelicals were also contemplating global missions. From its inception in 1907, the Brazilian Baptist Convention shared this global focus, and in 1920, J.J. Oliveira was sent to Portugal where he was later joined by Antonio Mauricio. Though Oliveira later joined another missions organization, Mauricio continued the Baptist work in collaboration with Portuguese pastor Pablo Torres.²⁶⁹ In the same year, João Marques de Mota was the first Brazilian

²⁶⁵ The missions agencies, listed by COMIBAM http://www.comibam.org/catalogo2006/esp/consulta-2006/bra/_agencias.htm (accessed April 1, 2009) include Associação Evangélica Missionária Indígena; Missão Evangélica aos Índios do Brasil; Missão Evangélica da Amazônia; Missão Novas Tribos do Brasil; Missão Indígena UNIEDAS; Org da Missão Indígena da Tribo Ticuna do Alto Salimões; Missão Projeto Amazonas.

²⁶⁶ Three recent books on indigenous ministry include: Ronaldo Lidório, *Índigenas do Brasil* (Viçosa, Brazil: Editora Ultimato, 2006); Isaac Souza and Ronaldo Lidório *A Questão Indígena: Uma Luta Desigual* (Viçosa, Brazil: Editora Ultimato 2008); and Isaac Souza, *De Todas as Tribos* (Viçosa, Brazil: Editora Ultimato, 2003).

²⁶⁷ See Prado, “The Brazil Model.”

²⁶⁸ See Limpic, “As Tribos Indígenas Brasileiras,” http://www.comibam.org/transpar/_menus/por/08jogo-tr.htm (accessed April 1, 2009).

²⁶⁹ See Anderson, 150, 155.

Presbyterian sent abroad as he also went to Portugal.²⁷⁰ When Brazilian Presbyterians closed their Portuguese mission in 1924, Erasmo Braga and his father founded an independent mission in order to continue the work.²⁷¹ Because of the great needs within Brazil and a deliberate focus on local missions, Portugal remained the sole overseas mission field for Brazilian Baptists until 1946. However, in 1948, twelve Brazilians were sent to begin work in Bolivia, which resulted in twelve churches being planted by 1965. In the same year, the Baptists began their work in neighboring Paraguay.²⁷²

Ekström adds that the presence and growth of international missions agencies in Brazil beginning in the latter half of the twentieth century further encouraged the Brazilian church's missionary zeal. While these agencies were primarily committed to reaching Brazil, many approached their work with a global focus.²⁷³ One such organization was Operation Mobilization. Though they did not establish an office in Brazil until 1986, OM began recruiting Brazilian youth to serve on its ships in the late 1970s. Indeed, many Brazilians presently serving in the Arab world as well as other countries had their first exposure to global missions through OM.²⁷⁴

At the Lausanne Congress in 1974, Shedd and Landrey, giving the report on the Brazilian church, indicated that Brazilians were serving in twenty-one countries—nine of which were other countries in South America, while four were Portuguese-speaking countries. At the time, there was no record of Brazilians serving in the Arab world.²⁷⁵

²⁷⁰ See Bertil Ekström, "Uma Análise Histórica dos Objetivos da Associação de Missões Transculturais Brasileiras e o seu Cumprimento," (MTh thesis, Faculdade Teológica Batista de São Paulo, 1998), 7-8. I am indebted to Cristina Boersma who read this work in Portuguese and provided a summary in English.

²⁷¹ See Salinas, "The Great Commission in Latin America," in Klauber and Manetsch, 130.

²⁷² See Anderson, 160, 169.

²⁷³ See Ekström, "Uma Análise Histórica," 8-10.

²⁷⁴ See Ekström, "Uma Análise Histórica," 8.

²⁷⁵ See "Brazil National Strategy Group Report," in Douglas, 1344.

2.6.2 Missão Antioquia

Given this brief narrative of Brazilian sending until Lausanne in 1974—keeping in mind Escobar’s point that the majority of Brazilian and Latin American mission work has probably gone undocumented—the Brazilian missions movement seemed to take on unprecedented life around 1975. In the midst of a charismatic renewal in the state of Paraná in the late 1960s, a Bible school was founded by two young Presbyterian pastors, Jonathan Ferreira dos Santos and Décio de Azevedo. Preaching, prayer, healing, miracles, and holistic ministry to the surrounding communities characterized the school’s existence in this continual atmosphere of renewal. Though the school’s leadership was initially resistant to the idea of global missions, American missionary Barbara Burns and others who taught at the school were instrumental in sharing a global vision. As the community began to pray for the world, the first missionaries were sent to Portuguese-speaking Mozambique in the mid-1970s. Hence, not unlike the atmosphere of revival that first moved North Americans and others to Brazil in the mid-nineteenth century, revival within Brazil also pushed Brazilians to take notice of the rest of the world.

In 1975, the school went one step farther and founded Missão Antioquia (Antioch Mission), Brazil’s first interdenominational and national missions organization. Azevedo was named the mission’s first president. In 1977, the mission opened a seminary and missionary training center in Paraná, which, along with the mission, moved to São Paulo in 1980.²⁷⁶ Missão Antioquia currently has ninety-two Brazilian missionaries on the field in nineteen countries—four of which are serving in Arab countries in North Africa and the Middle East. According to their website, their primary areas of ministry include evangelism, discipleship, church planting,

²⁷⁶ See Barbara Burns, “Brazilian Antioch Community, Spirituality, and Mission,” in Taylor, *Global Missiology*, 515-16; also *Missão Antioquia* (web site) <http://www.missaoantioquia.com/historia.html> (accessed April 3, 2009); and Prado, “A New Way of Sending Missionaries,” 55-56.

children's ministry, community development, and sports ministry, among others.²⁷⁷

The mission has not only sent Brazilian workers overseas, but it has modeled a spirit of unity and partnership through initiating the Associação de Missões Transculturais Brasileiras (Association of Transcultural Missions Agencies).²⁷⁸

2.6.3 Curitiba Conference

In the early 1970s, Neuza Itioka, a Brazilian teacher of Japanese descent and leader of Aliança Bíblica Universitária (IFES), attended a number a number of global missions consultations, including Lausanne, which instilled in her a vision for Brazil as a mission sending country.²⁷⁹ Itioka and ABU organized the first Latin American missions conference on the campus of the University of Paraná in Curitiba in January, 1976 under the theme: "Jesus Christ: Lordship, Purpose, Mission." In some respects, a "Latin Student Volunteer Movement," the conference was attended by 500 delegates (450 Brazilians and fifty other Latinos) though another 1500 participants had hoped to attend. The meeting, which ended up serving as a watershed for Brazilian and Latin American missions, can best be summarized through these lines in its "Declaration of Curitiba":

We recognize that mission cannot be an isolated department of the life of the church; rather it is an essential part of its essence because "the church is a missionary church or it is no church at all." Therefore, the mission involves every Christian in the totality of their life, substituting the wrong concept of the "professional missionary labor" with the universal priesthood of all believers. We are profoundly concerned for the lack of this missionary vision of the church within the Latin American context.²⁸⁰

Indeed, the noted Brazilian evangelical values of missionary zeal and the priesthood of the believer are clearly observed in the statement. Combined with a new, profound

²⁷⁷ See *Missão Antioquia* (web site) <http://www.missaoantioquia.com/missionarios.html> (accessed April 3, 2009).

²⁷⁸ See *Associação de Missões Transculturais Brasileiras* (web site) <http://www.amtb.org.br/site/> (accessed April 3, 2009).

²⁷⁹ See Ekström, "Uma Análise Histórica," 9.

²⁸⁰ Cited in Salinas "The Great Commission in Latin America," in Klauber and Manetsch, 147; see also Escobar, *Changing Tides*, 157.

sense of responsibility, these values would propel the Brazilian and Latin American churches to a new level of involvement in global missions.

2.6.4 COMIBAM

Just a decade after the Curitiba conference, the Brazilian church joined with other Latin American evangelicals for the first meeting of COMIBAM, (the Ibero American Missionary Congress) which met in São Paulo in 1987.²⁸¹ Generally following in the wake of the historic global mission meetings at Edinburgh (1910), Panama (1916), Berlin (1966), and Lausanne (1974), the first COMIBAM gathering was attended by 3100 delegates from every country in Latin America as well as from twenty-five other countries. The conference's main goal was to provide a "wake-up call" for the Latin American church to get involved in and take responsibility for the remaining task of global missions.²⁸² This sense of ownership was best expressed in the articulated resolution given at the end of the conference:

United by the fervent desire to be light to the nations, we—the participants in COMIBAM 87, trusting in the help of the Lord, in the direct and power of the Word and of the Spirit—invite all of our brothers and sisters in Ibero America to get involved with us in the faithful completion of the mission that He has given us: "I have made you a light for the Gentiles, that you may bring salvation to the ends of the earth" (Acts 13:47).²⁸³

Recognizing that the Latin American church did not have the material resources of its North American or European counterparts, Guatemalan Pastor Rudy Giron gave this charge to the delegates: "Missions from Latin America will be sacrificial. We don't have computers; we don't have dollars; but 'By My Spirit, say the Lord.'"²⁸⁴ Even in

²⁸¹ COMIBAM stands for the Cooperación Misiononera Iberoamericana (Ibero-American Missionary Cooperation), which generally includes the Spanish and Portuguese speaking countries of Latin America and the Iberian Peninsula. See Julio Guarneri, "COMIBAM: Calling Latin Americans to the Global Challenge," (unpublished paper presented at the Evangelical Missiological Society, Denver, CO, September 27, 2008), vi-vii, 1.

²⁸² See Levi DeCarvalho, "COMIBAM III: Research Project—Phase I," in *Connections* (April-May 2007), 20.

²⁸³ Cited in Ruiz, "COMIBAM as a process leading to a Congress," *Connections* (April-May 2007), 9.

²⁸⁴ Cited in Escobar, *Changing Tides*, 159.

the early stages of the COMIBAM network in 1987, it should be noted that 1600 Latin American missionaries had been sent out by seventy missions agencies.

COMIBAM II was held in Acapulco, Mexico in 1997 and was attended by 2000 delegates.²⁸⁵ The primary focus of the second gathering was to evaluate what had happened in Latin American missions sending since 1987. Ruiz elaborates: “The focus of the evaluation was based, principally, on the missionary process. Missionary screening, training, sending and pastoral care and supervision on the field were under scrutiny.”²⁸⁶ In large part due to COMIBAM’s influence, 3921 missionaries serving with 284 missions organizations had been sent out by 1997.²⁸⁷

COMIBAM III took place in Granada, Spain in November of 2006 and was attended by 2000 participants from thirty-seven countries—twenty-five of those were Ibero American.²⁸⁸ The purpose of the meeting was to provide critical evaluation of the movement in general. As Levi DeCarvalho relates, the aim was “to improve cross-cultural service and reach a new level of maturity in our mission work.”²⁸⁹ In order to gain an accurate read of the movement’s status, 288 Ibero American workers from diverse nationalities (fifty were Brazilian), different denominational backgrounds, and varying levels of experience were invited to the conference. In all, members of the group were serving in sixty-two countries—ten of which were Arab-Muslim countries.²⁹⁰ Participants were asked to offer feedback on areas such as pre-field training, financial support, cultural adaptation, communication between mission

²⁸⁵ See W. Douglas Smith, “COMIBAM Takeoff Towards AD 2007,” 53.

²⁸⁶ See Ruiz, “COMIBAM as a process leading to a Congress,” 10.

²⁸⁷ See Escobar, *Changing Tides*, 160.

²⁸⁸ See Jesus Londoño, “General Report of the III Iberoamerican Missions Congress,” *Connections* (April-May 2007), 11.

²⁸⁹ See DeCarvalho, “COMIBAM III: Research Project—Phase I,” 20.

²⁹⁰ The countries include: Saudi Arabia, Algeria, Chad, Iraq, Jordan, Morocco, Western Sahara, Mauritania, and Tunisia. See DeCarvalho, “COMIBAM III: Research Project—Phase I,” 20.

leaders and missionaries, relationships between missionaries, mental and physical health, and ministry success and failure.

Despite this serious commitment to assessing the movement, Brazilian Alex Araujo rejoiced: “At COMIBAM III . . . we saw our own Latin missionaries speaking of lessons learned . . . the Ibero American missions movement is no longer a baby or an adolescent, but a young adult, showing signs of maturity, stability, and strength.”²⁹¹ At the time of COMIBAM III, the number of Ibero American workers had grown to 9000 serving with 400 different organizations.²⁹² In early 2009, Carlos Scott indicated that the number of Latin American transcultural workers had reached ten thousand.²⁹³ Guarneri affirms that 16% of this total missionary force is presently serving in the 10/40 window, some of which are serving in the Arab-Muslim world.²⁹⁴

After three large conferences as well as the development of COMIBAM networks within each Latin American country, the movement’s vision is “to help the Ibero American Church to become a missionary community, able to take the Gospel of Jesus Christ to all nations.”²⁹⁵ In general, COMIBAM is focused on five major areas: strengthening national and missionary movements; reaching unreached peoples; cultivating an Ibero American missiology; improving leadership development; and developing global cooperation and partnerships.²⁹⁶

In light of its history, vision, and focus, what are COMIBAM’s distinct values? First, as a network of networks, COMIBAM seeks to facilitate communication and partnership among pastors, training centers (biblical, theological,

²⁹¹ See Alex Araujo, “Impressions of III COMIBAM Missionary Congress,” *Connections* (April-May 2007), 29.

²⁹² See Ruiz, “COMIBAM as a Viable Regional Mission Movement,” *Connections* (April-May 2007), 7.

²⁹³ See Scott, “Latin American Sending,” in Winter and Hawthorne (4th ed.), 375

²⁹⁴ See Guarneri, “COMIBAM: Calling Latin Americans to the Global Challenge,” 23.

²⁹⁵ See Scott and Londoño, “Where is COMIBAM International Heading? Strategic Focal Points,” <http://www.comibam.org/docs/whereiscomibamheading.pdf> (accessed April 6, 2009).

²⁹⁶ See Guarneri, “COMIBAM: Calling Latin Americans to the Global Challenge,” 22; and “¿Qui es COMIBAM?” <http://www.comibam.org/queescomi.htm> (accessed April 6, 2009).

and missiological), and sending structures (churches and mission boards).

COMIBAM's emphasis on communication with pastors and churches points to the fact that Latin American missiology is distinctively church-centered—a tendency less observed in North America and Europe.²⁹⁷ Second, in terms of leadership structure, Guarneri notes that one of COMIBAM's strengths is that it is far less bureaucratic than a typical denomination or mission.²⁹⁸ Bertil Ekström, a Brazilian who served as the movement's director following COMIBAM II, summarized this philosophy of leadership: "COMIBAM seeks to be a facilitator and a catalyst, working to strengthen existing mission efforts in Latin America and to start new ones."²⁹⁹ Third, COMIBAM's global focus has been greatly facilitated by a healthy unity between Latin American evangelicals from various denominations and theological persuasions.³⁰⁰ This evangelical "ecumenism" has, of course, been noted as a key aspect of Brazilian evangelicalism. Finally, though delegates seemed to disagree over the relationship between social action and evangelism at COMIBAM II, the movement has been influenced by the Latin American Theological Fraternity's (FTL) value of the "whole" Gospel, which has resulted in more ministries devoted to community development and caring for human needs.³⁰¹

2.6.5 Associação de Missões Transculturais Brasileiras (AMTB)

As noted, shortly after Antioch Mission was founded, the Associação de Missões Transculturais Brasileiras (Association of Transcultural Missions Agencies) began in 1976. Beginning with a small group of mission leaders and organizations in the

²⁹⁷ See Ruiz, "COMIBAM as a Viable Regional Mission Movement," 6-7.

²⁹⁸ See Guarneri, "COMIBAM: Calling Latin Americans to the Global Challenge," 17-18.

²⁹⁹ Cited in Ruiz, "COMIBAM as a process leading to a Congress," 10.

³⁰⁰ See Guarneri, "COMIBAM: Calling Latin Americans to the Global Challenge," 5; and Ruiz, "COMIBAM as a Viable Regional Mission Movement," 5.

³⁰¹ See Smith, "COMIBAM Takeoff Towards AD 2007," 54.

1970s, Ekström notes that by 2002 the AMTB included forty-six agencies.³⁰² The AMTB's objectives are mobilizing Brazilian evangelical churches to great mission involvement, promoting dialogue and cooperation between missions organizations, developing materials to educate the Brazilian churches in global mission, and encouraging and offering training for Brazilian missionaries.³⁰³ Distinctively interdenominational, the AMTB deals with such issues as: the relationship between local churches and missions agencies, selecting and training missionaries, pastoral care for missionaries, fund raising, mission strategy, and the Brazilian church's missionary vision.³⁰⁴ Aside from publishing books and literature on mission, and maintaining a web site that is rich in content and a vehicle for networking, the AMTB has convened five missionary congresses since 1990 in order to facilitate dialogue.³⁰⁵

2.6.6 PM International

The story of PM International is also unique in that it is a missions agency founded by Mexican missionary Pablo Carillo in 1984 in order to send Latin American missionaries to the Muslim world.³⁰⁶ Currently, there are 120 Ibero Americans from fourteen nationalities serving in Muslim countries and PMI has national offices in Argentina, Spain, the United States, and Brazil. The mission statement of PMI Brazil, which opened in 1998, is "to see the Brazilian evangelical church committed to the expansion of the Kingdom of God among Muslims."³⁰⁷ With a focus on planting indigenous churches and ministering the "whole" Gospel among Muslims, PMI also

³⁰² See Ekström, "Uma Análise Histórica," 19-23, 122-23. Presently, the web sites of thirty-five organizations are linked to the AMTB site at: http://www.amtb.org.br/site/index.php?option=com_weblinks&view=category&id=54%3Aagencias-missionarias&Itemid=56 (accessed September 9, 2009).

³⁰³ See Ekström, "Uma Análise Histórica," 55.

³⁰⁴ See Ekström, "Uma Análise Histórica," 57-112.

³⁰⁵ See Ekström, "Uma Análise Histórica," 85. The Sixth Brazilian Missionary Congress is planned for October of 2011 and information can be found at: *VI Congresso Brasileiro de Missões* (web site) <http://www.congressobrasileirodemissoes.com/> (accessed September 9, 2009).

³⁰⁶ See David L. Miller, "Mission-Minded Latinos No Longer Staying at Home," *Christianity Today* (December 8, 1997), 70.

³⁰⁷ English translation by Cristina Boersma from *PMI Brasil: Latinos ao Mundo Muçulmano* (web site) <http://www.pmi-brasil.org.br/> (accessed April 6, 2009).

emphasizes pre-field preparation in missiology and Islamic studies, cultivating healthy teams, member care, general supervision, and assisting missionaries to gain entry into creative access nations.³⁰⁸

2.6.7 Missão Horizontes

In 1992, Brazilian pastor David Bothelo connected with the Welsh-based mission World Horizons and eventually a vision was birthed to send Brazilians and Latin Americans to the 10/40 Window. In 1998, the newly constituted Missão Horizontes initiated the Sahel Project in which sixteen Brazilians, after some training in Brazil and Paraguay, were sent to Niger in West Africa. A ministry characterized by voluntary poverty and communal living, it was at that time the largest group of Brazilian missionaries sent out in the history of Brazilian mission sending.³⁰⁹

In 1999, Bothelo and Horizontes mobilized a second outreach called the Radical Project, which was comprised of ninety-six laborers. Though mostly made up of Brazilians, participants also came from three other countries. While generally more Pentecostal, the group included workers from sixteen different denominations. After making a five year commitment, participants spent the first year in training in Brazil, the second year in cross-cultural ministry training in Argentina or Paraguay, and part of the third year in Wales learning English. In the final two and a half years of the project, they dispersed to various 10/40 window countries for ministry—including some Arab-Muslim contexts. Like the Sahel Project, the Radical Project championed poverty and communal living; yet it also went further emphasizing thorough cross-cultural training as well as focused ministry on the field.³¹⁰

³⁰⁸ See *PMI USA* (web site) <http://www.pmi-usa.org/NEW/english/english.html> (accessed April 6, 2009).

³⁰⁹ See David Bothelo, “The Principles, Practice and Plan of Horizontes Latin America,” *AD 2000* (web site) <http://www.ad2000.org/celebrate/bothelo.htm> (accessed March 22, 2010).

³¹⁰ See Bothelo, “The Principles, Practice and Plan of Horizontes Latin America; also Murray Decker and Ryan Keating, “The Radical Project: A Revolutionary Latin American Model for Mission

Eventually, Bothelo's Missão Horizontes split with the British-based World Horizons office. Nevertheless, these initiatives proved to be great strides forward for Brazillian evangelical missions among unreached peoples and, at present, Brazilians from the Sahel and Radical Projects continue to serve in the Arab world.

2.7 Current Status of Brazilian Evangelical Missions

In a recent work, Mark Noll notes, "Today more Christian workers from Brazil are active in cross-cultural ministry outside their homelands than from Britain or Canada."³¹¹ Citing the growth of Brazilian evangelical missions in the last four decades, Ekström writes:

The number of evangelical missionaries from Brazil has increased significantly since the 1970s. There were 595 missionaries in 1972; 791 missionaries in 1980; 2040 missionaries in 1988; 2755 missionaries in 1992; and 4754 missionaries in 2000. Today, Brazilian missionaries are working on every continent.³¹²

By 2006, these transcultural workers were serving with 115 different missions organizations.³¹³

In addition, Ted Limpic provides a helpful breakdown of where Brazilian evangelicals are serving. While a large number are located inside of Brazil (around 750 laborers) or elsewhere in South America (1560 workers), some 456 Brazilians are serving in Africa, while seventy-five are presently working in Japan. Limpic adds that 20% of all Brazilian missionaries serve in the 10/40 window and 281 workers are focused on the Muslim world—both among Arabs and non-Arabs.³¹⁴ Based on interviews with Brazilian mission leaders and Brazilian workers in Arab contexts, a

Mobilization," *Hillsides Mission Organization* (web site)

http://www.reachthenations.org/comments.php?id=A4_0_1_0_C (accessed March 22, 2010).

³¹¹ See Mark A. Noll, *The New Shape of World Christianity: How American Experience Reflects Global Faith* (Downers Grove, IL: Intervarsity, 2009), 10.

³¹² See Ekström, "Brazilian Sending," in Winter and Hawthorne (4th ed.), 372.

³¹³ See Ekström, "Missões a Partir do Brasil," in Bradford, Winter, and Hawthorne, *Perspectivas*, 369.

³¹⁴ See Limpic, "O Movimento Missionário Brasileiro (2005),"

<http://www.comibam.org/transpar/menus/por/09jogo-mb.htm> (accessed April 6, 2009); see also Finley, 5-7. Silas Tostes, in an interview on July 23, 2009, reported that at a recent pre-field training with ten new Antioch Mission candidates, all ten were interested in serving among Muslims.

conservative estimate is that there are between 120 and 150 Brazilians presently serving in the Arab-Muslim world. The remainder of our study will, of course, discuss the ministry of these Brazilian transcultural workers.

2.8 Chapter Summary

In this chapter, attention has been given to the rise of evangelical missions in Brazil, a movement that primarily originated in North America in the nineteenth century and that was prompted by evangelical revivals. Though a documented connection between these revivals and evangelical mission work in the South American country is not clear in the literature, a plausible connection has been made by examining the common features between nineteenth-century North American and European revivalist evangelicalism and Brazilian evangelicalism. Though these common features include a high view of Scripture, a call to genuine conversion, a visible faith, a missionary zeal, the priesthood of the believer, and a free church tendency, Brazilian evangelicals have also distinguished themselves by embracing an integrated Gospel that includes both verbal proclamation and caring for human needs, and for being more inclusive of other evangelicals (i.e. Pentecostals). Each of these tendencies has propelled the Brazilian church, along with the evangelical church in Latin America, to develop into a missionary sending church. Brazilians, as noted, presently make up half of the mission force from Latin America. Hence, this chapter, relying largely on the historical narrative, has largely confirmed Luis Bush's statement at COMIBAM in 1987: "From a mission field, Latin America has become a mission force."³¹⁵

³¹⁵ Cited in Prado, "A New Way of Sending Missionaries: Lessons from Brazil," 52.